

TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS



PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION

14th - 16th December, 2007



UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

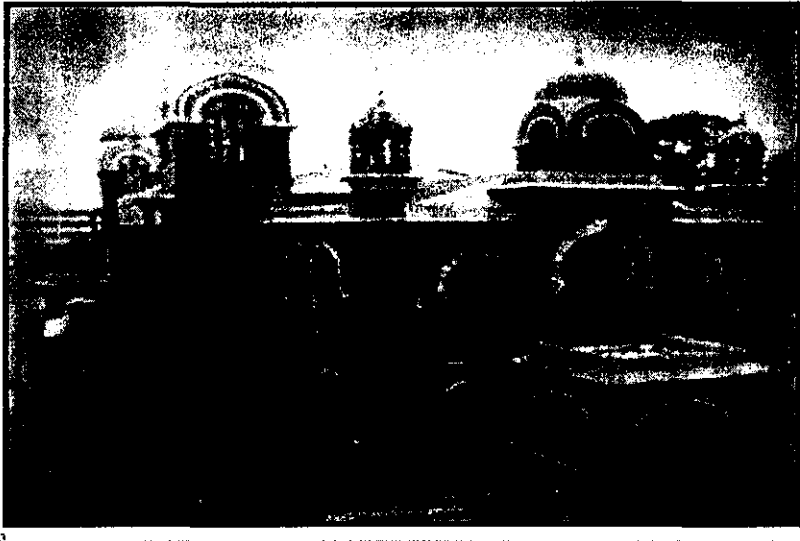
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Chief Editor

C.K. SIVAPRAKASAM

Former Reader and Head
Department of History

A.V.V.M. Sri Pushpam College (Autonomous),
Poondi, Thanjavur-613 503.

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CHENNAI**

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EDITORIAL

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress was held at University of Madras, Chennai. The warm reception accorded to the delegates by the host institution made the session a memorable one. The Fourteenth session witnessed once again the active participation of the young and seasoned scholars. More than 150 papers have been presented in four different sections. As usual the Socio-Economic History section had preponderance over other sections in the presentation of research papers. The TNHC is a young and growing academic organization. Hence as an encouraging phenomenon as many papers as possible have been included. Some of the papers have been included in the form of summary because of our limited resources. As far as possible a uniform style sheet format is followed in accordance with the standard academic journals.

In discharging my duties as the Chief Editor I have been fortunate to be associated with a team of Editorial Committee members: Dr. P.B. Gopalakrishanan, Dr. G. J. Sudhakar, Dr. C. Thiruvenskadam and Dr. G. Sethuraman. I would like to record my sincere thanks to them for their cooperation and assistance. Some of the junior scholars who assisted me in editing the present volume deserve special mention. They are Dr. N. Sethuraman, Guest Lecturer, Department of History, Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli, Mrs. V. Kalpana Devi, Mr. K. Marimuthu, Mr. R. Senthil Kumaran, Mr. V. Murali and Mr. K. Ramesh.

I would like to acknowledge the immense confidence the TNHC has in choosing me as the Editor of the Annual Proceedings for the first time. I consider it a great honour and privilege to edit and present the Fourteenth Annual Proceedings of the Tamil Nadu History Congress.

C.K. Sivaprakasam

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GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS 2007

G. Venkataraman*

Esteemed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, Hon'ble Member of Parliament Dr. Sudarsana Natchiappan, Chancellor of Periyar Maniyammai University, Vallam, Thanjavur, affectionately called Aasiriyar Aiyya Thiru. K. Veeramani, respected Dr. A. Ramasamy, Vice - Chairman, Tamil Nadu State Council for Higher Education, Prof. D. Viswanathan, Vice - Chancellor, Anna University, Dr. C. Venkatesan, General President of the present session, Prof. A. Chandrasekaran, the outgoing General President, Dr. V. Balambal, who is going to deliver the Endowment Lecture, Sectional Presidents Dr. T.G. Nagarajan, Dr. Patricia Gabriel, Dr. S. Govindaraju and Dr. T. Jayaraman, distinguished scholars, invitees, learned participants, friends from the Media, Ladies and Gentlemen. I have already welcomed you all to this XIV session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress as Local Secretary. Once again I extend to you a very warm welcome as General Secretary of the Congress.

The Tamil Nadu History Congress has conducted 13 Annual Sessions so far in different Universities and Colleges across our State. The need for this Professional organization of Historians was realized 14 years ago. This organisation came into existence in 1993. It is a well knit organization today with 450 Life Members and about 500 Annual Members from Tamil Nadu and other parts of India.

The 13th Annual Session was hosted by Stella Maris College in the month of October 2006. It was inaugurated by Prof. M. Naganathan, Hon'ble Vice-Chairman, Planning Commission, Government of Tamil Nadu.

Former President of India, Thiru. R. Venkataraman, Dr. K. Ponmudi, Minister of Education, Government of Tamil Nadu, late former Minister Navalur Nedunchelian were some of the distinguished persons who addressed different sessions of TNHC. The University of Madras

hosted so far three sessions, including the present XIV session.

The 13th Session was well organized by Stella Maris College, Chennai. I take this opportunity to thank the Principal, and the Local Secretary Dr. Patricia Gabriel and their team of teaching staff and students for their tireless efforts in making the 13th Session a grand success.

The Presidential address was delivered by Prof. A. Chandrasekaran. It was followed by the address of the Sectional Presidents.

We are grateful to ICHR, New Delhi for its financial assistance.

The TNHC has published 12 proceedings volumes containing more than 100 research articles in each volume. The Proceedings volume of the 13th session will be released today by no less a dignitary than Dr. A. Ramasamy, the former Vice-Chancellor of Alagappa University and present Vice-Chairman of the Tamil Nadu State Council for Higher Education. The credit of publishing these volumes goes to the Editors of TNHC. The office-bearers of the Congress also deserve our congratulations for working hard for the successful conduct of all the Annual Session of this Congress. The young and senior members of this body are happy and contented in the achievement of this organisation. However, this body needs more financial support to do still better than what we have done so far. I request all the Annual members to become Life Members and enroll more Life Members so that TNHC will become further strong. I appreciate all the members of the General Body of TNHC Congress for their sincere and dedicated involvement in the successful conduct of our Annual sessions. I am sure; the current session will once again serve as a stepping stone for future growth and development.

Thank you.

* Professor and Head, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Chennai - 600 005.

GENERAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

C. Venkatesan*

I am grateful to the office-bearers of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for asking me to preside over its fourteenth annual session which is being held with so much of fanfare in the historic Senate House reviving in us memories of the majesty of the British rule in India. Wherever I turn from where I stand I am overwhelmed by a sense of history - the Coromandel coast, the Parthasarathy temple, the palace of the Nawabs of Arcot, the Fort St. George, the St. Andrew's church, the freedom poet Bharathi's humble home.

When I think of my association with history it looks as though there has never been a time in my life when I did not either learn history or teach history or write history. But when I reflect on what I have learnt, what I have taught, what I have written all these years, I feel ashamed of my inadequacy, and wish to God that he blesses me with another "three score and ten years" so that I can spend my days and nights reading whatever history attracts may imagination - may be Edward Gibbon, G.M. Trevelyan, H.G.Wells, Winston Churchill, Will Durant.

Presiding over an annual session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress is quite a memorable occasion for me, and I believe I will cherish this moment of honour for a long time to come. When I brooded over what theme I could select for my presidential address, I thought I would share with you in an informal way a few random thoughts - thoughts that might give a new lease of life to the study of history, thoughts that might rejuvenate interest in the study of history. What I would like to present is more in the manner of a dialogue rather than a calculated sermon. You may have your own ideas on some of the issues I am expressing today; you are welcome to ventilate the same.

While I am at the point of making the study of history interesting, I am sorry to tell you that we are blind even to what the famous indologist D.D. Kosambi would call "history at door-step". How many history teachers in

Chennai have bothered to take their students to Mamallapuram and show them Pallavan art and architecture in all its grandeur? How many teachers in Tanjore have taken their students on excursions to Gangaikondacholapuram and Dārasuram where Chola temples dedicated to Brihadeesvarar and Iravadesvarar are falling to pieces? The UNESCO has acknowledged the mesmerism of these monuments, and we who are here locally do not appear to be aware of their magnificence. How many teachers in the Thiruvannamalai District have taken the trouble of visiting farms and fields at Chengam and its neighbourhood to show their students hero-stones - stones erected in memory of men and women fallen in battles fighting for their hearth and home. Don't you think they would be enthralled when they see portraits of people armed with swords and shields carved in stone, and who died heroic death so that their descendants might live in freedom and honour. My simple question is when you can show them history in procession right at your door steps, why are you content with history on printed paper. I am sure you will agree with me when I say that seeing a documentary like the "Indus valley to Indira Gandhi" will tell your students more of history than a whole semester of lectures. I remember taking my PUC students way back in 1958 to a film called "The Land of the Pharaohs". They saw on the silver screen the pharaohs and their pyramids, the temple of Karnak and the temple of Luxor, and the Blue Nile sowing the seeds of a civilisation.

Therefore the first idea that occurs to my mind is to suggest to you to devise and discover ways and means of making the study of history really fascinating. It is very much in your hands to lure young men and women to take to the study of history; if you provide the right kind of leadership, you may find students flocking around you, and falling in love with history. As a first step in this direction, I would like you to ensure that they have a good text-

* Sesquicentennial Emeritus Professor, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Chennai - 5.

book of the subject - whatever it is; it may be Indian history, non-Indian history, or even history of the world. Once such a bridge is built - making travel safe and pleasant - you may find an invisible rapport coming into existence which in course of time is sure to blossom into a lifelong romance. The text book is the student's first experience, his baptism, of the subject.

I feel sad at the non-availability of good text books for studying the history of Tamil Nadu. Neat, simple, correct, and comprehensive text books are needed to entice students to take to the study of history. Otherwise we would lose them to Electronic Science, Computer Applications, Genetics, and a host of similar high-tech subjects. What I am asking you is why not some of you come forward to write text books that will stand the test of time, and make generations of students revive their interest in history. If you have taught a subject for not less than ten years - the longer the better, if you feel in your bones that you know your subject fully well, if your colleagues and students say that you have a good command over the language in which you have been teaching, if you are familiar with the methodology of writing, I would invite you to become a text book writer, and earn the gratitude of tens of thousands of students. You may publish something similar to the *History of Britain* by Carter and Mears, the *History of the United States* by C.P. Hill, and the *Substance of Politics* by A.Appadorai. You may have read an editorial in the Hindu dated 14 October 2002 referring to even NCERT text books containing "a whole lot of factual errors and erroneous notions". The editor points out how they reflect "the level of scholarship and the lack of commitment to academic rigour on the part of those engaged in the exercise". I wish history does not repeat itself in continuing such errors.

When W.B. Munro wrote in his *European Governments* that "the British Constitution is the mother of constitutions, and the British Parliament is the mother of parliaments", he would not have suspected even in the wildest of his dreams that a simple and straight sentence like this would light a fire in the minds of countless students across the

world. Likewise, when R. Sathianathier, who taught me history, described Raja Serfoji of Tanjore as "a scholar among princes and a prince among scholars", he may not have imagined that such a portrait of the philosopher - king would result in the study of his multifaceted personality by a multitude of researchers. The power of the written word has no limitations.

Therefore, if my advice has influenced you in any way, collect your facts, organize them in an orderly way so that there is a natural flow, present them in a language that carries conviction, revise it time and again to ensure there is no error of any kind, and satisfy yourself that there is neither too little nor too much - a good text book is ready.

A second thought I wanted to place before the Congress is the compilation of a bibliography, preferably an annotated one, of books related to the history of Tamil Nadu. The fulfilment of this need is sure to be welcomed as a tremendous boon by researchers. The bibliography may be arranged under different heads like printed books, printed articles in learned journals, papers presented in conferences and congresses and seminars and symposia, dissertations - published and unpublished of various universities, and even articles in popular newspapers and magazines. The compilation may even go to the extent of including ongoing projects. K. Nambi Arooran initiated some twenty years back work on these lines, but no one else seems to have followed it up and updated the list. I am only placing before you a rough idea of what has been brewing in my mind. It is upto you to improve on this, and make the project more meaningful.

Undertaking works of this kind may prove to be too much for scholars working in colleges and universities. The Tamil Nadu History Congress may align itself with University departments having full complement of staff, obtain funds from agencies like the ICHR, and appoint recently retired persons who have the time, the ability, and the aptitude to undertake such compilations. Once such works are made available, repetition of researches on the same theme can be avoided. Further,

freshers looking for leads on subjects of their interest may find these bibliographies a veritable mine of information. Also a bibliography may help us to discover areas that have not been explored so far.

A third request to you is to identify artifacts of history that are available in your neighbourhood, treat them as objects of heritage, and make sure that they are transmitted to future generations. There is so much of vandalism and ignorance, and so little of historical consciousness around us that many evidences of history disintegrate and disappear day after day with the result that just as many species of fauna and flora have become extinct, many a fragment of history will also be extinguished once for all. When I called on a student of mine in an obscure village near Rasipuram some twenty years back, a local resident took me to the outskirts of the village and showed me a decorated stone horse fit for a king's ride. Fortunately, the horse has been saved from mutilation, and shifted to the Government Museum at Salem. If only men and women like you with a sense of history are vigilant, many artifacts like the Rasipuram statue may be saved in time. The English have not allowed their Stonehenge (c. fourth millennium B.C.) to fall into ruins, nor have they let their Hadrian's wall (second century A.D.) to collapse. We too can cultivate a similar pride of our past, and prevent from spoliation the remaining signs and symbols of our former glory.

Till a few years back I used to stand under the southern tower of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram and admire with an indescribable feeling of wonder the carving of the double carps of the later Pandyas on the huge stone slabs supporting the tower. This is evidence enough of the Pandyan march of victory across a territory that traditionally belonged to the Cholas. But while renovating the temple, the carps symbol has been covered by cement plaster, thus irretrievably obliterating a piece of Tamil history. The Nataraja temple has witnessed several *tulabharas*, many bountiful gifts; gold plating of the tiles over the *vimana* of the Lord at the hands of the Pandyas, and an

ignorant humanity erases their seal from the temple premises. It is not merely erasure, erasure of eight hundred years of history in eight hours, but sacrilege, heinous sacrilege, of the worst kind.

If this could happen in a renowned temple and remain unnoticed, you can imagine the fate of sculptures, frescoes, inscriptions, and icons in the temples that adorn the landscape of the country. There is hardly a temple, a church, a mosque, a mutt, a palace, a fort, a memorial, a museum, a library, a cemetery which does not contain something special. We owe it to our children and their children to protect and preserve these monuments.

India, especially the Tamil country, has always been rich in manuscripts. Though some of them have been saved due to the labours of savants like U.V. Swaminatha Ayar, many more are likely to lie hidden in unexpected places. If only we keep our eyes and ears open, it is possible that we may discover many more manuscripts. Works of great content comparable to the *Indica*, the *Al-Hind*, and Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary may remain bundled up in the cloisters of some old building waiting for a man like Mackenzie to liberate them from obscurity.

When I was looking for half-a-dozen official reports on Indian jails published from time to time from the days of T.B. Macaulay, I could not locate more than a couple of them. I happened to hear that a heap of books had been transferred from the Fort St. George to the Tamil Nadu Archives, and when I searched the pile, I found to my everlasting pleasure all the reports published right from 1838. It was an exciting experience for me to encounter British penal reformers building in the east a western prison system, bit by bit, almost brick by brick. Accidents like this may happen in your case too. I would advise scholars like you to set apart a portion of your summer vacation to browse in old libraries like the Madras Literary Society.

My plea is not only to look for manuscripts and books, but ballads, folk songs, legends. Places sanctified by the presence of royal personages like Raja Desingu and Rani Mangammal, freedom fighters like Thiruppur

Kumaran and Thillayadi Valliammai, and Christian missionaries like Schwartz and Caldwell, places like Vandavasi in and around which battles have been fought, and fringes of forests which have been habitats of tribals and aborigines like the Kolli hills, may still echo with the sounds and songs of history and culture. S.Manickam of the Madurai Kamaraj University would describe the weaving of history from such unconventional material as "oral history".

Yet another suggestion I place before the Congress is that we make the study of a language other than English and Tamil compulsory for all post-graduate students. The study of an European language like French or Portuguese, or the study of an oriental language like Sanskrit or Persian, will definitely facilitate access to original sources. When English jurists like Sir William Jones could master Sanskrit and missionaries like G.U. Pope could master Tamil to translate Sanskrit and Tamil classics into English, we too can become proficient in

languages other than those we know already. We must also hone our skills in the languages which we already know.

Before I wind up I thought I would urge the Congress to resolve to publish a Quarterly Journal of Tamil Nadu History and Culture. I am afraid I have already given a name to the same. The history and civilisation of the Tamil country deserves a journal and let the Congress take the credit of starting such a publication.

I have told you some ideas that have been growing in my mind. Persons before me may have expressed similar ideas but I thought I would reiterate them. I am in my seventies and I may not live long enough to see the fruition of these ideas, but I would like atleast a beginning to be made.

Fellow historians and friends, I enjoyed speaking to you; I believe you too enjoyed listening to me.

TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS ENDOWMENT LECTURE

SOCIETY THROUGH FOLKLORE

V. Balambal *

Folklores are the literary assets of a region. They reveal the real life of the people. Even before the script came in to being in every language, songs and stories were sung and told by the people. Most of the folklores were expressions of joy, sorrow, love, hatred, jealousy, pride, submission, suffering, separation, interest, disappointment, loss, wonder, etc. The folklore deals with the daily routine such as birth, death, marriage, ceremonies, occupation, family matters, drought, village deities, rituals etc. Social set up of the time and the views of the people are also expressed in folk songs. It was mainly an oral tradition and only in recent times, scholars started showing interest in collecting the folklores in villages and put them in print. The availability of these source materials encouraged the scholars to go deep into the life of the rural people. Some scholars are of the opinion that folklores are oral literature and once they are written or printed, they lose that name and become literature. This view needs some critical approach. The significance is not in the composition of the song but in its acceptance. The songs are accepted if only they reflect the culture of the people. Once it is accepted it spreads easily. This is how the folklore tradition has come into existence. The origin of folklore is very natural. Folklore has life. Hence it grows, changes, declines and even dies. We are not sure whether people will sing *talattu* and *oppari* after fifty years. Unless otherwise those are documented, we will be losing a great source for social history of Tamil Nadu. Perhaps new types of songs may be sung. We should welcome the changes, instead of regretting for the decline of old ones. A folklorist is the one who composes songs reflecting the emotions and feelings of the people who have faced sufferings, changes, challenges, joys and sorrows depending on different social conditions. Social, cultural and historical backgrounds are to be well known to understand the meaning of the folklores. The incidents referred

to in the songs have their connections with social changes. Most of the songs have been rendered by women as they are the most affected people in the society and the songs are their only way out.

Women

The collection of folklores and a critical analysis of the same reveal many interesting but sad facts relating to the life of women who express through lullaby (*talattu*), elegy (*oppari*) and other songs not only their feelings but their status too. Perhaps the urban women will hide their emotions and may feel delicate to express through songs. But the rural women sing with no inhibition, to express their joy, sorrow, needs, loss, expectations etc. Their experiences as a lover, wife, widow, daughter, barren, deserted, tortured women are well expressed.

Lullaby

Lullabies must have been the earliest of folklores. *Talattu* (*tal* = tongue + *aattu* = movement) is the movement of the tongue. Though most of the lullabies are sung by mothers, some are sung by grandmother, aunt, sister and maids too. These songs are not very long but meaningful in expressing motherly love, expectations, sorrows, sufferings, local culture and dialect, economic condition of the family etc with some imagination, exaggeration and repetition too. They convey details of social beliefs. The talent of these illiterate women in coining words and phrases with rhythm and rhyme is highly appreciable.

Barren Women

The lullabies convey the agony of women as barren women and how they were abused by the society in various ways. She takes to fasting and penance to beget a child. She sings about early rise on Fridays and Saturdays and how she took to fasting till she delivered the baby.

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When she gets a child, that too a son, her status raises and she is respected by the same society which had abused her earlier. She expresses her joy when the child was born to relieve her of all sufferings and has given a status in the society. In another case, a mother says about losing all hopes in begetting a child, but to her surprise, was blessed with a child.

Importance of Male Child

There are innumerable *talattu* songs which reveal the pride of a mother in begetting a son. The society welcomed the birth of a son more than the daughter because of the belief that son only was eligible to do the last rites for parents, and he only keeps the family going generation after generation. This belief continues till modern times. She is proud that her son's presence would make the bitter guard taste like honey and bring back life into a decayed tree.

Brother's Greatness

Maternal uncle has a sound place in many folklores. Women have great pride in singing that her brother will do everything for her child. More than any one, the society assesses her status only with the gifts she receives for her child and for her. She imagines that her brother will get her son silver vessels, gold ornaments, all toys nice dresses etc.

The ear boring ceremony has an interesting tradition. It is done to deceive the God of Death Yama from taking the life of a child. If there is wound or scar, people believe that Yama would not take its life. To symbolise it, the ear boring ceremony takes place. The ear boring ceremony will prove the greatness of her brother who will offer different types of gifts to the child. When the child is sent to school, the maternal uncle will get a slate of silver, and pencil set in gold and diamond. During puberty, which is elaborately celebrated even now, and during marriage the uncle is expected to get dress, ornaments and other things for the niece. In villages, if the uncle is not informed of these functions by the girl's father, it results in feuds. Woman sings in praise of her brother that he is capable of getting fabulous things for her child. Though she says that her husband, as father of her child may get silver or gold *paaladai* (drinking vessel for child), her brother will get specially made gold *paaladai* studded with precious stones.

Mother's Wish

Mother while singing the lullaby to her son, who could not understand anything, makes a reference to the gifts to be given by him to her daughter when he grows up so that the daughter will be treated well in her in-law's place. She wants him to aim at satisfying his sister's wants. The social condition is well narrated in this song. There is a proverb that a brother will be respected, if only he gets gifts.

Lullaby to a Daughter

Very few songs are sung in praise of daughter. While singing the lullaby, the mother says about the practice of giving the daughter in marriage to her cousin. Though cross cousin marriage is proved unhealthy and not to be practiced, in villages, especially among the non-Brahmin community, it is still practiced. If the daughter is refused to her cousin due to economic status etc, the groom's side would not even hesitate to kidnap the girl and get her married to the cousin.

Love: Folksongs sung by men are few. But he joins his partner in expressing expectations, closeness, disappointments, sufferings and opposition faced by them from family and neighbours. The rural women are more independent than the urban women and enjoy greater freedom. As they go along with the men folk for work in the agricultural field, plantations and construction work, there arises ample opportunities for them to move with men. Elopement, physical union before marriage, desertion are also narrated in the folk songs.

Sacred Thread

Though lovers plan elopement, the girl wants her lover to tie the sacred thread so that they will not be abused by the society. When her lover tries to make passes at her, she reminds him of his right over her if only he ties the sacred thread.

Cross Cousin Marriage

Cross cousin marriage is not scientifically accepted, but is still in practice. There will be clashes among relatives, if a cousin is refused. Some times the girl is even kidnapped by the boy's side. The refusal is because of the difference in financial status between the two families. In one case a sister tells her rich brother who refuses the

alliance that her son will not leave the girl and some how will get her like a sneaky snake entering the bed chamber. Generally there is strong affinity between the cousins as they are sure about their marriage. In such cases, the boy takes advantage and wants to be closer to his cousin. He promises to give her paddy, turmeric, suitable blouse and if she permits, a baby too. But the girl controls him, and tells him to wait till the marriage, even though she is also in love with him.

Plight of a Lover

Lovers are very heroic in showing their love for the girls. They do not mind obstacles. In his effort to meet his lover, he does not even mind crossing the river at a rainy night. He tells her to wait for him without sleeping as he takes great risk which should end in a happy meeting.

Boldness of the Girl

Most of the village girls were illiterates. One girl who knows to write wanted to make her lover remember that she is keen on marriage. As he had not fixed their marriage date, she had the guts to write her address on his dress which would remind him to confirm their wedding. In another case, the lovers want to meet every day. For some reason if her lover was unable to visit her, she became restless. When she meets him next, she wants him to promise her that he has not forgotten her. Her lover says that he will make the promise by putting his dothi in the Meenakshi temple at Madurai and jump over it. There is a belief that if wrong promises are made, one will face the wrath of god. It signifies that if he fails to marry her, he will not even have a dothi to wear. Making a promise in this way, that too in a powerful temple, is considered to be a commitment on the part of the lover. Some other practices such as promising over the lit camphor or head or hand of the person concerned, or over the temple flag post, or on the betel leaf or rice, or crossing over a child are followed to show the seriousness or sincerity in the matter. It is interesting to notice these rural practices which are unwritten laws of the region. Such practices exist even today.

Caring for the Partner

Once the marriage is fixed, the girl wants her lover to behave in a dignified way as they are going to be united shortly. She expects him to be

good in the estimate of others when he tries to make all pranks as a lover. She cares for his prestige and advises him not to see other girls, or try to jump over the wall to meet or stare at her secretly till the wedding so that he will be respected by the community.

Pangs of Separation is well narrated in many lores. She says about her agony, feelings and emotions and how she has become lean because of his absence. Similar songs are rendered by a male too.

Signals

The lovers use some signals to inform each other to know about their arrival. They play the pipe, or some noise to show their availability to the partners.

Steadfastness

When the love affair leaked out and she was blocked by her people, her lover tried to contact her. She told him to leave her as she could not face her relatives. But he was serious in marrying her telling that he would manage all situation and marry her.

House Arrest

When the parents keep their daughter who is in love with a boy in vigil, not allowing her to go out to meet him, she expresses her inability to reach him. It happens when the parents do accept the love between the two.

Signs of Acceptance

Girls are bold to tell their lovers to declare their sincerity in public. As there are many cases of cheating, desertion and disappointment, the girls want their men to confirm their love which will culminate in wedding. Certain practices for the same to announce publicly in the villages are asking the boy to come to the hall (*koodam*) or to the public place (*oor chavadi*) in the village to give her flowers so that the whole community will know the relationship between the two.

Longing and Waiting

The lover was imprisoned for more than 14 years and his lady love remained unmarried longing for him. She had no appetite because of the absence of her lover and missed him badly.

Proper Attitude

Very few men realise the plight of their lovers when the latter are compelled to marry some one else. Some would take revenge on the girl without knowing her condition. But very rarely some lover realises her plight and leaves her in peace. In one instance when a man returned from his business trip, he came to know about the marriage of his lover with some other man. Without troubling her he deviates from her path leaving her to her new life.

Fear of Desertion

A girl in love yielded to her lover hoping to get married soon. But after some time she comes to know that he has failed to turn to work in the same place where she works. Now she is scared of her future. She fears whether he would come back to marry or desert her. As the affected person is always the woman, the suffering is more for her only. It is a common issue in the villages and plantations or construction work, where both men and women work together and fall for each other.

In another case when the lover deserts a girl, in so many filthy words, she expresses anger for him and curses him for his bad behaviour. The local dialect is well used in her song, cursing him for cheating her in various ways when she is very sincere.

Family & Society

The role of a woman in the family is well known from the folk songs. When we come across many songs which reveal the pathetic position of women in the Tamil society, some songs show the respect given to good women. A virtuous woman, who cares for the family and doing all household work, is praised by all members of the family.

Caring for the Family

Joint family system was in vogue. Though a man loved and married her, he wants his wife to care for his family showing affection to his brothers.

Gothra & Marriage

Marriage takes place between people of different gothras (lineage) only. Children of the same gothra are treated as brothers and sisters. Girls are keen to preserve family's prestige and do not opt for same lineage. In one case, when a girl

was narrating to a boy of the same gothra her family's financial problem in conducting her marriage, the latter in a frenzy mood wanted to have contact with her. Crying for his unmannerly behaviour, she warns him about the lineage, saying even Bhuma devi, the Goddess of Earth would not tolerate it.

Polygamy

When the husband marries for the second time without her knowledge, the first wife could not tolerate it and curses him to be bitten by a snake. In the rural areas, the expression is frank. Though no wife will wish her husband to be killed, what she could not bear is sharing her husband with another woman. It makes her curse him in a rude manner.

Characterless Husband

The parents are worried when their married daughter comes home and stays for long time. They ask her the reason and tells her to go back. She narrates in a subtle way the bad behaviour of her husband who has indulged in all activities and questions why they married her for property's sake in spite of knowing his qualities and concluded that it will some time to change him and she will return only after that.

Extra Marital Relationship

It has been a common practice for some men to have extra marital relationship. When the wife comes to know of it, she could not control her anger. Though she is unable to change her husband, she has the courage to tell the other woman that she alone is the rightful wife and owns him, inspite of her husband's closeness to the other woman.

One song gives the sufferings of a woman at the hands of her husband who was nice to her till he came into contact with another woman

The wife shows her agony and anger when she came to know the infidelity of her husband. She even accuses that his bad character has contributed to the draught in the region.

Suspicion

Women are shrewd enough to notice the changes in their husbands if they care for other women. If the husband does not return home on

time or if he does not return in the same manner he left her, the wife suspects his character and questions his relationship with other women.

Uncle as Life Partner

The practice of marrying the maternal uncle was very common and the mother was keen on it because she thought that her brother would keep her daughter happy. But in one case, it proved to be very fatal as the husband (uncle) tortured his niece wife. Fortunately, the mother died before knowing the ill treatment to her daughter by her own brother and mother. The daughter who came for the funeral of her mother cried not only for mother's death, but for her own sufferings. She was treated like cattle and her home was nothing but a cattle shed.

Illicit Relationship and Crude Tradition

The practice of father-in-law having physical contact with the daughter in law is known from some songs. In some communities, it has been still followed and they feel nothing wrong about it. But no wife would be happy to have a relationship with her father-in-law. The long absence of her husband from home might have led to the extra marital contact of the wife with some one else other than the father-in-law. In one song a woman expresses her inability to meet her lover secretly because she realises it is difficult for her to move from home as her father in law who has fathered her child is lying in the cot and her child is also awake in the cradle. This song reveals the depressing condition of women in some communities.

Separated Woman

Desertion was very common due to many trivial reasons. But the plight of a separated woman is pathetic. All flowers except banana flower, are used by women to decorate their hair, or to offerings to god. A deserted woman feels she is like a banana flower in the society unwanted by any one.

Caste Differences

The existence of caste system reflected badly on the society. Inter caste marriage was condemned. When a high caste boy wanted to marry a low caste girl, the society did not permit it. So the boy went to her hut and lived happily

without marriage. Because of keeping the girl, he was held responsible for the drought in the region. But he openly declared that would never leave her as she was his rightful wife. It is a strange case because in most of the cases the rich and high caste boys never showed sincerity in their love affairs. But in this case the boy was prepared to face any abuse from the society including his close relatives.

Step Mother

Most of the step mothers are known for their unkindness towards the children. In one case the step mother ruins the life of her step-daughter by marrying her to a characterless man against her wish for money. The girl cries for her miserable life.

Dasi (concubine) & Vesi (prostitute)

Prostitution, an old profession affects the life of family people. Some husbands have infatuation and their wives want to change their behaviour. So they develop some courage to talk to the prostitute how she ruins families with their attractive make up, dress, flowers and music and what their characteristics are. Perhaps there was a demarcation between the dasi and vesi. Earlier the dasis were attached to the temples doing temple services and performing music and dance during festivals and pooja. Dasis were initially treated with respect for their cultural activities. But in course of time their culture got diluted and most of them became concubines of land lords or temple priests. But vesis are professional prostitutes and are looked down in the society. In one song there is reference to both dasis and vesis dancing in the temple. There are cases of men giving the jewels of his wife to his concubine.

Divorce

Divorce is made for specific reasons like childlessness, misconduct, disunity between the couple. The Village council will decide the case; get penalty from the one who appeals for divorce; permit them to remarry. In most of the cases, men only ask for divorce with false reasons and women become victims. A beautiful song gives the sufferings of a woman at the hands of her husband who was nice to her till he came into contact with another woman. There are many folklores to this effect.

In another case, the husband wants divorce and refuses to give the child to the wife asking her to return the bride price. Though she is not for divorce, she is prepared to return the bride price but appeals to the Panchayat to get her baby from her husband.

Kitchen Work

Till recent times, the right place for a woman has been the kitchen. In villages she was expected to be a good cook catering to the taste of all at home, relatives and guests. If she fails it, she becomes a laughing stock. It was one of the reasons for separation. The dissatisfied husband goes to the extent of beating his wife for bad cooking, especially finding a stone in rice. She in turn shows her anger and decides to leave him. Even then, being a woman, she decides to leave him at dawn. One husband wants the bride price from her before she goes away from him.

There is a case of a rich man's daughter who does not know proper cooking and cutting of vegetables. One day when her husband found a stone in the cooked rice he threw the plate on her face. He cried to her father who sent lot of vegetables but she did not know to cut the same properly. The father himself helped her in cutting and cooking and slowly she became an expert and was praised by her husband.

Betel Leaf

One of the auspicious symbols of the Tamils is betel leaves. The Tamils have a superstitious belief that a girl will get a loving husband if her mouth becomes reddish after chewing the betel. The girls have lot of fun with one another over this practice.

Unsuitable Marriage

Property played an important role in marriage. There are cases of all nieces given in marriage to maternal uncle or a man marrying all the sisters of his wife or young girls married to old men so that the property will not go to some one else. In one such case, when a girl was married to an old man she loses all happiness and longs for her lover. When she has the courage to say that she does not want to live with the old man, it is not known why she married him. Perhaps the marriage might have been forced on her. The

marriages of unequal and incompatible partners have been detrimental to happy family life.

Exercise of Charm – Vasiyam

People believed in changing the mind of a person concerned by exercising charm. A girl feels that her lover's parents did it to make their son forget her. She curses him for the betrayal.

Mother in Law

In many houses the brides face torture in the hands of mother in law. They are physically and emotionally abused. Even in modern times it prevails in one way or other. In one case a young girl cries, in spite of their youth, beauty, compatibility, they are not happy. The only reason is her mother-in-law.

Widow's Position

The position of a widow is very pathetic from very early times. At a young age one girl becomes a widow. She is not wanted in both the houses. She feels that if she were a tree or flower, all will like make use of it, but being a widow she is unwanted and discarded by all. She feels very desperate. The society considers her inauspicious and even the temple priest shuts the door of the temple on her face. In his death she has lost a powerful security. She says that if she utters her misery, standing under a blooming tree, even the dove and peacock on the tree will not feel like having their food. It shows the feeling of non human beings for a widow and she indirectly accuses the humans for their hard heartedness.

Even the village Panchayat will not do justice to a widow. If she openly asks for her husband's share, people are not willing to listen to or favour her. She laments over the injustice done to her.

Illtreatment by Brother's Wife

Even though parents show all love for their daughters, if they depend on their sons at old age, they face the ill treatment of the daughter in law. The parents invite the daughter for the village festival. When she comes and stays for one single day for the festival, the sister in law humiliates her in many ways. With a broken heart, she comes back to her house.

She is always traced and conditioned by her brother's wife, though her brother was benevolent like Karna. The sister in law treats the widow badly in the absence of her brother without even allowing her to take water. So she feels that her in-law's place is better than her brother's house. Even if they go to the brother's house with hunger, the sister in law will say that even milk or food is not ready. All the gifts they have been receiving till her father's death comes to an end because the sister-in-law will not allow the brother to gift the sisters. In some cases she is denied her right to cry even in her brother's house after the death of her parents. Her sister-in-law orders her not to cry in her house where the widowed daughter was fondly brought up by her parents long ago. In another case a widow comes to her brother's house. Though the brother is affectionate, the sister-in-law was very unkind and tortures her in various ways. She beats her, pushes her, punches her and kicks her using a stick. She is unable to bear the torture. When a widowed sister tells her loving brother about his wife's ill treatment, he promises to give her ornaments and money. But she tells him that she wants his kind words only.

Her status in her in-law's place

The death of her husband and absence of her right over his property because of not having a son make her a servant in her in-law's house. The brothers-in-law take the law in their hands and leave her without a share in the property though her husband owned lands.

Self help

A poor widow who is childless has to stand on her own legs as she has no child, property, parents or brother's care. She has to toil for her daily wages going to long distance. What she is offered is porridge of low taste. There is no way out.

Child Widow

She was married at the age of five to a rich old and sick man who died before she attaining puberty. On his death she faces all rituals like removal of tali, flowers, bangles etc.

Widow with a Child

Widow with a male child is better placed in the society because the son is entitled for the

property of his deceased father. But the widow is worried about the cheating nature of her relatives who cause damage to the crops in her field. If her husband were alive there is no need to worry as he would take care of the property.

Oppari (Funeral song)

A unique part of the folklore is *oppari* (funeral song or elegy). These are sung only by women. There is no reference to *oppari* being sung by any male member however close he is to the dead person. In fact it is rendered by women not only closely related to the dead one or those who know the dead person but also by experts in singing *oppari* on hiring basis. Especially in the non Brahmin community it is very common. They have set songs to suit the occasion and the dead one. Another interesting feature is that most of the songs of this type are on men. Very few songs are only available on dead women. It also says the prime position enjoyed by men in the society. Daughter sings in praise of the father, wife on husband, mother lamenting the loss of her child and so on. The social conditions affecting the widow are well expressed in the *oppari*.

Beating of the Chest

The practice of beating of the chest and lamenting and singing (*maaradi paattu*) in praise of the dead person is very common in villages. Some women are well trained in this art and they are invited to the funeral to perform this task for wages, (*maaradi kooli*). The dead body is bathed and decorated and these specialists in *oppari* will start with rhythmic beating on their chests singing in praise of the dead person narrating his activities, qualities, his family details, his sickness, medical treatment given, expenses, his death, the celebration of the same, etc. In between, in turns, they take rest and the *oppari* continues till the body is taken out of the house for burial or cremation. Some times this event makes the onlookers feel happy as some songs are very funny. The participants are fed and paid by the sons or close relatives of the dead. This practice continues till date in many villages. There is a belief that close women relatives of the dead should do chest beating to please the departed soul. The tunes of these long songs are well set and the verses are well composed to suit the dead one. The songs are very sequential in character

narrating the different rituals followed till the last one of burial or cremation.

Rituals

When the husband died leaving the wife with small children, she could not bear the loss. She expresses to her relatives her sufferings, expectations and how all got shattered because of his death. Her tears are uncontrollable. Her self pity is expressed in folklores. A widow's life changes totally after her husband's death. Society expects her to wear white dress, remove ornaments, flowers, sacred thread and other decorations. Though she has removed ornaments and silk saree, and wore white, she questions whether her father and relatives are keen on removing her sacred thread.

If the husband died abroad and if body could not be got, a sandal wood is burnt in its place and in his place, a piece of sandal wood was burnt. She feels for her inability to get his ashes.

Yama, a Great Robber

She and her husband were able to safeguard their property, money and ornaments from the thieves. In spite of her sincere prayers and offerings she was unable to guard her husband's life from a greater robber Yama, the God of Death.

Death of a Mother-

Very few funeral songs refer to mother. Even if the mother is very poor, she is very special. It is the duty of a daughter to bathe the dead body of her mother. On hearing the news, a daughter rushes to do her rites to her mother. The unmarried daughter cries when her parents passed away worrying who will arrange her marriage in the absence of her parents.

Death of a Father

A daughter is proud of her father's is respected as Dharumar of the village as he decided the cases in his village and his-judgement have been very fair. He had served the community day and night with kerosene light. Even the police would seek his assistance in some cases. His death is a great loss to the community and she is worried about the fate of justice in that village and her little brother.

Many songs are rendered feeling for the absence of father and the plight of the daughter in

brother's house where existed the domination of sister-in-law.

A young unmarried girl with a baby brother receives the dead body of her father, brought from Sri Lanka where he had gone for work. She cries stating when all those who went with him had returned safely; she wonders why her father alone died. Is it because he harmed the nests of cuckoo and peacock in his garden, his children face suffering? She asks innumerable questions why his family alone has to suffer losing the head of the family. The belief that the children will be the victims of parents' wrong doings is depicted in another song.

Death of the child

If the village physicians are not able to diagnose the cause for a child's disease, they give strange causes for the same such as the mother feeding the baby after sexual relation with the husband; or any woman touching the child during her menstrual period etc. For that the remedy is not medicine but applying sacred ashes, making offerings to temple, etc. The failure of treatment and the superstitious beliefs have resulted in the death of the child. The mother mourns lamenting the loss of her child.

Death of Brother

In another case, a sister mourns the death of her elder brother calling him Karna as he had cared for her and got her what ever she wanted. When he died she compares him with all benefactors and misses him a lot.

Death of younger Brother

In some communities the dead body is kept in a box according to the status of the people concerned and buried. In one case, an elder sister be-mourns the burial of her young brother in a costly decorated teak wood box.

Dowry Menace

The daughter is not allowed by her husband for seven years as her parents failed to give more dowries. On hearing the death of her father, she comes home and feels for the separation and questions why they married her if they were unable to give dowry which had caused separation.

In Praise of Father-in-law

Generally, in the villages, some cordial relationship existed between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. When he was alive he coordinated every thing and saw that the joint family was practiced. He showed love and gave good advises to his grand children. The daughter in law openly acclaims the old man in her song.

Mother-in-law's Cruelty

Many brides suffer at the hands of their mothers-in-law. It is common in villages. When a widow cries for not only the death of her husband but for not begetting a child, the reason she gives is very shocking and it reflects on bride abuse. She says that she is childless as she was not allowed by her mother in law to share the soft bed got by her father with her-husband. The affected person is the young widow who be mourns the death of her husband. Some women are cruel like this and they give one reason or other to separate the bride from her son.

Brother's Role

The brother who is very affectionate to his sister gets nice clothes for her for all occasions. When the sister becomes a widow, it is customary for a brother to get a saree for her. The sister feels the sorrow of her brother when he gave the saree on the death of her husband.

Caring

A widow feels that no one cares for her and shares her grief. But the animals known to her are caring for her and joins her grief when they hear her sorrow and do not eat the grass or drink milk even. She questions the heartless nature of the human beings.

Illtreatment

In the Tamil society a woman is wanted in her father's house and in the in-law's house so long as her parents and husband are alive respectively. She loses her rights other wise as the brother's wife or in-laws would ride on her. There are innumerable songs sung by a widow to express her plight in her fatherless and husbandless homes. She is not even allowed to drink water as she likes once she becomes a widow.

Sonless Widow

Though she was happy with her husband, she was childless. She performed all rituals and gave offerings to beget a son who could perform the last rites for her and her husband. Unfortunately, her husband died. Though she could show affection to other children, the society believes in own son doing the last rites to parents. She feels that she and her husband are unfortunate.

Childless or Brotherless Woman

A widow's sorrow is shared by her son and brother. The case of a woman who has no brother or son is pathetic. She feels like an orphan when she has no one to offer her a saree during the death of her husband. If the rituals are not properly done she is looked down by the society. The agony of losing the husband is aggravated by not having a son and brother.

Bad Omens

People either believe in omens or have superstitious beliefs. When all of a sudden a woman loses her husband, she recollects the bad omens and mourns. They both were pious. Their field did not yield; and the auspicious bell in their garden broke; even the astrologers failed to answer their them. But she never thought her husband would die. She laments for his death.

Marriage-a Dream?

In a song a wife visualises all the rituals of her marriage and she misses her husband who has made her life a dream.

Conclusion

There is no end for different feelings expressed in folklores. The contents of the available folk songs give an elaborate account of the traditions, customs, behaviour of the people and the way women could to express their different feelings. There are facts available in the folklores of the Tamils. Even though, some of the social evils have been eradicated, and women's position has improved a lot more to be done for the betterment of the people. The folklores are eye openers to the social workers and academicians and it is necessary to create better awareness on the social conditions of the Tamils in every possible manner.

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

FACETS OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF TAMIL NADU

T.G. Nagarajan*

Respected General President of this august session, General Secretary, and Members of the Executive Committee, distinguished scholars, fellow Historians, delegates and friends.

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for reposing faith on me and choosing me to preside over the Political and Administrative Section of this session. I am fully aware and conscious of the great historians who had adorned this dias in the past, and accept this task with great humility and modesty.

I would like to dedicate this address to my great teachers and distinguished historians and to the scholars of History, the 'mother of all social disciplines'.

I like to take this opportunity to share some of my views on the Facets of Political and Administrative History of Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu, an integral part of the Indian subcontinent has always had a great historical significance. Right from Pre-Historic times Tamil Nadu had its own place in the political map of India. The archaeological excavations of Adichanallur, Arikamedu and such other places speak volume of Pre-Historic history of the Tamils.

The first glorious chapter in the history of Tamil Nadu, the Sangam Age speaks volumes of the greatness of the Tamil rulers and their achievements. The names of Karikalan, Senguttuvan, Ariyapadaikadantha Neducheziyan would ever remain in the annals of History to exhibit the glory of the Tamil rulers. "Their system of government was of great antiquity; so great their origins were unknown to the natives of the land".¹

The political government of Tamil Nadu was in the hands of three agencies or persons (i)

the king at the capital, was the head of the government; (ii) the chieftains at headquarters of their respective principalities (iii) the elders in the villages.² The first agency was the central government; the second referring to feudal nature of the government and the third dealing about local government in the countryside. This system continued even at later times with certain changes. Setting aside the Kalabhara interregnum, the emergence of illustrious history of Tamil Nadu had taken place during the time of Pallavas of Kanchipuram. Whatever be the origin of Pallavas no historian can deny the great contribution of the Imperial Pallavas to Tamil Nadu polity and culture.

Mahendravarman-I, a multifaceted personality of great qualities, was indeed a unique ruler in the history of Tamil Nadu. His son and successor Narasimhavarman-I, proved to be a worthy successor of his father, was a great ruler of many accolades.³ The achievements of other Pallava rulers helped them to ensure a remarkable place for the dynasty in the annals of Tamil Nadu.

It is interesting to note that there were many political / administrative institutions established during the Pallava rule serving as a precursor to the succeeding dynasty like Cholas.

The political history of Imperial Cholas constitutes another glorious chapter in the history of Tamil Nadu. Rajaraja-I was one of the greatest rulers of South India who laid the foundation of the mighty Chola empire.⁴ He not only perfected the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery, but also started a land survey in AD 1000 for purposes of land revenue and encouraged local self-government throughout his domains. He started the practice of associating his son in the administration which prevented war of succession and gave valuable practical experience to the

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future king. He constructed the magnificent Brahadeswarar or Rajarajeswaram Temple of Tanjore named after him, which stands to this day as the most beautiful specimen of Tamil Architecture in its best. Himself a Saiva, Rajaraja set the example of religious tolerance by extending his munificent activities to other religions. To quote Prof. Sathianathaier, "The great and solid work of Rajaraja was the foundation upon which Rajendra built; the work of the son is the most authentic testimony to the work of the father".⁵

Rajendra Chola-I was the worthy son of a worthy father who raised the Chola power to an amazing height of glory. 'Rajendra's' reign formed the most splendid period of the history of the Cholas of Vijayalaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval power stood at its height.⁶

Kulothunga-I was also regarded as one of the greatest monarchs of the Cholas. His reign ushered in a period of internal peace and benevolent administration. The foreign contact of the Cholas during his period speaks the evidence of authority and diplomacy enjoyed by the Tamils overseas.

The administration of the Cholas was highly systematised. The form of government had a well organised central government, provincial administration, revenue, judiciary and military organisation - all speak their ability and interest in running the government. One of the salient features of Chola administration was the local self-government. The villages, 'Little Republics' were well administered and they enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

The second Pandya Empire contributed its own share in maintaining the greatness of Tamil Kingdom for a short period. But the invasions of Muslims from the North dealt a serious blow and began the decline of Tamil Kingdoms.

The establishment of Vijayanagar Empire and its subsequent expansion in the south brought a relief to overcome the authority of Muslim forces. Further more Tamil Nadu under Vijayanagar rule witnessed not only revival of Hinduism but also administrative changes at provincial level and local units' level in village administration.

The decline of Vijayanagar Kingdom and the Mughal Empire put an end to peaceful atmosphere and harmony in the political arena.⁷ It created a situation in Tamil Nadu that there was absence of a paramount power to control the rivalry among petty rulers. The Nayaks of Madurai were finally defeated in 1736 and the Muslim authority was well established at Madurai and it lasted upto 1801.

The death of the last great Mughal Emperor Aurangazeb in 1707 led to the disintegration of the empire and emergence of many independent states. Asaf Jha or Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of Deccan carved out a state for himself. Anwaruddin, Nawab of Arcot was appointed as his Chief Representative in the Tamil Country. The death of the Nizam and Anwaruddin brought civil wars and encouraged the European Traders to make their fray into Tamil Country.

Anglo-French rivalry for the possession of trading authority over Carnatic region led to Carnatic wars between 1746-1763. No political power ever attempted to interfere or to control the rivalry among the European traders. Thus the Carnatic wars revealed the hopeless and helpless condition of Tamil states - like the Marathas of Tanjore, Nayaks of Madurai and their petty chiefs - the poligars.

The Treaty of Paris, 1763 put an end to the Anglo-French rivalry and sealed the fate of the French. The events that followed for the next forty years placed the English at the helm of affairs in Tamil Nadu.

The defeat of Tipu in 1799 and the stern and stiff action against the rebel poligar Kattabomman of Panchalankurichi, once again reasserted the emergence of English as the sole authority of Tamil Country. Lord Wellesley, then Governor General of India (1798-1805) took steps to carve out a state⁸ - the Madras Presidency in the Southern part of the Peninsula, - Carnatic region, parts Northern circar, territories drawn from Mysore Kingdom after the removal of Tipu, led to the formation of Madras Presidency.

Madras Presidency, one of the three bigger provinces under the control of English, already became the centre of activities for the English authority in India. Under the British rule

there was territorial integration under a single banner which was never realised before. "Peace and order were restored and a settled government was established. Under Pax- Britannica, the country, to begin with showed signs of prosperity which it witnessed only during the heydays of Vijayanagar Empire.⁹ Except the Vellore Sepoy Mutiny of 1806, there remained total peace and tranquility in the province, thanks to the effective administration of governors like Sir Thomas Munroe. Even during the great uprising of 1857, there was complete peace and no one moved in favour of the rebels nor against the British. Instead reinforcements were sent from Madras government to quell the rebels in the North.

Tamil Nadu, part of Madras Presidency witnessed unprecedented peace and prosperity for more than two hundred years.¹⁰ Along with political peace and tranquility, education made notable progress. The introduction of English language and western education had thrown open the flood gates of western knowledge and liberal ideas. The English knowledge and Christianity aroused a new spirit of inquiry which formed the basis of new learning.

The impact of western learning and the influence of socio-religious reform movements reposed faith and confidence among leaders like S.N. Banerjee to establish British Indian Association in Calcutta and Madras Native Association in 1852 by Gajula Lakshmi Narasu Chetty to seek political and administrative reforms from the British.

The outbreak of the great rebellion in 1857 sealed the fate of the company's rule and transferred Indian territories to be directly ruled by the British Crown with great promises as declared by the Queen's proclamation of 1858. But India witnessed repression and suppression by the haughty Viceroys like Lord Lytton and thus within 27 years from the declaration of 'Grand Charter' otherwise known as 'Magnacarta' of India, the Indian National Congress was founded.

Madras Presidency evinced keen interest from the inception of the Indian National Congress and took part with sizeable member delegates in the first two annual sessions. The third session was convened at Madras.¹¹ T. Madhava Rao,

S. Subramaniya Aiyar, Chalapathy Mudaliar, S.A. Swaminatha Aiyar, P. Somasundara Chetty, C. Vijayaragava Achariar, Erdley Norton and A.O. Hume took the leading role in the third annual session of Indian National Congress.

Tamil Nadu played its own role in the Freedom struggle. Though the influence of moderates led by Gopalakrishna Gokhale riding high in the beginning, with the partition of Bengal and subsequent changes leading to the Surat split witnessed rise of Extremism in Tamil Nadu. Tilak's demand for Swaraj with the slogan 'swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it' was more appealing than 'Gladstone'¹² Gokhale's moderate approach.

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramani Siva, Subramania Bharati were the foremost leaders of the Extremists group. Yet they could not make much headway as the Extremists Movement was suppressed by the English government vigorously. The terrorist influence can also be noticed in Tamil Nadu like the murder of Ashe, the magistrate of Tinnevely on 17th June 1911 by Vanchinathan¹³ and such other events.

The entry of Dr. Annie Besant and her appeal to Indians to fight for Home Rule created a stir in the minds of patriots. She could make the nationalist forces to fight together and she found ardent supporters, to disseminate her goal of Home Rule in Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and Thiru. Vi. Kalyana Sundaram. The success of the Home Rule Movement in Tamil Nadu could be attributed to the fact that leaders like Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu made their speeches in vernacular in i.e. made use of Tamil as language of the platform to address the public.¹⁴ The tragedy of Jallian Walabagh struck terror even in the minds of deaf and dumb and it had drawn more number of Indian youth to make their fray into the Freedom struggle. Kamaraj as a lad of 16 then began to take active role in the Freedom struggle.¹⁵ Yet the outbreak of the First World War created a lull in the Freedom struggle throughout India and the stalemate continued till the Non-co-operation Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

The Era of Gandhi created a nationwide stir and Tamil Nadu had also fallen in line with the National Movement. Non-co-operation and Satyagraha found more supporters all over India

and infact the Indian freedom struggle took a new shape of genuine National Movement. R. Sathiyamoorthy, C. Raja Gopalachari, Muthuranga Mudaliar, Dr.P.Varadarajulu Naidu, V.S.Srinivasa Sastri, E.V Ramasamy Naicker, Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaram were in the fore front during this period.

During the course of the freedom struggle Tamil Nadu witnessed another political development. It had taken a new shape to oppose the Brahmin domination and this led to the formation of Justice Party thanks to the efforts of Sir Pitti Thiagaraya Chetty, Natesa Mudaliar and T.M. Nair. Even among the congress men there was a demand for social justice from non-Brahmin section of the society in the Madras Presidency and a "Madras Presidency Association" was founded with in the Congress Party.¹⁶

Freedom Movement in Tamil Nadu gained momentum again in the 1930s thanks to the Civil Disobedience Movement which included No Tax Campaign, picketing of Toddy shops etc.¹⁷ Public Meetings, processions, hartals and defiance of prohibitory orders continued unchecked making the 'British Raj' feel miserable. Rajagopalachari's March to Vedaranyam during the course of Salt Satyagraha was a great success and became evident that a movement of such great dimension could not be quelled.

The Quit India Movement and subsequent events led to unprecedented violence all over India. In Tamil Nadu under the dynamic leadership of Kamaraj, the President of TNCC, the movement was successfully carried out and he emerged as a great leader with in the Congress party.

The end of the Second World War made it impossible for the imperialists to check the growing opposition in India. They realised the need to transfer power to the Indians. On August 15,1947 India became a free Nation thanks to the efforts of great leaders and patriots and the share of Tamil Nadu in achieving Independence was worth mentioning. At the time of India's independence Tamil Nadu government was headed by O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar under the then constitution in force.

After Independence and the introduction of Republican constitution in 1950, First General Election was held in 1952. India became a Democratic, Republic, Sovereign and Secular state. Tamil Nadu known as Madras Presidency upto 1953, lost a part of its territories with the creation of Andhra Pradesh in 1953. The states reorganisation on linguistic basis reduced the size of Tamil Nadu leaving it to present the geographical boundaries.¹⁸ The name 'Madras Government' continued even after independence and re-organisation of states on linguistic basis. Only during DMK regime, the name of the state Madras Government was renamed as 'Tamil Nadu Government'.

After Independence and introduction of general election Congress continued to rule Tamil Nadu till the great debacle that it met with in the 4th general election of 1967. Of the various Congress ministries that ruled over Tamil Nadu before and after independence the ministry of Rajaji for two terms (1937-1939, 1952-1954) was worth mentioning. The ministry of Kamaraj for 9 years from April 1954 - October 1963 was indeed a remarkable one. Under his responsible leadership Tamil Nadu made vast progress in all fields - particularly in the field of education, industry, irrigation, etc. His rule served as a model of good governance.

After the defeat of Congress Ministry in 1967 headed by M. Baktavachalam, the first Non-Congress Ministry headed by C.N. Annadurai of DMK came to power and it continued the welfare measures of the previous government.

No account of my address on the facets of political and administrative history of Tamil Nadu is over with out tracing the growth of administrative changes.

The existence of government system prior to 1801 was monarchical polity all over; be it the Marathas of Tanjore, the Nayaks of Madurai, Sethupathis of Ramnad or the Nawabs of Carnatic. They were functioning as kings in their own independent right. They had their own system of Royal courts, armies, revenue and judicial system; and their powers were inviolable and unquestionable. The government was a despotism, benevolent or malevolent.¹⁹

After 1801, with the creation of Madras Presidency the system of government began to change. From 1801 to 1857 under company's rule, despotism continued in some or other form. After passing of the Government of India Act of 1858, the system of administration became uniform and the English began to establish gradually uniformisation and centralisation the two hallmarks of British System.

'Fort St. George was the nucleus around which Madras administration was reared by the English' ²⁰ with the creation of Madras Presidency it began to play more purposeful role in evolving and adopting well organised administrative machinery. The constitutional changes as introduced by Charter Acts from time to time and Councils Act passed after 1858 helped in a massive way to build up the administrative system of the English in Tamil Nadu. For example the Councils Act of 1909 - Minto Morley Reforms enabled to enlarge the Legislative Councils in the provinces. The Act of 1919, introduced dyarchy and bicameral legislature and thereby the principle of responsible government was introduced in the province. The Government of India Act of 1935 led to major changes, - introduction of provincial autonomy and enlargement of franchise and the principle of federalism - a gateway to move towards parliamentary system of government.

It must be admitted but for the constitutional changes introduced by the English, Indians could not have trained in the art of administration and learned the rudiments of parliamentary democracy.

The performance of Indian Ministers in all provinces including that of Rajaji Ministry of 1937-39 was a clear example, how best the Indians utilised the opportunity given to them.

The credit for introducing reforms in administration in the Madras Presidency undoubtedly belongs to Sir Thomas Munroe who was Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827. He made extensive personal tours, seated on horseback throughout the province to know the prevailing conditions personally. He was an extraordinary man. The people of Madras loved him more than perhaps they could have loved the

best among their own rulers.²¹ He was fondly addressed by the people as 'Father of the People'. The people of Tamil Nadu remained grateful to him by installing the statue of Sir Thomas Munroe at Island grounds in Madras in 1839.

In matters of judicial administration, establishment of courts implementation of uniform code, the English did well for the good of the tax payers in Tamil Nadu.

The Public Works Department and Engineering branch of the Military Board established in 1786 made a great headway during the days of Lord Dalhousie. Permanent Land Revenue System introduced by Lord Cornwallis was given a twist in the Madras Presidency by Sir Thomas Munroe with his village system and Ryotwari system. Police system replaced the Kaval system and Jail reforms modified the Sirai Chalai and Karagraham. The introduction of Railways, Telegraphs and postage, then considered as symbols of modern civilization transformed the facet of the country. In the Madras province, the first railway line between Arakonam - Madras was laid in 1856.

Above all the introduction of local self government with the passing of 1882 resolution gave the Indian necessary training in the governance of local bodies at District, Taluk and village level. The covenanted civil service, the provincial civil service and the subordinate civil service completed the steel frame of administration. In the field of education, English government introduced various measures leading to the establishment of Director of Public Instruction and later on the Madras University in the year 1857. Thus the basic structure of administrative system that existed in Tamil Nadu received overhauling reforms and they placed it on sound and well footing and well organised one. It continued even after the end of British rule.

As, "History is past politics and past politics are present history", it is our primary duty to take steps to teach Tamil Nadu History with all its glorious past so that the 'New Generation' could learn and get inspired to achieve new horizons in the present day competitive world.

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DEBATES ON TEMPLE ENTRY LEGISLATIONS IN MADRAS LEGISLATURE - A STUDY

P. S. Chandrababhu*

Indian Independence Movement and the Temple Entry Movement were parallel to each other. When the earlier one was spear-headed for political freedom, the later one was the instrumental for social freedom that means social equality. Both movements were the two eyes of Gandhian Movement. The credit of Harijan's entry into Madurai Meenakshi Temple on 8th July 1939,¹ goes to Vaidyanatha Iyer (1890-1955), then the President, Tamil Nadu Harijan Sevak Sangh, Madurai. Vaidyanatha Iyer emerged victorious in Temple Entry Movement without support of any individual organizations other than Congress and Harijan Sevaks. It was possible because of the dedication and hard-work of Vaidyanatha Iyer. He completed his work skillfully and cleverly. But the rest of the matter of the consequences of entry was left to the floor of Madras Legislature to get final shape in the form of legislation.

The commitments of Madras Legislature towards the upliftment of the depressed classes became more stronger when the Congress party entered into it under the headship of Rajaji in 1937. Previously, one L.K. Tulasiram moved an amendment to the Bill of Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Act in September 1926.² The content of the amendment was to declare all the members of the Hindu society as Hindus including the members of Depressed Classes. But it was defeated and lost. Then Dr. P. Subbarayan, who served as Premier from 1926-1930 moved a Resolution on Temple-entry of Depressed Classes in November 1932 in the council.³ The Resolution sparked the fire of debates in the council. Then it was put into vote. As a result, the resolution was passed with 56 ayes, 19 neutrals and no opposition. P.T.Rajan and W.P.A.Soundara Pandiyan both of the Justice Party placed themselves in the list of neutrals.⁴ But the Governor-General of India had declined to give his assent to the passed resolution by stating that a country-wide opinion on the subject should be mobilized for the enactment of a legislation on Temple Entry in provincial legislatures.

The second half of 1930's was the period of land mark in the social history of Depressed Classes of Madras Presidency. Due to some social and political pressures, the princely state of Travancore issued the famous Temple Entry Proclamation in November 1936.⁵

Accordingly, more than two thousands Hindu temples administered by Maharaja were thrown open for the Depressed Classes. This was echoed in near by Madras Presidency. The newly constituted bicameral Madras Legislature under the Act of 1935 in August 1937 swiftly moved and passed a resolution in September 1937 to convey its appreciation to Maharaja of Travancore for his historic proclamation.⁶ While one Ramalinga Reddiyar moved that resolution, it was seconded by a Harijan Member B.S. Murthi. Among the others who took part in the debates M.C.Rajah, Swami Sahajananda and Munisamy Pillai were Harijan members who supported the move. The only member who opposed the resolution was T.T. Krishnamachari.⁷

When the Congress Party was in power in Madras Presidency, Tamil Nadu branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh under the leadership of Vaidyanatha Iyer, geared up to campaign for Temple entry. While the campaign was going on with full-swing, M.C. Rajah moved a Bill called the Removal of Disabilities of Depressed Classes with Regard to Entry into the Hindu Temples in the Assembly in August 1938.⁸ This Bill was seconded by a Muslim member Basheer Ahmed Sayeed. Rajaji, the Premier, was the first in speaking on the Bill. In his elaborate speech, Rajaji explained the commitment of the Congress Party as well as the then Government to the cause of the Harijans and requested the mover of the Bill to wait for some times for a detailed Bill regarding the Harijan Temple Entry, that should be moved by the Government. Swami Sahajananda and Munisamy Pillai, in their speech appealed the Premier to co-operate with pass the Bill. However, when the Bill was put in to vote, it was defeated

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by the verdict of 24 members were in favour, 130 members opposed and 8 members maintained neutrality.⁹

With the view of keeping his promise in the floor of the Assembly earlier, Rajaji himself moved the Malabar Temple Entry Bill on 1st December 1938.¹⁰ The move was vehemently criticized by T.T. Krishnamachari who raised both technical and factual charges leveled against the Bill. A.T. Pannir Selvam also criticized the Bill of Rajaji. Since there was a thumping majority to the Congress Party in the Assembly, Rajaji simply skipped over all the hurdles by the virtue of political calibre and succeeded in introducing the Bill. M.C. Rajah lamented in his speech that the Premier declined to co-operate with him earlier for the same cause. Finally it was left to Select Committee consisted of twelve members including Rajaji as Chairman. Rajaji presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Malabar Temple Entry Bill on 8th December, 1938.¹¹ T.T. Krishnamachari and Krishna Rao raised objections to the Principles of the Bill. The spirit of the Bill was acknowledged by the majority of members who participated in the debate.¹² Finally it was passed unanimously in the Assembly. Then the same Bill was placed in the table of the council by Rajaji. K. Madhava Menon, member from Malabar welcomed the Bill. After the short while debates, the council granted its approval to the Bill.¹³

When the Constitutional battle was going on in the Madras Legislature in one side, on other side, Vaidyanatha Iyer struggled in the public to achieve the aim of the Temple Entry of Harijans. Sanathanist strongly opposed his campaign. Despite that, Iyer entered into Madurai Meenakshi Temple along with five Harijans and one Nadar on 8th July 1939 and declared his success to the public. On hearing the entry, Rajaji, the Premier, acted promptly and issued an emergency Ordinance on 11th July 1939 with retrospective effect to safeguard the entrants from legal clutches.¹⁴ With the view of replacing the

Ordinance, Rajaji moved Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Bill in Assembly on August 3, 1939.¹⁵ The Bill was criticized by T.T. Krishnamachari. Otherwise it received support from all sections of the house and passed without voting. Then the Bill was brought to the council by the Premier on 7th August 1939 for its approval.¹⁶ When the debates were going on, one T.C. Srinivasa Ayyangar opposed the Bill. But it was finally announced that the Bill was passed into law. The members of both houses as well as the general public were thanked by Rajaji for the success of the Bill.

When the Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Act of 1939 was in force during the period of Advisory Government 1939-1946, some loop-holes and difficulties were found in it. To rectify the defects of the Act, the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Bill was introduced in Assembly in April 1947 by T.S.S. Rajan, then Minister of Hindu Religious Endowments.¹⁷ Twenty four members including five Harijan members joined discussion. After that the Bill was passed unanimously. The same Bill was brought to the council¹⁸ where fourteen members participated in the discussion and appreciated the efforts of Rajan in opening the Hindu Temples for Harijans. However, due to clear some other defects which were felt in due course, Madras Temple Entry Authorisation (Amendment) Bill was introduced in the Assembly by K. Madhava Menon, then Minister for Hindu Religious Endowments on 18th April 1949.¹⁹ There were some brief debates in favour of the Bill in both houses of the Legislature. Subsequently this Amendment Bill was passed into law without any opposition.²⁰ With this the battle for the Temple Entry legislation came to an end. The continuous struggle with variety of practical experiences yielded a well refined and defined Temple Entry Legislation to the people of Madras Presidency even well before the advent of the present India Republican Constitution.

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THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF THE VILLAGE ASSEMBLY DURING THE FIRST PANDYAN EMPIRE (590 A.D. TO 920 A.D.)

S. Chinnappan*

The Pandyas were one of the oldest royal lines of South India who had a long and unbroken recorded history from the Sangam Age to the first half of the 17th century. Information about the judicial affairs of the Pandyan country till the Sangam Age are clearly revealed. But criminal and civil administration is ambiguous due to scarcity of sources during the First Pandyan Empire (590 A.D. - 920 A.D.).

This paper throws light on the role of the Nyayattar of the Village Assembly in the disposal of law suits - both criminal as well as civil justice. The inscription of the Pandiyas have been utilised for this study.

The ancient Pandyan court was noted for splendour and pageantry. "Jurisprudence was a well - cultivated science in the Sangam period".¹ The judicial system of ancient Tamil Nadu, the earliest form of which is traceable in the Silappadikaram.²

In ancient Tamil country, the king was the repository of the executive and judicial powers. These powers were harmoniously combined in him. He carried out law which had been formulated by the great men who had gone before him. His function was to administer, but not to make the law.³

The data relating to the function of a regular judiciary is very vague in later Pandyan records. All the same there are ample references to

individual cases like dispute over possession of a water reservoir, the right to fishing in a tank, right to blow conches in temples, right to act as temple priest, murder of a brahmana etc. Many such cases were settled by village bodies. The body of officers was known as Nyayattar.⁴

The Manur (near Sankarankoil) inscription (dated 800 A.D.) of Maran Sadayan⁵ contains the earliest traces of local institutions. The Manur inscription outlines the constitutions of the Mahasabhas and the qualifications for members of the various varyiams. Members were elected through Kudavolai.

"This inscription is unique in the insight it gives into actual working of the autonomous village assembly in brahmadeya villages under the early Pandyas".⁶

This inscription could be interpreted from the view point of the constitution of the law court of the village. The use of words, "Manru" and Manradutal in the inscription is a pointer in that direction. The word manru, etc., frequently occurring in epigraphs is used in connection with the courts. Even in literature the word is used in the sense of court dharماسana. From this angle the inscription of Manur assumes greater significance.⁷

The Mahasabha agreed upon certain decisions for constituting the court of justice. The general assembly passed the following resolutions relating to the constitution of the court of the Mahasabha thus:

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One who is well-learned in Mantra Brahmanam and one dharma Sastra, and is of virtuous conduct alone shall take part in the sabhai.⁸

Among those who bought a land in the village, received as a gift, or got it as a stridhana, only those learned in mantra brahmanam, and one dharma sastra, and of virtuous conduct are eligible to hear the cases in the Sabha.

Further, those who got land, by purchase, gift or a Stridhana will be eligible to serve as hearers, Sravanai Puhavar. They will not be permitted or ordered to hear quarter, half or three fourth of the case (as hearers) but only the full case.

Among those who acquire shares by purchase, the right to participate shall be awarded only to those who have passed an examination in the entire Veda together with the supplementary works.⁹

Further those who enter as hearers apart from these decisions should hear cases, only as directed in this kacca (stipulation).

One who does not become a full hearer, as per this stipulation should not be appointed for any Variyam, sub committee.

Those who satisfy the above conditions should not refuse (or obstruct) to serve.

Those who act in this manner shall not cause obstruction by saying 'nay'; those who obstruct and those who stand by will be variously fined five Kasu and then be required to act per this agreement. This arrangement was thus made by the Mahasabhai.¹⁰

The above inscription raises many interesting points on the administration of justice in the Pandya country in 9th century A.D.

The wordings of the Manur epigraph are indicative of two categories of judges; viz., the Madraduvars and the sravanai puhavar (hearers). "The term sabha occurs in some Vedic passages and in the dharma sastras. The combined effect of various texts is to show that the members of the sabha fell into two categories, some of them having a more definite role than the rest".¹¹ "The differentiation between the two groups of the

members of the Sabha is emphasised in a passage of Vyasa which speaks of them as the Niyukta and the Aniyukta. Katyayana also recognises a differentiation though he changes the terminology. According to him the select are the Sabhyas. That Niyojana was a deliberate process is shown by the passage in Narada which refers to the Niyuktas, as well tested (Suparikshitas)".¹²

In the Manur inscriptions, that the word Manraduvar stands for judges to hear disputes is quite clear. The word Sravanai puhavar seems to stand for hearers, of the dharma sastras, (sravana means hearer, derived from the root sravana to hear). It is not known why the stipulation that, the sravanai puhavar will not be permitted to serve or ordered to serve for a quarter, half or three fourth of the hearing. It is possible that the Manur sabha faced some difficulties in that, the sravanai puhavar dissociated themselves from the proceedings in the middle of the hearings. The tendency was to dissociate oneself from civil or criminal cases especially. So, when their role is not definitive is quite natural. So it became necessary for the Manur Sabha to bind the Sravanai Puhavar to remain for the whole proceedings.

There is another stipulation in the Manur decisions. "One, who buys a share in the village, can be allowed to serve as a sravanai puhavar only after he passes a test in one Veda, inclusive of its parisista. The inscription reads *parikshai tantarkke sravanai Panippadahavum*. That the Niyuktas should be 'well tested' suparikshitas is referred to the Narada. The use of the word Parikshai tantar, in Manur seems to conform to the dharma sastra".¹³

The Manur epigraph is a very interesting record of the early Pandya period showing the role played by the dharma sastra in Tamil land. Whether it was the northern part of Tamil land or the southern most part, whether the territory was ruled by the Pallavas, the Pandyas, the Cholas or other dynasties the village set up retained its constitutional authority derived from the Dharma sastra.¹⁴

"Unsettled and chronic cases were alone taken to the royal court".¹⁵ That Srivallabha practiced Dharama is noticed in inscriptions. The Erukkangudi inscription of Srivallabha speaks about "dharma, i.e., *aram, porul, and inbam* as

they are not disagreeable to people belonging to any religion by their very nature".¹⁶ Further Chittannavasal inscription of Srivallabha depicts the scene of dispensing justice conducted by the primaeval monarch (i.e., Mahavira?) raised with pillars bearing beatifying damsels.¹⁷

Two interesting epigraphs from Tamil country dating back to 8th - 9th centuries A.D. give us a glimpse into the disposal of civil suits by the king himself. Both of them relate to the early Pandyan period. One is the celebrated Velvikudi grant¹⁸ of Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaian and the other is the Dalavaypuram grant¹⁹ of Parantaka Viranarayanan.

The Kilmattur inscription of Virapandaya throws light on the specific qualifications of the king's minister: "Thamilavel, the minister of clever conduct has grasped the truths from the original works like the six darsanas (the six darsanas are the Six philosophical systems comprising the two mamosas - purva and uttara - nyaya, vaiseshika, Sankhya, and yoga;) the three Tamils (the three Tamils are literature (Iyal) Music (Isai) and Drama (Nataka) and Sanskrit works of the same standard, work on law, best Puranas and Patanjala, a work by patanjali".²⁰

The lands which were donated by Mudukudumi Peruvaludi were deprived during the Kalabhra period - Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaian acknowledged the privileges.²¹ The following details of Velvikudi grant of Parantaka Nedunjadaian is worth noticing. A descendent of the donee, whose name is given as Korkai Kilan Kamakkani Narasingan, went to the place of the Pandya ruler Parantaka Nedunjadaian, at Kudal and shouted at the outskirts.²² The king himself heard this appeal, called him in and enquired into the matter. The appellant told the king that after they were deprived of their enjoyment (Kadungon, Avani Sulamani, Seliyan Sendam, Arikesari,

Koccadayan and Rajasimhan), six Pandya rulers had passed away. "This land was given by your ancestor Mudukudumi Peruvaludi. The name of the village is Velvikudi situated in Pakanurkurram. This was removed by the Kalabhras" appealed Narasingan. On hearing this, the king asked the appellant to produce evidence that this was actually in their possession. There upon the appellant showed evidence to prove his rights. The king having satisfied himself, ordered at the spot itself that the village gifted by his ancestor was reconferred by him as well.²³

The Dalavaypuram Plates of Parantaka Viranarayanan also refer to a dispute. In this case the gifted land was misappropriated and an appeal was made to the king. The king restored the right which is the purport of the grant.²⁴

Both the Velvikudi and the Dalavaypuram grants clearly indicate that as early as eighth century A.D. the kings adopted in Tamil country the tenets of dharma sastras in deciding disputes. This would also show in the day to day purchase, pledge and all other transactions relating to property etc. The dharma sastras were the guiding texts and this is testified by the repeated assertion of the rulers that they were followers of Manu.²⁵

From what has been discussed so far, it is clear that the village Sabhas were free to appoint its own court and stipulate the requisite qualification. The absence of any royal order or officer shows that the sabhas were free to act themselves. The Nyayattars in the Sabha (Makkal Sabhai) dealt with the civil and criminal justice in the village. Unsettled and chronic cases were alone taken to the royal court. The king was the upholder of Dharma of law; he did not become the source of law; The kings adopted in Tamil country in the medieval period the tenets of dharma sastras in deciding disputes. The dharma sastras were the guiding texts.

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KILANILAI FORT AND GEOPOLITICS IN MARATHA TANJAVUR

S. Khaja Moideen*

The fort of Kilanilai with its strategic location between Tanjavur and Pudukkottai kingdoms was brought under Tanjavur's control by the Maratha Raja, Pratapasimha in the eighteenth century (say in A.D. 1757). Since then, this fort became a bone of contention between Tanjavur and Pudukotti States.

The scope of this paper is centred around the context of the play of geography-oriented politics by three states in South India: Tanjore, Pudukottai and the Company in respect of the fort of Kilanilai. The fort and district of Kilanilai was looked at by these three states to derive benefits out of possessing it. In a way, the other political developments in Tamil Nadu and South India.

The English East India Company (EEIC) played a powerful role in the politics of the Tamil Country. In 1776 the British Residency was established in Tanjore as a result of signing the

Subsidiary Alliance Treaty¹ between Maratha Raja, Tulajaji and the EEIC. The Tanjore Residents played a substantial role in the geopolitics of Kilanilai Fort.

The Kalanilai fort is located at a distance of 33 kms from Pudukottai town. Vijayaraghava, the last Nayaka ruler of Tanjavur, was its builder. (Seventeenth Century) This extensive but now dilapidated fort,² covering an area of 43.61 acres, is built of laterite; and consists of three small temples meant for worship by the soldiers. Kilanilai means "the eastern gate".

Reputedly, the fort of Kilanilai is known for its strategic value.³ It was here that the three kingdoms of Tanjore, Pudukottai and Ramnad are located within the distance of 50 to 100 kms. Since the Chola days, the army used to March through this fort area. Hence, Vijayaraghava Nayaka of Tanjavur built this frontier fort (garrisoned with

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troops and weapons) to safeguard Tanjavur against the attacks of the Nayaks of Madurai. Besides, Tondaiman of Pudukottai was also a source of trouble. Tanjore Nayaka had a share in the revenue of the pearls from the Gulf of Mannar. The Setupatis of Ramnad also had hold over the pearl trade. When the Marathas sat on Tanjavur throne, they continued to chastise Pudukottai ruler and Setupatis of Ramnad in connection with the collection of tribute and revenue share from the pearl trade.⁴ Kilanilai lies on the approach roads to several other forts. Such had been the locational advantages for the possessor of this fort and politics were played to possess it between Tanjore and Pudukottai States.

The Argument

This paper argues that the East India Company played a crucial role in transferring Kilanilai fort and its district in 1803 from Serfoji II of Tanjavur to the Tondaiman of Pudukottai. The transfer meant differentially for these three participants of Geopolitics. For Tanjore, it meant a loss of a strategic fort, territory and revenue, besides a blow to its political prestige. For Pudukottai, the transfer was an achievement and a 'gift' for being loyal to the Company and helpful in its expansionist activities in the Tamil Country. The motive of the Company needs a careful analysis in the context of Tanjore - British relations from the time of signing the Subsidiary Alliance Treaty. The Company viewed the 'transfer' as further weakening of Maratha Tanjavur. Four years earlier, i.e., in 1799 Serfoji II, Raja of Tanjore alienated his six *subas* to the Company for a sound administration in return for a one-fifth share of the revenues. To begin with Serfoji II resisted the transfer like his predecessors. Finally, the Company persuaded him. It exposed his weak attitude. The role played by the Tanjore Residency through its British Residents is elucidated.

The colonial records of the East India Company like Madras Political Consultations (MPC), Country Correspondence, Military Department (CCMD), Tanjore Residency Records (TRR) preserved in Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai and the Marathi language records (in Modi Script)⁵ originated from Tanjavur Durbar available in Sarasvati Mahal Library and Tamil University, both in Thanjavur are main stay of our information.

Importantly, the readings of these records provide us an insight into the perceptions of the Kilanilai Fort and its district from Tanjore, Madras, Pudukottai sides. These perceptions help us in the construction of the study of a fifty-year period of 'changing fortunes' of Kilanilai fort and its district, say from A.D. 1757 to 1803.

The Perspectives from Tanjavur

The Maratha kings of Tanjavur treasured the possession of the fort and district of Kilanilai. Their policy of a frontier fort that will secure their borders with Pudukottai and Ramnad was a well-calculated move. Besides, the land revenue collected from the countryside was counted. To exercise control over the Setupatis of Ramnad and Zamindars, the Maratha army used to march through the Kilanilai fort, which also served as an arsenal and garrison of Tanjavur.

Pratapasimha Raja

Three documents inform us the historical events associated with Raja Pratapasimha, the Maratha king of Tanjavur. On 23 May 1757, on the orders of Raja Pratapasimha, the Maratha army marched and occupied the country and fort of Kilanilai (KF). In a letter, the Raja wrote to the Governor of Fort St. George that: The Tondaiman of Pudukottai injures the country by carrying away the cattle, and paddy, as well as the seeds, and beats the inhabitants.⁶

The Governor of Madras refers the issue in his reply to the Raja, but interestingly offers no comment. Instead, he urges the Raja to offer 400 or 500 horses to be used in quelling the disturbances in Tinnevely country.

In a letter dated 13 July 1757 interalia, paragraph two, Pratapasimha says that both Tanjore and Pudukottai were the joint allies of the Company. The latter's actions prompted him to send Manoji Rao, Jagapat, army commander, at the head of the Maratha army to take the possession of the fort and its district.⁷ The Raja agreed to recall Manoji when the Tondaiman eschews his evil designs in the area. In other words, Pratapasimha justifies his action. Pudukottai, earlier occupied it. Now the Raja wants its vacation; in fact he occupied it.

Thus, the fort remained under the jurisdiction of Tanjore, say from 1757 to 1781. Then, in October 1781 the Tondaiman re-occupied it and part of Arantangi district had passed under Pudukottai's jurisdiction and enjoyed the produce there of. Therefore, we can say that KF was changing hands. The right to corrective action had been asserted by Tanjore Kings.

Raja Tuljaji and Kilanilai Fort

The reign of Raja Tuljaji witnessed several significant events in South India, which affected Maratha Tanjavur. In alliance with the East India Company, the Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali Wallajah invaded and occupied Tanjore territories in 1773. The Court of Directors disapproved the Nawabs Tanjore possession and 'restored' it to Raja Tuljaji in 1776. Subsequently, a treaty of Subsidiary Alliance was signed between Tuljaji and the Company. A British Resident was appointed to stay in Tanjore Durbar. The Subsidiary troops were recruited and stationed at the capital, Tanjavur. During the years 1773-76, the Kilanilai fort and its district was controlled by the Nawab, who enjoyed the revenues.

In 1783, during the second Anglo-Mysore War the Mysore army of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan marched into the Tanjavur Kingdom. The English, Arcot Nawab and Maratha king were the allies. Hyder Ali, occupied and held Kilanilai fort in 1783.⁸ Earlier, Tanjore King had native army; now he has to depend upon the Company's troops. Arcot was threatened by Hyder Ali.

This was the political scenario in which Raja Tuljaji has to take up the issue of Kilanilai with the Governor of Madras, Lord Macartney. John Sullivan was the British Resident at the Maratha court of Tuljaji, who involved himself in this issue. Triumbuck Sambajee Pandit served as the Raja's *Vakil* (an ambassador like representative) at Fort St. George, Madras. Correspondence followed and circulated among these official power structures.

In a letter dated 9 April 1783, Raja Tuljaji wrote to his *Vakil* saying that the Tondaiman of Pudukottai usurped the district of Kilanilai along with its fort and part of Arantangi district and enjoys the produce there of (October 1781). The Raja surprisingly complains the indifferent attitude of the British Resident in getting back these two

areas. There is a reference to subsidiary troops. Tondaiman collected a revenue of 76,000 Chuckrams were collected in the last one and half years. The stores and provisions in these two forts at the time of occupation amounted to 2 lakhs of rupees. Tondaiman took all these resources to himself.

It is interesting to note that Tuljaji wants the Company to deduct 76,000 Chuckrams from the annual payment of four lakhs of pagodas (annual tribute).

The Raja insisted the 'restoration' of the country and fort of Kilanilai and Arantangi. In a letter dated 25 April 1783, Tuljaji wrote to Governor Macartney to restore him the said fort and make good the losses. The south side of Tanjore territory was subjected to depredations by the people of Tondaiman.⁹ Perceptively, Tuljaji 'felt' the need for three battalions of native sepoys to be kept and made use of exclusively by himself. The idea to regain lost territory was pregnant to have a native army under Raja's command. He wrote to the Governor in this regard. As a signatory to Subsidiary Alliance, Tanjore Raja expressed 'surprise' at the Company's silence at his request for regaining a frontier fort. Instead the British troops were posted at the palace as gatekeepers.

The Maratha king gave a brief account of the 'shifting fortunes'¹⁰ of the Kilanilai fort, whose political pasts were traced.

The king eagerly awaited the response of the Madras government. Lord Macartney replied that the affairs of Arantangi will be settled, once tranquility returns after the Mysore war. There was no mention of Kilanilai.¹¹ However, the Governor praised Tuljaji for prompt tribute payments and solicited his financial help in financing the ongoing war with Mysore Sultans. The reply certainly disappointed Tulajaji since there was no sign of recovering Kilanilai fort. (18th July, 1783).

Raja Serfoji II (1798-1832)

The management of Tanjore *subas* was handed over by Raja Serfoji II to the Company in 1799. In return, the Company assured 'good governance' and the payment of one-fifth of the collected revenues to the Maratha King. Tanjore city, fort, some villages, choultries (spread throughout) remained under Raja's jurisdiction.

The issue of Kilanilai continued under Serfoji II. Meanwhile, the revolt at Panjalamkurichi and Sivaganga generally termed as 'South Indian Rebellion, 1800-1801' posed an open challenge to the British authority. Raja Serfoji II favoured the British Victory over the rebellious zamindars. Specifically, the assistance and stand of the Tondaiman of Pudukottai in support of the English Company should be noted. The details are enumerated in a later section.

The Dealings with Pudukottai

The 'little kingdom' of Pudukottai was a 'Protected State' of the English Company. The British Resident at Tanjore was also in-charge of the political affairs of Pudukottai. Complete internal autonomy was enjoyed. Nicholas Dirks have a different view.

After the suppression of the South Indian Rebellion of 1800-1801, the Madras Government wished to hear and settle the claim of Tondaiman over Kilanilai. Subsequently, Captain William Blackburne (the British Resident) at Tanjore was asked to conduct an enquiry into Tondaiman's claims. The commanding officer of Tiruchirapalli division also was assigned the same job.

Blackburne - Tondaiman Meeting

Blackburne and Tondaiman met each other on 21 June 1803 on a frontier village in Tanjore territory. The agenda of the meeting was to discuss about Kilanilai and other matters. To begin with, Tondaiman Raja was tense doubting the intension of the Company rule. He re-affirmed his 'loyalty' to the British. Blackburne eased the Raja and conveyed him the good sentiments of the Governor, Lord Clive. Then Tondaiman felt secure and gave a brief account of the services rendered by the Rajas of Pudukottai and himself to the British ever since their first contact at Trichinopoly. As evidences, the Tondaiman showed the original instruments of claim over Kilanilai fort, which were examined by the Resident. Prominent British army commanders like colonel Braithwaite, Captain Clive, Major Lawrence, Captains Smith & Wood, Saunders, Lord Pigot, Charles Smith, General Coote, Lord Macartney and their successive commandants at Trichinopoly wrote these two hundred and odd letters in their engagements with Tondaiman. (1757-1803).

In a letter dated 20 May 1803, Captain Blackburne wrote to the Chief Secretary,¹² on the services and good conduct rendered to the British army during the Sivagangai Rebellion of 1800-1801. This letter proved the timely help of Tondaiman in suppressing the rebels of Sivagangai. Importantly, Tondaiman sent intelligence and opinions on the particular nature of the war, which were useful in preparing swift counter-strategies.

On completion of enquiries and examination of all documents relating to Kilanilai Blackburne recommended to the Governor any kind of favour or distinction to Tondaiman. As a response to the enquiries submitted by the Resident, Lord Clive, Governor of Madras in Council passed a Minute on 5 July 1803. Accordingly, the district and fort of Kilanilai was to be transferred to the Raja of Pudukottai. Two separate letters were written to Pudukottai as well as Tanjore Rajas.¹³ Captain Blackburne acted as the chief mediator. Raja Serfoji-II of Tanjore was convinced by Governor stating that the transfer meant a loss of revenue to a "small oitent" from his province! Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, the Rajah of Pudukottai was all-jubilant at the transfer. Tondaiman was informed that the transfer of the district and fort of Kilanilai to him was subject to the approval of East India Company's Court of Directors, at London. Tondaiman has to give one elephant as an annual 'tribute'.¹⁴

Eventually, on 11 July 1803 the Company transferred the fort and district of Kilanilai to Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman of Pudukottai and his successors. Besides, Tondaiman was to receive two golden chubdar sticks and a white umbrella as distinctions of honour in the name of Lord Clive in appreciation of his services to the company. But the Raja never paid the annual tribute of one elephant,¹⁵ which provision was ultimately cancelled by the court of directors in 1823.

Conclusion

Tanjore Kings constituted the original owner of the fort. The strategic location of the Kilanilai fort was the cynosure of Pudukottai and the English East India Company. Curiously, during the Sivagangai rebellion (1800-1801), the Company possessed it, though it belonged to Serfoji II. The role played by Sullivan and Blackburne who served as British Residents at Tanjore was substantial.

The company ultimately 'ceded' this fort to its ally Tondaiman, who delivered Vira Pandiya Kattabomman, Palayakkaran of Panchalamkurichi into the hands of the British; and crucial help at the hard times of Sivagangai rebellion.

Finally, it is imperative to conclude that from Tanjore's point of view, the transfer was a solid loss of a strategic and frontier fort of Kilanilai

and the villages surrounding it. This demonstrates the on-going imperial programme of the Company by further weakening Maratha Tanjore as this loss was preceded by the loss of six Subas to the British. Politically, the transfer was a blow to the prestige of Raja Serfoji II, who could not halt the transfer. This picture emerges in the larger context of Tanjore - British relations.

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TUTICORIN UNDER THE PORTUGUESE RULE (1532-1658 A.D.): A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

C. Veeramuthu*

Introduction

Tuticorin, a port city of Tamil Nadu is situated on the Eastern Coast of Thoothukudi district in South India. Geographically Tuticorin is on the North west shore of the Gulf of Mannar,

near pamben passage and between the mouth of Tamraparani and Veyppar rivers and it is a terminus of the Southern Railways. An account of Tuticorin under the Portuguese rule in historical perspective is discussed in this paper.

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Before the Arrival of Portuguese

Tuticorin might have been a Trading centre in the second century A.D., since Ptolemy mentions this as Sosikourai in 130 A.D. After the early Pandyas, Tuticorin might have been under the control of the later Cholas. Then it became one of the chief trading centres under the later Pandyas.¹

The Paravas were the original inhabitants of the seacoast of the Pandyan kingdom and their pre-occupation was pearl fishery. The Paravas paid tribute to the successive Pandyan rulers since the latter gave protection to them.²

During the later Pandya period, kayal became the Head Quarters of Arabs who were operating trade from the Malabar Coast. The Pandyan Monarchs extended great favours to the Arab merchants as done to others to facilitate the trade to be successfully conducted. The Arabs imported horses from Arabia for the Pandyan Kings and got pearls, precious stones in exchange.³ The Arabs were held in high esteem in the councils of Pandyans. They also had matrimonial relations with of the Paravas.⁴

The decline of the Pandyan power and the humiliation the Pandyas suffered at the hands of Muslim invaders from north India encouraged the Islamic chieftains to force the Paravas to embrace Islam. Moreover, the Moors, as they were called then, were very powerful on the sea and they became very stronger by the help rendered to them by the Zamorin of Calicut.⁵

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Moors and their adherents took to the diving of pearls, an occupation which had hitherto been the monopoly of the Paravas of Tuticorin the native of the coast.⁶ The empire of Vijayanagar had by now acquired almost the whole of South India except Travancore.⁷ Thus, Moors oppressed the Paravas and they waited for an opportunity to strike back the Moors. At a pearl fishery held at Tuticorin, the Paravas had purposely picked up a quarrel with the Moors and killed hundreds of them. They even burnt their Vessels and remained masters of coast for sometimes. They had expected trouble from Moors at anytime. At this juncture, the Portuguese power in India had come to stay.

Portuguese in Tuticorin

The Portuguese defeated the Zamorin of Calicut; in 1502 A.D. and established themselves in Cochin.⁸ They were very eager to seize the South east coast and the pearl fishery therein. The time for their expansion of the- South east coast was ripe. The Paravas heard of the rising power of the Portuguese on the sea and success over the Zamorin of Calicut and they decided to seek their help against the Moors.⁹

When the condition of the Tuticorin was like this, the Portuguese mission under Manual-De-Fries sailing cape of Comarin (1523-25) in a bid to search for the remains of St. Thomas on the Coromandal coast landed in Tuticorin.¹⁰

The Portuguese mission understood the problems faced by the Paravas against the Moors. The oppressed Paravas when approached the Portuguese mission for assistance, the mission advised the Paravas to seek the help of Portuguese Captain at Cochin. Accordingly some of the key persons among the Paravas (called Patangattis (or) Jatitalaivaus) preceded Cochin and appealed to the Portuguese Captain Dr. Pedro Vaz De Amaral for help. The king of Portugal John III, when informed, also ordered the Captain to provide necessary military help to the Paravas against the Moors.¹¹

On the advice of John III, the king of Portugal, the Portuguese Captain at Cochin with a fleet commanded by Captain Joao Froles accompanied by Micheal Vaz, the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Goa with other priests went to Tuticorin, defeated the Moors and restored pearl fishery to the Paravas. The Paravas were baptized by Micheal Vaz. The Paravas accepted as citizens of the king of Portugal in 1532. Thus the Portuguese power was established in Tuticorin.¹²

Administration of Portuguese in Tuticorin

The political Government of Portuguese in India (Cochin) appointed a military Chief as captain to superintend the pearl fishery of Tuticorin. The Paravas of Tuticorin agreed to pay 1500 Cruzados as tax for their protection. The captain of Tuticorin obtained from each time of fisheries a profit of 6000 Rix dollars for the king of Portugal leaving the remainder of the income from the pearl fishery for the Paravas.¹³

The Paravas who continued to follow their own religion condemned the baptized Paravas. However the timely arrival of St. Francis Xavier saved the situation. St. Xavier established Tuticorin as his Head - Quarter. By his patient service among the people and miracles he believably performed, he converted the entire Parava community to the Christian religion in course of time. After this, the Paravas remained sincere Christians and had many monasteries in Tuticorin.¹⁴

The political Government of Portuguese kept themselves the command of Tuticorin, the pearl fishery and the sovereignty over the Paravas. The Nayaks of Madurai had become the ruler of Madurai by this time. In a short time afterwards, the Nayaks captured all the lower regions from Kanyakumari to Thanjavur, defeated all the Princes and local chiefs and obtained the sovereignty of all these countries; they also wished to subject the Paravas of Tuticorin. The Portuguese opposed this. The Portuguese, often being not powerful enough effectively to resist, left lands with Priests and the Paravas and shifted their interest to the Gulf of Mannar and settled in Jaffnapatnam, from where they sent vessels to Tuticorin. This caused some disquiet as a result of which revenue of Nayaks was ruined, trade circumscribed and almost annihilated. The Nayaks of Madurai in the circumstance left Tuticorin open to the Portuguese.¹⁵

From 1563 to 1581 A.D., the Portuguese allowed the Paravas to engage in pearl fishery and trade in Tuticorin. The Moors left out of Tuticorin. The discontented Moors who could not pursue the pearl fishery trade became sea Pirates.¹⁶

The growth of the power of Portuguese in Tuticorin caused anxiety to Nayaks of Madurai. Hence, Muthukrishnappa Nayak became a strong

ally of the Maravar Country (Ramanad). It was presumably to frighten the Paravas who acknowledged no master other than the king of Portugal. The Nayaks of Madurai sent, by about the middle of the sixteenth century, Vadugas the tax forming people of Nayaks to raid Tuticorin. These Vadugas were referred as Badugas by St. Xavier. This attempt was not successful.¹⁷

When, Thirumalai Nayak came to the power in 1623 A.D., he could not tolerate the Portuguese power in Tuticorin. So he entered into an agreement with Mudaliar Pillai Marakayar, the headman of the Moorish Community to reside near the Portuguese Government house at Tuticorin. The Portuguese did not object to this superintendency of the agent of the Nayaks of Madurai as long as it did not affect their revenue. When the Nayaks of Madurai turned their attention towards Tuticorin, there was already a rivalry going on between the Portuguese and the Dutch in Tuticorin.¹⁸

The Dutch Defeated the Portuguese in Tuticorin

The peaceful and profitable trade the Portuguese had at Tuticorin evoked the jealousy of the Dutch. They made their first appearance in Ceylon in 1602 and made unsuccessful expedition to capture Tuticorin on 7th February 1649. Again in 1658 A.D. a superior fleet of Dutch entered Tuticorin harbour and succeeded in capturing it.¹⁹

Conclusion

The Portuguese power was established in 1532 as a result of confrontation between the Paravas and the Moors. The Moors were defeated by the Portuguese. The whole Paravas were converted into Christianity. The Paravas of Tuticorin accepted the King of Portuguese as their sovereignty from 1532 to 1658 and paid taxes to Portugal from pearl fisheries.

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KHILAFAT ACTIVITIES IN MADRAS CITY

D. Abul Fazal *

Introduction

Khalifat, the Muslim Empire founded by Muhammed, the Prophet, stood extended far and wide from the beginning of the 8th Century to the end of the 19th Century, when European powers made onslaughts on it under the garb of Nationalism, Democracy and Self-Determination. With the dawn of 20th Century further onslaughts were made and at the end of the First World War the extinction of the Khalifat was almost a certainty. The Khilafat Movement was a response of the Indian Muslims to the British participation in the disintegration of the Muslim Empire and an attempt to sustain the Khalifat. The paper is a study of the response of the people of Madras City to the Movement and its impact.

Why the Kilafat Movement

The Khalif was the religious as well as the political and military head of the Muslim state founded by Muhammed, the Prophet. He was next only to Allah and the Prophet, Muhammed.¹

The glory and prestige of the Khalifat lasted to the second half of the 19th Century, when it was the turn of the Christian European Powers to wreck vengeance on Turkey under the garb of ideological concepts of Nationalism, Democracy and Self-Determination. They aided and abetted - many the times occupied - the North African and the Near Eastern territories against the Khalifat. This narrowed down the extent of the Khalifat to a

considerable extent. The Muslim reaction to this was an Young Turk Movement in Turkey, Pan-Islamism around the Islamic World and the Khilafat Movement in India

Khilafat Movement Becoming Aggressive

Muslim opposition to the British rule in India was virulent and consistent from the very beginning. Of course, the growth of Aligarh School of thought and the Muslim League brought about collaboration with the British. However, with the rise of Muslim middle class in the second decade of the 20th Century with its leaders- Abul Kalam Azad, the Ali Brothers - Muhammad Ali and Shaukath Ali - antagonism with the British and collaboration with the Congress became preferable to the Muslims. This, along with the Muslim grievances over the repartition of Bengal in 1911 and over the British support to Italy in the Italio-Turkish war and to the Balkan States in the Balkan War of 1912 and the British declaring war against Turkey in support of Serbia in 1914, brought about a rapprochement between the Congress and the Muslim League in the form of Lucknow Pact and aggravated the anti-British feelings of the Muslims that attaining Dominion Self-Government became the aim of the Muslim League and it formed Sub-Committees to work for "Home Rule" in the Presidencies² and spoke about not cooperating with the Government and about renouncing their titles and honorary posts.³

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The complete surrender of Turkey in November 1918 and the statements of the British statesmen that Turkey should suffer for her 'rash acts' further aggravated the anti-British feelings of the Muslims that the All-India Khilafat Committee was formed in September 1919 and it came to be called Central Khilafat Committee in November 1919.⁴ The All-India Khilafat Committee organized the First Khilafat Day on 17 October 1919. Despite its successful observance in India, exhibiting the Muslim solidarity against the ill-treatment of Turkey, Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, violating his earlier promise, observed that Turkey could not be treated in a way different from other countries".⁵ Obviously the Treaty of Sevres imposed very harsh terms on Turkey, disintegrating its Empire and subjecting the Khalif to a High Commission appointed by the Allied Powers. This became the last straw on the camel back and the Indian Muslims began to indulge in the anti-British activities in a very aggressive way that "the Khilafat Movement became a steadily increasing danger to the peace of the country".⁶

Gandhi's Involvement

Gandhi, "fully realised the value for his own purposes of the excitement caused by the Khilafat question. He lost no opportunity to stimulate it".⁷ He began to guide the Muslims. Impressed by Gandhi's involvement in the Movement, "the Muslims became stronger supporters of Gandhi than were his fellow Hindus".⁸ Gandhi gave a shape to the Movement and a resolution was passed in the Khilafat Conference at Allahabad, in June 1920, to launch Non-Cooperation Movement to redress the Muslim grievances over the Khilafat and demanding the revision of the Turkish peace treaty, i.e., the Treaty of Sevres. On 1 August 1920 the Non-Cooperation Movement was launched for the Khilafat Cause.⁹ Hartal was successfully observed throughout the country on that day.

The Khilafat Movement in Tamil Nadu

The Non-Cooperation Movement, launched for the Khilafat cause, had a few aspects. They were the observance of hartals, Khilafat Days, surrendering of titles and honorary posts, boycott of educational institutions, courts and Legislative councils, picketing of liquor shops and nonpayment of taxes etc. The response of Tamil

Nadu to the call of the Central Khilafat Committee was overwhelming that it bewilders the concept of political backwardness of Tamil Nadu. In fact Tamil Nadu was much ahead and exhibited much aggressiveness in carrying on anti-British activities in support of Khilafat cause. Yakub Hassan and Abdul Masjid Sharar were the live-wires of the Khilafat Movement in Tamil Nadu. They formed a Khilafat Committee for Madras Presidency. Khuddus Batcha was its president and C. Abdul Hakkim of Vellore was its vice-president.¹⁰

Khilafat Days

On the lines laid down by the All India Khilafat Committee the first Khilafat Day was observed in Madras on 17 October 1919, in a grand scale to make the British Government to know and realise the depth of the anti-British feelings of the Muslims. "Posters were displayed in Urdu, Tamil and English inviting Hindus and Muhammadans to participate in the Day's celebrations and most of the shops both Hindu and Muhammadan were closed.... Prayers were conducted in all the mosques and special sermons were preached on the past glories of Islam. In the evening, procession carrying flags and banners from all parts of the city met at the beach, and the crowd, which included many Hindus, was estimated to have numbered nearly 20,000.... Resolutions similar to those adopted at the recent Lucknow Conference were adopted".¹¹ One of the resolutions dissuaded the Muslims from attending peace celebrations.¹²

Yakub Hassan, a towering personality of the Muslim Community, and Abdul Masjid Sharar, the editor of Quami Report, wanted to give intensity to the movement. So Yakub Hassan organised small meetings in Private houses at which the position of Islam and the prospects of Bolshevism were discussed.¹³ Abdul Masjid Sharar was making efforts to rouse Muhammadans to make a great demonstration to impress on the Government. They organised a meeting in the beach on 7 March 1920 and confirmed that 19 March 1920 would be observed as second Khilafat day, as directed by the Central Khilafat Committee. The inability of the Government to maintain natural activities was exposed because of the observance of complete and successful hartal on that day.¹⁴ There was also a massive meeting on that day in Madras beach attended by volunteers from various.

Madras Khilafat Conference

Yakub Hassan and Abdul Masjid Sharar organised the Khilafat Conference in Madras in April 1920. Shaukat Ali addressed the audience on the Madras beach on 17 April 1920. He made a memorable speech, called upon the Muslims to lay down their lives for the sake of Khilafat, persuaded them to give up titles, induced the police and the army to give up service and the people to stop payment of taxes. "The effect of the speech was to work the audience up to a state bordering on frenzy; there were many tears and much cursing of the British; and one gentle-man publicly announced that he was giving up his title of Khan Sahib".¹⁵ In fact the speech was so effective that it incited the troops to mutiny.¹⁶

Two aspects of the conference were worth noticing as they revealed the mood of the Khilafatists in Madras City. First the reception given to Shaukath Ali and another collection of fund in the conference. The reception given to Shaukath Ali on arrival in Madras was very enthusiastic. Four to five thousand Muhammadans had assembled in the railway station to receive him. Two Hundred young men, in Khaki uniforms with Crescent badges on their caps, called the Muhammadan Volunteer Corps, maintained Peace. The collection in the conference amounted to Rs.85,000/- whereas the Two aspects of the conference were worth noting as they revealed the mood of the Khilafatists in Madras City. First the reception given to Shaukath Ali and another the collection of fund in the conference. The reception given to Shaukath Ali on arrival in Madras was very enthusiastic. Four to five thousand Muhammadans had assembled in the railway station to receive him. Two Hundred young men, in Khaki uniforms with Crescent badges on their caps, called the Muhammadan Volunteer Corps, maintained Peace. The collection in the conference amounted to Rs.85,000/- whereas the collection for the Punjab Memorial Fund was just Rs.6,000/- until then.¹⁷

Publication of Peace Terms

The terms of Turkish Peace emanating from the conference at Sam Remo were published in India on 15 May 1920. The terms frustrated the Muslims and forced them to indulge in extremist

activities".¹⁸ The terms were vigorously criticised and Great Britain was freely attacked for being a party to them by the Central Khilafat Committee which threatened that "there is no rest for India till the wrong is redressed".

The reaction of the Muslims of Madras was not less vigorous. Yakub Hassan resigned his membership in the Legislative Council, Madras Corporation and from other bodies".¹⁹ A Municipal Councillor and an Honourary Magistrate also resigned their offices. The Muslim feelings in Madras were so agog with anti-British feelings that journals with moderate views like Jaridah-i-Rozgar suffered from fall of circulation and faced extinction, while the journal Quarni Report with its extremist views flourished well with its increased circulation.²⁰

Provincial Conference at Tinnevely

Muslims of Tamil Nadu became politically very active by now that they attended the Provincial conference held at Tinnevely in June 1920, in a large number where the resolution for Non-cooperation for the Khilafat cause was passed despite the opposition to it by the president of the conference, S.Srinivasa Iyengar. Muslims from Madras City contributed much to the conference in the form of men and money.

Submission of Ultimatum to the Viceroy

The Central Khilafat Committee submitted an ultimatum to the Viceroy in June 1920 and warned of launching of Non-Cooperation Movement if their demand with regard to Khilafat was not conceded. Of the 92 signatories to the memorial 47 were the Muslims of Tamil Nadu. Of them 16 were the Muslims of Madras City.²¹

Launching of Non-Cooperation Movement

August 1920 marked an important turning point in the Khilafat Movement. It was on this day the Non-Cooperation Movement was launched for the Khilafat cause despite the rejection of it by the Madras Provincial Congress Committee at the instance of vested interest. The third Khilafat Day was observed on that day and the hartal organised on that day was complete and successful. There was a very general closing of the shops in Madras.²²

In accordance to the Non-cooperation resolution, there were resignations of honorary offices.²³ Saiyyid Yusuf, who was elected to the place vacated by Yakub Hassan, refused to take the oath of allegiance. *The Muhammadan*, a journal that had been in animated suspension for sometime, was revived with an article "Khilafat Killing Treaty".

Feelings in support of the Non-Cooperation Movement were so agog that young enthusiasts indulged in threatening title holders. One leading Muhammadan was publicly insulted in a mosque and another was threatened that if he did not resign his title, he would be publicly humiliated by having filth thrown at him. There were also threats that Muhammadan burial grounds would be denied to the title holders if they did not resign. Several resignations came thereafter.²⁴

The business of Sadulla Badsha, who took the seat vacated by Yakub Hassan in the municipal Corporation, was boycotted by other Muhammadan merchants and he came for a great deal of obloquy.

Gandhiji's Visit

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived at Madras on 12 August 1920. They were given a grand welcome at the station. They addressed a meeting on the beach. Some 20,000 attended the meeting, an unheard of crowd until then

Special Session of the Congress

In September 1920 a large number of delegates were to be taken to the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta to make sure that the Non-Cooperation resolution was passed by the Congress. So "a special train freely placarded with the notice "Khilafat Special" carried from Madras some 200 delegates, majority of them being Muhammadans from Tamil Districts. Of them 161 Voted in favour of Non-Cooperation resolution. Of them 125 were Muslims".²⁵

Boycott of Educational Institutions

Yakub Hassan's wife and another lady started a "Ladies Khilafat Society" with the object of Persuading mothers to take their Children away from Government Schools. Attempts were made to induce the students of the Muhammadan College at Madras, to follow the lead of Aligarh students.²⁶

Because of the efforts of the Khilafatists School boys absented themselves despite the dissuasion by the Masters.²⁷

Boycott of Elections

In these circumstances the General Elections for the Legislative Council were to take place. The Khilafat agitators were very active in Madras to dissuade the voters and to force them not to take part in the elections. Because of their efforts polling was very low in Madras. In Madras city only 75 out of 656 Muhammadans Voted.²⁸ Some of the booths returned even blank ballot bags symptomatic of the spirit of the public.²⁹

Continuance of Boycott of Educational Institutions

After the elections the Khilafat agitators continued to carry on intensive campaign for the boycott of schools and colleges. There had been several meetings of the students in Madras where inflammatory speeches were made. There was also an increasing tendency for students to attend meetings and to howl down such speakers as they did not approve of. At one of these meetings Yakub Hassan declared "War" on the British Government. He said that agitation had "now" got to be continued till "Swaraj" was obtained, whatever happened with regard to the Punjab disturbances and the Khilafat question. Some further attempts were made to organise the Madras students into boycotting the classes. They were led by Muslim Volunteers through Madras with banners bearing such mottos as "Be poor but free" or "Boycott Connaught."

Boycott of the Duke of Connaught

As part of their intense agitation the Khilafatist decided to Boycott Duke of Connaught's state entry in to Madras. On the arrival of the Duke at Madras, while the civil ceremony of welcoming the prince was going on in a typical oriental splendour in one part of the beach, at another part a huge concourse of Non-cooperators, numbering easily more than half a lakh had gathered to say that they did not associate themselves with the sentiment which was being given expression to at the other end of the beach. The boycott of the Duke of Connaught served as an eye opener to the officialdom which had misreckoned Madras as docile and meek.³⁰

Boycott of the Prince of Wales

The proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to Madras in January 1922 made the movement more aggressive. Volunteers were enrolled to organise hartals on 13 January 1922, the day of the arrival of the Prince of Wales to Madras. On that day complete hartal was observed wherein even petty bazaars in the remotest parts of the city were closed,³¹ despite the Government of Wellington trying frantically to nullify the efforts of the Non-Cooperators to organise the hartal. When the Prince arrived in Madras, a grand reception for and a loud protest against the Prince were taking place simultaneously in one and the same place in the Marina Beach. In other parts of the city "some persons were obstructed on their way down to harbour or to places along which the Royal Prince was to visit. Train cars and private vehicles were stoned and their occupants abused and in some cases ill-treated. Loyalist volunteers and others were attacked; the house of the president of Corporation was surrounded by a violent mob and damaged. A determined on-slaught was made on two cinema theatres in the Mount Road".³² The army was called in to help the Civil Police in combating the "forces of outlawing". Quiet was not restored until 3 p.m. by then two rioters had been killed and two wounded by gunfire.³³

The boycott of the Prince was so vigorous that it caused a flutter in the far off England where even the "man in the street" who normally knew and cared very little about Indian Politics deeply resented it.³⁴

Continuance of the Movement

Gandhi called off the Movement after the Chauri Chaura incident of February 1922. But the Khilafatists decided to continue the Movement vigorously. There was popular excitement and very strong volunteer activities in Madras City. Noting the intensity of the Movement, the Governor felt the Movement to be revolutionary and indiscipline causing among the masses,³⁵ while Gandhi observed "Madras and Andra are slowly but surely creeping up and I should not be surprised if the Dravidians came up to the level of Bengal".³⁶

The Suppression of the Movement

The Government went all out to suppress the Movement. It indulged in all kinds of activities - suppressive, repressive, deceitful and forceful - to put an end to the Movement. The suppressive and repressive activities of the Government were many and cruelly severe. The Government not only used all the resources at their disposal to suppress the "organized outrage and rioting" but also used all the preventive measures available to check "the disorder". But the severity of repression made the Movement more aggressive and enduring rather than suppressing it. The force behind the Khilafat Movement subsided only after the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which gave favourable terms to the Turks.

Thus Madras city, with a considerable Muhammadan population and enlightened leadership of Yakub Hassan and Abdul Masjid Sharar, actively supported the Khilafat Movement, sustained it against all odds of suppression and helped the cause of Gandhi, Non-Cooperation and Nationalism.

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PERIYA WAGHABOO - THE KAVALKARAR OF SIRKALI AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT - THE EARLY PHASE OF RESISTANCE

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Extensive research has already been carried out regarding the establishment of British rule over Tamil Nadu, and about the struggles organized by the local rulers and poligors of Tamil Nadu against the British East India Company. Starting from Dr. K. Rajayan's *Rise and Fall of the Poligors of Tamilnadu* (University of Madras, Madras, 1974) and Dr.S.Kadhirvel's *A History of the Maravas* (Madurai Publishing House, Madurai 1977) there is a growing body of literature approaching this subject from different dimensions. It is very interesting to note that a very recent work by P.Veluchamy *Porkalangalum Irundakalangalam* (in Tamil) (*Golden Ages and Dark Ages*), Kalasuvadu publication, Nagercoil, 2006 approaches the anti British struggle of Marudhu brothers of Sivaganga from subaltern angle. Beyond the frontiers of academic domain the names such as Pooli Thevan, the poligor of Nerkattumseval, Veera Pandiya Kattabomman the poligor of Panchalamkuruchi, Marudhu Pandian the ruler of Sivaganga and Marudhanayagam alais Khanshabib of Madurai have become household

names in the Tamil society, for the very reason that they have fought against the colonial government. However, there is no specific work on the resistance of the kavalkarars of Tamilnadu against the alien domination. In this paper, an attempt is made to elucidate the anti British struggle of Periya Waghadoo kavalkarar of Sirkali who was invariably labeled as a 'rebel' in the British records.

The word Kaval means "watch" and is also used to denote the functionary.¹ It was an ancient institution of Tamil Nadu, and in a much restricted sense it may be compared with the present day police system. Ample references are available regarding kaval system in Sangam literature, and in the inscriptions of Pallava, Chola and Pandya kings. The terms like Ur Kappar (Protector of the Village) in Purananooru, a sangam literature and Nadu Kaval (nadu means bigger or wider territorial division) Padyi ka val (Padi means village or land) and Perum Padi Kaval (Perum means bigger or wider) in the inscriptions of kings of medieval Tamil Nadu proved the existence of kaval

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system in Tamil Nadu right from the sangam period. Those who were engaged in this duty were known as kaval karars² (guardian or protector).

Regarding Padi Kaval Prof K.A.Nilakanda Sastri had observed that "the terms Perum Padi kaval and Mer-Padi-Kaval are sometimes employed and these are perhaps to indicate the wider sphere of their police duties or their higher status as compared to the ordinary Padi-Kaval of the village".³

During the times of political instability these kavalkarars of different categories became more powerful in their regions and practically independent of the higher level power centres.⁴ This was a common phenomenon, found expression through out the history of Tamil Nadu irrespective of the three common periodisation.

Kaval system as a power to be reckon with continued its existence during the reign of Vijayanagar Empire, Madurai Nayaks and the Nawabs in Tamil Nadu. Nicholas B.Dirks in his *Hallow Crown* observed that, "below the regional kings of the great mandalams - ranged from Ramanathapuram and Pudukkottai on the one hand to the tiny estates of certain Tirunelveli Palaykarars process of becoming a little king probably includes certain kavalkarars (protection chiefs) as well for example the Maravar Kavalkarars of Kalakkatu and Nankuneri regions of Tirunelveli".⁵

Pamela G.Price while dealing with the political structure of Ramnad Kingdom records that "Eighteenth Century Ramnad was a collection of numerous domains, those of warrior chiefs of various designation (Palaiyaklcar or aracu kavalkar)...".⁶

Before the establishment of British supremacy in Tamil Nadu, Kaval system was in operation throughout Tamil Nadu and even in other parts of Madras Presidency.⁷ After the downfall of the Nayak kingdom of Madurai and before the establishment of British East India company's rule, when the Nawab of Arcot was struggling with the Poligors to establish his supremacy, when there were so many conflicts between various contending parties for political power, these kavalkarars became a power to be reckoned with in their areas of control. Specifically in the non-poligori tracts they were highly

independent more powerful and extraordinarily influential. A few of them had their own fortifications and armed retainers and one such was the Periya Waghadoo the kaval chief of Sirkali in Thanjavur district.⁸

Functions of Kavalkarars

In general, there were two important categories of kavalkarars i.e. Head kavalkarars (Men kavalkarar, Arasu Kavalkarar) and Subordinate kaval karars.⁹

The primary function of a kavalkarar whether head kavalkarar or subordinate kavalkarar was to protect the grain cattle, standing crops and other domestic properties of the inhabitants and to guard the public places like temples, highways, markets, tradefares, choultries alid to keep eye over the strangers and travelers.¹⁰ If any robbery occurred the head kavalkarar with the assistance of his subordinate kavalkarars. launched an investigation and tried to find out the culprit and recover what was stolen. In case of failure, they have to compensate the loss. In this way, the head kavalkarar assumed police and judicial powers.¹¹

Before the establishment British supremacy over Tamil Nadu and the creation of its own police machinery, kaval system was the native system of police administration, a powerful machinery functioning throughout Tamil Nadu. The kaval system was an inevitable integral part of the society whether urban or rural. Thus in the social structure of pre-colonial Tamil Nadu the kaval chiefs had occupied a prominent and pivotal place. He was the protector, he was the police and he was the judicial oracle.

The kavalkarars started behaving like independent chiefs in their respective regions. Following the downfall of the Nayak kingdom of Madurai, the Nawabs of Arcot claimed right over entire Carnatic region. However the local rulers and the poligors of Tamil Nadu were not ready to recognize the supremacy of the Nawabs and strongly refused to pay any kind of taxes. To manage the situation, the Nawabs sought the assistance of the British East India Company. This opportunity was well utilized by the Company to fulfill its hidden colonial agenda. British entered into the southern parts of Tamil Nadu to collect the dues on behalf of the Nawab. In the process they

had to face stiff resistance of the rulers, the poligors and the kavalkarars too. The kavalkarars on a few occasion made common cause with the poligors in their struggle against the Company. In some other occasions they fought against the British individually or aided by other kavalkarars.¹²

Periya Waghadoo

Periya Waghadoo Muthukumarasamy Nainar popularly known as Periya Waghadoo was a kaval chief of Sirkali region in Mayavaram (otherwise known as Mayiladuthurai) subha (an administrative unit equivalent to a taluk) of Thanjavur district. He with another kaval chief known as Chinna Waghadoo who might have been his brother or a close relative had joint kaval control over sixty eight villages in Sirkali region. The annual gross receipt as kaval dues collected by him was 1024 chulichalaams 9 fanams and 67 casus.¹³

The first part of the name Periya Waghadoo is a Muslim name but the second part Muthukumarasamy Nainar is purely a Hindu name leads anybody to confusion. Moreover in the British records he was described as a close relative of one Thondaimanpadayatchi a kavalkarar of Kumbakonam. Thondaimanpadayatchi is also a pure Hindu name. However in the same material his son's name is recorded as 'Subbaraya Ravutta Muhaideen' a mixture of both Hindu and Muslim names. So in all probability one can assume that Periya Waghadoo might have been a convert to Islam.¹⁴

As per the treaty signed by the Maratha king of Thanjavur with the British East India Company in 1796 two subhas of the kingdom, Kumbakonam and Mayavaram respectively were brought under the temporary management of the company.¹⁵ Sirkali was a sub divisional administrative unit of Mayavaram subha consequently, the kaval chiefs of these two subhas were expected to obey the orders of the company and to surrender their kaval rights, and they were deprived of their traditional right to collect kaval dues.

However the developments were contrary to the expectations of the company. Periya Waghadoo the kaval chief of Sirkali openly challenged the authority of the company and

started revolting against the company. For the kavalkarars Kavalship was considered by them as their traditional right, and surrendering all those things to an alien power was unacceptable to them and they were ready to protect this right at any cost and Periya Waghadoo was not an exception to it. Hence he rebelled against the company.

After establishing its power over Mayavaram region, the company's administration started replacing the native system of administration with that of their own in such a way to fulfill their own aspirations. Consequently, the inhabitants were motivated not to pay the kaval dues to their kavalkarars. Deprived of his traditional power, social status and prestige coupled with the closure of all the avenues of income prompted Periya Waghadoo was to involve in extortion from the people who were, under his kavalship. To maintain himself and his army he was in need of money which he collected from the people through the means of force.¹⁶ In a petition submitted by the affected inhabitants to Mr. Frances Alexander Grant, the then collector of Mayavaram dated 1 October 1799 explains, under what circumstances Periya Waghadoo turned a rebel.¹⁷

The letter clearly stated that Periya Waghadoo conducted himself agreeable to the people until 'Ratchasa warcham' which is the name of a Tamil year corresponding to 1795 A.D. i.e., one year before the take over of administration by the company. After the induction of Company's administration Periya Waghadoo became refracting and he acted contrary to the usual custom.

The British East India Company basically a commercial organization was very much worried about the rebellious nature of Periya Waghadoo¹⁸ Hence it company took a decision of suppressing him by destroying his fort at Woothengudi.

Before the actual commencement of military operation against Periya Waghadoo elaborate arrangements were made by the company, detachments of British military were ordered to move towards Sirkali and Mayavaram region and intelligence were gathered about his movement. When they received information that Periya Waghadoo was at his fort at Woothengudi a strong detachment was dispatched under the command of one Roopings which surrounded the fort on 29th

September 1799. In the battle that ensued on the same day four soldiers of the company including Muhamad Sahib, the Subedar were killed and fourteen others were wounded. Among those killed the bodies of three soldiers were collected by Waghadoo's men and buried inside the fort.¹⁹

The defeat of the company's army in the hands of a kaval chief was considered as a humiliation to its prestige by the company. So the company had to put much effort to track down the rebel kaval chief. In tracking down Periya Waghadoo the company sought the co-operation of the king of Thanjavur.²⁰ Apart from that, the company registered the co-operation of Chinna Waghadoo too in their operations against Periya Waghadoo.²¹

However all these efforts proved futile because Periya Waghadoo vacated his fort at Woothengudi after his battle with the British detachment on 29th September 1799 and retreated to the jungle and the British army in spite of its elaborate arrangement and extensive spy network could not even locate his whereabouts. But they were successful in destroying his fort at Woothengudi after he vacated it.²² Lieutenant A. Fraser commanding detachment, 2nd Battalion 13th Regiment who led the demolition team was very much surprised the way in which the fort was cunningly constructed.²³

Who abandoned the fort at Woothengudi continued to plunder the sircar territories with his armed men. With the able help rendered by his fellow kavalkarars such as Muthaiah Moopen the kavalkarar of Pavanasam, Thondaiman Padaiyatchi the kavalkarar of Kumbakonam and Aimdiappa Wodaiar the kavalkarar of Caddalangudi Periya Waghadoo escaped the hunt and continued his resistance.²⁴

In order to extract information from Muthaiahmoopen the kavalkarar of Pavanasam and a close associate of Periya Waghadoo, Captain Smith commanding a detachment at Sirkali decided to take him under his custody. But a stern warning came from Benjamin Torin the Resident at Thanjavur saying that "Moopen is an influential man in the society. Any attempt to apply violence to extract truth from him would create problem which will endanger collections".²⁵

Regarding the inability of the company in tracking down Periya Waghadoo the collector of Thanjavur had lamented over the power enjoyed by the kavalkarars in his letter to Captain Smith dated 6th November 1799.²⁶

With the annexation of the kingdom of Thanjavur on 25th October 1799²⁷ the company continued its hunt for Periya Waghadoo with renewed vigour.

As a last resort the company fixed one thousand chakram of price money over the head of Periya Waghadoo which yielded the expected output. I. Wallace the then collector of Trichirapally district, having informed of the presence of Periya Waghadoo in the woods of Woodaiyarpalayam region ordered his Thasildar to arrest him. On the night of 28th September 1803 he was apprehended in a small village named Kottai Kadu situated in the woods of Woodaiyarpalayam. When he was arrested there was nobody to guard him and there was no personal resistance too. Thus the prolonged struggle came to an end.²⁸ The price money as announced earlier was distributed to eight persons viz. Lakshmana Singh, Bhavani Singh, Muhamad Selar, Rengappa Naick, Arunachala Naick, Alagiri Naick, Roop Singh and Culla Appoo, who were instrumental in apprehending Periya Waghadoo.²⁹

A few days after his arrest on 2nd October 1803 Periya Waghadoo submitted an explanation when he was called for, which read as follows.³⁰

"My name is Periya Waggupoo. I was the cavilgar of the Shially district in Mr. Gants time, when it is true that I shot at the sepoy that came against me. I did not know them to be the company's sepoy. I thought they were attached to Chinnawaggupoo my enemy. On the next day when I found them to be the company's sepoy through fear I ran away". (signed) Periya Waggupoo.

The explanation was highly exclusive in character. Following this Periya Waghadoo was kept in confinement for nearly two years and later on transported to Prince of Wales Island for a period of seven years on the charges of rebellion and crimes committed against the government.³¹ Thus the resistance initiated by Periya Waghadoo in 1796 was relentlessly and uncompromisingly pursued by him for nearly a decade against the alien domination came to an end.

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THE STATE INTERVENTION IN FOOD SECTOR IN TAMIL NADU (1942-72)

S. Subbalakshmi *

The evolution of modern state system from its old feudal form to the present democratic norms along with the birth of a host of new political ideologies and economic theories has brought radical changes not only in the structure and style of the State, but also in its purpose and functions. The modern Government, being the agent of the State is required to perform the over expanding functions over the periods. Thus comes the rationale in the Government's efforts in implementing a Food Policy monitoring the food economy and executing food administration for its people.

The need for Government intervention in food sector gained importance on the ground that such a vital commodity as food grain, free market forces, if left to themselves, especially in a situation of overall shortages, would create destabilizing effects through speculative activities which benefit neither the producer nor the consumer. Even the marketing mechanism could not achieve the Government's specific welfare objectives. Intervention does not dispense with the market altogether as it has evolved and as it is prevailing at present in the country. Government intervention has created a two market - two price regimes, an open market and a Government runs concessional food supply system.¹

The origin of the Food Policy of India can be traced back to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 when the demand for food grains for armed forces increased while supplies from the exporting countries became uncertain. This gave rise to speculative activities and a sudden spurt in prices. In order to control the rising price of food grains, numerous price control conferences were held in Delhi during the period from 1939 to 1942.

In the beginning of 1942, series of events took place and that acted as catalyst in the policy formation of the Government of India. In April 1942, Burma was occupied by Japan and that had

dislocated the food supply to India. The situation was further aggravated with severe drought condition in southern states. In October 1942 came a great natural calamity of cyclone and torrential rain in Bengal forcing the, traders and the shop keepers to close their shops for several days. The Bengal Famine of 1943 became a great tragedy with the death of one and a half a million of people and that sent shock waves throughout the country.² Thus the price began to rise, the poor began to starve and the Government began to act seriously.

In the meantime on 21 May 1942, the Food grain's Control Order was introduced with the main object of segregating the genuine trader from the speculator and securing information of wholesale stocks and their movements. In June 1942, a Central Food Advisory Council was set up. In July 1942, a Civil Supplies Commissioner for rice and other commodities was appointed by the Government of India. In September 1942 emerged the first scheme for centralized purchase of food grains during the Sixth Price Control Conference.³

It was on 2 December 1942 that an exclusive Department of Food was established by the Government of India to formulate serious programmes in this regard and started functioning with right earnest and issued orders to the Provisional Governments to prohibit the export of all major food grains except under permit. The Provinces were asked to set up procurement machinery at once.

The Madras Scenario

The Madras Province also was undergoing the problem of food scarcity during the same time due to drought and outflow of food grains to other states. It is therefore the Government of Madras was called upon to develop a food policy of the state on two grounds (i) to abide by and follow up the Central Governments recommendations and to (ii) initiate its own policies to arrest the food problems.

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Falling on line with the Central Government one such measure taken up by the Madras Government was the Grow More Food Campaign (GMF). Self sufficiency in food production became the target of the GMF campaign. This campaign was in force for a period of nine years from 1943 to 1951.⁴ The Emergency Food Plan was drawn up to make each state self sufficient in food grains by coordinating the activities of the different departments of Government engaged in stepping up food production like Agriculture, Public Works and Revenue. To bring about such coordination the Commissioner of Civil Supplies was given the powers over the entire GMF campaign in the states. He was designated as the Commissioner of Food Production and was made ex-officio secretary to the Government.⁵

At the Secretariat level, a Cabinet Sub Committee composed of the Chief Minister and the Ministers of Finance, Land Revenue, Agriculture, Public Works and Food was constituted to help speedy sanction of GMF scheme. Later in 1952, the Minister for Prohibition became a member as the Minister for Finance. At the District levels District Food Production Committees were set up to coordinate the work and watch the progress of GMF scheme and to create enthusiasm among the people.⁶ In spite of these efforts, the GMF campaign was not able to achieve the expected results because starting from the objective of attaining self sufficiency, it got mixed up with the production of other commodities like cotton, jute and later with the production of live-stock and fisheries. The campaign was regarded as a temporary one to achieve a prescribed target by a particular date.

Agricultural production in Tamil Nadu state was subject to many natural hazards, of which adverse seasonal conditions were the most important. The quantum, timeliness and distribution of rainfall in a particular year had a large influence on the volume of production in that year. It was the responsibility of the Government to protect people from such suffering. The remedial measure taken by it was popularly known as the Green Revolution. This was a direct outcome of new agricultural strategy adopted in the wake of rising food deficits and scarcities of agricultural crops in the country. Tamil Nadu was closely identified with the gains of the Green

Revolution and within Tamil Nadu, the Thanjavur district participated more enthusiastically as the model for emulation by other districts. In the name of Green Revolution the programmes introduced by the Government during the period from 1960 - 70 included Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP), High Yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP).⁷

The IADP was first introduced in 1960-61 in Thanjavur District because of its highest potential for developments with the extensive irrigation system together with the fine alluvial soil.⁸ This program attempted to introduce to the farmers the most effective package of practices and inputs for their individual farm conditions. It also tried to improve the input supply system, extension services and district administration so that the farmers could derive the greatest benefit from the recommended package. Hence this was also called package program. This program was later extended to other areas covering fifteen districts.

The HYVP was introduced in 1966, initiating the use of Chennai fertilizers in agriculture. It also made the farmers to realize that multiple cropping was possible only by increasing the use of fertilizers. The advent of ADT 27 presented the opportunity to convert most of the single-cropped area into double cropped land. The availability of IRS (imported variety of paddy) and other exotic paddy varieties like ADT 20 and ADT 27 could do little to change the dim prospects of the agriculture economy of Thanjavur.⁹

Due to a series of natural calamities like drought and failure of the monsoon in 1965, there was acute food scarcity in the country. In Madras, the Government introduced control over the movement of rice to prevent smuggling. The government took upon the task of procurement of surplus rice in the districts. Madras city suffered the most and the people waited for long hours in long queues to get a small quota of rice in the Fair Price Shops (FPS). Thiru. K. Kamaraj, who was in Madras at that time saw the plight of the people. He felt that immediate and effective steps should be taken to avert this serious crisis. He requested Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, the then Union Finance Minister to arrange to supply more food grains to Madras. They also considered the introduction of

informal rationing.¹⁰ The movement of food grains within the district of the state was facilitated. Rice was brought through railway wagons from Thanjavur. Ration cards were issued to all families. The stock in the city was considerably augmented. This measure eased the tension, situation and sufferings of the people in the state.

However the soaring prices of the essential commodities were taken up for public discussion as an important election issue by the opposition parties. During the 1967 election, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), the opposition party in Tamil Nadu politics capitalized this price issue on the basis of the day to day frustrations of the common man and criticized the ruling party. Resentment against the ruling government and promising manifestos of the opposition party changed the political scenario in the state and thus paved the way for the DMK party to come to power.

Mr. C.N. Annadurai who became the chief minister in 1967 proved himself as an able administrator, a responsible minister and incorruptible person. His death in 1969 was a great loss to the state as also to the DMK party. Mr. M. Karunanidhi, popularly known as kalaignar continued to serve as a Chief Minister. It was during his tenure of office that the crisis was taken up seriously which is evident from the reply given by P.O Shanmugam, the then state food minister about the decision of the government to create the Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation Limited within a short time in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly. It can be added here, that the name of the state Madras was changed as Tamil Nadu with effect from 14 January 1969 and this brought a consequential alteration in the name of all the organizations and the institutions belonging to the state.¹¹ Accordingly, the Tamil Nadu civil supplies corporation limited was created and registered as a private company on 27.4.1972.¹²

The Tamil Nadu government had an excellent civil supplies department functioning efficiently from 1942 onwards. They were the pioneers in establishing a Civil Supplies Department to look after the procurement, transportation, processing, ware housing, marketing and distribution of grain within the state. This organization had taken a strong root in

the state and had developed its own expertise in all the aspects of food management. They were also able to make a definite contribution to the national food management by looking after the needs of the state quite efficiently.¹³

Within five years, the newly created department of civil supplies had an array of supply and ration officers under a Commissioner of Civil Supplies who was a member of the board of revenue, in charge of food production also with the designation of Commissioner Food Production. He assumed full control over the entire range of activities connected with the execution of Intensive Cultivation Scheme by the different departments. A post of Director of Civil Supplies was also created to give relief to the commissioner of civil supplies and to enable him to devote more attention to his duties. A Cabinet Committee was also constituted to accord sanction to Intensive Cultivation Scheme and to review the progress of the execution of the schemes from time to time. District Food Production Committees were also constituted to hear representations from ryots seeking assistance for increasing food production.¹⁴

In Tamil Nadu the Government intervention in the food grains economy was in the form of price control, procurement by compulsory levies on producers, millers and traders at prices fixed by the Government, supported by zoning and movement restrictions and controlled by the distribution of food grain through rationing. When the food position became improved in the state during the mid seventies, the emphasis on price control was replaced by providing a remunerative price to the paddy growers as measures of prices support. The PDS was extended to the people in the rural areas also. The responsibility for implementing these politics of the government was entrusted to The Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation Limited set up in 1972.

The concept of the welfare state is thus begun to get translated with the opening of the service departments by the Government of India as well as the Government of Tamil Nadu such as the Department of Food and Consumer Affairs and the Department Co-operation, Food and Consumer Protection respectively. These departments have

undergone an evolutionary process due to various exigencies and emergencies that had arisen from time to time. While the functions became wider

and wider the administrative machinery was enlarged to cope up with the pressure of the work.

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KALAINAR M. KARUNANITHI AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

G. Gowthaman*

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the over all achievement of Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for the promotion of the Tamils and Tamil Nadu. Kalaignar Karunanithi was born at Thirukkuvilai, a small village in Thanjavur District on June 3rd 1924. His parents were Muthuvelar and Anjugam. Karunanithi pursued his education in Board High School, Thiruvavur. Life is a battle for most; but for Kalaignar Karunanidhi battle itself is life. He was a rebel in the household. There was no denying the fact that the sacramental rituals made no deep impression on a mind that was capable of thinking for itself. He followed the steps of Periyar and his principles with almost fervour. He loved Anna for his gracefulness and made him his model. In spitting fire on platform his model was Alagirisamy. Periyar made Karunanithi the sub-editor of *Kudlarasu*.¹

Kalaignar Karunanithi He insisted national philosophy and the cultural heritage of the Tamils and rose to eminence. He was honoured with the

title of Kalaignar. Karunanithi contested the elections in Kulithalai constituency at first in 1957. In 1962 election, his party, the D.M.K., had 50 legislators with V.R.Nedunchezian as the leader of the Opposition and Kalaignar Karunanithi as Deputy Leader. In 1967 elections the D.M.K. formed the first Non-Congress Ministry in the state of Tamil Nadu with C.N. Annadurai as Chief Minister and Kalaignar as P.W.D. Minister.²

After Anna's premature death on February 3, 1969, Kalaignar became the Chief Minister on February 10, 1969. Again in 1971 elections the D.M.K. came out in brilliant colours bagging 184 seats. When the Emergency was declared on June 26, 1975, by the Government of India, the first voice came from D.M.K, and as a consequence the DMK Government was dismissed.³

Individual Scores

Kalaignar got victory on twelve succeeding elections in various constituencies. They are Kulithalai, Thanjavur, Saidapet, Anna

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Nagar, Harbour and Chepauk etc.⁴ Five times he was Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu during the periods 1969-1971, 1971-1976, 1989-1991, 1996-2001 and 2006 onwards.⁵ Kalaignar never hesitated to go and meet the great leaders of other parties like Rajaji, Kamaraj, Bakthavatsalam and convinced them about the need of his policy decisions to benefit the welfare of the state.

Engineering Skill

Kalaignar is always an ambitious strategist to plan and execute projects to develop a prosperous future for the State. He looked after keenly the every department of the Government. He created a history by establishing that the DMK ruled State could bring close working relationship with the Central Government in planning and execution of Central and State projects.⁶ He was kind enough to approach the problems presented to him from opposition members. He is an artist. He used to discuss freely with expert architects to give shape to his ideas to create historical monuments in the State.

Symbol of State Autonomy

Though he was a fighter for greater autonomy for State Governments he maintained good relations with the Central Government. Though he is an atheist as a follower of Thanthai Periyar he is maintaining cordial relations with Hindu, Muslim and Christian religious leaders. He encouraged projects such as construction houses for poor agriculturists and subaltern people mostly Adhi-Dravidas. He promoted and executed complexes such as Samathuvapuram.⁷ Kalaignar's Chief Ministership period is noted for the drought relief operations, the commissioning of the Salem Steel plant, the Veeranam Scheme and implementation of the Pay commission reports.⁸

Foundation for Industrial Development

Kalaignar laid the foundation for the starting of TIDCO and SIPCOT. When the Central Government was spreading the concept of joint sector Industries, Kalaignar was quick to seize the opportunity. The result was the establishment of the Southern Petrochemicals Corporation to be followed by others later. Clearance for TVS projects in Hosur, Enfield in Ranipet and others. Besides now Satellite Township and Industrial estates have

been accelerated the pace of industrial progress in the State.

His nature of hard work, easy accessibility, frank and free discussion, listening to others' views and quick and timely decisions have been the for his able administratorship. He was courteous and considerate to the Government Servants. He allowed them to express their views.⁹ Due to his continuous efforts, the Tamil language is given the status of classical language.¹⁰

Upliftment of Women

Kalaignar created unified department of women's welfare in 1958, He created Department of Social Welfare in the year 1972. He established the Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women. Under his able guidance 2182 Midday Meals centers are functioning well all over the State. The addition of eggs for nutritive support is being given to the Children.¹¹

Industrial Development

A number of Sugar mills in the State had run into sickness due to various reasons, but the efforts and policy directions of the Chief Minister M. Karunanithi recovered them. Regeneration of the Sugar Industry through Sugar- Ethanol Cameo-Generation of powers complexes is made. Sugar units were viable once again. Kalaignar at first created Industrial estate at Guindy and Ambattur later on .It was extended to all the districts. Such industrial estates have generated large-scale employment and added a considerable income to the State. Special Export Processing Zone near Tambaram has blossomed with a number of export oriented units. Ford Motor and Hyundai Motor companies established their manufacturing facilities in Tamil Nadu. Kalaignar provided a powerful thrust for development of Tiruppur town by drawing water from the river Bhavani at Mettupalayam and from the river Cauvery below the Bhavani town. As a result, Tiruppur has now emerged as a knit ware city with a capacity of export of knit wear work over 11,000 crores per annum.

Establishment of IT Park in Taramani in Chennai is due to the vision and serious efforts of Kalaignar. Software companies, viz., Infosys, Wipro, TCS and Satyam have been successfully lured to take advantage of the abundant skilled human resources available in Tamil Nadu.¹²

Welfare Measures

Kalaignar entered into the barracks of Periyar where in he was brought up and trained by his tough master. Periyar was his earlier mentor on sociological motions; from him he imbibed the qualities of courage, deep conviction, fearless countenance, resolution and determination to achieve his unending dream to uplift the depressed and deprived people.

Kalaignar introduced many welfare measures. He ameliorates the living conditions of the poorest of the poor through the ignition of various welfare schemes and economic programmes which are aimed at the improvement of the well being of all sections of the people at large. To achieve his lofty ideals he has launched a series of programmes besides setting up many commissions and committees to find out the measures to attain the socio-economic and industrial developments in Tamil Nadu.

Kalaignar formulated many important schemes for the welfare of the people and drafted programmes for their successful implementation. Several legislations have been enacted for the proper implementation of all these welfare schemes and he himself supervised and monitored the implementation of all these programmes and schemes to fulfill his aspirations.

Measures for the Disadvantaged People

Kalaignar introduced many schemes such as Adi-Dravida free housing schemes, formation of separate departments for welfare of backward classes and most- backward classes, and special reservation of 20% for the most- backward classes. The measures included of a) Setting up the State planning commission, b) Rehabilitation homes for beggars, c) Family Benefit schemes, d) Legislation for equal property rights for women, e) Marriage grant of Rs.1 0,0001- for poor girls, f) Incentive for inter-caste marriages, g) Free education for poor girls up to graduate level, h) Distribution of vacant land to the landless poor etc.¹³

In this context it would be worth mentioning of a significant social activity in the preparation of the State list of other backward classes by including orphans and destitute and who have no body else to take care of them either by law or custom and also who are admitted into

any of the schools and orphanages run by the Government or recognized by the Government.¹⁴

This social service of Kalaignar is justified and strengthened in the view expressed in the report of the Backward classes commission headed by B.P. Mandal at page No.10, Paragraph 2.57 reading Tamil Nadu has been the pioneer in providing special concessions to OBCs.

Kalaignar wants to fulfill the dream of Mahakavi Bharathiyar. His government has launched a new Hunger Free Area Programme with an aim to eradicate poverty. A number of schemes are already under implementation to alleviate poverty and to cater to the nutrition requirements of different groups of the population. In recent years the Government of Tamil Nadu has taken several major initiatives to attract investment and to carry the State forward in the path of economic development.

Tamil Nadu in Bio-Tech Map of India

Kalaignar's goal is to put Tamil Nadu in the Biotechnology Map of India as well as the world. The very important outcome of the policy was setting up of first Women's Biotechnology Park in the country at Siruseri in the knowledge corridor of Chennai. Another monumental contribution is the establishment of *Uzhavar Sandhaigal* (Farmers Markets). During 1999-2000, around 100 *Uzhavar Sandhaigal* were opened. The first one of this kind was started at Madurai on 14 November 1999. In the budget for 2007-08, provisions had been made for 50 new *Uzhavar Sandhaigal* at a cost of 12.5 crores.¹⁵

Ability in Administration

Kalaignar was par excellence as he was gifted with a remarkable sight, clear thinking and unequivocal expression and hence could rise to high level of governance. For sensitive posts he carefully selected officers and placed them. Thereafter he trusted them and expected them to carry out their duties faithfully. He took pains to read papers circulated and was quite sure of his facts and figures. Public sentiments as reflected in media did not escape his notice. Financial considerations were kept in mind. At meetings he gave ample opportunity for members to express their views, some time unpalatable so long as there was substance and reason. Hence the decisions taken were beyond doubt the right ones.¹⁶

Anna Arivalayam- A Political Shrine

In 1987 Kalaingar opened Anna Arivalayam at Chennai. It is a political landmark in India. It has become the political shrine for democratic leaders of all faiths.¹⁷ Kalaingar had an uncanny instinct for judging people. He went to the root of the various problems. He anticipated the model of public and private partnerships. He also established the State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu which complimented programmes of incentives for new industries in the various backward areas of the state particularly small and medium industries.

Reorganisation of Administration

Another Instance of forward looking approach was his setting up a vision for long term development of Chennai and establishment of Satellite cities such a Maraimalai Adigalar Nagar. Kalaingar was first to recognize the importance of computerization in Government functioning. He set up the Government Data Centre, which was based on Software provided by a local computer technologist as well as a professor from Anna University. Kalaingar visualized the reorganization of the administration of the state in keeping with the growing demand on it. He set up an Administrative Reforms Commission under the leadership of the T.A. Varghese and implemented many of the commissions' recommendations.

Modernization of Public Sector

Kalaingar also set up a state police commission under the Chairmanship of former Chief Secretary R.A. Gopalasami. It made a number of bold recommendations for modernization of police administration, which are gradually implemented. Kalaingar always bent on utilizing the State machinery for the greater good of the development of the State with particular reference to improving the life of the common man. Kalaingar created the Tamil Nadu Text Book Corporation in 1970 which has distributed about millions of text

books to children during the year of 2000-2001 through various departments including Education, Adhi Dravida and Tribal Welfare and the Directorate of Rehabilitation.¹⁸

Recognizing the inequities and handicaps of the Children from the Schools in the rural areas and from the Tamil Medium institutions Kalaingar provided a special reservation of 15% in professional education which was effectively implemented during his period. He successfully introduced the single window system of admission to professional courses, ensured transparency and credibility to the admission process. Recently he abolished the common entrance examination for admission to professional colleges. Realizing the enormous financial burden to the students who seek opportunities in higher education, Kalaingar took many measures, such as elimination of tuition fees in Government and aided arts and science colleges, enhancement in the number and value of scholarships to special categories of children, and providing of free bus passes to students.¹⁹

Kalaingar Karunanidhi is best as a fine spitting speaker, scintillating writer, dynamic, energetic organizer, the hero of many agitations and the architect of many victories. Kalaingar has unremitting labour, unabated zeal, perseverance dedication unshakable determination, evolved affection, sweet character, artistic, capabilities, clarity of thinking and capacity to get things done. He is an outstanding orator, writer, poet, essayist, author of short and long stories, playwright, dramatist, author of film stories and scripts, director and producer of films, actor, newspaper editor, reformist, fighter for social reform, martyr who under went imprisonment, political leader, member of the Legislative Assembly, Minister and Chief Minister. It is rare indeed that so many special characteristics and honours came to reside in one person. His long and healthy life and continued leadership will not only guide Tamil Nadu but also the entire nation in a righteous path of progress.

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REPORTS OF THE PRESS ON THE VISIT OF PRINCE GEORGE AND PRINCESS MARY TO SOUTH INDIA, 1905-1906

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The advent of Europeans in India transformed the change of native rule to European mode of administration in the native soil. Though India emerged as a colony to the Europeans such as Portuguese, Dutch, French and the English, it ultimately came under the suzerainty of English. The formation of East India Company by Queen Elizabeth II (31 December 1600) by 'Royal Decree' was the first manifestation of the "British Royalty" in India that had played a significant role in almost all the activities of the East India company either by means of charters or by other grants.

After the outbreak of 1857 revolt, the English took over the administration of India by Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which was styled as the 'Magna Carta' of India and 'British Royalty' had started the direct administration through the title of 'Viceroy'. The term 'Viceroy' was found in the proclamation of Lord Canning's appointment in 1858, but had not appeared in constitutional documents. The viceroy had three

great functions: he personified the Crown; he represented the Home Government; he was the Head of the administration: he was the Crown visible in India:¹ In the first place, India forms no inconsiderable part of the British Empire. Its area was $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the total area of the empire and the Indian population included three quarter of all those who lived beneath the British flag. Moreover the British power was a greater power in Asia than it was in Europe.

British crown exercised paramount power over two quite 'separate Indias'. The first comprising three-fifth of the sub-continent was governed directly as 'British India' and another was 'Indian India' where the Indian kings were demoted as princes and native chiefs enjoying direct political relation with the government of India and who saw themselves as being in perpetual alliance and friendship with Britain and owed ultimate allegiance to the Queen-or the Emperor through the person of the viceroy.²

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In this established political scenario, the visit of the prince and princess of Wales in the early decades of the 20th century assumes much significance as the whole of India joined in offering a most loyal and hearty welcome to their Prince George, Prince of Wales and Princess Mary, Princess Wales. The Princess of Wales alighted at Bombay on 9 November 1905. As 'Messengers of Empire' their visit consolidated the earlier visit of Duke of Connaught in the year 1902- 1903. The real honour belonged to Bombay, proud in the possession of the title of the 'Gateway of India'.³

The late Queen Empress approved the plan of sending Prince George and Princess Mary as Representatives of the Empire, and at the same time fully recognized the educative effect of such a tour on his Prince of Wales himself. Such an event as the visit of the Heir to the crown could only strengthen the loyalty of India, and her confidence that India was not a mere dependency, but an integral and honoured position of the great dominions which composed the British Empire.

A sovereign's first duty whether he be an autocrat or the most strictly limited to 'Constitutional Monarch' was to know his people and he might not really know unless he meets them face to face and sees them in their own surroundings. The weakest feature of British rule in India was its impersonal character and that the strongest link in the chain which bound her to the British government, not to the British people but to the British throne. Ordinarily India showed few indications of any fervent attachment to their rule. But a close acquaintance with her people showed that underlying a certain amount of discontent there was a sincere and ardent loyalty to the head of the empire.

This being so, the true import and significance of the present visit of the King Emperor's son and heir, together with the gracious consort was easily apparent. The princes and people of India were delighted in doing honour to them as the nearest and dearest representatives of their King-Emperor and the Prince of Wales would have no doubt in their turn and would have many glowing reminiscences to relate to the King Edward VII when they return to England, recalling thereby to the King's memory many incidents of his own tour in India in 1875-1876.

Considering the important part that the ruling chiefs had to play in the field of Indian policy as "co-operators with the British and sharers in the work of maintaining efficient administration" to use Lord Curzon's words, it was only right and proper that so considerable a portion of the Royal visit should be spent in native state territories.⁴ The present visit of the Prince of Wales assumed additional importance from the fact that he was accompanied by the Princess of Wales.

The cordiality of the Reception accorded to the Royal visitors when they landed on Indian soil was all that could they desired, and the distinguished Royal visitors had fulfilled every expectation about their graciousness and urbanity. The scenes that were then witnessed in Bombay were yet too fresh to be repeated, nor was it necessary here to summarize the full and vivid descriptions that appeared in the newspapers. If the first impressions on the minds of the Prince and Princess of Wales was gratifying it had been equally pleasant on the minds of the people.⁵

Bombay had been preparing her welcome to the august visitors for months past and that welcome would spectacularly be one of the grandest and most striking for there was no city in India which lends so admirably to such a display. Ever since the Prince and Princess scheduled their five months of tour, the Prince and Princess of Wales touched points 7,500 miles apart between north and south and 1,800 miles between east and west. At a rough computation the Prince and Princess traveled within the boundaries of the Indian empire alone, over 11,000 miles.⁶

Bombay was the first place in India to come under British rule, it was essentially a creation of the British; some of its inhabitants have known no other forms of sovereignty for many generations.

It was recognized that not only by reason of their exalted position, but also by their attractive personalities, they were visitors whom India rejoiced to acclaim. They were anxiously desirous of learning as much as possible from the people over whom they would one day be called upon to rule.⁷

The Royal family was the only connecting link that existed between the earlier and later periods of British rule. English political parties modified their principles and policies but the tradition of the Royal family, remained the same.

The harmony and spirit of unanimity and co-operation that existed among the Bombay citizens have been disturbed there was a protest against the way in which the President of the Bombay Municipal corporation, the Municipal commissioner and the sheriffs of Bombay have been huddled out of the first reception to the Prince by the official hierarchy of Bombay as the British officials had gone to welcome the Prince on the Renown (His Majesty's ship) and that the President of the Corporation would have been given a prominent place in the reception ceremonies on landing.⁸

In Bombay, the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the Prince of Wales Museum and in replying to an address presented to him on the occasion by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, then the Chief Justice of Bombay, Prince of Wales said, "day by day he himself was grasping the importance of education by object lessons, and he was anticipating the happiest results from the museum, library and art gallery in Bombay". On the subsequent leg of his programme, he laid the foundation of the 'Alexandra Dock' and while laying the foundation, he had a nostalgic memory of laying the first great dock, in Bombay in 1875 by his father King - Emperor Edward VII which had since been known as the "Prince's Dock".

In his first speech at home the Prince said, he and the Princess were among their own people, a people that through all changes and all vicissitudes, had remained steadfastly loyal to the Sovereign and the Royal family. On his next schedule, the Prince of Wales arrived at Madras on board the Hyacinth (Ship) on 24 January 1906. Lord Ampthill - Governor of Madras - whose tenure of office expired in the ordinary course but to the great satisfaction of Madras Presidency, the Governor was invited to remain for a few weeks longer in order to entertain the Prince and Princess during their visit to Madras.⁹ On 25 January 1906, during one of the meetings Governor introduced the Prince of Wales to a deputation of Madras land holders headed by the Raja of

Venkatagiri who in his capacity as the President read the welcome address.¹⁰

In Madras, Prince formally declared open the 'Victoria Memorial Technical Institute' the object of which namely to develop the talents and improve the condition of the artists and craftsmen of the Presidency.

On his next leg at Mysore on 29 January 1906, The Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the 'Chamarajendra Technical Institute'. The Prince was very much gratified to the Mysore Maharajah's allusion to the "Imperial Service Troops" and the steady and loyal support to the government of the King Emperor. After his initial speech at Mysore, the Prince went to Bangalore to unveil the Bangalore Victoria Memorial".¹¹

The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Hyderabad on February-1906 had brought to a fitting close the Royal visit to southern states. Among all the Indian feudatories of the Crown the Nizam of Hyderabad justly claims the most considerable place. No other Indian prince governs territories so large or wealthy with the fullest degree of sovereignty enjoyed by any native prince.¹²

The importance of the Nizam's influence and the value of tried and tested loyalty, were not to be estimated by fractions. His magnificent offer of \$ 6,00,000 in 1887 for the defence of the Indian frontier, his offer of military assistance to the British Government in times of war needs in overseas had set a "splendid example".

The Royal visit to India ended with the visit to Karachi and the Prince departed from Karachi on 19 March 1906.

In Conclusion the Prince and Princess of Wales have travelled by railway alone in India and Burma 8,807 miles and have spent twenty-eight nights in the train. This was no light undertaking and had involved as strain on the Prince and Princess of Wales endurance and the object was to gain personal knowledge of the most important parts of the empire which in the natural order of things, the Prince of Wales would be called to reign.

The prince had been privileged to visit India and to have gained impressions, which with

future study and observations will enable him to try and understand some of the problems of British administration. He had been deeply impressed by the feeling of loyalty to the crown and devotion to the person of the King Emperor which had been displayed ever since he first set foot on Indian soil. And in all Prince and Princess of Wales visit had been an unending and unbroken series of happy and most instructive experiences. Although the timing of the visit of the Prince of Wales was unusual, restive and absolute disenchantment among the Indian masses due to the partition of Bengal, Gopalakrishna in his 'Banaras Congress Presidential Address' held in December 1905, while welcoming the Prince and Princess of Wales said, the throne in England is above all parties- beyond all controversies and trusted that Prince and Princess will acquire a fresh bond of sympathy and attachment between the Royal family in England and the princes and people of this country.¹³

In his speech at Guildhall, London 17 May when the Banquet was given by the Corporation of London, Prince of Wales regarded his tour as

the completion of the mission originally entrusted to him by the King. From the 9th of November, the day of brilliant reception on landing at Bombay until the moment of his departure from Karachi on the 19th of March, the Prince and Princess of Wales were welcomed everywhere with a display of enthusiasm and affection which profoundly touched them and the memory of which will never fade from his minds.

His general impression which he had formed during this exceptional but all too short experience was that he appreciated the fact that India cannot be regarded as one country. He quoted that "we talk of casually going to India". But the majority of us do not realize that a continent with an equal area to the whole of Europe without Russia of diverse races, languages, creeds, and many different grades of civilization. He was struck with its boundless deserts, its mighty river, its architectural monuments and its ancient traditions. He was fully aware how impossible if he were to gain accurate and intimate knowledge of so vast a country by a visit of only four and a half months.¹⁴

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T. MUTHUSWAMI IYER EPISODE: BEGINNING OF PRESS ACTIVITIES IN TAMIL NADU

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T. Muthuswami Iyer episode and the beginning of press activities which favoured the cause of the ruling government, and the cause of the nationalism in Tamil Nadu are worthy of historical study. This paper also deals with the circumstances in which the Nationalist paper *The Hindu* was dawned in Madras. After the collapse of the Madras Native Association and the *Crescent* there was a vacuum in the political life of the Presidency. To be more accurate, public life was in a state of suspended animation for more than a decade until the birth of *The Hindu*.

T. Muthuswami Iyer Episode

T. Muthuswami Iyer was born in the culture-rich Thanjavur district in the renowned and sacred small town, Thiruvavur a poor orthodox Saivite Brahmin family, which had to struggle hard to keep the wolf away from its thin doors day and night. Even the daily needs and basic requirements were hard to find for the family.

In 1878, when Justice Holloway retired and went back to England, the British Indian Government appointed T. Muthuswami Iyer as a judge of Madras High Court. The appointment delighted Indians of that period and, not surprisingly, shocked the Britishers living in this part of the country, especially Barristers practicing at the Madras High Court. That was the period when Barristers like John . D. Mayne, Eardley Norton, E.B. Powell, Spring Branson, Arathoon, Robert Grant (an ancestor of another living legend of the Madras legal world, Nugent Grant) and others dominated the High Court bar. Norton was of course an exception because he was a friend of the Indians and did not possess racist and snobbish prejudices from which most British barristers at Madras suffered during that period.¹

During that period, and for many decades later, the Indian lawyers, known as vakils, practicing at the Madras High Court suffered from many prejudices and minus points stacked against them.

Vakils were not permitted to appear in certain courts of the Madras High Court. While British barristers, who were practicing in Madras in considerable numbers at that time, wore a wig covering their hair, the Indian vakil had to compulsorily wear a turban whether he had a tuft or a western style crop. If he wore a traditional orthodox style dhoti, he was not allowed to wear slippers and had to move around in the court bare-footed. This practice was nothing sort of the arrogant British-style racism practiced in the legal profession of Madras during those days

Early Press Activities

There did appear some journals during the intervening years, but all of them had a very short span of life. *The Native Public Opinion* was a journal launched by the efforts of T. Madhava Rao² who had a long career in Indian States and his coeditors and compeers were R. Raghunatha Rao,³ a man of the highest distinction and much wit and Ranganatha Mudaliar. This journal was soon amalgamated with the *Madrassee* brought forth by A. Ramachandra Iyer, who later became the Chief Judge of the Mysore High Court. Unfortunately, the amalgamated journal quickly fell into the hands of people who were opposed to the general stream of public opinion in the Presidency. Shockingly, this journal opposed the appointment of the eminent jurist, T. Muthuswami Iyer, to the Bench of the High Court of Madras. The journal which ceased to command the confidence of the intelligentsia of Madras soon became defunct, followed by another paper - the *People's Friend* - which also suffered the same fate.

This was the time when India was ruled by the infamous Governor-General Lytton, who inaugurated his reign by organising the gorgeous Delhi Durbar,⁴ when the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces were afflicted with famine. To add insult to injury, he imposed a series of taxes on the famished people. He distrusted the Indian people so much that he passed the Vernacular Press Act to gag their Press

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and the Arms Act to disarm their person. His unpopular measures created an unprecedented political activity in the country. But no concerted action could be taken to organise an agitation against these acts in the Presidency in the absence of an organised public opinion.

Triplicane Literary Society

Among the literary associations at this time in Madras, there was the Triplicane Literary Society which was genuinely interested in voicing the public opinion. It had very enterprising members serving on it. It had its President as P. Anandachariu who was destined to play a worthy role in the public life. Still, the Society could not achieve much for want of an organ as was evidenced by its helplessness to meet the unwarranted opposition to the appointment of T. Muthuswami Iyer as Judge of the High Court of Madras. The objection was willful and capricious. The distinction was conferred on Muthuswami Iyer considering his admirable services in various capacities in the judicial field. The resistance to the appointment was a case where a small non-official segment of the European community protested against the decision of the government. In a way, this was something like a prelude to the much more serious agitation that was to shake the country five years later, when a very small fraction of the whites vehemently opposed the Ilbert Bill and disgraced Ripon. Regarding Muthuswami Iyer's appointment, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Governor of Madras, observed that in placing Iyer on the Bench of the High Court he had advanced him "to no honour which was not well deserved, or to a post which would not be well filled".⁵ The protest raised by all the Anglo-Indian papers against the appointment, stirred the members of the Triplicane Literary Society to understandable fury. Their grief was all the more poignant since there was not a single Indian paper to speak in support of the appointment.

It was their all out effort to condemn all the editorials that appeared in the Anglo-Indian press denouncing the selection of Muthuswami Iyer that gave birth to *The Hindu*.

Dawn of *The Hindu*

The birth of *The Hindu* heralded the arrival of a new era in the growth of public activities in south India. It was founded on 20

September 1878, by six most ardent and enterprising but inexperienced youths,⁶ all "Anglophiles" to a considerable degree, under the captaincy of G. Subrahmanya Iyer, with a capital of one rupee and twelve annas which was also borrowed. Many predicted a dismal future for it, affirming that it would meet the fate of the *Native Public Opinion* and the *Madrasee* which had become defunct. But their forecasts were falsified. Despite the heavy odds it had to fight against and the perpetual wordy war it had to wage against the two strong English-owned papers of *The Madras Times (Morning)* and *The Madras Mail (Evening)*, founded respectively in 1860 and 1867. *The Hindu* prospered. From a weekly, it became a tri-weekly (published on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday evening) from 1 October 1883 and a daily with 12 pages from 1 April 1889, when it found that the people imbued with the new spirit of nationalism, had no patience to "wait for two days to read the news of the day". It was first issued from the *Srinidhi* Press in Mint Street. Later it was shifted to the Scottish Press where it remained until September 1883 when its scene of action was transferred to Mylapore and was published at "*The Hindu*" Press established by Raghunatha Rao who helped the paper with his valuable advice and by contribution to its columns. However, when it became a tri-weekly from 1 October 1883, it was printed at the "Empress of India" Press since "*The Hindu*" Press was unequal to the task. Having equipped a press of its own towards the end of 1883, the paper was issued from the National Press for the first time on 3 December 1883. From April 1889, it had the second largest readership in south India. In 1892, *The Hindu* purchased its own building owing to the inestimable financial help extended to it by Ananda Gajapati Raju, the Maharaja of Vizianagaram".⁷

Even its handwritten maiden editorial "Ourselves", now available only in fragments, earned kudos from many, including an Englishman, Surgeon Major Nicholson, a philanthropist who personally met G. Subrahmanya Iyer and his collaborator M. Veeraraghavachariar to offer them his congratulations.⁸ About him, Veeraraghavachariar says, "I should be wanting in gratitude if I omit to mention one valued adviser whose name must for ever be connected with "*The Hindu*".

Surgeon-Major Nicholson... took us to his retreat at the Mount and gave us valuable advice. Week after week Subrahmanya Iyer and myself sat at his feet and imbibed his sound and mature views on various subjects. Not only he encouraged us with his advice, but he sent us regularly, week after "week, most valuable contributions on various current topics which are to this day a study in themselves".⁹ Apart from these two gentlemen, the name of N. Subba Rao Pantulu also stands out prominent among the first promoters of *The Hindu*. To them must be attributed the credit of making "Indian journalism the handmaiden, if not something more, of Indian nationalism. Bepin Chandra Pal who later became its correspondent in Calcutta said, "The birth of *The Hindu* opened a new chapter in the history of Indo-English journalism not only in Madras but in some sense all over India. *The Hindu* was the first English journal owned and edited by Indians which represented the opinions and aspirations of the English educated community directly in Madras and indirectly of other Indian provinces also".¹⁰ It had good correspondents at key centres all over India. At a time when even the Indian National Congress was recommending the abolition only of the India Office, *The Hindu* went a step further and suggested that the British Parliament should directly take over the administration of India; eliminating both the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India. Those were days when India had in Parliament a large number of liberal friends like William Wedderburn, William Caine and Charles Bradlaugh whose support and guidance G. Subrahmanya Iyer diligently cultivated. Within a short period of its birth, *The Hindu* had become a powerful daily in the land. If the style, the depth and the originality of thought of this distinguished paper had created an intellectual environment in southern India, its capacity, candour and confidence had made it not only a most significant organ of public opinion in this country but also one of the foremost, if not the foremost exponent of independent public opinion.¹¹ In its palmy days under the stewardship of Subrahmanya Iyer, *The Hindu* office served as a forum for public causes. Members of British Parliament passing through Madras would never fail to call on its editor. People with grievances also thronged it so frequently that those who were not well-disposed towards the

paper had the audacity to call it "a den of conspirators".¹²

On 28 September 1898, exactly twenty years after its birth, misunderstanding arose between the partners when G. Subrahmanya Iyer made *The Hindu* the vehicle for his crusades for social reforms, earning thereby, the hostility of the conservative section of the Hindu society. The sequel was the termination of his connection with *The Hindu* thus ending a great partnership. The paper came under the editorship of C. Karunakara Menon, who had been well trained by Subrahmanya Iyer himself, but its "chief directing genius" was Veeraraghavachariar. They could tide over the severe financial crisis the paper had to face, owing to the sympathetic interest taken by Governor Havelock in the paper and the munificence of the Maharani of Vizianagaram and M. Tirumalachariar.¹³

Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and *The Hindu*

In 1905, which marked the beginning of a turbulent period in the political history of Madras and of India, the paper came into the possession of its legal adviser Kasturiranga Iyengar. On 1 April 1905, Kasturiranga Iyengar purchased it for Rs. 75,000, disregarding the advice of his friends who called the purchase "a mad venture." Since both Veeraraghavachariar and Karunakara Menon had left *The Hindu* by then, Kasturiranga Iyengar had to operate the paper single-handed combating at the same time abuses connected with both official and public life. Those were days of hardship and repression. Added to the prevailing discontent following the partition of Bengal in 1905, was the governorship of Lawley which proved to be a most tense period for the Presidency. The cult of terrorism had caught up with moderate Madras. Undaunted, Kasturiranga Iyengar fought manfully, managing both the editorial and administrative wings of *The Hindu* and building up its permanence, popularity and prosperity. That it became one of the first major "opposition" papers in imperial times which were recognised even by the officialdom.

G. Subrahmanya Iyer and the Swadesamitran.

Meanwhile, while he was still the editor of *The Hindu*, G. Subrahmanya Iyer started in 1882, the *Swadesamitran*, a Tamil weekly, for enlightening

the non-English knowing Tamil people on public affairs. It was subsequently converted into a daily and did splendid work in giving political education to the masses of the Presidency. Subrahmanya Iyer, however, understood that it was no easy task to run a vernacular newspaper. Since the news which was invariably read out to the unlettered masses had to be presented in very simple Tamil, new words had to be coined. This invited the stout

opposition of some Tamil scholars but Subrahmanya Iyer "effectively rebuffed" it. The paper came at the most appropriate time "to satisfy the news-hunger" of the Tamilians and contributed a lot to the general awakening of the Presidency.¹⁴ After leaving *The Hindu*, he also took over the editorship of the English daily *The Madras Standard* and the English Weekly *United India* in addition to the *Swadesamitran*.

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3. Cousin of T. Madhava Rao. A civil servant to start with. From being Deputy Collector of the Madras City, became the Dewan of Baroda. W.S. Blunt called him a "Socrates" both in his appearance and in intellectual superiority.
4. A Durbar of "unsurpassed magnificence" held on 1 January-1877 to proclaim Queen Victoria as the Empress of India.
5. *Politics and National Awakening in South India*, Preface, p.166.
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CONGRESS SANGAM - A HISTORICAL STUDY

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The Japanese military was mercilessly moving over vast tracks of land which for centuries belonged to the powerful western nations. When the Japanese was at the doors of India, the British Government sent S.N. Stafford Cripps to India, with a draft of declaration of the proposals of the British Government.¹ But the Cripps mission failed. The political situation in India rapidly deteriorated and became more and more unstable. The Congress working committee on July 14, 1942, passed a resolution demanding the British Government should immediately abdicate authority in India, if this demand was rejected, the Congress

would launch a wide spread non-violent struggle under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership.²

The demands of Congress party was neglected, at once. The AICC met at Bombay on 7th August 1942 and after two days of discussion passed the Quit India resolution by a huge majority in the evening of 8th August 1942, it was resolved to start a mass struggle on non-violent lines under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.³

The movement became vigorous and the government swooped on the entire organization and arrested all the top leaders of the

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party, including Mahatma Gandhi and all the members of the central and provincial Congress committees.⁴ On 9th August 1942 Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal, Sardar Vallabai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad and twenty other Congressmen were arrested in Bombay and Rajendra Prasad in Patna. K.Kamaraj, C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, T. Prakasam, M. Bhakthavatchalam, P.S. Kumarasamy Raja, and Omandur P. Ramasamy Reddior were arrested in Madras.⁵ Within 24 hours of the announcement of Quit India movement all its important leaders and lakhs of volunteers in Tamil Nadu were imprisoned.⁶ The Congress organization was declared illegal and unlawful association in Tamil Nadu. The headquarters in Madras, district Congress Committees, town Congress committees and village congress committees were also declared unlawful associations and their properties were confiscated and sealed.⁷

Within a short period the British government crushed this movement and got success. Immediately TNCC suspended the movement. After the suspension of the Quit India Movement, the situation in Tamil Nadu became calm, all the TNCC leaders and volunteers were released from jail, but the ban on the Congress was not removed. In this situation C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar who just then came out of prison in a bad condition of health, instead of taking rest along with Rukmini Lakshminipathy brought all the released Congressmen and formed the Tamil Nadu Congress Men's Sangam on 2nd October 1944.⁸

Congress Sangam's aim was to exclude the communists from all the Congress activities

and to take part in the national activities in the place of the Congress. Membership of the sangam was open only to those approved by the committee of the sangam and was practically confined to released detenues and those who subscribed to the August Resolution of the AICC, and amongst students, to the adherent of the Indian students Congress. Invitations appears to have been extended only to a very limited number.⁹

The Tamil Nadu Congress Men's Sangam directed the Congress men to form district Congress Sangam in their respective districts. These assemblies were to form committee at taluk levels to work out constructive programme and to organise kisans, labour and students front. Thanjavur was the first district to form such an assembly in November 1944.¹⁰

This Sangam enrolled lakhs of members in the province of Madras and election of office bearers were also held. Congress samithis were formed and active measures were taken to implement the constructive programme.¹¹ Various section of society such as students, and kisans were formed. In Madras city another divisional Congress Sangam had been set up.¹² Arrangements were being made for the Congress volunteers training campus at Kallupatti. Funds were also collected in many districts and committees were formed for this purpose.¹³

The declaration if the government in making the AICC and CWC as illegal were announced as unlawful orders and cancelled immediately.¹⁴ The Congress Sangam's activities were backed by the original Congress Party.

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EARLY EFFORTS OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION ON NATIVE PEOPLE'S PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

A. Vasanthi *

Elementary education popularly called primary education constitutes an important factor in the sphere of school education. It means imparting elementary or basic knowledge which could be plainly and practically made apparently to the under standing of basic knowledge. Strictly speaking it was the foundation of one's life in which further developments could be achieved.

Primary Education Prior To 1854

At the outset in 1813 Charter, the East India Company allotted Rs.1 Lakh for the education of the natives. Sir Thomas Munroe, who was the Governor of Madras Presidency from 1820 to 1827, was the first person to take steps to place education work on a systematic basis. His conviction was that it was the duty of the government even in its own interests to train Indians for "high offices". He did not approve the doctrine of exclusions of Indians from office and strongly pointed out its policy. He addressed to the Board of Revenue by a Minute of 25th June 1822, which was the first attempt to carry out in India a reliable educational survey.

Therefore he suggested in the Minute that the best information should be obtained for the actual state of education. The Collectors of several districts were directed to furnish a list of schools in which reading and writing were taught in each district showing the number of scholars in each school and the caste to which they belonged. The court of Directors highly approved of the enquiry. But they expressed a fear that the most defective part of the information which would be elicited was likely to be that which related to the quality of instruction in the Schools.¹ But they had no hesitation in admitting that the schools had suffered owing to the lack of efficient Supervision. In December 1830, the court of Directors sent a very important Despatch to the Madras

Government with the object of extension of elementary education in the vernaculars and urged the necessity for promoting higher education. A new board to be designated the committee of Native Education and recommended for immediate starting of four elementary Schools under European Headmaster. But this proposal did not receive any serious attention from Governments.

Just about this time the Government of India under Lord Auckland, had considered a scheme for the elementary instruction of the masses. The establishment of a well-conducted elementary school as a feeder to the High School was proposed by Sir Henry Pottinger in April 1848. In spite of all those efforts, there was no appreciable progress in the field of education during the next thirty years.

The great Despatch of 1854 from Sir Charles Wood imposed on the Government of India, the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education, from the Primary School to the University. Perhaps its most notable feature was the emphasis which it laid on Primary education and consequently its implicit repudiation of the more extreme forms of the "filtration theory".²

In 1854 the department of Public instruction was instituted and Sir Alexander Arbuthnot was appointed as the first Director of Public instruction in Madras. He took an active part in promoting education among the Khonds and Oriyas in the Hill tracts in the Northern circars. In order to assist and encourage private enterprise, a set of grant-in-aid rules was published in the same year.³

The efforts of educational officers to obtain the necessary local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the Grant-in aid system were thought likely to create a

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prejudice against education, to render the Government unpopular and even to compromise, the dignity of Government. The most important feature of Grant-in-aid code, as regards Primary education of results, though elementary schools had still the option of receiving aid under the Salary Grant System. Under this system elementary education in the Madras Presidency received its first great development.

This can be proved from the fact that the number of schools aided under the Result System alone rose from 494 in 1868-69 to 1,606 in 1870-71.⁴ With a view to raise the attendance of girls, the Result Grants Scheme of 1868, increased the grants of girls to 50% than those for boys. Even steps were taken for the formation of sound vernacular literature. By this work the elementary education diffused throughout the native community.

Primary Education between 1871 And 1881

The introduction of the Town Improvement Act of 1871 and the Local Board Act of 1871 are certainly marked another milestone in the development of education in Tamil Nadu. These Acts paved the way for the utilization of public funds for a number of constructive purposes, including education, especially for the maintenance and improvement of elementary education.⁵ Consequently, elementary schools were established in 'Most Unions' which consisted of one or more villages so situated that a School was not more than two and a half miles from the house of any tax payer.

The Madras Municipal Act IX of 1867, the Towns Improvement Act 1871 and the Madras Municipal Act V of 1871, provided that the funds of the Municipality should be applied to the diffusion of education.

The progress of elementary education due to the operation of the grant-in-aid System in the rural areas was not very marked. The considerable extension of education at the expense of the Imperial exchequer was out of question. They therefore, thought that the only way by which elementary education could be extended was by the imposition of a compulsory rate for the purpose. With this view, the local fund act of 1871 was passed.

Although the Act did not specify the description of education to which local funds should be applied, the circle boards were definitely informed that the local funds were to be mainly appropriated for the maintenance and improvement of elementary education. The great decline in the numbers of Scholars and schools in 1877-79 was partly due to the famine and distress.

Primary Education between 1881 And 1894

The Hunter Education Commission of 1882-83, suggested that Primary schools should be regarded as having an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues, and proposed that aid to Primary schools should be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination except in the backward areas.⁶

One of the most remarkable features of the evolution of Primary Education in the Madras Presidency is the large support received from local and Municipal Boards and from private agencies. The steady increase in the number of Board Schools is a gratifying feature.⁷

The position which government occupied in relation to secondary education some 10 years back is now occupied by local Boards with relation to Primary education. A large number of Board Salary results Schools have been established in various parts of the Presidency.⁸

One of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Primary education has been the absence of qualified teachers. To rectify this Government Training Schools and Sessional Schools were established.⁹ In 1889, Primary School examination was declared compulsory. Accordingly the largest proportions of pupils have continued upto the Fourth Standard.¹⁰

The appointment of Mrs. Brander as Inspectress of Girls' Schools in 1881 resulted in a marked development of female education. Every Year various Training schools for Mistresses have been sending out larger number of professionally qualified teachers.

Dr. Duncan was appointed as the Head of the Education Department in 1885. Under his head, a committee was appointed for the framing of a code of rules known as the Education Rules. His

Department had worked for the upliftment of down-trodden classes by the spread of elementary education among them.

Primary Education Till 1947

In 1911, the Government decided to subsidize the opening of new elementary schools in villages having more than 500 inhabitants.¹¹ In pursuance of this policy, liberal subsidies (out of the imperial grant of 50 lakhs) were sanctioned to district boards and municipalities to enable them to open new elementary schools for boys and girls.

The Government of India Act of 1919 was an important Act, and it was an important phase in the history of education under the control of a minister who was answerable to the legislature. However, finance was listed as a reserved subject to be administered by a member of the Government's executive council.¹²

Notwithstanding this handicap the Government of Madras passed the Madras Elementary Education Act in 1920, which inaugurated a new era in the history of elementary education in the province. The Act provided for the levy of an education cess on land tax or property tax and for an equal contribution by the provincial Government to each local body for the advancement of the elementary education. There was also provision for the introduction of compulsion in suitable areas with the previous sanction of the provincial government.

Further District Municipalities Act and the Local Boards Act of 1920 enabled the local bodies to act with greater freedom in the matter of finance. They also removed elementary education from the purview of district boards and entrusted it to Taluk, Wards and Municipalities.¹³

In 1923, the Government adopted the policy that it should divert itself of the responsibility of direct management of elementary schools. In pursuance of this decision most of the elementary schools were handed over to the Boards with a subsidy necessary to meet the cost of their working.¹⁴

More over, under the provisions of these Acts the power of according recognition to aided elementary schools was transferred to the District Educational Councils which were adhoc bodies

formed under the Elementary Education Act. The result was contrary to expectation. Consequent to the failure of the scheme of decentralization, the Taluk boards were abolished in 1934 and elementary schools went back to the care of district boards.¹⁵ The District Educational Councils were abolished in the year 1939. And the power to recognise schools and sanction grant-in-aid to privately managed schools were given to the departmental officers.¹⁶

Almost immediately after the issue of these orders, Congress came to power which always advocated free and universal education. On all the grounds the proposal of premier Raja Gopala Chari's was opposed. The ultimate result was that the old state of affairs continued till the end of the period. By the time of independence, the state had made appreciable progress in Primary education.

Missionary Efforts

The earliest efforts to introduce change in the existing indigenous system emanated from missionaries, private societies and individuals. With the arrival of the Protestant Danes at Tranquebar on the southeast coast in 1706 begins the history of European system of Indian education. Prior to their arrival, the Portuguese Catholic missionaries started their missionary activities at Goa, Calicut and other parts of South India in the sixteenth century. Even today the great name of St. Francis Xavier is remembered. The Dutch Protestant missionaries began to Christianise Ceylon from the seventeenth century onwards.

The Danish Protestants were led by two German missionaries, who are still remembered Ziegenblag and Pentschan. They immediately began to study Portuguese and Tamil and opened schools for Indian children. The Tranquebar of the New Testament into Tamil is a great contribution by Ziegenblag and Schulze and it is still used in South India.¹⁷

These missionaries started 17 schools in 1725 for Heathen and Mohammedan children and four 'missionary schools' for christians. As a result of opposition from the parents and non-Christian teachers, the European missionaries found it difficult to teach religion in the schools started for the Heathens. So, they lost interest in the schools meant for non-Christians and began to confine their missionary activity in missionary schools.

It is clear that the missionaries met the same difficulty of hostile reaction of the natives when they tried to infuse Christian religion into education. Another major difficulty is the medium of instruction. Tranquebar contained a number of Portuguese speakers; the rest spoke Tamil. The Danish missionaries learnt Tamil and taught everything in that language, reserving English for teachers, training schools and seminaries. Besides this, they produced a Tamil dictionary and a Tamil and a Telugu Bible.¹⁸

In this the Protestant Danish missionaries followed the same policy as the Portuguese and French Catholic missionaries before them. The first printing press in India was set up at Ambalacat near Cochin by a Jesuit missionary in 1577; and the earliest Christian poem in an Indian language was composed by Fr. Ernest Hanxleden S.J. in 1724.

The activities of the English missionary began in the year 1727 and the first Protestant English mission began to adopt the work of the Danes utilising the services of Schulze and Schwartz.¹⁹ The society for the promotion of Christian knowledge started schools at Madras, Tanjore, Cuddalore, Palamcottah and Trichinopoly. The Baptists came to Bengal in 1793 and settled down at Serampore. There they brought about 10,000 children under their influence. In 1804 the London Missionary Society opened schools in Ceylon and South India and finally in Bengal. The Church Missionary society and the Wesleyan Mission had settlements at such distant but well-chosen places as Surat, Agra, Meerut, Calcutta, Tranquebar and Colombo. These missionary agencies in Indian education are important, not for their achievements. Though this was considerable in the circumstances, but for the impetus they gave to Government enterprises of other nations or religious denominations than the ruling British. East India Company was at first suspected by the Government and naturally also by the Indians. The education scheme recommended by them to the

people and the standard of education imparted in missionary schools made the parents prefer schools run by the missionaries.

Educational institutions at Serampore in the North and Goa and Tranquebar in the South were great attractions. So it was natural that the East India Company desired to emulate the missionaries.

A Sullivan laid before the company a plan for the establishment of English schools for the education of the children of the upper castes. The missionary Schwartz was instrumental in getting this scheme through till the court of Directors took charge of it in 1787. They sanctioned £100 as an annual endowment to each school and ordered that English, Arithmetic, Tamil, Hindi and Christian Instruction should be taught.²⁰ The missionaries were very particular in including Christian instruction in the curricula of studies. But as a result of the opposition of the company they had to be satisfied with the introduction of the most superficial study of the Bible in English. And the study of the Bible did not insist on its religious aspect but on its literary value.

Apart from establishing regular schools, the European missionary bodies showed interest in starting and maintaining charitable schools. With the financial help from the company, several schools were started for the Orphans or abandoned children of European soldiers or other settlers.

Chaplain at Palamcottah opened two English schools, one at Palamcottah in 1817 and the other at Tinnevely in 1818. He applied for financial help to the Governor-in-council claiming that the schools were a public benefit.²¹

Thus the colonial administration contributed a lot for the development of native people's education by establishing educational institutions. On their secured educational foundation the native administration developed the further structure in a grand scale.

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WOMEN IN TAMIL RENAISSANCE MOVEMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANTI-HINDI AGITATION

K. Sankari *

The pair of words 'Tamil Renaissance' denotes both the revival of Tamil language, literature and arts as well as the awakening and advancement of the Tamils in all spheres of life. The Tamil society, awakened by westernization, and Tamil consciousness, started to vent their feelings and to involve in several activities with the aim that its mother tongue, literature and all should be respected and restored to its due place. In the process, people of all shades and ranks had involved and played a significant role. The women society was no exemption. This monograph attempts to examine the role of women in the movement towards the protection of Tamil, their mother tongue. So far no work has come up portraying the participative role of women in Tamil renaissance movement with special reference to anti-Hindi agitations, one of the major off shoots of the renaissance movement. The participative role of women must be studied diligently with historical perception by retrieving all the sources of data. These types of studies on untapped areas may result in reorientation and exuberance of historical studies

concern to women in Tamil Nadu. With this hypothesis in view this study has been attempted.

This research study is constructed by availing both primary and secondary sources scattered in archival depositories and libraries. The Proceedings of Government of Madras, Newspaper and Periodical Reports and Letter Correspondences are sources of primary nature consulted for the study. Besides, works of A.Ramasamy¹, K. Nambi Arooran², E.F.Irschick³, Ma. Elancheliyan⁴, Na. Sanjeevi⁵, Su.Muruganatham⁶, R. Nedunchezhiyan⁷, G. Pugazhenth⁸, T.Asha⁹, and others were also consulted for the construction of the study. The information retrieved from these sources of data were analysed and presented in a descriptive manner.

Historically speaking, Tamil Renaissance is a historical phenomenon and the process was stated even during the age of Sangam. In the case of Tamil language, Tamil scholars and grammarians of the age of Sangam beginning with Tolkappiyar tried to avoid Sanskrit influence as far possible and sought to

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establish uniqueness of Tamil language¹⁰. This Anti-Sanskrit tussle got intensity during the Bakthi Movement.¹¹ From the arrival of European, till today, a long period of history, English language has been endangering to Tamil language. The awakened Tamil society had a tendency to resist the English language even in the early years of the 19th century. Simultaneously Tamil society also had started a war against Hindi during the Indian Freedom Movement and after.¹² However the aptitude that Tamil language should be respected and restored to its due place gained momentum with compulsory introduction of Hindi in schools in Tamil Nadu in 1937.

Since 1937, Tamil revivalists started to raise their voice and act against Hindi implementation. The main plank of the anti-Hindi agitation was the opposition to the indirect imposition of Aryan culture on Dravidians. A number of propaganda meetings and conferences were held throughout Tamil Nadu. C.N. Annadurai called upon the Tamils to oppose compulsory study of Hindi in order to safe guard their language and cultural¹³. Tamil women revivalists also came into the vortex of the movement and partook in a number of anti-Hindi programmes. On 1 August, 1938 anti-Hindi Tamil Brigade of about 100 volunteers in uniform, under the command of K.V. Alagirisamy, assisted by the grand old lady Moovalur Ramamirtham and I. Kumarasmy Pillai started a propaganda march from Uraiyur to Chennai. All along the march Ramamirtham Ammaiyar and others explained the public that the presidency government was trying to destroy Tamil by imposing Hindi. She also addressed among the mammoth crowd in her own polished way in South and Chingleput Districts.¹⁴ R. Nedunchezian in his work "History of Dravidian Movement" has noted that the Brigade had only one lady who was Moovalar Ramamirtham.¹⁵ After traversing a distance of about 400 KMs on foot in 42 days and addressing in meetings explaining the necessity to safeguard the Tamil language and culture. The Tamil Brigade reached Chennai on 11 September, 1938. A rousing reception was given to the Brigade at the meeting held at Triplicane Beach. The largely attended meeting was presided over by Maraimalai Adikal and addressed by E.V. Ramasamy Periyar and others¹⁶. Then, 40 volunteers of the Tamil Brigade including Moovalur Ammaiyar participated in an agitation in front of Hindu Theological High school, George Town/ Chennai on 16 September 1938¹⁷.

The Women society in Tamil Nadu made use of their forums and others to ventilate their anti-Hindi ideas. The Tamil Nadu Women's Conference was held at Chennai on 13th November 1938, under the presidentship of T. Nilambigai, daughter of Maraimalai Adikal¹⁸. Meenambal Sivaraj hoisted the Tamil flag and Pandit Narayani inaugurated the conference in which E.V. Ramasamy was given the title "Periyar".¹⁹ In the Women's Conference resolution condemning the imposition of Hindi and appreciating the selfless service of the leaders and volunteers who had undergone imprisonment for the cause of by Tamil were passed. Then, on 14, November 1938, five women Dr. Dharmambal, Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar, Malar Mukathamaiyar, Pattammal and Seethamal picketed in front of the Hindu Theosophical High School, Chennai. All of them were arrested and sentenced to six week imprisonment each²⁰.

Meanwhile, Hindi was withdrawn in 1940, but again Hindi was made compulsory in 1948.²¹ Immediately C.N. Annadurai and E.V. Ramasamy Periyar started their campaign anti-Hindi. The response from Tamil women was spontaneous and inspiring. Towards the second anti-Hindi agitation in 1948. A specially convened anti-Hindi conference was held at St. Mary's Hall Madras on 17 July, 1948.²² In the conference Dr. Dharmambal spoke emphasizing the necessity of starting agitations against the imposition of Hindi. On 10 August 1948, C.N. Annadurai led a picketing in front of Muthialpet High School, Chennai. Alongwith him T.T. Arasu, N.V. Natarajan, N. Subramaniam, T.T. Pandiyan and Dhanalakshmi Ammal, a Tamil rationalist with her son Dravidamani participated in the picketing.²³ On 23-24 October 1948, Dravida Kazhagam's Provincial Conference was held under the patronage of E.V.R. and the presidentship of Anna at Erode. More than 20 Women volunteers attended the conference. Thiru. Vi. Ka. and K.V. Alagirisamy with their inspiring speeches exhorted the Tamils to join the struggle against Hindi. It was resolved in the conference that the suspended Anti-Hindi agitation should be started as the government was not ready to solve the problem in no time.²⁴ On 2 November 1948, Alamelu Appadurai, led a picketing in front of Muthialpet High School, Madras. She explained the public the head unity among the Tamil safeguard the identity of the Tamils as well as Tamil language and the eliminate Hindi and Sanskrit. All the picketers were arrested and taken

out of Madras city a distance of 125 KMs and let of there.²⁵ As the anti-Hindi agitation was gaining momentum, the Madras Presidency Government started taking repressive measures. The Government of Madras promulgated Section 144 in all the major cities, banning public meetings in connection with the anti-Hindi agitations. The D.K. decided to defy the ban order by organizing meetings at Kumbakonam. Periyar was arrested for defying the ban order on 18th December 1948. On the next day, N.V. Natarajan, K.K. Nilamegam and Maniammai led in Chennai a large number of volunteers into a procession defying the ban order. Maniammai was arrested and sentenced to two months rigorous imprisonment. C.N. Annadurai, wrote an article in 'Dravida Nadu' and highlighted the police atrocities related to this "Maniammai incident".²⁶ The arrest of Maniammai shooked the women society. Many came forward to support the movement. Also, E.V.R. exhorted women to fight for the cause of Tamil language and culture with a determination. Hence, the anti-Hindi agitation continued with added vigour till 1948, amidst brutal repressive measures of the government.

When Anna started D.M.K on 17 september 1949, he declared that one of the avowed objectives of the D.M.K was to safeguard the Tamil language and culture against the onslaught of Hindi imperialism. On 10 January 1950 Anti-Hindi Day was observed. On that occasion Nilavathi Ramasubramaniyam of Thiruchirappali addressed a number of meetings stressed that it was the need of the hour to liberate Tamil from Hindi.²⁷

In 1950-51 the railway authorities started writing name boards of the railway stations. This created

much resentment among the Tamil E.V.R proposed to organize protests against the imposition of Hindi by the railway authorities. The D.K. and D.M.K resolved to erase the Hindi letters on the name boards of the railway stations and post offices on 1st August 1959. On 1st August 1952, Hindi letters on the name boards of the railway stations and post offices were erased at several places in Tamil Nadu. In Chennai, Sathiavani Muthu, and Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar and others erased the Hindi letters.²⁸

The Union Home Minister issued a circular on 5th December 1964, starting from January 26, Hindi will become in term of constitution, the official language of the Union. Although provision has been made in the Official Language Act by 1963, for the continued use of English, in addition to Hindi, it was expected that Hindi will be used for all official purposes of the Union after January 26, 1965.²⁹ The D.M.K which had earlier organised year long agitations of burning the copies of Part XVII of the constitution, and picketing in front of the offices of the Union Government, decided to take a drastic action to register its opposition to Hindi becoming the official language of India on 26th January 1965.³⁰ During December 1964 and January 1965, women students of Fathima College, Maudrai, Senthamil College, Coimbatore; Annamalai University, Chidambaram, organised protests along with their men counter-parts.³¹

To conclude, it is said that the people's race should go on in the people's language.³² Tamil society, with a long historical past, till today venturing to safeguard Tamil language, one of the identities. Being Tamils this is their responsibility but not fault.

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 - ii. அழுத்தொரு புணர்ந்த சொல்லாகும்மே
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PRIMITIVE WARFARE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA AND THE TAMIL REGION: A STUDY

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Origin of warfare

According to Otterbein,¹ the hominid warfare had two different origins and thus produced two different military organizations greatly separated in time, basic economy and socio-political context. It is presumed that warfare first began in very ancient times well over 1 million years ago as a consequence of hominid hunting of big game in small bands and tribes. As big game

became rare and humans began to rely more on small game and plants for food as "settled gatherers", and gradually warfare reached a peak of intensity. Inter-social violence gradually waned, becoming rarer and less important as these sedentary gatherers became village agriculturists. Several thousand years later, agricultural chiefdoms and states began to consolidate (often by violent force) and professional military organizations (armies) began warfare anew. After this second

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advent of warfare, "despotic" states have been most responsible for fostering warfare.

There is no evidence for the practice of war before the late Paleolithic Age (35,000 to 12,000 BC). A few weapons are known to have been used much earlier. Stones and clubs, man-made pebble choppers, and the spear were available hundreds of thousands of years ago. They were definitely used in hunting game and probably in attacks by man on man, but there is no clear evidence. The famous Paleolithic cave paintings of France and Spain, dating from the period of 30,000 to 20,000 years ago, show no certain scenes of man killed by man. Mainly they depict animals, several thousands of them. Only about 130 of the figures have been identified as possibly men, and many of them are dubious, simply as men. Even so, the vast majority of the 130 are shown in peaceful scenes. A tiny number appear to be pictures of men dying from wounds inflicted by spears or arrows, but they are so badly drawn that not a single one can be certainly identified as a wounded or dead man.

Motives for primitive warfare

Ember and Ember find a strong positive correlation between resource unpredictability (i.e., resulting from natural disasters) and high frequencies of war, as well as a weaker positive correlation between socialization for mistrust and more frequent war. They argue that a history of natural disasters, resulting in unpredictable resources, leads to a fear of future economic hardship and thus becomes a major motive to make war - to protect against certain but unpredictable scarcity.²

The interconnected competition over resources and reproduction is the root cause of conflict and fighting in humans, as in all other animal species. Rivalry for rank and domination in nature is, then proximate means in the competition for resources and reproduction.³

Some contend that child rearing and enculturated emotions, or a society's psycho cultural disposition, dictate who will be more war prone.⁴ The primordial wish to do harm breaks out in war-in homicidal acts sanctioned by society as heroic or, in any case, legal.⁵

Even if no compulsion to war *per se* existed, what war can provide and offer individuals may be too satisfying for some to resist, particularly because any war can meet a multiplicity of needs or uses, and war, as an act, can be engaged in by victors over and over again. Incentives to fight may overlap and reinforce one another: Successful warriors who enjoy combat and reap material, reproductive, and leadership rewards are likely not only to want to engage in more combat but to rank combat as the most conclusive test of fitness.⁶

War is as old as humanity. Wars do not just test; they also prove fitness in more realms literally, figuratively, spiritually, through time, across space, and cross-culturally.⁷ The fact that war provides benefits to individuals adequately explains the existence of war.

However, because population density is always low, conflicts between members of different tribes would have necessarily been on a relatively small scale. Individuals might have been sometimes killed, but tribes living at subsistence level could ill-afford to lose adult males. Perhaps a more common type of skirmish would arise from raids in which adult or adolescent females were captured or kidnapped, and taken to live with the raiding tribe.⁸

Spencer⁹ well understood the different moral values that are applied to peaceful populations and to warfare. He wrote: "Rude tribes and... Civilized societies... have had continually to carry on an external self-defence and internal cooperation - external antagonism and internal friendship. Hence their members have acquired two different sets of sentiments and ideas, adjusted to these two kinds of activity... A life of constant external enmity generates a code in which aggression, conquest and revenge, are justified. Conversely a life of settled internal amity generates a code inculcating the virtues conducive to a harmonious co-operation." These two different sets of sentiments and ideas he called the 'code of amity' and the 'code of enmity.'

Tribes go to war primarily "in retaliation for acts of violence". Tribes generally do not remember why they have fought each other for time out of mind or what the original cause was; they fight "the enemy" simply because they have always

fought them. It has become ingrained in their culture. Certainly tribes gain from war if they are victorious: more territory, better hunting grounds, women; but motives of revenge and the need to maintain a sense of honour seem foremost.¹⁰

Tribal warfare in India

The Andaman Islands were indigenously inhabited by 13 tribal populations. Armed conflict continued for a long time among them.¹¹ In Kelly's book, Radcliffe-Brown's argument about Jarawa tribe of Andaman Island is given. According to Radcliffe-Brown:

There can be no doubt that the Jarawa are the descendants of emigrants who at some time in the past made their way across from the little Andaman and thrust themselves upon the inhabitants of Rutland Island and the South Andaman, maintaining their footing in the new country by force of arms.

This armed struggle continued during the early decades of British colonial presence in the Island.

The aborigines of Andaman islands valued "cunning and treachery," only attacking in superior numbers or by stealth. The cross-cultural evidence shows that treacherous, deceitful ambushes have been infrequent but geographically and temporally dispersed in so-called small-scale, tribal systems.¹²

Among the Nagas who had the reputation of being warlike, only steady raids used to take place between villages since long-drawn warfare is rare in primitive societies.¹³

According to Hobbes "every man is enemy to every man". When pressure and necessity arise man sticks to this dictum.

Primitive Warfare in Tamil Region

In the Tamil region, the archaeological sites provided clues pertaining to the life of men in the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Metal ages. The primitive warfare in the Tamil region reflects the same features as in other parts of the world which was fought for the sole reason of survival and the weapons used by them were also similar to that found in other parts of the world. This only shows that men lived in different parts of the world led a

life in the same way and it is the geography that differentiated them with unique features.

The prehistoric period during which the Palaeolithic civilization existed in the Tamil Nadu region has been estimated to span a period from about 500,000 BC until around 3000 BC. For most part of the lower Palaeolithic stage, humans lived close to river valleys with sparse forest cover or in grassland environments. The population density was very low and so far only two localities of this lower Palaeolithic culture have been found in south India. One of these is in Attirampakkam valley in the northwest of Chennai in Tamil Nadu. Archaeological research has uncovered evidence of fossil remains of animals and primitive stone implements around the northern Tamil Nadu that could be dated to belong to around 300,000 BC. Humans in South India, belonging to the species of *Homo erectus*, lived in this primitive 'old stone age' (Palaeolithic) for quite a long time, using only crude implements such as hand axes and choppers and subsisting on food he hunted and gathered instead of actively growing it according to his needs.

The ancestor of modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) who appeared around 50,000 years ago was more developed and could make thinner flake tools and blade-like tools using a variety of stones. From about 10,000 years ago, humans made still smaller tools called Microlithic tools. The material used by the early humans to make these tools were jasper, agate, flint, quartz, etc. In 1949, researchers found such microliths in Tirunelveli district. Archaeological evidence suggests that the microlithic period lasted between 6000-3000 BC. A few studies state that in Tamil Nadu, the Neolithic period had its advent around 2500 BC. Humans of the Neolithic period made their stone tools in finer shapes by grinding and polishing. A Neolithic axe head with ancient writing on it has been found in Tamil Nadu. The Neolithic humans lived mostly on small flat hills or on the foothills in small, more or less permanent settlements but for periodical migration for grazing purposes. They gave the dead proper burials within urns or pits. They were also starting to use copper for making certain tools or weapons.

During the Iron Age humans started using iron for making tools and weapons. The Iron Age culture in peninsular India is marked by Megalithic

burial sites, which are found in several hundreds of places. On the basis of both excavations and the typology of the burial monuments, it has been suggested that there was a gradual spread of the Iron Age sites from the north to the south. Comparative excavations carried out in Adichanallur in Tirunelveli district and in Northern India have provided evidence of a southward migration of the Megalithic culture.

The earliest clear evidence of the presence of the Megalithic urn burials are those dating from around 1000 BC, which have been discovered at various places in Tamil Nadu, notably at Adichanallur, 24 km from Tirunelveli, where archaeologists from the Archaeological Survey of India unearthed 157 urns, including 15 containing human skulls, skeletons and bones, husks, grains of rice, charred rice and Neolithic celts. It is a surmise that these were the remains of the heroes of a tribal warfare who were venerated by such burials. One urn has writing inside, which, according to archaeologists from the Archaeological Survey of India, resembles early Tamil-Brahmi script, confirming it of the Neolithic period 2800 years ago. Adichanallur has been announced as an archaeological site for further excavation and studies.

The Konavakarai, a tribal village located at a distance of 40 Kms. from Kotagiri in Nilgiris district is a home for a rock shelter that has rock paintings of a pre-historic period. It is a huge rock, roughly 300 feet high and 500 feet long, with paintings found on its eastern face. This site is one of the longest pre-historical rock art sites in Tamil Nadu. The paintings extend over a length of nearly 53 metres and go up to a height of 15 meters. The shelter could accommodate more than 100 people at a time, with only two narrow entrances. A deep valley lies below the rock, thus making it a safe and secure site. At this site, the vast majority of recognizable representations are indeed of various species of animals and human activities. There are more than 500 images, but the external elements have eroded a few. The subjects range from animal to human figures - a series of bulls and bull-fighting, the domestication of wild animals, deer, elephants, domestic fowl, a man riding an animal, a man carrying animals, monkeys, a mongoose and a snake fight and warriors with

weapons. The bulls, and this includes a calf in procession, are a masterpiece. Another interesting depiction is a group of dancers with their arms thrown over the other person's waist. The foot soldiers are armed mainly with swords and shields. The horses are draped in a fancy saddle, blankets, reins, tassels and other ornaments. But it is not possible to say whether there is any mythological background to these war scenes or whether they are merely a reflex icon of warfare as the artist had seen it. The detailed depictions of weapons show that the rock shelter painters were more than casually acquainted with them. It is possible that members of tribes were recruited into the royal armies and became acquainted with courtly dress and ornaments. In a few of the scenes, the soldiers are standing on one base line that may indicate that they were war scenes taking place in the plains, and that may have been witnessed and recorded by the artist. The depictions of the bow are also varied.¹⁴ Even till the end of the nineteenth century, the tribals, the remnants of the primitive people in the Tamil country were fighting in old fashion using bows and arrows, slings and spears. Much of the sophistication in weaponry was resented by them.

Generally, the fierce cult of war is propagated through the celebration of the courage and valour of warriors, the voluntary sacrifice of their mothers and wives, and the rituals concerning the erection and worship of the hero stones among the primitive people of Tamilagam.¹⁵

o The continuance of inter-tribal warfare in Tamil country and war loot was perforce the only recourse to supplementing resources, most of which were redistributed among them. Inter-tribal warfare was another means by which the ruling families of marudam in Tamil region obtained natural resources from hilly areas. Among the people of kurinji, mullai, marudham and neithal tracts, there was a natural element of competition and hostility due to the contrasts in the productivity of different tinais. Predatory raids were common among the people of various regions and reference to the razing of the enemies' fields and despoiling of water tanks shows that the kurinji and mullai chiefs were no passive observers of the increasing influence of the chieftains of other territories, when they fell short of their basic resources.¹⁶ These

tribal tendencies continued in later years also with little changes in tune with the developments of subsequent ages. Yet, the causes and objectives of the basic warfare had not changed.

Conclusion

Violence, thus, is ubiquitous among all human societies. This had its manifestations in aggression, battles and wars which were carried on every now and then killing many and affecting the peace of the societies. Yet, many feel that war had always been an urge for a change, liquidating the old and bringing in new aspects. Tribal warfare in

many parts of the world had been fought in the same manner as people were induced with the same feelings, emotions and urges. The causes for the warfare were almost common to all societies in spite of geographical differences and variations. Tamil country as well as India in the past too had been affected by tribal warfare as it was usual to many societies. However, while other societies in the west were greatly prone to develop deadly weapons and armaments to destroy their opposing groups, the people of this land showed temperance and moderation.

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CAPITAL TOWNS OF THE CHOLAS

G. Thiagarajan*

Tamil Nadu is known for its hoary past. It is culturally a rich country from the times of the Sangam age. Tamil country witnessed the development of many towns and cities through the ages. The dynastic rulers shifted their capitals depending upon the nature and expansion of the political activities. The study of capital towns of medieval Tamil Nadu will be of interesting one. The Chola rulers of medieval Tamil Nadu were known for their various activities. Their history forms an interesting chapter in the political, social, economic, cultural history of India. The study of towns and cities of the Cholas provide a good scope for students of history. An attempt is made in this paper to study the capital towns of the imperial Cholas. The scope of the present study is to probe the factors which contributed to the emergence of capital towns in medieval Chola mandalam down to the 13th century. A study on Chola capitals, namely, Palaiyarai, Thanjavur and Gangaikonda Cholapuram has been undertaken.

Palaiyarai

Prior to the advent of Rajaraja I, Palaiyarai had been the important urban centre around which activities of the Cholas grew. There developed gradually a group of villages and settlements around Palaiyarai. The Palaiyarai complex grew up around the palace of the imperial Cholas. In the 9th and 10th centuries it developed as a city with "wide streets and tall structures". Probably it consisted of a large number of religious settlements and military establishments of the Cholas. The Vadatali or Vallatarkoil in Mulaiyur, a part of Palaiyarai, was perhaps the earliest Siva temple settlement in the complex.¹ There was the decline of the Jain settlement which originally existed here. The second important settlement in this complex was Nandipuram.² It came up around a Vishnu temple. It has a well known merchant colony. Inscriptional references to the merchants from Nandipuram as donors to the temples of the Kudumukku complex are found. Thiruccattimuram in Pattiswaram was the third

settlement dating from the 9th Century A.D. Arulmolideviswaram³ (the present Siva temple in Kilapalaiyari) was built by Rajaraja I. The next important settlement was a Pallipadai. Monument built by Rajaraja I. It was a centre of Pasupata seat of Saivites. Palaiyarai was populated by a considerable number of Pasupatas.⁴ Two other Saiva settlements arose is Palaiyarai in the 12th Century A.D. of them Virudaraja Bhayan Kareswara Udayar⁵ temple is located near Chola Maligai, the site of the old Chola palace. The other was temple of Rajarajeswaram, now called Darasuram. It is a remarkable monument; architecturally it is the most elegant of all the temples of Palaiyarai region. By far the most significant factor is the urban development of Palaiyarai. It was chosen by Cholas as their residential capital. All most all imperial Cholas preferred to lived in Palaiyarai and used it as a residential strong hold.⁶ Trade was main factor in this process of urban development. Because of trade it acquired dominance as the centre of palace establishment in Palaiyarai. Much of the trade and commercial activities were controlled by the local merchants and their guilds. Textile and Metalware were the two major industries which developed in this centre vessel making and bronze castings had been flourishing crafts of this centre. There were large groups of architects and sculptors following the incessant temple building activity from 9th Century A.D.

Thanjavur

Thanjavur a territory under Muttaraiyur Chieftains became the centre of power from the middle of the 9th Century A.D. Gradually it grew into a seat of an empire under the imperial Cholas. With the advent of Rajarajan I. Thanjavur originally was a cluster of small village settlements. After its conquest by Vijayalaya Chola from Muttarayars, it assumed political importance, successive rulers promoted the growth of Thanjavur as a great city. The name of Thanjavur came to be directly linked with that of the Cholas from 850 A.D.⁷ onwards till the end of the 13th Century. Parakasari Vijayalaya

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Chola (850 - 871) captured Thanjavur as a mark of his victory, he built a temple for Nisumbudani in this town. Aditya I (871 - 907) successor of Vijayalaya emancipated Thanjavur from subjugation to Kanchi during the Crisis of Tiruppurambiyam. He was the real founder of the Chola dynasty of Thanjavur. Parantaka I (907 - 955) the greatest among the early Chola kings added glory to Thanjavur by his political and cultural achievements. Thanjavur continued to gain importance as the seat of expanding Chola power. The rule of Sundara Chola, Uttama Chola, etc. with the advent of Rajaraja the great (985 - 1014), the city Thanjavur assumed greater dimensions as the capital of the imperialist power. Thanjavur as the became capital city became the centre of activity of royal patronages, ministers, officials, religious, gurus, ambassadors, etc.

The city became a great religious centre particularly of Saivism. Rajaraja was an ardent Saivite and constructed the Brihadeeswara temple at Thanjavur.⁸ The magnificent temple at capital of the Cholas represented the nature of the huge empire of the great king Rajaraja I. The smaller fort contains a fine tank (Sivaganga Tank) which was once reverted throughout and is ascribed by popular tradition to Rajaraja I. Thanjavur continued to be the seat of Chola empire till 1022, when Rajendra I shifted his capital to the new city Gangai Konda Cholapuram.

Thanjavur was divided in to two parts. Agambadi meaning inter side of the fort and Purambadi which was outside fort. Karunthattangudi, a suburb of Thanjavur was in the Purambadi.

Gangai Konda Cholapuram

Gangai Konda Cholapuram is yet another Chola city which came into existence during the period of Chola emperor Rajendra I and was made the Capital of the Chola Empire. It was also called Gangapuri in Sanskrit. Gangai Konda Cholapuram, today a small village, situated on the trunk road leading to Jayankonda Cholapuram from the cross road near Minsuruitti was a metropolis during medieval Chola period. It was another largest and

important city in 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and was the centre of political, commercial and cultural activities as that of Madurai in Pandinadu and Karur in Cheranadu. The earliest reference to this city is found in an inscription of Rajendra I (1029 A.D.) Rajendra I established the Gangai Konda Cholapuram after his name and built a great temple also named after him to Lord Maheswara out of great devotion. He was deeply attached to the lotus feet of that lord like a bee ever beaming over Parijata Flower.⁹ In Thiruvallangadu plates there is a mention about Chola Ganga which was the liquid pillar of victory that Rajendra created in memory of his conquest over Gangetic region. A number of small tanks and ponds mentioned in the inscriptions supplied drinking water to the residents of this city. The great lake namely Chola Gangam lies 2 miles to the west of the temple. Now it is called Ponneri (Golden lake) It is about 16 miles in Length and 3 miles in breath. The lake besides supplying water for irrigation provided water for the requirements of the residents of Gangai Konda Cholapuram.¹⁰ Inwards the north east of the palace is the great temple of Gangai Konda Cholapuram dedicated to Lord Siva which is the magnificent monument of this city. It was built in close imitation of Rajarajeswaram at Thanjavur.

The Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology had started its archaeological exploration in the year 1980 in Gangai Konda Cholapuram. Since they were able to collect a number of medieval period pot-sherds, tiles, terracotta figurines, knobs and some coins, it was decided to do the excavation at this site. Trenches had been laid covering an area of 320 Sq.m. A trench was put up just in front of the sluice of the in CHOLAGANGAM in order to find out the original structure built during Chola period. The city might have played very important role even after Rajendra I (i.e.,) till the invasion of later Pandayas.¹¹

Thus a study of the Chola capitals gives an insight into the different socio-cultural aspects of the medieval period.

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PIRANMALAI THROUGH THE AGES

J. Albaris*

Piranmalai is situated 42 km west of Karaikudi town in Sivaganga district. The History of Piranmalai dates back its origin to the Sangam age. It was known in various names such as Parambumalai, Parambu, Thininelankundram, Puranadu, Paranadu, Thirukodunkundram and Kodunkundram. Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas were the three well established kingdoms of Tamilagam during the Sangam age. There were seven petty chieftains, of whom Pari ruled Parambunadu from 120 to 160 A.D. Kapilar was the court poet and fruebd if Pari. In Sangam works, there are plenty of references about this place. In Ahananuru song no. 323 of

Perunkottanar speaks of this place. Thirugnanasambandar sang in praise of this place in the 7th century A.D. In the Chola records it is mentioned as Sundararaja chaturvedimangalam. It was one among the fourteen holy places of the Pandya kingdom. Arunagirinathar in his Tirupugal quoted as Kodunthinkundram. This people of Piranmalai even today are proud of the Pari Vallal and his court poet Kapilar. Still this place exists with its natural beauty and educational institutions in the name of Pari Vallal. It was announced as a tourist center on 8th December 1988 by the Government of Tamil Nadu.

SOUTH INDIAN REBELLION IN TAMIL NADU

J. Renugadevi **

The South Indian Rebellion of 1800-101 represented a violent reaction against the surrender of the rulers to the British. The horrors that attended the growth of British imperialism spread a wave of revulsion and led the inhabitants to united action. The outbreak of the Rebellion marked the climax of a determined endeavor made by the common people of South India to liberate the "peninsula of Jambu Dwipa" from British yoke and to forestall the fall of rest of India under European authority, so that all the inhabitants of the land., as the rebels declared, could live in "constant happiness without tears".

Marudu Pandyan of Sivaganga, Gopala Nayaka of Dindigul, Khan-I-jah Khan of Coimbatore, Kerala of Malabar, Krishnappa Nayak of Mysore and Dhondaji Wang of Maharashtra who organized a formidable conspiracy for the overthrow of the British spearheaded the movement. They held a conspiracy at Virupakshi at Dindigul and rose in arms with an attack on Coimbatore On the 3rd June 1800. The insurrection spread over an extensive region from Sholapur in the north to Nanguneri in the south. In this great struggle Tamils played the remarkable role.

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Though the rebellion was suppressed the patriots made a valiant but final endeavor against the English, when they recouped their eclipsed energies in the organization of another struggle in 1806. The rebels made Vellore, the center of their activities. This place became S.S. Furnell has asserted the seat of "deep and dark intrigues" The Vellore success did not last long. This marked the

failure of the last bid made by the insurgents under the inspiration of the South Indian Rebellion. The company now proceeded to strengthen the European element in the military establishments and reorganize the administration of the forts. These reforms contributed to the consolidation of its sway.

திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகத்தில் ஏ. கோவிந்தசாமியின் பங்கு

இரா. சீனிவாசன்*

முன்னுரை

விடுதலைக்குப் பிந்திய இந்திய அரசியலில் மாநிலப் பற்றின் பங்கு முக்கியமானதொன்றாகும். விடுதலைப் போராட்ட காலத்தில் ஒரே கொள்கை உடையவர்களாயிருந்த பல்வேறு தலைவர்கள் விடுதலைக்குப் பின் சமூக, பொருளாதார மாற்றங்களைப் பற்றிய சித்தாந்தங்களில் கருத்து மாற்றங்கள் கொண்டு பல்வேறு அரசியல் கட்சிகளில் சார்ந்து நின்று பணிபுரிந்தனர். மாநிலப் பற்றையே மையமாகக் கொண்டு சில அரசியல் கட்சிகளில் சார்ந்து நின்று பணிபுரிந்தனர். மாநிலப் பற்றையே மையமாகக் கொண்டு சில அரசியல் கட்சிகள் தோன்றின. இவை சிறிய கட்சிகளாகத் தோற்றமளித்தாலும் மாநில அரசியலில் ஒரு குறிப்பிடத்தக்க வகையில் செயல்பட்டன.

தொடக்கத்தில் சாதிப்பற்றை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட குழுக்களும், அமைப்புகளும் காலப்போக்கில் சாதிப்பற்றற்ற பணிகளை மேற்கொள்வதையும், சமய வேறுபாடற்ற போக்கையும் கடைப்பிடித்ததோடு அல்லாது ஒரு தனிப்பட்ட அரசியல் வடிவம் பெறுவதையும் இந்திய அரசியலில் நாம் காண்கிறோம். இவ்வாறு சாதியின் மூலம் அரசியலில் நுழைந்த பின்னர் சாதிப்பற்றற்ற போக்கினைக் கடைப்பிடித்தவர் ஆனையப்பன் ஏ. கோவிந்தசாமி ஆவார். பாண்டிச்சேரிக்கு அருகில் தேங்காய்த்திட்டு என்னும் ஊரில் பிறந்த இவர் 1952 முதல் அரசியலில் ஈடுபட்டார்.

கோவிந்தசாமியின் அரசியல் வாழ்வு, சாதிக்கும் அரசியலுக்கும் இடையே மாறும் தொடர்புகள் பற்றி அறிய ஒரு சிறந்த வாய்ப்பை அளிக்கிறது. தமிழகத்தின் தற்கால அரசியலில் சாதியின் பங்கை அறிந்து கொள்வதோடு மட்டுமல்லாமல் பிற்பட்டோர் மற்றும் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர் நலன்கள் எந்த அளவுக்கு அரசியல் ஆதரவு பெற்றன என்பதை அறியலாம். அரசியலில் நேர்மையும், எளிமையும் அந்த அளவுக்குப் பெயர் பெற முடியும் என்பதை எடுத்துக்காட்டியவர் ஏ. கோவிந்தசாமி ஆவார்.

அரசியல் ஈடுபாடு

கோவிந்தசாமி அரசியலில் ஈடுபட நேர்ந்த காரணங்கள் தமிழக அரசியல் வரலாற்றில் முக்கியமானவை. முழுக்க முழுக்க வன்னிய குல நலன்களுக்காக உழைத்த அவர் இந்தியா விடுதலை பெற்ற பின்னர் 1952-ஆம் ஆண்டில் தமிழகத்தில் நடக்கவிருந்த பொதுத்தேர்தலின் போது தமது நோக்கங்களையும் செயல்முறைகளையும் மாற்ற வேண்டிய கட்டாயத்தை உணர்ந்தார். 1951-இல் வன்னிய குல நலன்களுக்காக அரசியலில் ஈடுபடவும், தேர்தலில் போட்டியிடவும் உழைப்பாளர் கட்சியினை உருவாக்குவதிலும் பிரபலமடையச் செய்வதிலும் தம்மாலான கடமையை அக்கட்சியின் பொதுச் செயலாளராக இருந்து பணியாற்றினார். பின்னர் தி.மு.க.வில் இணைந்தார். அரசியலில் வெற்றி பெற ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட சாதியை மட்டும் ஆதரிப்பதும் அதன் நலன்களுக்காக மட்டும் உழைப்பதும் துணை புரியாது என்பதையும் அவர் நன்கு உணர்ந்தார். வன்னியர் நலன்கள் பிற்பட்டோர் மற்றும் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர் நலன்களுடன் ஒன்றுபட்டன என்பதை உணர்ந்த அவர் ஆளுங்கட்சி அதற்குச் சரியான இடம் அன்று என்பதையும், தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களுக்குப் பாடுபடும் திராவிடப் பாரம்பரியம் பெற்ற தி.மு.க.வே அந்தப் பணிக்கு ஏற்ற கட்சி என்பதையும் நன்கு உணர்ந்தார். எனவே 1952 பொதுத் தேர்தலில் தமிழ்நாடு உழைப்பாளர் கட்சி சார்பாகச் சேவல் சின்னத்தில் விகிரவாண்டியில் போட்டியிட்டு வெற்றி பெற்ற அவர் 1953-இல் தி.மு.க.வில் சேர வேண்டிய முடிவை எடுத்தார்.¹

சட்டமன்றத்தில் தி.மு.க. உறுப்பினர்கள் இல்லாத நிலையில் முதல் தி.மு.க. சட்டமன்ற உறுப்பினர் என்ற பெருமைக்கு உரியவரானார். பிறகு அதே ஆண்டில் தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்ட தி.மு.க. செயலாளர் ஆனார். தொடக்கத்தில் தேர்தலில் தி.மு.க.வின் ஆதரவைப் பெற, கோவிந்தசாமி திராவிட நாடு விடுதலைப் பிரச்சனையில்

* இணைப்பேராசிரியர், வரலாற்றுத்துறை, உ.நா. அரக கல்லூரி, பொன்னேரி.

ஒத்துழைப்பதாக ஒப்புக்கொண்டார். ஒப்புக் கொண்டதோடு மட்டுமல்லாமல் ஒப்பந்தத்தில் கையொப்பம் இட்டார்.

1953-ஆம் ஆண்டு தி.மு.க. நடத்திய மும்முனைப் போராட்டத்தின் போது கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்களைத் தலைமை நிலையப் பொறுப்பாளராக அறிஞர் அண்ணா நியமித்தார். அரசியல் ரீதியாகத் தமிழர்களின் அதிருப்தியை டெல்லி அரசுக்குத் தெரிவித்துக் கொண்ட முதல் சந்தர்ப்பம் 1953-இல் தி.மு.க. நடத்திய மும்முனைப் போராட்டமேயாகும். பிரதமர் நேரு இந்தி எதிர்ப்பை இழிவாகப் பேசியதைக் கண்டித்தும், தமிழகத்தின் ஊர்ப்பெயர்களை தமிழில் எழுதியதை அழிக்கும் இரயில்வே துறையினர் போக்குடன் முரண்பட்டும், சென்னை மாநில காங்கிரசு ஆட்சியாளரின் குலக் கல்வித் திட்டத்தை எதிர்த்தும் அம்மும்முனைப் போராட்டம் நடந்தது.² மும்முனைப் போராட்டக் காலத்தில் கழகத்திற்கும், கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்களுக்கும் ஏற்பட்ட பிணைப்பு, அவருடைய கடைசி மூச்சுவரை நிலைத்து ஒளியீசிறு.

1953-இல் தான் பெரும்பாலான கழகத் தோழர்களுக்கு அவர் அறிமுகமானார் என்றாலும், அண்ணா அவர்களுக்கும், மற்றத் தலைவர்களுக்கும் 1951-ஆம் ஆண்டிலேயே நெருக்கமாகிவிட்டவர். தமிழர், ஆந்திரர், கன்னடர், கேரளர் ஆகிய நான்கு மொழி மக்களும் நிரம்பியிருந்த அன்றைய சென்னை சட்டமன்றத்தில், அண்ணா அவர்களைப் பற்றியும், கழகத்தின் கொள்கை, கோட்பாடுகள் குறித்தும், நேரம் வந்தற்றபோது மிக உறுதியான குரலில் முழக்கி அறிமுகப்படுத்திய உத்தமர் கோவிந்தசாமி ஒருவர்தாம்.³

சட்டமன்றத்தில் அண்ணா அவர்களின் பெயரைச் சொல்வதும், தி.மு.கழகம் - திராவிட நாடு - தமிழ் மொழி என்றெல்லாம் பேசுவதும், மரியாதைக் குறைவு, பாவம் என்ற மனோபாவம். நிழலாடிய நாட்களில் கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்கள் சட்டமன்றத்தில் தன்னந்தனியாக நின்று அடுக்கிய வாதங்களும், அவைகளின் பயனாக அப்போது கழகத்திற்குக் கிடைத்த மரியாதைகளுமே அண்ணா அவர்களுக்குப் புதிய நம்பிக்கையை ஊட்டி. 1956-இல் நடைபெற்ற திருச்சி மாநில மாநாட்டில் “சட்ட மன்ற நுழைவு தேவையா? இல்லையா?” என்று கருத்தறியும் அளவுக்கு முன்வரச் செய்தது.

பெரியார் அவர்களிடமிருந்து பிரிந்தாலும் அவருக்கு இருந்த சில நம்பிக்கைகளை - கருத்துகளை - கையொடு கொண்டு வந்த அண்ணா அவர்கள் கடைசி வரையில் “கழகம் சட்ட மன்ற நுழைவு மேற்கொள்வது ஆபத்தானது” என்ற கருத்துடன்தான் இருந்தார். “ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பின் பக்கம் கவனம் திரும்பினால், கழகத்தின் பிரச்சாரத்திலும், தோழர்களுக்கு இடையேயுள்ள பிணைப்பிலும் தொய்வு ஏற்படும்”, என்று அறிஞர் அண்ணா கருதினார். ஆனால் “அது சரியன்று” என்று அழுத்தந்திருத்தமாகச் சொல்லி, அறிஞர் அண்ணா

அவர்களை இணங்க வைத்ததில் கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்களுக்குப் பெரும்பங்கு உண்டு.⁴

இவ்வாறு சட்டமன்றப் பணியில் ஈடுபடாமல் தி.மு.க.வின் நோக்கம் சமுதாயப் பணிதான் என்ற நிலையை மாற்றி ஒரு கட்சியின் கொள்கையையே, அக்கட்சியின் புதிய உறுப்பினரான ஒருவர் மாற்றி அமைத்த நிகழ்ச்சி வரலாற்றில் சிறப்புமிக்க இடத்தைப் பெறுகிறது. 1967-இல் இருந்து இன்று வரை திராவிடக் கட்சிகள் தமிழகத்தை ஆண்டு வருகின்றன. இக்கட்சிகளின் பணியாகத் தமிழகத்தில் பல சீர்திருத்தப் பணிகளும், பிற்பட்ட, தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களின் முன்னேற்றமும் நடைபெற்று உள்ளன. இந்த வரலாற்று மாற்றத்திற்கு மூல காரணமாக அமைந்து, இக்கட்சிக்கு நம்பிக்கை ஏற்படுத்திய ஒரு சிறந்த தளபதியாக கோவிந்தசாமி திகழ்கிறார். இவ்வாறாகத் திராவிட இயக்கத்தின் வரலாற்றில் ஒரு முக்கியமான இடத்தை இவர் பெற்றுவிட்டார்.

1965-இல் பிரிவினை வாதத்தைக் கைவிட்டு மாநில சுயாட்சி கோரிக்கையாகத் தி.மு.க. மாற்றிக் கொண்டதற்கு அக்கட்சிக்குத் தேர்தலில் ஏற்பட்ட நம்பிக்கையும் ஒரு காரணமாகும். இந்த நம்பிக்கைக்கு மூலகாரணம் கோவிந்தசாமியின் ஆரம்பகால சட்டமன்றப் பணியும் அண்ணாவைத் தேர்தலில் ஈடுபட வைக்க அவர் செய்த முயற்சியுமே ஆகும்.

கட்சிப்பணி

ஜனநாயகத்தில் ஒரு அரசியல் கட்சி வளர, பரவ வேண்டுமெனில், அக்கட்சி தனக்கென ஒரு பரந்த சமூக அடித்தளத்தை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ள வேண்டும். அப்பொழுதுதான் அக்கட்சி பெரும்பான்மை மக்களின் சார்பாகச் சமூக முன்னுரிமைகளையும், கோரிக்கைகளையும் மாற்றவோ, ஏற்கவோ முடியும். மேலும் ஒரு கட்சி அவ்வாறு செய்யவும் அரசியலில் உறுதி பெறவும், பல வழிமுறைகளைப் பின்பற்றலாம். ஆனால், அக்கட்சியில் உள்ள தலைவர்களும் தொண்டர்களும் எந்த அளவிற்குக் கட்சியின் கொள்கைகளைப் பரப்ப, நிறைவேற்றத் தயாராகவும் ஒன்றுபட்டும் இருக்கிறார்களோ, அந்த அளவுக்கு அக்கட்சியின் வெற்றி அமையும். இவ்வாறு தலைவராகவும் தொண்டராகவும் இருந்து தி.மு.கழகத்தை வளர்க்கப் பாடுபட்டவர் கோவிந்தசாமி. சட்டமன்ற உறுப்பினராகத் தி.மு.க.வில் சேர்ந்த கோவிந்தசாமி கட்சி நடத்திய மும்முனைப் போராட்டத்தைத் தலைமை நிலைய பொறுப்பாளராக இருந்து வெற்றி பெறச் செய்தார். மும்முனைப் போராட்டம் கோவிந்தசாமியின் அரசியல் நுழைவுக்கு மட்டுமின்றிக் கட்சியின் வளர்ச்சிக்கும் பேருதவி செய்தது. மற்ற தலைவர்கள் சிறையில் இருந்தபோது போராட்டத்தைத் தொடர்ந்து முற்றிலும் ஏற்று நடத்தும் பணி கோவிந்தசாமியிடம் சேர்ந்தது.

இராஜாஜி கொண்டு வந்த குலக் கல்வித் திட்டத்தை எதிர்த்து கோவிந்தசாமி 'போர்க்கொடி' ஏந்தினார். கிராம மக்கள் அப்போராட்டத்திற்கு அமோக ஆதரவு அளித்தனர். 8.7.1953 அன்று விக்கிரவாண்டி வட்டாரத்தில் 30 கிராமங்களைச், சேர்ந்த மக்கள் ஊர்வலத்தில் கலந்து கொண்டனர். குலதர்ம கல்வி முறை ஒழிக என்ற முழக்கத்துடன் தங்கள் ஊரில் ஆச்சாரியார் கல்வித் திட்டத்தைக் கண்டிக்கிறோம் என்ற கையெழுத்து மகஜர் உடன் பெரிய ஊர்வலத்தில் கலந்து கொண்டனர். கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்கள் பேசுகையில் சட்டசபைக்கு உள்ளும், வெளியும் இத்திட்டத்தை எதிர்த்துத் தான் தீவிரமாகப் பேரராட்ப் போவதாகவும் அண்ணா அவர்கள் கட்டளைப்படி தான் கைதாக வேண்டிய நிலை ஏற்பட்டால் விக்கிரவாண்டி மக்கள் மேலும் உற்சாகத்துடன் எதிர்ப்புச் சக்தியைப் பெருக்க வேண்டும் என்றும் தான் சிறை செல்வதற்குத் தயார் என்றும் குறிப்பிட்டார்.⁵

மேலும் 1938-ஆம் ஆண்டு இராஜாஜி நமது குழந்தைகளுக்கு வாயில் நுழையாத இந்தியைக் கொண்டு வந்தார் என்றும், அந்த மொழிப் போராட்டத்தில் தாளமுத்து, நடராஜன் என்ற இருவரை இழக்க நேரிட்டது என்பதையும் மக்களுக்கு நினைவு ஊட்டினார். அப்போது சிறைப்பட்டுள்ள தி.மு.க. தலைவர்களையும் தோழர்களையும் உடனடியாக விடுவிக்காவிட்டால் போராட்டம் ஓயாது என்று எச்சரித்தார். நேரு இங்கு வரும்போது கறுப்புக்கொடி காட்டுவோம் என்று சவால் விடுத்தார்.

கல்லக்குடி போராட்டம் நடந்த போது கோவிந்தசாமி ஓர் உண்மையான கட்சித் தொண்டனாகச் செயலாற்றினார். திருச்சி மாவட்டம், வால்குடியில் நடந்த தி.மு.க.மாநாட்டில் வட நாட்டாரின் டால்மியாபுரம் என்ற பெயரை கல்லக்குடி என்று மாற்ற வேண்டும் என தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டது. டால்மியாபுரம் என்ற பெயர் தமிழர்களுக்கு அவமானமாக உள்ளது என்று கூறப்பட்டது. பெயர் மாற்றப் போராட்டத் தலைவராக மு.கருணாநிதி நியமிக்கப்பட்டார். அந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து கோவிந்தசாமி பேசினார். கல்லக்குடி என்ற பெயரை எழுதி டால்மியாபுரம் என்ற பெயர் பலகைகளில் அமைதியாக ஒட்ட வேண்டும் என்றும், தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டது. கல்லக்குடி அறப்போர் வழக்கு விசாரணைக்கு வந்தபோது இந்தத் தீர்மானங்கள் ஆதரித்து கோவிந்தசாமி நீதிமன்றத்தில் சாட்சியம் கூறினார்.⁶

1961 ஜூலை 12-ஆம் நாள் கோவிந்தசாமி தி.மு.கழகத் தொழிற்சங்க செயலாளராகப் பொறுப்பேற்றார். இந்திகழ்ச்சி தொழிலாளர்களிடமும், விவசாயிகளிடமும், அவருக்குள்ள பரிவையும், ஈடுபாட்டையும் காட்டுகிறது. சபையில் தி.மு.கழகம் நடத்திய அணிவகுப்புக்குக் கோவிந்தசாமி தலைமை தாங்கினார்.

தி.மு.கழகப் பொதுக்குழு தீர்மானத்திற்கிணங்க 1960 ஜூன் 30-ஆம் நாள் சட்டமன்ற உறுப்பினர் கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்கள் தலைமையில் கைத்தறி துணி நூல் மீது விதிக்கப்பட்ட வரியைக் கண்டித்து சட்டசபை முன் தனது கண்டனத்தை தெரிவிக்க மக்கள் அணிவகுப்பு ஒன்று திரண்டது. இவ்வணிவகுப்பில் மாநிலமெங்குள்ள கைத்தறியாளர்கள் பங்கு கொண்டனர். 1962 ஜூலை 19-ஆம் நாள் விலைவாசி உயர்வை கண்டித்து மறியல் செய்தனர்.

கட்சியில் கோவிந்தசாமி பல பதவிகள் வகித்தாலும், மற்ற தலைவர்களுடன் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு கொண்டிருந்தாலும், தம்மை எப்போதும் ஒரு தொண்டனாகவே கருதினார். எல்லாப் பொறுப்புகளையும் கட்சியை வளர்க்கக் கிடைத்த வாய்ப்பாகவே கருதினார்.

தேர்தல் போட்டி

கோவிந்தசாமியின் தேர்தல் போட்டி ஒரு நேர்மையான அரசியல் தலைவரின் தேர்தல் போட்டிக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டு.

1952-ஆம் ஆண்டு நடந்த பொதுத் தேர்தலில் கோவிந்தசாமி முதன்முதலில் போட்டியிட்டார். அப்போது சென்னை சட்டமன்றத்திற்கு தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் விக்கிரவாண்டித் தொகுதியில் உழைப்பாளர் கட்சியின் சார்பில் போட்டியிட்டார் இந்தத் தேர்தல் சமயத்தில் உழைப்பாளர் கட்சி வன்னியர்களின் ஆதரவையே பெரும் அளவிற்கு நம்பியிருந்தது. இருந்தாலும் கோவிந்தசாமி திராவிட நாடு கோரிக்கைகள் ஆதரிக்கும் ஒப்பந்தத்தில் கையெழுத்திட்டதால் தி.மு.கவின் ஆதரவையும் பெற்றார். இந்தத் தேர்தலில் இவரை எதிர்த்து நின்றவர் தி.பாலியம்ரெட்டி என்ற பழுத்த காங்கிரசுக்காரர் மிகப்பெரிய செல்வந்தர். கோவிந்தசாமி வேலை செய்த மணிலா மார்க்கெட்டிங் கமிட்டியின் தலைவர் அவரையே எதிர்த்து நின்று 1850 வாக்குகள் வித்தியாசத்தில் வெற்றி பெற்றார் கோவிந்தசாமி.⁷

இதற்கு அடுத்து 1957-ஆம் ஆண்டு நடந்த பொதுத் தேர்தலில் தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்ட வளவனூர் தொகுதியில் தன்னை எதிர்த்து நின்ற காங்கிரஸ் வேட்பாளர் கிருஷ்ணகவுண்டரை விட, 15,580 வாக்குகள் வித்தியாசத்தில் வெற்றிபெற்றார்.⁸ ஆனால் இதன் பின்னர் நடந்த 1962-ஆம் ஆண்டு தேர்தலில் அதே தொகுதியில் தி.மு.க. சார்பில் போட்டியிட்ட போது தோல்வியடைய நேர்ந்தது.

இதற்கடுத்து நடந்த 1967-ஆம் ஆண்டு தேர்தல் தமிழக வரலாற்றில் முக்கியமானதாகும். இந்தத் தேர்தலில் கோவிந்தசாமி தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள முகையூர் தொகுதியில் இருந்து தி.மு.க. சார்பில் தேர்தெடுக்கப்பட்டார். தம்மை எதிர்த்துப் போட்டியிட்ட காங்கிரஸ் வேட்பாளர் என்.கே. சபாபதியை விட 12,043

வாக்குகள் அதிகம் பெற்று வெற்றி பெற்றார். இந்த வெற்றி கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்களின் அயராது கட்சிப்பணிக்குக் கிடைத்த வெற்றி.⁹

அமைச்சர் பணி

1967-ஆம் ஆண்டு பிப்ரவரி மாதம் நடந்த பொதுத் தேர்தலில் தி.மு.கழகம் 234 தொகுதிகளில் 138 தொகுதிகளைப் பெற்று பேரறிஞர் அண்ணாவின் தலைமையில் ஆளும் கட்சியாய் உயர்ந்தது.¹⁰ அப்பொழுது வேளாண்மைத் துறை அமைச்சராக கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்கள் பதவியேற்றார்.

ஓர் அமைச்சரின் செயல்முறைகள் இரு வகைப்படும். அதாவது சட்டப் பேரவையில் தன் துறை சார்ந்த விவரங்களை அறிவித்தலும், எதிர்க்கட்சியினர் தொடுக்கும் வினாக்களுக்கு விடையளித்தலும் ஆகும். இரண்டாவது சட்டமன்றத்திற்கு வெளியே தமிழக மக்கள் அனைவருக்கும் தம் பொறுப்பில் உள்ள துறையின் பயன்கள் கிடைக்குமாறு செய்தல் ஆகும். எதிர்க்கட்சியார் தொடுத்த எந்த வினாவிற்கும் தக்க விடைகளை உடனுக்குடன் கூறி வந்தார் கோவிந்தசாமி.

மேலும் விவசாய அமைச்சராய் இருந்த காலத்தில் ஐ.ஆர். 8, ஆடுதுறை 27 என்ற நெல் வகைகள் உருவாக்கப்பட்டன. இத்தகைய நெல் வகைகளால் பல லட்சம் டன் நெல் உற்பத்தி அதிகமாயிற்று.¹¹ அரசாங்க வேளாண்மைப் பண்ணை திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி மாவட்டம் குடுமியான் மலையில் நிறுவப்பட்டது.

வேளாண்மைக்கும், கால்நடைக்கும் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு உண்டு. விவசாயிகளுக்கு உற்ர துணையாகும் கால்நடைகள் கிராமப்புறத்தின் செல்வங்களாகும். அவைகளுக்கு வரும் நோய் முதலியவற்றைத் தடுப்பதில் கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்கள் ஆர்வம் காட்டியுள்ளார். செம்மறி ஆடு வளர்ப்பில் ஒரு புதிய திருப்புமுனையை அவர் ஏற்படுத்தினார். காட்டுப்பாக்கத்திலும், சாத்தூரிலும்

செம்மறி ஆட்டுப் பண்ணையை கோவிந்தசாமி நிறுவினார்.

இலங்கைத் தமிழர் மறுவாழ்வுக்காக விவசாய அமைச்சர் என்ற முறையில் அவர் முயற்சி எடுத்தார். இலங்கையிலிருந்து திரும்பக்கூடிய தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு 3,750 ஏக்கர் நிலத்தில் தேயிலைத் தோட்டப் பணிகளில் ஈடுபடுவதற்கு வழி செய்தார். அதனால் 1700 குடும்பங்கள் பயனடைந்தனர்.

கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்கள் நிலத்திற்கடியில் நீர்வளம் கிடைக்கக் கூடிய வாய்ப்புகளை விஞ்ஞான முறையில் ஆய்ந்து அறிவதற்கான பணியை இரண்டு நிறுவனங்களிடம் ஒப்படைத்தார். இவ்வாறு குறுகிய காலத்தில் விவசாயிகளின் பல்வேறு தேவைகளை பூர்த்தி செய்வதில் செவ்வனே பணியாற்றினார். விவசாயிகள் போராட்டம் ஒன்று கூட இவரது அமைச்சர் பணிக்காலத்தில் நிகழவில்லை.¹²

முடிவுரை

கோவிந்தசாமியின் அரசியல் பங்கு மாநில அளவில் செயல்படும் அரசியல் தலைவர்களின் சிறந்த ஆற்றலுக்கு ஓர் எடுத்துக்காட்டு. கோவிந்தசாமியின் கட்சிப்பணியும் தன்னலமற்ற தொண்டர் பணியாகத் திகழ்ந்தது. 1969-ஆம் ஆண்டு பிப்ரவரி மாதம் அறிஞர் அண்ணாவின் மறைவு கோவிந்தசாமி அவர்களை மிகவும் பாதித்தது. அதே ஆண்டு மே மாதம் 18-ஆம் நாள் கோவிந்தசாமி உடல் நலமின்றிக் காலமானார். அதற்குச் சற்று முன்புகூட நான் ஏழையாகப் பிறந்தேன், ஏழையாகவே இறக்கிறேன் என்று கூறினார். அவரது குடும்பத்திற்கு தி.மு.கழகம் ஒரு லட்ச ரூபாயும், எம்.ஜி.ஆர். தன் சொந்தப் பணம் 10,000 ரூபாயும் நன்கொடையாக கொடுத்தனர் என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. கோவிந்தசாமியின் அரசியல் வாழ்வு, புதிய அரசியல் வாழ்வை ஏற்க விரும்பும் இளம் தலைமுறையினருக்கு ஒரு படிப்பினையாக அமையும்.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES OF CHRISTIAN BHARATHAR COMMUNITY OF TAMIL NADU

Patricia Gabriel *

Distinguished Chief Guest, Esteemed Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to express my thanks to the Executive Committee and the General Body of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for having elected me the president of the Socio-Economic History Section of the Fourteenth Session of this Congress. This forum provides an excellent opportunity for many students; researchers and scholars to present papers and interact with established scholars, an exercise which will increase their knowledge and develop their interest in History, past and present. In my address today, I intend to deal with "The customs and practices of the Christian Bharathar Community of Tamil Nadu". Studies relating to regions, communities and people have caught the attention of researchers. The colossal work of Edgar Thurston on "Castes and Tribes of India" stands as an unparalleled work till date. Reliance on writings and letters by the Jesuit missionaries of the Madura Mission, Census Reports of India and the Gazetteer of Tirunelveli District has helped in writing this paper. Discussions and interviews with elders of the community have thrown enormous light on the practices of the community then and now.

The Original Home

The Bharathar Community claims that they were engaged in fishing and rowing boats during the reign of Bharatha and so were called Bharathars. Locally they were known as *Chavalakkaran*, a name giving to those who purchased from *Meen Paravan* (sea-fishermen).

In some areas, they were referred to as *Padayachi*. However in the past they were known as *Paravan*. Tradition holds that their forefathers came to settle in the Tamil Districts of South India from Ayodhya, their original home.

According to tradition, the Bharathars are considered as descendants of a Brahmin man and a

Sudra woman. Another legend states that they were the descendants of the offspring of a Kurava man and a Chetty woman. Another legend makes them out to be the descendants of Varuna (The God of rain) and when Shiva created Karthikeya to destroy the Asuras, the Bharathars sprang up with Him from the sacred lake, Saravana. They were nursed by the Constellation Karthika. Legend has it that at the close of the last Kalpa, when the whole earth was flooded, the Bharathars built a "*thoni*" (boat) and escaped from the floods.¹

The Bharathars, also known as Paravas, are referred as fishing castes on the Madura and Tirunelveli coast, when found by the Portuguese on their arrival, in India²

The Portuguese found them to be ill-treated by the Moors, who were asserting their pearl-fishing rights, on the sea coast. The Portuguese assisted the Paravas to deal with Moors on condition that they become Christians. This general conversion for the political reasons, explains why, the fishing population living along the South-East Coast of Tamil Nadu remain staunch Roman Catholic till date. Concerning the history of the Paravas and their connection with the pearl fisheries on the Indian side of the Gulf of Mannar, it is recorded that when the Portuguese arrived at Cape Comorin, they found the pearl fisheries of the Gulf in the possession of the Paravas, whom tradition shows to be in the control of the pearl industry from times immemorial.³

It is noted that there are in reality three castes which answer to the name *Paravan* and who speak Tamil, Malayalam and Canaries respectively.⁴ Probably all of them are descendants from Tamil Paravans or Parathavans. The Tamil Paravans are fishermen on the seacoast. Their head quarter is Tuticorin and their headman is called *Jadhi Thalaivanar*. They are mostly native Christians. They however claimed to be

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Khasthriyas of the Panfd,an line of kings and will eat only in the houses of Brahmins. The Paravans of the Malayalam line were shell collectors, lime burners and Gymnasts and their women acted as mid wives. They go under then name of Kurup, Varakurup and Narankurup. The Canarese Paravas were umbrella makers and devil dancers. It is believed that the west coast Paravas are the descendants of those who fled from Tirunelveli in order to avoid the oppression of Mohamadans.⁵

Concerning the Paravas, it is written that the kingdom of Travancore borders on Coulang. The Paravas lived all along the seashore there. They lived in areas from Cape Comorin to beyond Tuticorin. The entire stretch was studded with little churches some made of wood While others were made of stone. These people owe their conversion to Francis Xavier, who was the first to have brought the principles of the religion among them.⁶

The Paravas being oppressed by the Mohammedans, one John D'Cruz, a native of Malabar, who had been in Portugal, advised them to seek aid from Cochin against the Moors. Accordingly, some of the elders among them were sent on the errand to Cochin seeking help to be delivered from the Moorish Yoke and for the possession of the pearl fishery to be restored to the right owners the Paravas.⁷

Christianity in the Fishing Coast

The commencement of the Roman Catholic Mission in Tirunelveli dates back to 1532 with the visit of the Paravas to Cochin. They were baptized by Michael Vaz, Vicar General of the Bishop of Goa. The Vicar along with other priests accompanied the Parava fleet to deal with the Mohammedans along the seacoast. As soon as that was accomplished, they set about baptizing the Paravas all along the coast in accordance with the agreement into which their representatives had entered. The Paravas, thus Christianized, called themselves as *Comorin Christians*. The Portuguese treated the Paravas with great kindness. They permitted inter marriages and even allowed them to assume their surnames. That is why we find among them many with names such as Machado, Diaz, Fernando, Rodriguez, D'Cunha, Rayan and D'Cruz to name a few.⁸

The entire Parava caste adopted the religion of the Portuguese and received Baptism. In

1542, the celebrated Francis Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus, visited the new Christians and during the two years that he lived among them gave them their first practical lessons in the Doctrines of their New Faith.⁹

Having taught himself Tamil he translated to vernacular, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria. A bell in hand, he moved from village to village collecting the inhabitants instructing and baptizing them. Numerous letters written by him to his Society in Rome from Tuticorin, Manapad, Vipar, Virapandiyapattinam, Alanthalai, Punnakayal, Tiruchendur and other places, giving a most interesting account of his activities in these villages.

From the seacoast, Christianity spread to little known interiors of the area. It was said that around 22 congregations of Parava Christians were scattered over Tirunelveli districts comprising of some 16 coastal villages.¹⁰ The Paravas were staunch Christians and they were fortunate to have come into contact with the Divine Scholar and Poet, Fr. Beschi of the Madura Mission.

The community is found chiefly in Tuticorin where they constitute one fourth of the population and they are found in larger numbers in coastal villages of Nanguneri, Tiruchendur, Srivaikundam and Koilpatti Taluks. Scattered settlements are found also in several villages of the interior of the District. The only other districts where the members of this caste are found in Ramnad and Madurai and with the exception of a few who are Protestant Christians, the entire community is Roman Catholic. Many are also found in Trichy and Chennai. These Parava villages boast of handsome Churches found at intervals all along the seacoast and these are external signs of the devotion of the caste to their adopted religion.¹¹

Congregations are self-supporting and in the coastal villages, where fishing is the chief occupation of the poorer members of the community, contributions are levied on their daily catch of fish and are paid to a common fund for the support of the Church.

Occupation

They make their first appearance in history as fishermen and divers of pearls. The rich members of the community were traders, brokers,

contractors, boat manufacturers and boat owners. Their usual method of trade was to migrate to Ceylon where they set up imports of goods from the Indian mainland. They were also the general dealers of all kinds of grocery. The merchants left their families behind in their villages. Many of them lived in well built spacious houses which forms a striking feature of their sea coast settlements.¹²

Virapandiyapattinam, Manapad, Periyathalai had houses which are an example of comfort almost unknown among other communities of the District. As a class they are shrewd men of business, intelligent and public spirited. Many of their children were sent to English schools run by the nuns and priests in Tuticorin and Palayamkottai.

Community Head and His Authority

The head of the Bhrathar Community is the *Jadhi Thalaivan*. His office is hereditary, and as the secular head of this caste, he enjoys the dignity of a specially distinctive dress, and commands considerable respect among the bulk of the Paravan Community. In almost all Paravan settlements the authority of the headman was accepted without question. His assistants were known as Aadappans or Pattangathis and they were found in the villages. They were the nominees of the *Jadhi Thalaivan* and performed the duties of settling social disputes and collecting *Kaanikai* or contributions for the *Jadhi Thalaivan*. At a Parava wedding, during the procession of the bride and bridegroom to the church it was the *Jadhi Thalaivanar* who welcomed the couple adorned in antiquated but stately robes holding aloft banners and flags with a number of symbols peculiar to the caste consisting of elephant, birds, fish, peacock, palmyra tree, chank, sun etc. His assistants carried the ceremonial umbrella, shield and other trappings. A white cloth was always spread before him when he came to attend to his official duties.¹³

In Tuticorin the upper circle of the Parava community are divided between the *mesakkarar* who were close associates of the Portuguese, influenced by their manners and customs, and the *Kammaras*, who were mostly boat owners and merchants. The third group was called as *kadalora Paravas*.

Dress and Ornaments

Men of the higher class often dressed in pants, coat, tie and shoes. Others were more

traditional and wore white dhoti, shirt, a coat and with caps and turban styled like Tilak and Gokhale. They often carried a thin long umbrella which became a walking stick at times. Some had thin long knives hidden inside, used as protective weapons when they traveled through robber infested forests of Valanad, where many owned agricultural lands. The men of the coastal fisher community often went bare bodied. Their women folk wore saris while the older women wore sarees without blouses at home. Women were fond of jewellery. Beautifully crafted gold jewellery studded with pearls and precious stones were the proud possession of women in the community. Older women often wore a thick chain called *charapali* of four or five strands held together by a *mogappu* with their names embossed on it or studded with precious stones. They loved to wear many bangles in their hands made of white stones, pearls and coral. However, women never wore nose ring or bindi. Necklaces and pendant chains were their favourites. Kondai Thirukku (Round Fashionable pins for their hair) side clips for their hair, clips for sarees, all made of gold and studded with precious stones were part of their jewellery collection. Beautiful pattu sarees, Benares sarees and China silk were worn by the women.¹⁴ A very peculiar jewellery worn by some women of the community was called *Pampaddam* which were worn in ear lobes with large holes.

Widows however, wore only white sarees. Women who migrated to 8 other cities and towns have taken to wearing shades of blue, grey and brown, probably the influence of the cultures in these places. Cosmetics and textiles were brought by their men-folk from Ceylon, where many were stationed for trade and commerce. The beautiful china silk sarees, and slippers made and sold by Chinese merchants found its way into Tuticorin. They were also very fond of perfume.¹⁵

Food Habits

People of the coastal region prepared and ate a wide variety of dishes. They prepared idli, dosai, appam, puttu, fish curry or *maasi* (A special fish found around the Maldiv Islands) *Maasi* Chambal, Cheeni Chambal and *Maasi* stew were some of their delicacies. The Bharathar women were well known for their culinary skills. As they were meat-eaters they prepared delicious non-vegetarian dishes. Chicken and mutton stew (which they

called *sothi*), stuffed chicken roast, fish kofta curry, sora puttu, prawns, crabstortoise meat were part of their staple food. Onion vadagams, oysters (called *chanku chadai*) were fried and eaten with sambhar or puli kulambhu for lunch and dinner. Prawns and Maasi was added to all vegetables and greens, which gave it a special taste. Many of their meat dishes were prepared with a dash of vinegar to give it a special taste, probably an influence of the Portuguese. During Christmas and in the New Year, the celebrations were elaborate. It was customary for people to visit the relatives and elders of the family to get their blessing on the day. So the families prepared many sweet and karam dishes for the occasion. Their favourite dishes were kasu paniyaram, vazhaipazha innippu, noi innippu (made of rava, coconut and sugar) rose cookies, cheeni murukku and *pandol* (rava cake). These sweets are prepared in Bharathar home even today.¹⁶

Marriage Customs

The marriage of the upper classes is conducted with much gaiety and fanfare. The rituals resembled their Hindu counter parts. Consanguineous marriages were quite common. Often bridegrooms saw the prospective brides either in church or on her way to church. They even married without seeing each other. When a marriage alliance was settled, it was confirmed by a ceremony called "Poo mudikkurathu" where the women from the bridegroom's family take jasmine flowers to the bride's home to confirm the marriage. From early times, practice of dowry has existed. Often the groom makes the "Thali" from the dowry amount given by the bride's family. And the bridal saree is gifted to her by the groom's family.¹⁷

The evening before the wedding is the formal engagement ceremony. When the women folk from the bridegrooms carry tambalam with all what they are presenting to the bride, which will include wedding-saree and its accessories, jewellery, cosmetics, fruits, nuts, sweets all according to their status. The bride's sister performs *Nalangu* and the bride is given her engagement saree to wear. After which all the elders in the family bless the bride. An elaborate dinner is arranged for the bridegroom's party by the bride's family.

Marriage celebrations usually last for more than three days. On the day of the wedding the bride is dressed in all her finery and in the

saree given by the bridegroom's family. The elders in the family pray and bless the bride before she leaves for the wedding mass.

It is customary for the bridegroom's party to come to the bride's house before the procession leaves for the church, to take the bride to church. At the marriage ceremony, the bridegroom ties a thali made of gold. The thali consists of a chain with a pendant with the symbol of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove (*paravai*). After the religious ceremony the elders in the bride's family take the couple to the bridegroom's house with *seer*.

Birth

During the seventh month of pregnancy, the valakappu ceremony is performed for the pregnant girl. The girls' family will proceed to the bridegrooms' residence and perform the valakappu ceremony for which the bride is expected to wear her bridal saree. She is presented with silver and gold *surul kappu* along with glass bangles. An elaborate lunch follows. After the birth of the baby the *surul kappu* is used for making gold ornaments for the baby. The pregnant lady is taken to her mother's house for her delivery where she will stay until the baby is three or five months old. And then she is taken back to her husband's residence.¹⁸

On the birth of the child, the community practices 16 days of isolation. On the 40th day she is taken to church where she is purified by certain rituals. Before she enters the church, certain purification ceremony is conducted by the priest. Before the availability of medical facilities, babies were delivered by the midwives. Often medicines were prepared at home and given to the mother. With the advancement of medicine pregnant mothers were rushed to Nagercoil, Madurai and Tirunelveli for childbirth. Forty days after birth, the child would be taken to church for baptism or naming ceremony. This was a day for great rejoicing and fanfare when all close relatives were invited to participate in the feast. The maternal uncle often officiated at such family functions.¹⁹

Death

The Bharathar Christians bury the dead. A purification bath is given to the dead body before it is removed from the house. The body is taken to the church for religious service before it is interned in the cemetery. Women are allowed to go only up to the end of the street. If a man dies, his

wife is given a white saree from her maternal household represented by her brother. Only the male relatives of the deceased go up to church and then the cemetery. After they come back, a vegetarian lunch is served to everyone who participated in the funeral. Sixteenth day death pollution ceremony is observed with a visit to the cemetery and observance of *Enna Muzhukku*, when relatives gather for prayer. The brother of the widow is required to buy clothes for his nieces and nephews on this day. The 30th day for women and 40th day for men is observed by the community. Death anniversaries are also commemorated.²⁰

Puberty

Certain elaborate rituals were performed when a girl came of age. She is kept in seclusion for about two weeks. On the 16th day, a purificatory bath is given by the maternal uncle's wife and paternal aunt and elderly relatives of the girl. Bharathar Christians celebrate this event like their Hindu counterpart. The maternal uncle presents her with a saree and jewels according to his status. This is known as *sadangu*.²¹

Conclusion

Members of the community have contributed immensely to the socio-cultural, economic and political growth of the state. Special mention should be made of freedom fighters J.P. Rodriguez who is remembered by the community

and the state for his sacrifices and enthusiasm in taking part in the Freedom Movement. Mrs. Lourdammal Simon, the first from the community to get a ministerial birth stands out as a courageous woman who is exemplified as a symbol of women's empowerment in the Bharathar Community. Mr. G R Edmund and Mrs. Jennifer Chandran have done the community proud by their presence in the state ministry.

Politics was not the only area where the members of the community have made their mark. A few of them have become top police officials in the State. Dr. S M Diaz retired as IG of Prisons and Mr. A.X Alexander held the position of DGP in the State. Both are known for their discipline, dedication and honesty.

The community's inclusion in the MBC list by the Tamil Nadu Government has had its impact on their education and development. For this the community is indebted to the subsequent Governments for their support. Educational facilities, Reservation policy and Scholarships offered by Government have increased the literacy among the community.

The community is proud of its numerous doctors, engineers, educationists, consultants, armed forces, politicians and Government officials who have all contributed immensely in placing the Bharathar Christian Community in a higher plane in the hierarchy of caste in Tamil Nadu.

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20. Discussion with Chinnammal Rodriguez of Tuticorin
21. Discussion with Mrs. Shanthi Fernando of Tuticorin

EARLY MARITIME TRADERS OF TAMIL COUNTRY: SOME NEW EVIDENCE

P. Shanmugam*

Trade in the Tamil country was an ancient profession, the roots of which could be traced to the proto historic period. Exchange of goods between two individuals is considered as a kind of transaction of trade and could be treated as proto trade. During the Megalithic period in the Tamil country both inland and long distance trade could be noticed. The Sangam period saw the development of trade across the oceans on the east and west. It has been well established that the Tamil country had good relations with countries in the Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka and on the west with countries on the Mediterranean. Archaeological, literary and inscriptional materials support the existence of trade with these countries. Numerous artifacts were discussed and published in the last few decades. I all present some new evidence in the form of coins and short inscriptions from the countries of Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka and Middle East.

The presence of traders of Tamil origin in Southeast Asian countries could be noticed at least from the early centuries of the Christian era. *Pattinappalai*, one of the works of the Sangam anthology, datable to the early centuries of the Christian era, mentions that mercantile goods from a country called Kalagam were traded in the Tamil country.¹ The country mentioned as 'Kalagam', is generally identified with Kedha in Malaysia, and we have no information about the type of merchandize brought from that country. Further, the sources are not clear enough to explain the nature of trade existed between the two countries and traders involved in the mercantile transactions.

Archaeological evidence to the presence of Tamil traders were found at Khuan Luk Pat (Lat.7.55' north; Long.99.9' East) an ancient port of Thailand. The port is situated about 5 kms. interior on the banks of a small stream called Klong Thom, which flows into the Andaman Sea on the west (Map. I). A small mound (bead mound) on the side of the stream was excavated and artifacts belonging to the 1st century B.C. to the 6th

century A.D. were brought to light. Among the artifacts of Tamil origin of the early centuries of the Christian era was a square copper coin (Fig.1) measuring about 2 cms.² The obverse of the coin has an image of a standing tiger, facing left, whose front right leg is lifted up and the tail upraised and twisted in an 'S' like curve. The reverse devices are not well preserved, but could be identified as the figure of a horse drawn chariot to the left with an elephant following it. The coin has no legend on it. Without much difficulty the coin could be attributed to the Sangam Chola dynasty on the basis of the tiger emblem. The Chola royal crest, i.e. the tiger is very similar to the one found on other Sangam Chola coins found in the Tamil country.³

Another important artifact was a touchstone, (Fig. 2) with two lines of inscription on it. The Tamil Brahmi inscription reads as follows: *perumpatan kal* (the touch stone of Perumpatan). The name Perum patan could refer to a big gold merchant from the Tamil country.⁴ Considering the palaeography of the inscription, the touch stone could be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era (c. 1 A.D.). Such small stones for testing the fineness of gold can be seen in Tamil Nadu among the gold merchants and smiths. Therefore we can suggest that the person, Perumpatan could be a gold merchant or a smith who was possibly the owner of the touch-stone. The second part of the personal name, namely *patan*, could suggest some association with the goldsmith's family. The gold workers and the jewellers are generally called by the name *pattar/pattan*. *Patan* could be considered as the short form of *pattan*.⁵ In that case the name *perumpatan* could mean 'the great patan' (=the great goldsmith). There is no doubt with regard to its Tamil origin as the characters resemble the Tamil-Brahmi characters met with in the early inscriptions found on the caverns in the Tamil country. Similarly the shapes of *ma* and (the two looped) *na* are special forms of the Tamil Brahmi alphabet used for engraving the Tamil inscriptions

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in the Tamil country. Therefore it can be easily suggested that the inscription and probably the stone were the products of the Tamil country. The inscription, however, on the basis of paleography could be dated to 1 century AD.

A few more Tamil Brahmi inscriptions on potsherds were discovered in recent years. One of the sherds with Tamil Brahmi inscription was discovered by a team of Thai and French archaeologists. The pottery could be dated to the 2nd AD. The small broken piece has three letters, which could be read as "turavu". The letter "Ra" is in the Tamil Brahmi form. Iravatham Mahadevan has suggested that it could be rendered as a monk. However the name "turavo" could refer to a merchant and it has to be understood as a name of a merchant. The pottery was broken on both the ends and therefore the full name of the merchant could not be ascertained.

The above artifacts from Thailand clearly suggest the establishment of trade contacts by the Tamil merchants as early as the beginning centuries of the Christian era. From the discovery of the touch stone with the Tamil Brahmi inscription we may presume that gold merchants from the Tamil country were present in Thailand to trade in gold. The Sangam literature as well as inscriptions of the early Christian era provides sufficient evidence with regard to gold merchants and jewellers. Gold jewellery⁶ and vessels⁷ as well as gold coins⁸ were used by the Sangam people. Gold was also a medium of exchange in the trade transactions during the Sangam age.⁹ The Pugalur inscription mentions the grant of an *adhistanam* by a gold merchant (*ponvanigan*) from Karuvur¹⁰ (Tiruchirappalli district). In Madurai, the famous capital city of the Pandyas, the gold jewellers and gold testers¹¹ (*ponnurai kanmar*) have functioned in the market place. Therefore, we may suggest that gold working was an important work of art during the Sangam period and most probably they had transactions with the countries of Southeast Asia. These merchants, probably for purposes of trade and exchange could have carried some coins of the Tamil country. Therefore the touchstone and the coin found at Khua Luk Pat in Thailand were brought by the Tamil merchants. Hence, the above evidences clearly suggest the presence of traders from the Tamil country in the Thailand as early as the early centuries (1-3rd cent. A.D.) of Christian era.

Trade with Sri Lanka could be traced to the pre Christian era and the presence of Tamil traders could be attributed with reference to numerous coins of Tamil kingdoms found in that Island. Coins of the Sangam Pandya kings were discovered from Sri Lanka. These coins were reported and studied by several scholars in Sri Lanka and also in India. Earlier, P.E. Pieris and Seyon¹² have reported the discoveries of coins of the Sangam kings. In recent years, Iravatham Mahadevan, Pushparatnam, and Osmand Boppearachi¹³ reported some new discoveries. In a recent pamphlet published by R.Krishnamurthy and Senarath Wickramasinghe, they have reported the Sangam coins deposited in the Colombo Museum, Sri Lanka.¹⁴ About 41 coins of the Pandyas were reported and described. These coins were found in Sri Lanka at Jaffia, Kantarodai, Vallipuram, Mantai and Anuradhapura. They were of copper issues and their weights vary from 0.8 gms to 11.67 gms. These coins are mostly square in shape and the smallest measure about 1.425 X 1.690 cms. and the largest measure 2.770 x 2.720 cms. The coins bear on the obverse the symbol of a horse or elephant or bull. In two coins the Tamil Brahmi legend *peruvaluti* appears. In one coin the horse standing and the legend *Peruvaluti* is found above it. In another coin the legend *peruvaluti* is repeated. This coin has the figure of a standing horse also.

In some coins the punch marked symbols like the three-arched hill, tree in railing and tank and fishes are found. In the some of the Elephant type coins, the auspicious symbols are found above the animal. On the reverse of these coins were found the stylized fish symbol. Two coins published in the book have the unique symbol of a temple with pillars (*chaitya*), which is represented above the symbols like elephant, and three arched hill. Similar coins were reported from the British Museum, London and also from Madurai in Tamil Nadu.¹⁵ The Audumbaras also used the temple like structure in their coins.¹⁶ The temple like structure is represented in one of the inscriptions dated to 3-4 B.C., from Sohgaure (Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh).¹⁷ All these could suggest that the coins were minted in the Tamil country and was used in Sri Lanka especially for the trade. Among these symbols the symbol described as a temple with pillars (*chaitya*) has been found in other coins found in Sri Lanka and also in the Tamil country.¹⁸

In recent years a some more coins belonging to the Tamil region were reported. Though these coins were first believed to be of Sri Lanka later it was identified as issued by the Tamil merchant community. Four such coins were found and all the four have a legend on them. The first coin has the name utiran. These names are undoubtedly Tamil names and clearly point out that they were produced by the Tamil merchants.

Trade with Mediterranean countries was well known. Earlier it was thought the Roman and Arab merchants visited the South India particularly, the Tamil country. However the recently unearthed archaeological materials confirm the presence of Tamil merchants in these countries as early as the beginning centuries of Christian era. In this connection the papyrus document in the Vienna Museum and dated to mid second century AD. is very significant. The document is written in Greek and records bill of trading contract between a merchant at Muziris and his counterpart at Alexandria. The business contact covers the period of shipment from Muziris until the arrival of the cargo at Alexandria. It mentions the specific type of cargo as Gangetic nard, ivory and bales of cloth from Muziris. The document further specifies the quantity, the value of cargo, and as well as the 25 percent tax levied by Roman custom officials.¹⁹

Excavations at Quseir el Qadim, an ancient port situated on the Red Sea coast of Egypt has brought to light a few broken potsherds with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions. These inscriptions could be dated to 1 century AD. In one inscription the name 'cattan' is found. On the other, a name 'kanana' is found. In a recently discovered potsherd, the inscription has been rendered by Iravatham Mahadevan as 'panai ori' and suggested that it is pot suspended in a rop net (Tanul = uri). Berenike is another ancient port on the Red Sea coast of Egypt, where a fragment of pottery was found with Tamil Brahmi inscription.

The piece of pottery is dated to 60-70 AD. The inscription is read as 'korapuman'.²⁰

The archaeological materials presented above suggest some significant conclusions. The objects, like the pottery, coins and touchstone were, in all probability, were produced in Tamil country during the early centuries of Christian era (1-3 AD.). The pottery pieces on which the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions are found were undoubtedly products of the Tamil country. Since these artifacts were unearthed from scientific excavations, clearly suggests the movement of Tanul traders, and mariners to these places. The names found on these coins especially Cattan and Kanan represent the names of traders. The coins reported above also suggest the same. Tamil merchants must have carried these coins and could have used them in their transactions. However the use of Tamil coins as a legal tender in those regions needs further supporting study. In the case of the touch stone, it points out the presence of goldsmith(s) and trading in gold objects in Southeast Asia as early as the 1 century AD. The most interesting aspect of this study is that traders and mariners from the Tamil country have traveled and performed trade with the countries both on the eastern and western sea boards.



Map 1



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

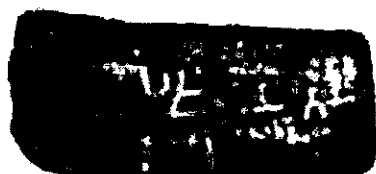


Fig. 3

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THE AGE OF CONSENT BILL - PHILOSOPHIC MATRIX OF THE CONTROVERSY IN SOUTH INDIA - AN INSIGHT

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Nowhere in the world, at no time in History was so much debated over the proper time for cohabiting a girl on the threshold of teenage as in India around 1890. No issue of Woman's emancipation involved such intellectual exercise as the Age of Consent Bill Controversy in South India. The ancient Hindu scriptures as well

as Western Philosophies that of Herbert Spencer and T.H. Green were delved deep to support or oppose this legislative proposal to raise the Age of Consent for marriage by girls from ten to twelve. The purpose of this paper is to highlight these intellectual undercurrents which have received no attention so far.

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Utilitarian Prelude

The Utilitarian Philosophy that justifies state intervention to promote the happiness of the majority of population, propounded by Jeremy Bentham and seriously advocated by the Historian James Mill for redeeming Indian society from barbarism, was the determining factor behind the abolition of the gruesome practice of Sati by William Bentick in 1828. Although physical security of the widows was guaranteed, their condition as widows was awesome. Their number increased, illicit sexual relations, injurious practices for abortion, incest, poisonings and polygamy were not uncommon. Imagining that the causes being infant marriage and enforced widowhood the government by public representation sought to mitigate the evils by enacting Child Marriage Restraint Act and Widow Remarriage Act. The Reformers soon began to realize that the root cause for all the miseries of women was early marriage. But how early was the question. The Government had already inserted a clause in the Indian Penal Code making it a criminal offence to marry a girl before the age of ten. This spree of emancipation of woman came to a sudden halt with the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857 whose major cause was state intervention in matters social and religious.

Malabaris Mild Proposal

As decades followed the miseries of women multiplied. It was at this juncture B.M. Malabari; the Parsi Editor of the *Indian Spectator* of Bombay published in August 1884 his "Notes on Infant Marriages and Enforced Widowhood". Malabari did not seek legal ban on infant marriages that contributed to the problem of widowhood. He only suggested certain novel ideas to discourage early marriages. He recommended that the Government should prohibit married men entering public services at least for five years after college studies and in their place unmarried students should be given priority. He also suggested that the Government should deprive the priests of the power of excommunication of widows seeking remarriage.¹

Melvill's Specific Remedy

It was Maxwell Melvill, Judicial member of the Bombay Government, who in effect suggested

that the Age of Consent for marriage could be safely raised to twelve for girls. In his reply to Malabar in May 1886 he noted that infant marriage was not a bad institution. But still Melvill drafted a scheme to amend section 375 of the Indian Penal Code raising the age of consent for girls to twelve.² The proposal was sent to provincial Governments, medical practitioners and social reformers across India. Jothirbai Phule who was running a Home for pregnant Brahman widows suggested 19 years for boys and 11 years for girls.

The Theory of Temptation and Sin³

For the first time the role of women in Hindu family was debated by many western educated Hindus. Justice Muthusamy Iyer defined the Shastric duties of a woman thus.

The only measure for women of expiating their sins and securing immortality is marriage that they beget sons to perpetuate the worship of the ancestors and the rational ground, as incidentally indicated in the texts, for contracting betrothals before puberty is that they may not yield to temptation.

That the women would yield to temptation was the prevailing belief even among educated Hindus. Women were considered more emotional than intellectual. The idea of an immediate and certain enjoyment with them a stronger incentive to action than the idea of a more remote and a hazy kind of pleasure. They are intellectually incompetent to argue out the pros and cons of any act and cannot grasp the real nature of any situation. They are most often guided by feelings prevalent over them on the occasion and feelings which are not safe guides. An Assistant lecturer from Rajamundry was proud to quote Shakespeare's famous phrase "Frailty! Thy name is woman!"

Such was the base view over the girls on the threshold of teenage that the Shastras say that if a father does not marry his daughter before puberty he is guilty of causing abortion or child murder. As such celebrating betrothal before puberty, which is the shape of 'certain' matrimonial enjoyment in the near future, instead of a vague possibility, supplies an additional safeguard to her honour.

The Question of State Intervention

The orthodox reformers too were opposed to betrothal between infants, between children of six or seven years of age for it involved the danger of forcing on little girls the duties of wifehood and motherhood. But to legislate that a marriage is incomplete and hence invalid before it is consummated is going against the religious sentiment of the nation, they thought. They vowed that religion enjoins betrothal before the tenth year as per the following religious clause.

1. Ashta Varsha Bhavet - Kanya - 8 year old
2. Nava Varusha Bhavet - Rohini - 9 year old
3. Dasa Varusha Bhavet - Gowri - 10 year old.

As such after tenth year, a girl is to be regarded as having attained her age and therefore unfit for Kannigathanam or Betrothal. Therefore the reform intended by State legislation is opposed to religion. Thus the underlying cause is that girls should not be betrothed before puberty. But breach is not punishable with social excommunication. Finding suitable bridegroom, pecuniary of the parents, wishes of an old lady may intervene to postpone.

The North - South Differences

The difference between North and South India over the custom of infant marriages requires attention. Usually girls were married as children in the North. Girls joined their husbands before they attain puberty in the North. Girls were subjected to forceable cohabitation before puberty in North. Such rigorous measures were not prevalent in the South. Though betrothal before puberty was common here actual consummation takes place long after puberty. South Indian girls of high caste do not join their husbands immediately after puberty. Girls occasionally visited their husband's household during festivals and ceremonies but only with a body guard. Usually poor parents of the girl had to fix an auspicious day and beg their son-in-law to complete the nuptials offering generous gifts. They also ran the risk of their son-in-law deciding to marry some other girl at the behest of his parents. Sometimes the parents yield to the demand of his son-in-law to leave the girl at his house before proper time out of fear of ill-treatment. Such instances were few and took place

in remote areas. As the evils of child marriage were not as rigorous as in the North and the punishment entailing child marriage seemed very rigorous disproportionate to the offence, the reformers in the South detested state intervention in matters social and religious.

Orthodox Elite in the Controversy

The controversy over the Age of Consent Bill had long term ramification in South Indian society and polity. The administrative elite and some of the professional elite were opposed to the raising of the age limit on various grounds. The foremost luminary of the orthodox reformers was Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao. This Marathi Brahman had left the services at the A.G.'s office and became a tutor to the Princes of Travancore and was elevated to the position of the Chairman of the Malabar Land Tenure Commission to investigate into the causes of agrarian unrest in that district. He was the leader of opposition to state intervention in social and religious matters. Madhava Rao typified that generation which will-nilly discussed social matters. Though aware of the social evils of their time, they argued that reform should come from within. The views of Malabari and K.T. Telang, a wealthy Bombay lawyer, in favour of raising the age limit to 12 which would automatically delay the time of consummation was not acceptable to the Madras reformers.

Another illustrious member who opposed state intervention was S. Subramania Iyer. An elected member of the Madurai Municipality he had a lucrative practice as a lawyer. He shifted his practice to Madras in 1884. He was a Theosophist and delegate to the first Congress in 1885. He opposed state intervention and believed that the members of the Hindu Social Reform Association were swayed by much dogmatism.

Another illustrious Orthodox reformer was Chentsal Rao from Nellore. He was appointed Deputy Collector and was made a member of the Inam commission 1850's. He was one of the founder members of the Madras Hindu Widow Marriage Association in 1874. He believed that social legislation by the state might shake the confidence of the people in the neutrality of the Government in religious matters.

Raghunatha Rao Depends on Shastras

One member who occupied the centre stage of the debate was R. Raghunatha Rao, a Maratha Brahman whose ancestors had served the British for three generations. He was the product of Madras High School of Powel and was one among the first batch of 40 Deputy Collectors appointed in 1859. He served as the Diwan of Indore 1875-80; 1886-88. During the five years interval between the two terms he served again as Deputy Collector and devoted himself to social reform. Of the orthodox reformers Raghunatha Rao was the only scholar who had deep insight in the Shastras.

Raghunath Rao believed that the present social evils of the Hindu Society was the outcome of the false interpretations of unworthy Pandits of later age. The Hindu usage as per the Shastras were pristine and bereft of evils. He further noted that it was in the treatment of Hindu women where occurred the greatest departure from the early Aryan practices. He believed that most of the civil rights of the Hindu woman had been eroded away and they were forced into infant marriages and enforced widowhood, customs which did not have the sanction of the Shastras. Raghunath Rao believed that this orthodox elite, which held custom as more authoritative than the Shastras, to be the major obstacle to social reform in South Indians.

Raghunatha Rao was equally disenchanted with the attitude of the western educated class. He held that the new learning was an impediment rather than help. The younger western educated class were atheists and iconoclasts. Their radicalism was essentially destructive and threatened the basic cohesim of the Hindu society. Hence Raghunath Rao opposed state intervention in matters social.

Herbert Spencer

The traditional reformers who opposed state intervention usually quote from the authority of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) an English Sociologist and Philosopher, also an early advocate of the Theory of Evolution. Spencer advocated the pre-eminence of the individual over society and of science over religion. He stressed the importance of examining social phenomena in a

scientific way. Herbert Spencer held the view that the violent suppression of an evil is immediately followed by its reappearance in another quarter, that it can not be utterly got rid off, and that it always has its equivalent of bad results. Spencer was critical of those who want an instant remedy who do not care for its remote and true causes.

National Social Conference - December 1889

The formal discussion over the issue of state intervention in raising the age limit was discussed at the III National Social Conference at Bombay in December 1889. Opposition was expected. However the conference passed the resolution raising the age limit. But that was not adequate. The radical reformers had to create public opinion in their favour through press and platform.

Two great men were involved in this exercise. One was Raghunatha Rao and the other was G. Subramania Iyer, Raghunatha Rao, as stated earlier, believed that the raising of the age limit was in consistant with the Shastras. But he detested state intervention in this matter. For some years past Raghunatha Rao had been urging the government to codify the Hindu Law according to Shastras and a commission to report on Hindu Law of Marriage. As his wish had not been granted he accepted piece meal legislation such as the age of consent provided it confirmed to the Shastras. He followed his earlier pamphlet *Hindu Law of Marriage* (1882) with another, *The Hindu Shastric Aspect of the Question of the Age of Consent* (1891) in which he argued that the Vedas were the highest authority of the Hindus which supported the raising of the age limit. Thus Raghunatha Rao accepted state intervention as the legislation was in accordance with the Shastras.

The other reformer was the foremost radical and rationalist who left his imprint in all sphere of public activity. G. Subramania Iyer was born in 1855 at Thiruvaiyaru in Tanjore District in a middle class orthodox family. He migrated to Madras in 1874 and joined the Normal School at Saidapet whose principal George Bickle, later became the Registrar of the Madras University, shaped his career. While serving as a teacher he founded the *Hindu* in 1878 and the

Swadesamitran in 1881. In his part-time graduate course he took Philosophy and logic as major which influenced his career till his death in 1915.

Subramania Iyer believed that the Hindu Civilisation based on the ancient Aryan institutions is doomed.

“Many an intelligent Hindu has longing for the reappearance of the time and social system depicted in the institutes of Manu, if not in Vedic literature, when the community was divided into four castes based on birth, when the most intelligent class took little or no interest in the activities of life but being maintained at public expense, spent their life in sacrificial rites or in secluded contemplation when trade and industry were despised and when the great bulk of population were forced to be content with lot of menial service rendered to the higher castes, without a chance or a hope of rising to higher standards of life”.

G. Subramania Iyer as the mover of the first resolution of the first congress in 1885 set forth his conviction that the British rule was “Providential but beneficial”. The rule of Great Britain has given India peace and security and on the whole has been better in results and direction than any former rule. As an editor who could inspire the thoughts and feelings of intellectuals like C.Karunakara Menon, K. Subba Rao and K.Natarajan was no ordinary man. Menon remarked Iyer “wielded a facile pen, which never dropped on paper any word or idea that he was not personally convinced of. He was doubtless... an idealist, an impatient idealist too.

It was while Subramania Iyer was engaged in the Age of Consent Bill controversy and campaigned for state intervention, his first

daughter Sivapriya, born in 1877; married in 1888; was widowed in 1889. Iyer set an example by arranging her remarriage at Bombay amidst great reformers at a time the Bill came for discussion at the Third National Social conference. Returning to Madras his family stood astrozised and his wife died of remorse in April 1890.

G. Subramania Iyer greatly influenced by Spinoza began opposing tradition and authority at the beginning of his career ; whole heartedly involved himself in the controversy over the Age of Consent Bill and campaigned through his newspapers for state intervention in reforming society advocated by Jeremy Bentham and made use of the arguments of Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882) the English Philosopher largely responsible for establishing the dominant idealist school of late 19th century British philosophy.

T.H. Green was strongly influenced by Hegellian idealism. He was closer to Christianity which he helped to liberalise and reconcile with philosophy. Green was sympathetic to individual rights but insisted that they are relative to the needs of the community as a whole and to moral ends. Likewise Subramania Iyer was an idealist who believed in the progress of society by rationalist means while his elder contemporaries doubted his wisdom and prophesied doom to Hindu society if any departure was attempted. Cassandra of Greek mythology was blessed with the power of prophesy and was cursed that his prophesy would not be believed by his contemporaries. The Reformers, both traditional and radical, were traveling along Cassandra crossing around 1890, one prophesying doom, the other believing in redemption of the Hindu society.

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NAGARATHARS - A STUDY OF THE OBSCURE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF A MERCANTILE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH INDIA

Uma Kannan*

The Nagarathars are one of the most prominent mercantile communities in South India, well-known for their business acumen and philanthropy. In modern times, the community is mainly clustered in and around the region of Chettinad located around 80 Km east of Madurai and the same distance south of Thanjavur in the present-day state of Tamil Nadu in Southern India.

Like most other traditional communities, the Nagarathar community too is presently undergoing rapid changes in the cultural, social and economic spheres, thanks to the influence of modern technologies and socio-cultural ideologies. In recent decades, there have been a few attempts to document the traditional lifestyle, cuisine, art and architecture of this colourful and vibrant community.¹ The present paper investigates the origin and early evolution of the Nagarathars and thus, aims to throw light on a significant 'gap' in their long and eventful history.

The paper is mainly based on archaeological and epigraphical sources supplemented by oral traditions that have been sourced during personal discussions with knowledgeable senior members of the community.

The Names and their Etymology

First, let us examine the various names by which this community and its territory are known and see to what extent these names and their etymology help us to unravel the mystery of the origin of the community.

The community is known by quite a few names but is most fond of calling itself 'Nagarathar'. A close scrutiny of early Tamil literature and temple inscriptions reveals that the term 'Nagarathar' itself has multiple meanings. In different contexts, the term has been taken to denote 'man from the town (*nagaram*)', 'the sophisticated or cultured one', 'town council or assembly (also called '*nagaram*)', 'member of the town council or assembly', 'merchant group' and 'member of a merchant group'.

It is not clear as to when the term 'Nagarathar' first began to be used. Nor do we know the precise meaning of the term when it was first used. The term begins to appear frequently in temple inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. and later, mostly in the Tiruchirappalli (or Tiruchi)-Tanjavur-Tirunelveli regions, not far from present-day Chettinad in Tamil Nadu.² The term occurs in inscriptions of both the Cola and Pandya dynasties who ruled the region almost throughout the Middle Ages. The references in Cola inscriptions are far numerous than those in Pandya records although Chettinad has mostly been well within the Pandyanadu or Pandya kingdom.

In many of these early inscriptions, the term 'Nagarathar' denotes 'town council or assembly', 'member of the town council or assembly' and 'merchant group'.

Now, we may turn our attention to a site named Narthamalai located around 11 miles northwest of the modern town of Pudukkottai on the Pudukkottai-Tiruchi road route, again not too far from Chettinad.³ Narthamalai consists of nine low hills and a village on the foothills. The place is known for its ancient temples, the most important among which is the Vijayalaya Colisvaram, the first temple of the Imperial Colas (ninth to thirteenth centuries A.D.), erected by Vijayalaya, the first King of this dynasty. It is widely believed that the name 'Narthamalai' is a derivation from 'Nagaratharmalai', the earlier name of the site. 'Nagaratharmalai' literally means 'hill of the Nagarathars'. Significantly, the inscriptions of Narthamalai contain clear references to Nagarathars and *nagarams* (local assemblies). The *nagaram* or local assembly of Narthamalai seems to have been particularly powerful, exercising complete control over the temples and taxation system of the area.

Many of the early inscriptions mention the sale or gift of lands by Nagarathars to temples. This clearly indicates that the Nagarathars were,

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from early days, a prosperous group owning surplus land that they could afford to gift or sell to others. Probably, these Nagarathars were both merchants or traders and also, members of the local self-governing institutions or assemblies. Thus, they wielded enormous political status as well as economic power.

Now, to the other names of this mercantile group. The members of the community are also known as Chettis or Chettiars, although, one should remember that besides the Nagarathar Chettiars, there are many other Chettis or Chettiar communities in South India, all of them traditionally engaged in trade activities. The Nagarathar Chettiars are, however, believed to be the most prosperous and powerful among all these Chettiar groups.

Both 'Chetti' and 'Chettiar' appear to have been derived from the Sanskrit *-śreṣṭhi*, meaning 'merchant guild' or 'member or leader of such a guild'. Seth, Sait and Shetty are other popular variations of the name Chetti.

The term 'Chettiar', in the context of a trader, first occurs in the ancient Tamil epics *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai*. Although the precise dates of these epics have been a matter of academic debate, most scholars now agree that both the epics were written around the second-third centuries A.D. The term 'Silaya Chetti' also occurs in medieval Tamil inscriptions. At Narthamalai, Silaya Chettis, who often bore the names of Cola or Pandya Kings, seem to have been the chief mercantile class that controlled the *nagaram* or local assembly.

The Nagarathar Chettiars are also called Nattukkottai Chettiars meaning 'Chettiars of the fort in the country', plausibly alluding to the grand fortress-like mansions they built and possessed in Chettinad. But there is another little-known theory that the name 'Nattukkottai' is a corrupt form of 'Nattarasankottai' ('fort of the king of the county'), the name of a village near Sivaganga on the fringes of the Chettinad region in Tamil Nadu.⁴ But this theory is not widely accepted.

The Beginnings

The Nagarathars themselves claim that they migrated to Chettinad around the thirteenth century A.D. or slightly earlier, during the rule of a Pandya King named Sundara Pandya. Then, where did they live before this date?

According to one theory, the Nagarathars migrated southwards to Chettinad from a place called Naganadu or the land of the Nagas. The precise location of the latter place is uncertain. Some authorities have identified this Naganadu with modern Jaffna in the island of Sri Lanka.⁵ But then, Chettinad is not to the south but to the northwest of Jaffna.

It is most likely that the Nagarathars migrated from somewhere near Sri Lanka to some northern territory—may be Andhra Pradesh or even Tondaimandalam or Northern Tamil Nadu - and thence, to Chettinad. The Naganadu mentioned above may be identified with the legendary Naga island kingdom of Manipallavam near Sri Lanka. One may recall that the Pallava Kings (third to ninth centuries A.D.) too are believed to have migrated from Manipallavam to Andhra-Northern Tamil Nadu where they ruled.⁶ And according to tradition, the early Nagarathars conducted their trade from the ports of Mylai (or Mylapore, now a part of Chennai city) and Mallai or Mamallapuram (now popularly called Mahabalipuram) - the two principal ports of the Pallava kingdom, both located in Northern Tamil Nadu. Significantly, the early link between the Nagarathars and Lanka is reinforced by a legend as per which the hills of Narthamalai—a major Nagarathar centre of the medieval period—are the fragments of the legendary *sanjivi-herb* bearing peak which dropped here when the monkey God Hanuman flung it back from Lanka.

Due to the abnormally high taxes that they had to pay at Mylai and Mallai, the Nagarathars are believed to have migrated from Tondaimandalam further southwards, to Kaveripattinam or Puhar, again an internationally-known trading port during the early historical period (300 B.C. to 300 A.D.) and even later.⁷

From, Puhar, the community appears to have migrated further south to Chettinad. But then, why Chettinad, a dry water-starved barren territory, quite far from the sea? The choice of Chettinad again seems to have been dictated by their trading interests. Chettinad lies on a major ancient trade route that extends from the Malabar Coast to the ports (mainly Adirampattinam) of the Coromandel Coast via Shencottah Pass, Tiruchi, Kodumbalur and Madurai. From the Coromandel ports, the Nagarathars sailed to Sri Lanka and

But after 60 years of independence, women are still one of the powerless sections of the Indian society. According to 2001 census, India's sex ratio is 1000:933 which is the lowest in the world. Female literacy's percentage is 54.16 and male 76.85.

The extent of empowerment of women in a nation is largely determined by three factors, viz. economic, social and political identity. The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07) called for a three pronged strategy of social empowerment, economic empowerment and providing gender justice to create an enabling environment of positive, economic and social policies for women and eliminating all forms of discrimination against them and thus advance gender equality goals.⁵

The political empowerment is a must for the all round development of the women, but as in the case of dalit politicians and legislators, our efforts may prove futile. We must concentrate on imparting social education before giving any concrete shape to their political empowerment to the women. Without academic and social education, the political empowerment of women in certain parts of the country had proved futile. In Panchayat Raj set up in T.N. and elsewhere in the country the uneducated women are subjected to exploitation at the hands of government machinery. It will not be prudent on our part to restore the rights of the women belonging to the affluent section of the society only. Therefore, our efforts should be directed towards all round development of each and every section of Indian women by giving their due share. It is a must to maintain and protect chastity, dignity and modesty of women. It is the need of the hour to give due share to each and every section of the Indian women. I am sure, without removing social stigma, no progress or development could be achieved.

Development of Women

As per the 2001 census, women constituted about 48 per cent of the total population of the country. Women suffer many disadvantages as compared to men in the areas of education, labour participation rate and earnings. The Government has been implementing various schemes for the socio economic advancement and development of women in the country.

The 'National Policy for Empowerment of Women' was adopted in 2001 with the objective of ensuring women their rightful place in society by empowering them as of agents socio-economic change and development. 'Empowerment of Women', is therefore, an important approach adopted in the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07) for development of women. With a view to translating the National Policy for Empowerment of Women into action, a National Plan of Action for Empowerment of Women has been contemplated. The goal of this Policy is to bring about, the advancement, development and empowerment of women.

To eliminate all types of discrimination against women and the girl child and their empowerment, major strategies include social empowerment, economic empowerment and gender justice. Two important schemes in the areas of education viz 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' and 'Mahila Samakhya' are being implemented by Department of Elementary Education and Literacy as special efforts to stretch the reach of education especially to the girl child. With the objective of achieving economic empowerment and welfare of women, a number of schemes are being implemented. These include Swyamsidha, Swashakti, Rashtriya Mahila Kosh, Swalamban, and Support to Training-cum-Employment Programme (STEP), Swadhar, and Hostel for working women.

Women as such has always been involved in the development of societies, their involvement went unrecognized, unrewarded and unutilized. They have, for long time, been involved at all levels of responsibility in the activities of improving the quality of life of their families and communities. They have historically been in the disadvantaged position. Hence there is all the more a need specific transitional intervention strategies, policies, measures and actions if they are to actively participate in the execution of the objectives for economic, social and political empowerment. An essential is the insight to involve the rural women, particularly the women from the low-income group to involve in the decision-making process, which affects their opportunities and the quality of their lives. Here, special mention is made about the sharing of practical experience and wisdom that women have. This type of contributive participation

will accelerate the involvement process, which will make women feel better about them which is a great step in the process of their empowerment.⁶

Women in Different Fields

A survey has been done to see the status of women in different fields.

In Politics

Earlier it is assumed that politics is a field of man but in future this situation will be reversed. We will see the change in 2020. Indian women will be more active in politics. She will make a good leader and even she will eradicate corruption and give us better governance than today.

Our present Lok Sabha has 44 women parliamentarians, a mere 8% of the total 547 -seats and during the last 60" years this number has risen from 2%. Women played a crucial role in the freedom struggle. But on power seat she could not make her presence felt. It is been more than half a century and she is still struggling for her share but her participation in the election in fifties was only 38.8% women were voters but recently it has increased to 60%. Political experts say "Women have better maneuvering skills, for those politics will be more of a brain game. Our society has never been reluctant to accept female politicians at the power center. India has respected women leaders like Sarojini Naidu, Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, Mamtha Banerjee, Jayalalitha etc. The year 2020 will no doubt see more women politicians at the helm of affairs and our experts are confident that women will make a better administrator.⁷

Education

Girls are doing better than boys in quality and quantity. After high school they are taking up courses which were conventionally not for women. An increasing number of women are taking up jobs in the technical field. This positive change is due to greater awareness.

Software Industry

The software industry, the male to female ratio is 65:35. Women are doing better in the Info Tech Sector as they have good communication skills, with the ability to analyse and multitask. Many IT companies have introduced a provision for women to work from home in emergencies in

order to encourage them in senior managerial positions.

With Air India clearing the way for women cabin crew to become in-flight supervisors, an important male preserve has been breached. Another male bastion has fallen with Lt. Cdr. Wahida Prizm becoming the first ever woman to command the parade of army.

In the corporate world women have shown true grit and determination to break the glass ceiling. Indra Nooyi has become the first woman chief executive officer of Pepsi Company. Naina Lai Kidwai-country head HSBC India, Lalitha Gupte-COO, ICICI, Akhila Srinivasan Managing Director, Shriram Life Insurance Company Limited and Director of Executive Board, Shriram Group-these are few of the women who have taken on the world.

Women have an advantage because they work with Emotional Quotient as well as Intelligence Quotient. Even in top B- schools, the percentage of women is rising. A decade ago, only 10% of IIM-Ahmadabad students were girls but today it is 16%.⁸

Women Entrepreneurs

Women Entrepreneurship is a recent phenomenon in India which came into prominence in late 1970's. Now-a-days women not only lead and organize a business but also provide employment opportunities to others and earn revenue for the country. More and more women are venturing as entrepreneurs in all kinds of business and economic activities and service sector. Women entrepreneurs can take a lead in both organized and unorganized sectors.⁹

Media is an important sector where the percentages of women employees are rising. It offers a better scope and facilities for women professionals.

Another area where women have started making some headway is Advertising and Public Relations. Public relations however are a relatively new field for women. Many women have reached important positions in this fielding the corporate sector. Indian woman has also made her presence felt in the Film industry. In the recent years, women have become well known in the field of Theatre.¹⁰

India is witnessing the entry of women in different science disciplines including engineering. Women in India have come to the forefront in sports.¹¹

Today young women are opting for the unconventional career of police service. The employment of women in police establishments reflects not only the socio-economic advancement but also changes in the attitude towards the role of women in society. The India Police Service (IPS) has been appointing women, in the IPS cadre at par with men. One of the most important police officers is Ms Kiran Bedi, the first woman IPS officer in India. Till recently the Madras city Police Commissioner was Lathika Charan. At present T.Nagar Assistant police Commissioner is Lakshmi.¹²

Suggestions

- Our efforts should be directed towards all round development of dignity and modesty of women. It is the need of the hour to give due share to each and every section of the Indian woman.
- Compulsory primary education should be implemented to rural and urban women in India. By imparting technical education to women, their indirect contribution to the growth of per capita income can be enhanced.

There is a need for encouraging women entrepreneurs. The Government and private Sector banks should join hands in promoting women entrepreneurship.

Findings

Compare to today's woman with her counterpart twenty years back one can see the transformation in her life. Now woman has entered in all the fields including software industry. Where will she place herself after 15 years? It is almost an established fact that woman of future will be more career-oriented, and less inclined towards achieving balance at home and career. It shows hardly any doubt that tomorrow she will be a "Carrier Woman" and may not be the "Mother at Home" type. Women in 2020 will no doubt do well and make her presence felt in the field she chooses. She will have more choice and more freedom to excel. Let's wait till Tomorrow.

To conclude one can say that women in India in this century have progressed to some extent, but still there is a need for proper solution to many problems. We can proudly say that we had woman Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and now we have woman President Mrs. Pratibha Patel. In this respect we are ahead of America, where till date there has been no woman President.

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RURAL HEALTH PROBLEMS IN TAMIL NADU

V. Manimozhi *

'Health is Wealth' is a popular saying. It is now considered as the fourth minimum need next to food, shelter and clothing. Health is an area tinged with emotion and enveloped in an esoteric terminology and vocabulary.¹ Chambers twentieth Century dictionary has defined health as a "sound body condition".² This definition claims acceptance by almost 99% of the people.

Health is considered as physical well-being. But health is a complex concept which combines mental wholesomeness and bodily well being in an inseparable manner. Thus the World Health Organization defines health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity'.³

Health connotes the sense of 'working or functioning well'. Health is a fundamental aspect of economic and human progress. Health is not only a concern of body alone. Other factors too play a dominant role in determining public and social health. Sound health can accelerate the pace of socio-economic development. Improvement in health would make a positive impact on economic development. Health is regarded as productive investment. Better health may result in more productivity per man as well as more men available for work.

Health measures also enhanced the quality of human resources. Therefore any measure aiming at development, achievement in a nation must reflect the state of individual health in rural areas. Gautama Buddha has said that of all gains the gains of health are the highest and the best. Thus good health is a prerequisite to human productivity and developmental process. The society is based only on a health community. The progress of the society relies on the quality of its people. Thus unhealthy people cannot give their fullest contribution for the welfare of the community.

Health Status in Rural Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu which forms the southern most part of India has an extensive rural population. The health indicators show that the factors that affect the various aspects of health are

genetics, socio-economic status, environment, health services and way of living, the diseases that are genetically spread are diabetes, hemophilia, mental retardation etc., which, if not ruled out properly will produce one more unhealthy generation. Socio economic status also plays a pivotal role for a healthy community. People should be given a health education that the discretionary income and time should be spent on their health and the ignorance will lead to undesirable health problems which will ruin the family and society at large.

Environmental role in enhancing or deteriorating the health of the society is great. Environmental awareness should be inculcated in individual minds. Most of the major health problems arise due to the priorities that are not given for sanitation and clean drinking water. Provision of adequate sanitary condition is the first requisite for a clean healthy living. The most common health problems faced by rural population of Tamil Nadu also lack of accessibility to maternal health centers and refusal to give away primitive delivery practices. They also go by strong religious ban against fascination for few epidemics such as chicken pox, small pox (now eradicated) and measles.

Lack of infrastructure for investigation of disease is also a major problem faced by rural people. The urban health care facilities are not extended to the rural; areas in its fullest form. Even if they are extended the utility of such facilities are very scanty. For example even if 24 hours medical assistance is available for the rural population the inability arises due to lack of transport.

Among some common childhood diseases are diphtheria, whooping, cough, measles, polio, mellitus and tuberculosis. Although differing vastly in clinical symptom logy, these diseases have other things in common. They occur in childhood. In the absence of immunization coverage these diseases are widespread in early childhood and most rural children are at risk. It is therefore necessary that regular and easily accessible services are made available so that the children can start immunization

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as soon as they reach the minimum acceptable age. The effectiveness of the vaccines can be optimized if individual immunization is completed yearly and high community humanization coverage levels are reached in rural areas.

In order to have an awareness of the existing health condition of the underprivileged rural people one has to have a deeper understanding of his living environment. Support system constituted by the elements of habitat, shelter infrastructure services and well being. These elements of human environment are the input and the health of the natives is the output. In rural areas poverty has been defined as the situation in which an individual fails to earn income sufficient to buy him their means of subsistence. To mitigate the existing health problems, infrastructural development like laying good metal roads leading to hospitals and regular transport facilities should be regulated.

Regular fumigation and chlorination for control of waterborne disease should be adequately done. Training of midwives for safe conduct of delivery and post delivery should be done. Advertisements to ensure proper immunization of children to be done regularly. Conducting free medical camps in rural areas should be done with the aid of voluntary organization. This has to be included as a major programme in the National Service Scheme.

To conclude the primary health care center's (PHC) should extend its service further into almost all rural areas. The concept of primary health care has accepted by all countries as the key to attainment of 'health for all' by 2000 A.D. it includes

- Promotion of food supplies and proper nutrition
- Education about health problems and their control
- Safe water supply and basic sanitation
- Mother and child health and family Planning
- Immunization against infectious diseases
- Prevention and control of common diseases.
- Provision of essential drugs.⁴

The PHC's should be manned by more than 2 doctors, auxiliary and medical nursing staff. Sale of drugs should be banned and free

availability of drugs and medicine should be regulated properly. The concept of PHC is that it will provide largely out patient curative services and serious cases could be referred to hospitals for in-patient treatment. In relation to all India picture rural Tamil Nadu is not among the advanced areas in its health status. Whether consider in relation to output indicators such as overall infant mortality or in terms of health facilities such as hospital beds and doctors, or in terms of public expenditure on health. Greater effectiveness in the promotion of health will demand action in several fronts including not only preventive, curative and promotional facilities in the health sector but also in allied spheres such as literacy particularly female literacy, nutrition, housing, water supply and sanitation. The gross neglect of rural areas, in the provision of preventive and curative facilities will have to be redressed. The high priority will have to be given to maternal and child health services in order to reduce infant mortality and family planning thereby paving the way for a demographic transfer to lower birth and death rates.

The drug misuse in rural sector should be done away with. It always happens that only common medicines are supplied to rural PHC and the people cannot get essential ones. The sample medicines are also sometimes sold to the poor people. They do not even have knowledge regarding the expiry date of medicines and its trade mark. The dosages are also not properly instructed to them. Investigative techniques are also not latest. They have to undergo out dated primitive methods to find out the nature of disease which is found to be always cumbersome.

Unless health and other related sectors are brought into holistic approach to development. Health strategy will remain under the purview of health services only and vision of health for all will be lost.⁵ The private cost of illness will have to be reduced by an improved effective coverage of facilities and a reduction in the cost of drugs. TM active involvement of the people will have to be secured through better literacy, health education and local level participation in Primary Health Care. More resources will have to be provided for the health sector and they need to be spent in equitable manner. If these tasks are faced, a major contribution can be made to attack on poverty of which disease is both symptom and cause.

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SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN MEDIEVAL TAMIL NADU (DURING LATER PANDYAN AND NAYAK PERIODS)

Sheela Kirubakaram*

To many in the past, 'History' meant only wars and conquests, political activities and administrative details. But gone are those days and at present most of the scholars are focusing their attentions on the socio-economic aspect of history. Even in cases where society and culture have been analysed exhaustively, sufficient care has not been taken to study the customs and traditions of the people which also provide a key to the understanding of any particular society. Since the works written on customs and traditions of the people, particularly those of Tamil Nadu are very few, the paper though a brief one, aims to make a survey of the customs and manners of the medieval Tamils, who followed a distinct lifestyle.

A custom is a folkway or a form of social behaviour that has persisted for a long time and received some degree of formal recognition.¹ A custom can also be defined as any norm of voluntary action that has been developed in a national or tribal community.²

The Hindu customs, manners and ceremonies are vast and numerous. The caste customs not only differ from one caste to another but also among the people belonging to the same castes living in different places. This makes the problem very complicated. The social behaviour of the Tirunelveli Maravas can be different that of the Maravas in Ramnad District. This difference may be ascribed to the social milieu of which they form a part. Hence the present attempt is made on the general rule of conduct followed by the Tamils during all auspicious and inauspicious occasions under the later Pandyan and Nayak periods. Particularly the paper throws light on the social customs like, 'Sati or self immolation', 'Hero

Stones' Guru Puja and 'Hospitality' practiced during the later Pandyan & Nayak periods.

Sati or Self-Immolation

Sati was an important socio-religious institution, which was prevalent in Tamil Nadu from the ancient period. The word 'Sati' meant good or chaste wife. It is said that the wives of the deceased husband should follow him on his funeral pyre. It was believed that the husband when he died would be waiting for his wife in the next super-physical world. If she were to cast off the fleshy body to join her husband on the other side by the natural process of death it would take a long time and her husband would be kept waiting unnecessarily. So if the wife committed 'Sati', she and her husband would then go together into the heaven or 'swarga' to dwell there for a long time and come back again to this world to continue the process of evolution.³ This idea has been conveyed in the Hindu marriage ceremonies and the Hindu marriages itself has been considered as a sacrament and not a contract. In close examination, 'Sati' was practiced only by women and not by men. This clearly shows that how women were deliberately discriminated against, simply because it was a male dominated society in which women were looked upon as household articles.

This practice, however, was very rare. Not all the wives followed their husbands on the funeral pyre. But we have a considerable number of evidences which throw light on this custom. Marco Polo observes, "Many of the women when their husbands die and placed in the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the body. And such women do this have great praise from all". One

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Pandyan record of Marvarman Srivallabha from Chedunganallur says about a land grant to God Mahadeva at Tirupulliswaram in Chendur alais Tiruvaranga Chatturvedimangalam by Tennavan Murappu-nadu Kilavan for the merit of his daughter Purisandi on the occasion of her entering the fire as Sati. It is also understood that making donations or gifts on the occasion of performing 'Sati' was a custom followed during that period.⁴

This custom continued under the Nayaks also. Froenza's letter (one of the Jesuit Missionaries) of A.D. 1659 mentions that when Tirumalai Nayak died the chief queen of his two hundred wives, was burnt on the funeral pyre.⁵ Ramappayyan Ammanai too describes the prevalence of 'Sati' by saying that the wife of Vanni, the commander of Ramnad army lost her life by entering into the funeral pyre of her husband.⁶ Instead of burning another method (i.e.) burying the wives along with the dead husbands also prevailed, which was recorded by Barbosa.⁷ A great hole would be dug deep enough to cover up the lady's neck and the lady would be placed in it alive and mud and sand would be poured into the hole up to her neck, then a great stone would be placed over her. There the wife would die alive. This custom of burying wife after the husband's death has been mentioned in the accounts of Ceaser Frederick Gaspeo Balbi who saw this custom in A.D. 1522. He observes that this kind of 'Sati' was prevalent among the goldsmiths.⁸

During the Vijayanagar period women of high rank did not commit 'Sati'. Barbosa says that the rich women did not burn themselves immediately after their husband's death, but spent some time in performing certain ceremonies and participated in singing, dancing, music, festivals and banquets and also would distribute the remaining property to their sons, friends and relatives. After that she would be taken into a light grey or white to the place of fire and after removing all her clothes except a small cloth around her waist, she would fall into the fire.⁹

The performance of Sati was commemorated with the erection of 'Satikals' on which there were sculptural representations of the widows who committed 'sati'. "They are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post from which projects a woman's right arm bent upward at the elbow. The

hand is raised with the fingers erect and a lime fruit is usually shown, placed between the thumb and forefinger.¹⁰ There were two parts in each "Satikals". The lower one represented the husband with one or two wives and in the upper one was seen a linga or a conch the symbols respectively of Siva and Vishnu by the side of which the husband stood with his wife thus showing that they had reached the heaven.

Apart from this kind of 'sati', self-immolation was performed on account various reasons. Marco Polo says² that during the later Pandyan period, when a man was deemed to die for his sins he used to commit self-immolation in honour of an idol. The government also granted permission to do so. His friends and his kinsfolk would set him upon a cart and provide him with knives and proceed to conduct him all around the city proclaiming aloud, "This valiant man is going to slay himself for the love of such an idol". And finally when they came to the place of execution the man would take one knife, struck it through his arms and then toop-another one which ran into his belly and would go on piercing the knives into his body until he killed himself outright. After his death his kinsfolk would take the body and bum it with joyful celebration.¹¹ Self immolation took place on account of any vow taken by the people. An inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pandya dated in his 10th regnal year, from Arakandanallur, Tirukoilur Taluk, records the gift of 1000 'Kuli' of land as udirapatti (blood land) to the sons of the deceased 'devaradiyar' of the temple for his having out off his head on the completion of the mandapa in the temple of Aradandanallur.¹²

There is another interesting account of self-immolation during the period of Krishnappa Nayak of Jingi. When he wanted to make some improvements and the construction of 'Dwajasthamba' in Vishnu temple at Chidambaram, the 'Dikshitar' protested against the Nayak and as a mark of their protest some of them even killed themselves by falling down from the top of the tower. But in spite of that the Nayak was said to have accomplished his purpose.¹³

The performance of 'Sati' clearly indicates the well settled belief of the age (i.e.) before marriage a woman was a subordinate under the domination of her father and after her marriage she

came under the domination of her husband and woman could not have any life after her husband's death. This primitive belief degraded the position of women who had no voice in the society or in the family. There were instances where the people or relatives of the widowed women compelled them to fall into the fire. In the name of religion and safeguarding the chastity of women, this custom brought untold misery to the women of the age.

Hero Stones

Traditions connected with heroism are universal in spirit and content irrespective of the country to which they belong. The Tamils are known for their integrity, loyalty, self sacrifice and chivalry. Hence naturally the warriors and historic personages who had carved a place for themselves in the hearts of the people were perpetuated by ballads and monuments. People worshiped hero cult. Accordingly they erected herostones in memory of the valour of the great heroes. Mostly they were found on the out skirts of the villages. There was one famous ballad about Desingu Raj an of Jinji in South Arcot District, who built two fortresses and died while fighting against a Muslim prince in the 17th century.¹⁴

The great hero during Thirumalai Nayak period was Madurai Veeran. He is said to have defeated the Kallars who were source of nuisance and therefore the people worshiped him as a god.¹⁵ The hero-stone of Madurai Veeran with Bommi Vellaiammal can be seen in front of Madurai Meenakshi Temple. Even now the worship of Madurai Veeran continues and a Villupattu is sung about his times. In Tanjore he is modelled in terracotta with his sword raised in gesture of conquest. The warrior demon is still worshiped in the villages.¹⁶ Thus here a warrior is elevated to the position of God which clearly shows the greater degree of importance that the Tamils attach to heroism and Chivalry and this erection of hero stones in memory of heroes was an interesting custom found among the Tamils.

Guru Puja

The veneration of gurus or clergymen by both the common and royal families was in vogue during the later Pandyan and Vijayanagar Periods. Indeed the 'Guru' was in many instances treated by the king and the people with greater respect than

the king himself. De Nobili in one of his letters of 1608 says that during those periods each individual could chose a guru or spiritual leader according to his own inclination and submit to his directions.¹⁷ Festivals were celebrated in honour of the gurus like the Gods. The extra ordinary veneration of the gurus could be seen in the Jesuit letter of 1659 A.D. which states that in every December the Nayak of Tanjore (Vijayaragava) celebrated the festival of his guru (Kumara Tatacharya) in a very grant manner.¹⁸ The guru would be carried several times round and round the town in a gorgeous palanquin born by the ladies of the place, and preceded by another palanquin containing the guru's slippers and the Nayak himself would walk in front of the procession.

The gurus were generally Brahmins but almost every caste elected among its members their own gurus. Among them, there were gurus of highest rank and inferior rank gurus. Those of highest rank were the chief pontiffs of great sects and had authority over all sects. The inferior gurus were the dependents of chief gurus and were the gurus of the villages, and private gurus. Treachery to guru was considered as the most infamous crime.

Hospitality

It is said that the Tamils were known for their hospitality and kindness. They actually regarded hospitality as their sacred duty. The Jesuit missionary Vico's letter of A.D.1624 says that according to the usages of the country the people were obliged to make gifts to those who visited them. Thus when Nicolo Pimenta was received by the Nayak of Jingi, he was given precious clothes wrought with gold as presents.¹⁹ It was a custom the orthodox Brahmin families that every day before going to the lunch the Brahmin had to see whether any guests were waiting at his door and if so, he must receive them, present them with plank to sit on, give them water and offer them honey mixed with other food for refreshment. He must then take them into his house and feed them sumptuously.²⁰

The custom of offering boiled rice to crows before taking meals was also prevalent. The custom of distributing betel leaves to the guests when they left the house was also in vogue. For

instance when Nicolos Pimenta visited the court of Krishnappa Nayak of Jingi, he was offered betel leaves when he was dismissed and the Nayak even wondered at when Pimenta refused to chew the betel leaves given to him.²¹

Thus the various customs and manners followed by the Tamils reveal that the Tamils have

followed a distinct life style. On close examination of the facts, it can be estimated that these customs, manners and festivals followed during the later Pandyan and Nayak periods still continue to be in vogue, and that the life to the Tamils today could be better understood if a peep into the past is made.

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THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN TAMIL NADU IN THE 20th CENTURY - A BRIEF STUDY

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Introduction

Women have been occupying relatively a subordinate position in the Indian society for the past two thousand years, Tamil Nadu being no exception. It has been said that the development of a society is measured in terms of the progress it registers in social, political, educational and economic domains of women.¹

Applying this yardstick to Tamil women living in the twentieth century, it could be well said

that their position has been far more developed than in the past. The social changes affected only the upper and the middle class people. The laity could not be brought under the purview of social reform in the 19th and the 20th centuries, the reason being they have been immune to education. In the Jewish tradition, the Old Testament considers woman "as second in rank".² Compared to Christianity, women in Islām were enjoying a privileged status. The Holy Quran attests to it in unequivocal terms.³

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Impact of the Social Reform Movement upon the Tamil Women

By the time, the British brought the Madras Presidency under their control in 1801, the Tamil women had, as noted above, fallen prey to social disabilities such as Sati, child-marriage and enforced-widowhood, female infanticide and the Devadasi system. The British concentrated on the development of English education, as a result of which a new middle class emerged as it did in Bengal. The Christian Missionaries, who embarked upon the systematic conversion, gave the newly-converted downtrodden Tamils a higher social status. Thanks to the fusion of the Western and the Indian cultures, in the 19th century, Social Reform Movement emerged. Social disabilities associated with women came in for severe criticism at the hands of the reformers. The legal abolition of Sati in 1829 by William Cavendish Bentinck and Rammohan Roy led to the emergence of Social Reform Movement in India.⁴ These developments had noticeable impact upon Tamil Nadu which took a vanguard role in the Social Reform Movement, though belatedly. At the fag end of the 19th century, the Madras Mail wrote: Social Reform is slowly making headway among our people and there has been a distinct step towards progress.⁵

Tamil Women's Position in the 20th Century Education

The Social Reform Movement of Tamil Nadu that took its vanguard role in the 19th century covered only a few social disabilities such as Sati, child-marriage and enforced-widowhood, female infanticide. But, in the 20th century, the Social Reform Movement has covered all aspects of women such as political, social, educational and economic. In other words, the dawn of the 20th century opened with much optimism for Tamil women. It was felt that imparting of education was the prerequisite for their progress. As such, education for women was encouraged. Girls registered significant educational progress during the year 1910-1911, both in their numerical strength and in the number of schools intended for them. The total number of girls under Instruction during 1910-1911 in all classes of schools in the Madras Presidency rose from 193, 350 to 204, 386⁶ and the average percentage of girls under Instruction was 6.6.⁷ The Sarah Tucker College at Palamcottah was

the only educational institution which offered higher education to South Indian women. By 1922 - 1923, the number of schools intended for girls in the Madras Presidency rose from 2303 to 2919 and the number of girls getting instruction in the colleges rose from 335 to 367.⁸ There was an increase of Rs.2.69 lakhs in the expenditure on secondary and elementary schools for girls.⁹ "During the year 1923-1924 the number of schools solely intended for girls in the Madras Presidency rose from 2,919 to 3,050".¹⁰ Similarly, the number of women under Instruction in women's colleges rose from 367 to 390. During this year (i.e. 1923-1924), the Lady Wellington Training College for women, Madras commenced working as a separate college. The number of secondary schools rose from 59 to 61 and their strength was 12,454. As many as 14,268 girls and 2,367 boys were receiving secondary school education during the year 1923-1924 as against 13,389 compared with previous year, i.e. 1922-1923.¹¹

Periyar and the Dravidar Kazhagam's Contribution to Women's Cause

In this context, it will not be out of place, if reference is made to Periyar (1879-1973) who straddled the Tamil Nadu politics as a colossus for 54 years (1919-1973). Periyar started the Self-Respect Movement on 25th November 1925, following his exit from the Tamil Nadu Congress Party on the question of communal representation. The Self-Respect Movement contained the seeds for women's progress. The Self-Respect Movement bestowed utmost attention on women's upliftment. Besides other things, the Self-Respect Movement in unequivocal terms proclaimed that, "In human society, men and women shall be treated equal in every respect without any kind of differences".¹² In 1929, Periyar introduced the new rationalist marriage system of "Self Respect Marriage" (வாழ்க்கை துணை நல ஒப்பந்தம்) with the total absence of Brahmin priests, religious rituals and uttering of mantras in Sanskrit by Brahmin priests. The couple, irrespective of their castes and religions, garlanded each other and took the wedding oath in their mother tongue. In this way, Periyar secularised the marriage custom and made it very simple and economical.¹³ It has been estimated that since the launching of the Self-Respect Movement in 1925, on an average, 2,500 to 3,000 self-respect marriages were conducted every

year.¹⁴ It was said that the era of Periyar heralded the era of women's progress so far as the self-respect marriages were concerned. In her Presidential address to the Self-Respect Conference at Tanjore in 1932, S. Kunjitham, a women-leader of the Self-Respect Movement, asserted that the Self-Respect Movement created such an euphoria that thousands of self-respect marriages took place without rituals by Brahmin priests, 60 to 70 Self-Respect Conferences were held thousands of self-respect meetings were held and 1,50,000 persons dropped their caste appellations in the Madras Presidency.¹⁵ To widen the scope of the self-respect marriages, a Self-Respect Marriage Bureau was established at the Periyar Thidal in Chennai in 1974 by K. Veeramani, the present General Secretary of the Dravidar Kazhagam. Besides the self-respect marriages, inter-caste marriages were also conducted in various parts of Tamil Nadu.¹⁶ Inter-caste marriages between Sivakami and Chidambaram, Annapoorani and Rathina Sabapathy, Maragatha Valli and Murugappa, Manjula Bai and Shanmugam, Neelavathi and Ramasubramaniam and Sundari and Alagappa were conducted in various parts of Tamil Nadu. In this way, Periyar tried to effect structural change in the Tamil society i.e., a change aimed to alter the very structure of the society in Tamil Nadu. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) under C.N. Annadurai (1909-1969) was voted to power in the 1967 General Elections held in Tamil Nadu. The DMK Government was instrumental in the enactment of the Self-Respect Marriage Act in 1967 which accorded legal recognition to self-respect marriages.¹⁷ By this Act, children born of the self-respect marriages were entitled to inherit the parental property which was hitherto denied to them.

At the Conference of the Justice Party held at Nelloor in the then Madras Presidency in 1928, a resolution was passed to the effect that women should be treated on a par with men.¹⁸ The First Self Respect Conference which met at Chingleput on 17 February 1929 passed a resolution to the effect that women's marriage should be fixed above 16 years, that widows should be helped to have remarriage that women should be permitted if need be, to have divorce and that women-teachers should be employed in elementary schools. At the Self-Aspect Conference held at Virudhunagar in

1931, a separate women's session was held in which the following resolutions were passed:¹⁹

1. Women should not end up their studies in the school final level and should pursue up to their thirtieth year.
2. Widow re-marriage should be encouraged.
3. Women should enter police and military service, besides working as doctors and teachers and
4. Bevadasi system and brothels should be put an end to.

It is to be noted that it was Periyar's Self-Respect Movement which encouraged and trained women for making speeches at public meetings. At the Women's Conference held at Madras on 13 November 1938 under the auspices of Mrs. Neelambigai, daughter of Maraimalai Adigal, the founder of the Pure Tamil Movement (Thani Tamil Iyakkam) - conferred on E.V.R. the honorific, Periyar in view of his contribution to the Tamil society. At the Salem Justice Party Conference held on 27 August 1944, the Justice Party was given the new nomenclature as Dravidar Kazhagam. One of the resolutions passed at the Salem Dravidar Kazhagam Conference proclaimed that self-respect marriages should be registered in the registration office.

The D.K. since 1973

Following the death of Periyar on 23 December 1973, the mantle fell on K. Veeramani who has been doggedly continuing the work of his mentor. In connection with the Centenary Year Celebration of Periyar at the Periyar Thidal in Chennai on 26 August 1979, resolutions were passed to the effect that women should be liberated from social shackles, that the print media should desist from exposing women in obscene ways and that men and women should wear unisex dresses as in China to maintain equality between men and women.²⁰ At the D.K. Conference held at the Coimbatore Chidambaram Park on 13 December 1980, a resolution was passed to the effect that 50 percent jobs should be reserved for women in Government service, private sector and also at the Government Corporations-At D.K. Conference held at Dharmapuri on 12 December 1981, a resolution was passed by way of requesting the Tamil Nadu Government to raise the

percentage of representation for women at the local bodies from 15 per cent to 33 per cent²¹ which has become a reality now. Besides the Tamil Nadu Government's initiative, the D.K. has been also responsible for this unique achievement. At the D.K. Conference held at Saidapet, Chennai on 20 March 1982, the D.K. functionaries recorded their appreciation to the Tamil Nadu Government for giving preference to women while making selections for police force which was a longstanding demand of the D.K.²² At the Women's Liberation Conference held at Mayiladuthurai on 3 April 1982, a resolution was passed to the effect that women should be appointed Vice-Chancellors in Universities.²³ Partly due to the urge of the D.K., women Vice-Chancellors have been appointed at Tirunelveli, Kodaikanal, Coimbatore, (Deemed University) and Gandhigramam Universities. At the Social Justice Conference held at Thanjavur on 26 September 1990, a resolution was passed to the effect that 30 per cent reservation for women should be enmarked in Parliament and State Legislatures which is under serious consideration of the Union Government. In this way, besides the Governmental measures, Periyar's Self-Respect Movement and also the Dravidar Kazhagam have been doing signal service to the Tamil society, particularly for women.

Position since 1950

India becomes a Republic, 1950

The Preamble to the Constitution of India proclaims that equal opportunity should be given to women also. Some safeguards were incorporated under the Fundamental Rights to protect the interests of women.

It lays down that ...there shall not be any discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.²⁴ It has abolished the general handicaps from which women suffered by providing them with universal suffrage. The Union Government then proceeded to tackle the problem of the upliftment of women. A few considerations added weight to the women's problem. They were:²⁵

1. Women formed almost half of the total electorate of the country.
2. The measures meant for the development of women would help them increase their earning

capacity vis-à-vis the increase of national income and

3. Women's improvement socially, economically and educationally would help the future generation to pass on the benefits obtained by women to posterity.

Creation of Women's Welfare Department, 1947

The duty of a welfare state is to promote the welfare of the people. True to this policy, the Government of India created a separate Department of Women's Welfare consisting of a Women's Welfare Officer, a number of Assistant Women's Welfare Officers and Women's Welfare Organizers in the districts. With the formation of the new Andhra State in 1953, the Office of the Women's Welfare was abolished and the Women's Welfare Department was placed under the charge of the Director of Rural Welfare.

Establishment of the Central Social Welfare Board, 1953

The Central Government had decided that welfare work should be done with the help of voluntary social workers with funds sanctioned by the Central Government. As a result, in 1953, during the period of the First Five Year Plan (1951-1956), the Government of India set up the Central Social Welfare Board with leading social workers from all over the country. The function of the Board was to organise welfare work through voluntary organisations. The setting up of the Central Social Welfare Board marked the beginning of planned welfare services in India. The Board mobilized the services of voluntary organisations to promote the welfare of women and within a span of two years (1953-1955), it raised a band of women-voluntary workers all over the country. With the help of these women workers, a network of Welfare Centers in the rural areas for women was established. The Central Social Welfare Board created the social awareness at the village level and by 1971, 2600 Welfare Centers of the Board in rural areas functioned in the country.

Activities of the Social Welfare Department in Tamil Nadu

It is refreshing to note that Madras was the first state in the country to organise a separate department to look after the women's welfare. By

1950, the importance of women's welfare in the scheme of national regeneration came to be recognised as women occupied nine -tenths of village life. It was felt that unless there was progress on the part of women, there was little possibility of improving rural standards in the country. To promote the welfare of women, the Women's Welfare Department started. Women's Welfare Journal a monthly bulletin in English in 1950.

During the year under review (1953-1954), the Women's Welfare Department in the Madras State consisted of 93 organisers, 27 Maternity Assistants and 13 Assistant Women's Welfare Officers. In 1964 Women's Welfare Department was created in Ramanathapuram District.

By 1964, in Ramanathapuram District, the there functioned 4 branches of the Women's Welfare Department. They were at Srivilliputhur, Chokkanathapuram, Andi Choo'rani and Thiruvadanai.

These branches were run by Women's Welfare Organisers who were under the control of the District Women's Welfare Officer. They also organised community centers for the purpose of educating women through demonstration. During the year 1964-1965, about 5,647 families in the Ramanathapuram District received such assistance.

Social Welfare Measures implemented for Women under the DMK Government

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) was voted to power in 1967. The DMK under C.N. Annadurai (1909-1969) passed the Self-Respect Marriage Act in 1967 which accorded legal recognition to self-respect marriages which were not recognized hitherto. The children born of the self-respect marriages were now entitled to inherit their parental property. Dr. M. Karunanidhi became Chief Minister on the demise of C.N. Annadurai on February 1969.

In 1989, the DMK Government under M. Karunanidhi introduced 30 per cent reservation for women in Government Services and educational institutions. When in 1996, DMK was again voted to power, the Chief Minister made 33 per cent reservation for women to take part in the administration of the local bodies such as the Panchayats and the Municipalities.

During the period 1996-2001, the DMK Government implemented the following welfare measures for women: Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar Ninaivu Thirumana Nidhi Uthavi Thittam, Dr. Dharmambal Ammaiyar Ninaivu Vithavai Marumana Thittam (For widow re-marriage), Anjugam Ammaiyar Ninaivu Kalappu Thirumanan Nidhi Uthavi Thittam and Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddy Ninaivu Mahapperu Nidhi Uthavi Thittam (Dr. S.Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Benefit Scheme).²⁶

By 1999-2000, 70,000 were beneficiaries under the Moovalur Ramamirtham Scheme, 1050 under the scheme of marriage assistance for daughters of poor widows, 196 under Dr. Dharmambal Ammaiyar Scheme and 100 under the scheme of marriage assistance to orphan girls.

Women require rest during pregnancy. But, most of the women being poor economically are forced to work during pregnancy to earn their livelihood. To help such women as these, the Government of Tamil Nadu provides monetary assistance a sum of Rs.500 is sent through money order to each pregnant woman so as to help her get essential nutrients in her diet under this Scheme.

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, it could be concluded that the women of Tamil Nadu have come a long way round through the ages. Their progress and development are yet to be completed. Right from the Early Vedic Period, women have come to occupy only a secondary position down the ages. The Sangam Age which witnessed the pinnacle of glory in the literary field was known for its affluent nature. Though Annie Besant and Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddy strove hard for the welfare of Tamil women, Women's Movement touched only the fringes of the-society in that, only the women belonging to the upper and the middle class families benefited. The lower strata i.e., the common womenfolk like the agricultural labourers, construction workers, etc. remained unaffected by the Women's Movement due to their illiteracy and the conservative social attitude. Even Periyar's Self-Aspect Movement had only semi-literate women, though his movement consisted largely of the downtrodden people. Only in the eighties of the 20th century when the Self-Help Groups (SHGs) emerged. Women's Movement covered common

womenfolk also. As the proverb goes, one swallow does not make a supper, the few literate and well-to-do women could not account for the development of all women in the Tamil society. Development to be meaningful, should cover all facets of womenfolk-political, social, economic and educational. The Self-Help Groups which are doing yeoman service have a role to play in this respect.

Of late, thanks to the persistent efforts of the Tamil Nadu Government and also Mrs. Chinnappillai, Mrs. Pasumpon, Dhan Kalanjiam, S.S. Colony, Madurai and other Self-Help Groups

are creating more awareness among women for their economic self-sufficiency. Recently the President Mrs. Pratibha Patil urged that the Self-Help Groups functioning within the country should be united into a united body.²⁷ It is refreshing to note that the women of Tamil Nadu belonging the laity, the middle class and also the upper strata are forging ahead towards progress and self-sufficiency and before long, they, it is hoped, would reach their goal of equality with men in social, political, economic and educational fields. This will be the legacy of this Study.

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KHARA FAMINE IN CHENGALPATTU DISTRICT, 1891

A.R. Ramachandra Reddy*

Introduction

The theme of this paper, with its two sub-themes, relates to the famine in Chengalpattu District during the year 1891, which goes by the name *Khara* in the Indian cycle of sixty years. The first. Of the eighteen famines occurred in British India during the nineteenth century, the *Dhatu* famine of 1876-77 has been considered to be the most severe one. The *Khara* famine of Chengalpattu District was more severe, in certain respects, than that of the *Dhatu* famine of 1876-1877. The second. The coastal districts are generally believed to be less prone to famine than the interior districts and particularly those of the rain-shadow region such as the Rayalaseema. But the present article exemplifies otherwise i.e., that the coastal district such as Chengalpattu could be worse, at times, of famine than those of the interior districts and even those of the rain-shadow region.

All the facts brought out are being presented for the first time. They were culled out of primary and original sources from the Government archives and were supported by the village-to-village survey, of select areas.

Scanty Rain Fall

The district of Chengalpattu suffered a severe shortage of rainfall in 1891. 29.44 inches of rainfall alone was recorded as against its normal annual rainfall of 46.11 inches.¹ This shortage of rainfall led to a situation of famine. The cost of basic food grains began to escalate alarmingly. People craved for food and alternate employment.

Three Classes of Ryots

The Collector described the ryots into three classes. First, related to those who held land in absolute ownership. They were generally well enough to do. The second were those who held land under a zamindar or *shrotriendrar* or sole *mirasidar*.² These were well-to-do if they had an unimpeached occupancy right, but not otherwise. The third, those who held no land of their own. But each year they rent lands of others for a

money-rent or more frequently on the half-produce systems locally known as *mukta* and *varam*.

Generally, it was only the last class which had succumbed to the adverse season. They fell back, when they had no savings, in the class of labourers. There were two other points to be noticed, which act in opposite ways.³ The *mirasi* system kept away stranger applicants for land. By including the ryots to hold more than they could properly cultivate, had reverted their attention to irrigable land. This situation allowed a vast extent of uplands to lie waste and jungle-grown. Therefore there came a season disastrous to the rice-crop, the population had no upland crop to take its chance with.⁴

Artisans and Others

Another integral part of the village community was constituted by the artisans, who served it in various ways, also suffered severely on account of this famine. The *mera* which usually secured from the ryots had greatly dwindled or reached a status of naught. They also looked for alternative works for sustenance. The weaving community, which was substantial, also suffered untold miseries. *Vannia* caste people usually supplied a large proportion of agricultural labourers. They eagerly accepted public work. But they claimed to be descendants of a *palayakkaran* family.⁵ They roundly professed to prefer starvation than to mingling with the *dalits*.⁶

The plight of *dalits* was deplorable.⁷

The deteriorating conditions of the villagers and villages was another reality of this famine. At the instance of the Collector initiation of a new programme all over the Presidency what was known as Village Improvement Scheme was undertaken.

Search for Alternate Food

The above state of things had led to the poorest classes to fall back on unusual food. The rice crop was generally weeded of a large seeded grass called *mavaragu* (powder - millet). But the

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withering of the rice had retained the grass. Its seeds had been most gratefully used. Ordinary field ant collected and took to its holes the seeds of many other grasses.⁸ Many persons were engaged in digging up these holes and made use of the seeds, which included those of grasses locally called *arivruttan*, *mathan-kay* (*cynosurus egyptius*), *nari-val* (*dactylic spicata*) and *kudirei-kolambu* (horses hoof). The method of collection was as follows. Generally, three persons worked together - one dug, the second took out the seeds mixed with the earth, and the third, separated the seeds from the earth. However this day's work only enabled a very scanty meal.⁹

Towards Gratuitous Relief

The symptom of sunken cheeks stood alone in so many villages. On such occasions one would expect other usual accompaniments, such as emaciation of the aged, of children and of the infirm. The Acting Collector informed the authorities and requested the government to go for gratuitous relief.¹⁰

Under Land Improvement Act, allotment was made for Rs. 2,84,500.¹¹ In addition to the above, one thousand two hundred and twenty eight wells had been constructed and another 2,263 were under construction which gave employment to 15,841 persons.¹²

Minor Irrigation Works

The minor irrigation works were to be carried out on contract by the villages under the superintendence of the Revenue Department, and the Local Fund works were to be by the District and Taluk Board establishments.¹³ In Ponneri Taluk there were nineteen (19) minor irrigation works. The amount allotted to them was Rs. 3,585 and 640 coolies at 3 annas per day for 30 days.

In Tiruvallur Taluk there were twenty four minor irrigation works with an allotment of Rs.5,351 and 953 coolies.

In Saidapet taluk twenty-six (26) minor irrigation works were there with an allotment of Rs.4,610/- and 817 coolies.

Major Irrigation Works

These works were to be carried to out by the Govt, through the Public Works Department. In

a resolution of March 1891 the Board of Revenue sanctioned the balance of estimated unspent amount of Rs. 1, 89,626 for five taluks of the District¹⁴ with the exception of Kanchipuram.¹⁵ There were seven major irrigation works in Ponneri taluk

(i) Completing Arni River embankment, (ii) Arni River diversion, (iii) Kortalayar embankment above Vallur, (iv) Kortalayar embankment below Vallur, (v) Diversion of Buckingham Canal (Chintamani to Pulicat), (vi) Ami tank and supply channel and (vii) Srinambedu supply channel.

In Tiruvellore Taluk there were sixteen works of which seven were in Kadur Tract:

(i) Kadur, (ii) Kambakam, (iii) Santavelur earth-work (iv) VaradarajapaoUien tank, (v) Ambur tank, (vi) Amdur tank and (vii) Pandur chaimel.

The remaining nine works were in Periapalayam tract:

(i) Vadamadurai tank, (ii) Uttukottai tank, (iii) Vadamadurai channel, (iv) Kagavakkam channel, (v) Panayanjeri tank, (vi) Akkarambakam tank, (vii) Maduravasal tank, (viii) Tirukandulam tank, (ix) Kalpatti tank

In Saidapet Taluk there were six:

(i) Porur tank, (ii) Maduravayal tank, (iii) Tirumushi tank, (iv) Madras water-works distributaries, v) Cholavaram drainage channel (close to the above), (vi) Velangadupakam channel (close to the above).

There were three in Chengalpattu Taluk

(i) Diversion of canal, Covelong to Sadras, (ii) Nemili tank, (iii) Kadambadi tank) and in Madhurantakam Taluk there were-eight:

(i) Tinnalur tank, (ii) Uttramaiur iaidi supply channel, (iii) Ravatinalur tank, (iv) Melamamvatturjariak, v) Achaiavakam tank, (vi) Acharavlkam tangal, (vii) Tenpakam tonk and (viii) Tenpakam tangal.

Tank Restoration, major and minor, was completed in the district.¹⁶

Cattle Protection

Cattle wealth is an integral and inalienable aspect of rural life of India through the ages.

Sufferings of cattle were due to three conditions of famine - almost complete failure of pasture, drying up of the drinking ponds and deficient outturn of straw of the fading crops. The drying up of the ponds could not be remedied. But the provision of the water for cattle, as for human being was to be provided, as far as possible.¹⁷

From 10 June 1891, all the reserve forests were thrown open to all the cattle at a nominal fee. For each buffalo it was of 6 pies and for each bullock of 3 pies.¹⁸

Expenditure on Relief Works

As early as February 1891, the need for relief works was suggested by J.H.A. Tremenheere, the Acting Collector of the district. He foresaw the situation when he wrote to the Board of Revenue:¹⁹ "If a famine should break out, I think we should first exhaust all the major and minor irrigation works in the district, then metal or remetal the existing roads, many of which are in very bad order, and stack a year's metal along them; and at a later stage put in hand the new roads, and improve the village roads, village water supply and the village sites".

The Board of Revenue agreed with the above idea of the Collector and ordered to revise the earlier estimate which amounted to Rs.20,37,255/- for the purpose of major irrigation works, water supply, village improvement, New Roads, Remetalling and staking.

How ever this led to the two systems of gratuitous relief: (i) Automatic System and (ii) Come-If-You-Please system²⁰ Consequently kitchens, otherwise known as gruel centres, locally known as *kanjidoddi*, were setup at a number of places through out the district at Komakambedu, Pudukkottai, Porur, Vendalur, Acharapakkam, Srialahasthi, Sembakkam, Hanumanthapuram, Madhurantakam, Ponneri, Tiruvallur, Saidapet, Chengalpattu, Kanchipuram and others.²¹ Further the money-dole and grain-dole systems were tried 'in vain.

With the worsening conditions of famine the number of labourers on different kinds of State and local works was gradually increased to 16,619. Actual expenditure incurred on relief works of the Rs. 1,97,016-13-2.²² district was The estimated cost of the earth-work on the proposed Madras-

Gudur Railway in the Ponneri Taluk, the total cost of the works proposed amounted to Rs.10,71,818.²³

Persons Relieved On Works

During the Khara year a total of 64,084 persons were on an average relieved on works in the district during the months of 1891²⁴ which indicate the hugeness by comparing with those of the Presidency.

Highest Death-Rate

During the year of 1891, five (Chengalpattu, North Arcot, Kovai, Salem and Nellore) districts experienced severe famine. The total deaths reported for 1891 were 1, 88,726 as compared with 1, 50,011, the average deaths reported during the five years ending Dec 1890. It represented an increase of 38,715 or 25.8 per cent. Of this the highest death rate was in Chengalpattu district as illustrated below.

But it is interesting to realize the official observation.²⁵ ...the death-rate, however, was not high, being in no district more than 28.3 per mille of the population.

Much of the excess mortality during 1891 was due to cholera. In other words, cholera had been an almost invariable accompaniment of famine. But the British in their report observed.²⁶ ... it was by no means confined to the distressed districts.... But the reality with the masses was that there was the general prevalence of cholera, during the famine year 1891 and much more than the average of five years ending 1890.

Infact the district under study suffered the most on account of the Khara famine.²⁷

Prices of Staple Grain

The data points out the severity of the famine in terms of the cost of staple grains, rice and ragi, during 1891 in comparison to the Dhatu year (1876) and the average normal for five years ending 1890 i.e. the year before famine.

The cost of the staple grain was much more when compared to the other three categories of districts in comparison with Nellore (for a coastal district). North Arcot and Salem (for interior / non-coastal districts); and Kumool and Kadapa (for rain-shadow districts).²⁸

The price of ragi was much more comparatively in July and October 1891. But the December figure was due of the fact that there were showers of North-east monsoon. The rest of the five districts continued to suffer the famine during 1892 also. In other words, famine ended as far as Chengalpattu in Khara, whereas for the above others, it continued till Nov, Dec. 1892.

Famine Recession

Rain began in Sept 1891, ploughing commenced; the condition of cattle began to distinctly improve.²⁹ This was followed by fairly good rain on a comparative basis during the North-East monsoon and the famine gradually came to an end.³⁰ From all the six taluks the season reports of

late Oct 1891 were received and the Board of Revenue passed a resolution to the effect "water drought is past for men and cattle", gradually.

Sum Up

Famine alleviation steps were attended to by three duty conscious officers namely the Collector, J.H.A. Tremeneheere; Sub Collector, A. Pinto of Tiruvallur; and Tahasildar of Ponneri Taluk, M. Arumugam Pillai had turned out model work for devotion and care, which the Government recognised as the best at the Presidency level. The work of these officers indicated the need for revision of existing Famine Code. Other portents stated in introduction are confirmed through the above analysis of famine in the district.

Notes & References

1. Report by the Famine Commissioner, p.1.
2. Letter No.698 from Acting Collector of Chengalpattu to the BR, dated 5 March 1891.
3. *Ibid.*, para 3 (h).
4. Emphasis added.
5. Letter No.1091, dated 30 March 1891.
6. Season Report from Mullaly, Sub-Collector of Chengalpattu, for week ending 4 July; Lr. No. 7, 5 July, 1891.
7. n.2. para 3 (i). See also Lr. No. 524, dt 03 August 1891.
8. Lr. No. 1894 dt 26 May 1891.
9. Letter No. 384, dated 10 March 1891 from T.N. Ramachandra Aiyar, Deputy Collector, General Duties, and Chengalpattu District from Konnur to the Collector.
10. Letter from the Acting Collector to the Secretary to the Commissioner of Revenue Settlement and Director of the Dept. of Land Records and Agriculture, Board Proceedings (B.P) No. 207, dated 9 April 1891, pp. 2-3. See also Lr No 167, dt 25 Mar 1891 and Ref No 1502 dt 02 May 1891.
11. Lr. No 2264, dt 18 September, 1891.
12. B.P. No 652, dt 14 October, 1891.
13. BR. B.P. No. 169, dated 26 March 1891. See also Ref No 1089.
14. Lr. No 157, dt 23 March 1891.
15. Figures were not available since report was not received from the Taluk.
16. Lr. No. 276, dt 18 July 1891 from G.T. Walsh, Chief Engineer for Irrigation, to the Secretary to the Commissioner, B.R., Madras. See also Lr. No. 2583, dt 14 July 1891 and Lr. No. 520, dt 14 August 1891.
17. Lr. No 167, dt 25 March 1891, p.2.
18. Lr. No. 2104, dt 18 June, 1891.
19. Letter from J.H.A. Tremeneheere, Acting Collector Chengalpattu, No. 50, dated 18 February, 1891, to the Secretary, Board of Revenue (BR), and Madras.
20. Ref. No. 884, dt 17 March, 1891.
21. B.P. No 167, dt 25 March, 1891.
22. G.O. No. 353, dt 21 April, 1891.
23. From the Secretary, P. Rajaratna Mudaliar, to the Government for information. Lr. No 788, dt 13 October, 1891.
24. Report on relief works and kitchens.
25. Mortality report No 123, dt 11 February, 1892.
26. Ref. No. 4570, dt 21 October, 1891.
27. Lr. No.1484, dt. 06 May 1891. See also B.P. No 407, dt. 10 July; See also Ref No 5, dt 04 January, 1892 and Lr. No. 270, dt. 08 February, 1892.
28. Lr. No. 482, dt 04 August, 1891. See also Ref. No. 5, dt. 04 January 1892.
29. Lr. No. 3670, dt. 08 September, 1891.
30. Ref. No. 4570, dt 24 October, 1891.

TEMPLE ENTRY MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU

S. Varghese Jeyaraj *

Temples play a conspicuous role in the history of Tamil Nadu. From time immemorial, they are the holy places of veneration for the people. Temples are grouped into two types namely village temples and Brahminical temples governed by the Agama Sastras. The village temples are found in almost all villages where every village community or castes worshipped the village deities. They are called the Dravidian Gods usually local in their origin and very popular among the rural folks.¹ In the village temples, people worshipped the folk heroes and legendary Gods like Madurai Viran, Karuppanasamy, Aiyandar, Muniswaran, Mariamman, Sonaisamy, Pecciamman etc. Brahmins do not officiate as priest in the worship of the lower classes.²

The other types of the temples were constructed by the Tamil kings. The ancient rulers as the head of the theocratic states mobilized the entire resources of the states and manpower and erected magnificent granite temples in towns and Villages.³ All sections of the society threw their rite in building them. After a large scale purification ceremony, the Brahmins deprived them to enter into the temple. In these temples, on their inauguration, the roles of Brahmins were predominant and got all rights while the part played by all the other communities were denied or limited.⁴

According to the Agama text, the doctrine of governing the rituals of the temples stated that temples dedicated to the public were open to all Hindus, but distinctive places were assigned to different castes for the purpose of worship. The Brahmin priests followed the prescription of the Agama text entered into the sanctum sanctorum of the temples. The kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras could not go further than the Mahamandapam of the Hindu temples. The remaining populations were considered as polluted classes and were reduced to the level of untouchable and unseeable. They had to offer their prayer to deity from outside of the temple and denied worship in the temple premises.⁵

With the advent of the British as the political head of the state, social changes took place. The British brought with them their own form of government, legal system and the policy of non interference and neutrality in religious matters naturally gave scope for revolt in the caste based restriction in the society. The Western education provided scientific truth rested in the improvement of civil customs.⁶

Due to Western impact and political awakening, a section of people in Tirunelveli and Madurai District made several attempts to enter the Hindu temples and claimed the right of worship in Madurai and Tirunelveli District in the last quarters of the nineteenth century. It led to bloodshed, massacre and loss of property in Sivakasi and its adjoining areas in 1899.⁷

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, a progressive section among the caste Hindus and Congress realized the need for the removal of the disability. They considered that the opening of the temples to Harijans was the matter of religious emancipation. In the British India, the question of Harijan entry into the temple was mooted in 1923. The Congress spearheaded the temple entry movement. In 1923 Congress organized campaign in Vaikom in Travancore with a view to securing the rights for Harijans to enter the roads around Vaikom temple.⁸

However the real beginning of the temple entry movement took a momentum after the Poona Pact of 1932. It opened a new era in the history of the temple entry movement. It recommended to remove the disparity of the depressed class to use public well, public schools, and roads to the untouchables. The Poona Pact gave further impetus to temple entry movement in the country.⁹ Mahatma Gandhi, the great social reformer led the movement to abolish untouchability. He appealed to all caste Hindus to help the Harijans to get into Hindu temple and offer worship.¹⁰ In the provincial level, the Congress chose some leaders like T.S.S. Rajan, A. Vaidyanatha Iyer and M. Bhaktavatsalam to prepare a ground to lead the Harijans to enter into the temples.¹¹

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While the works of the Congress progressed, the Justice party took active part to open the temples to the depressed classes. On 1st November 1932, Subbarayan of Justice Party moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council to bring a resolution for temple entry. In December 1932, he introduced a bill called Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Act in the Council. However as per the Government of India Act 1919, the sanction of the Governor - General was required to introduce a bill. The Governor - General refused to grant permission on the ground that it had an all India character not of provincial nature. On seeing the reaction of the orthodox section, the government did not like to interfere the socio-religious custom of the people.¹² Meanwhile in 1932, a referendum was conducted among the Municipal voters in Madurai, and eighty per cent of the people supported the cause of temple entry.¹³ While a growing volume of public opinion to remove the disabilities, in November 1936, the Raja of Travancore Sri. Chitrai Tirunal issued a Royal Proclamation to open the Hindu temples. It further strengthened the demand for temple entry.¹⁴

The Temple Entry Movement became reality, when the Congress captured power in 1937 in the Madras Presidency. The Governor of the Province gave an assurance to the Congress Ministry that he would not interfere in the provincial autonomy.¹⁵ In the Madras Legislature, a dynamic Dalit leader M.C. Raja introduced a private Bill in the legislature in 1937 to remove the disabilities of Harijans in regard to enter into Hindu temples but Rajaji opposed the bill. M.C. Raja accused Rajaji and the Congress party for betraying the Harijans.¹⁶ However, on 1 December 1938, Rajaji introduced the Malabar temple Entry Bill which was passed in the legislature became the law in 1939. This was the prelude to enter the temple entry movement in Tamil Nadu.¹⁷

The opening of several famous temples in South India began with the opening of the famous Meenakshi Amman temple in June 1939. A. Vaidyanath Aiyar and his co-workers made ceaseless efforts in educating public opinion in Madurai. While the Campaign went on, Provincial Temple Entry Conference was held in Madurai to speed up the process of temple entry. On 13 June 1939, the conference was presided over by Rameshwari Nehru, the Vice-President of All Indian

Harijan Seva Sangh.¹⁸ The conference was a great event in the campaign against untouchability. More than 300 delegates represented the conference from various parts of India. In this conference, C. Rajaji, V.I. Muniswami Pillai and Dr. Rajan fully convinced the public the necessity of a reform to purify Hinduism. In the evening a public meeting was held in Madurai in which 30,000 people participated and in solemn voice gave their unstinting support for temple entry to Harijan. Again a temple entry propaganda committee was opened in one of the main streets of Madurai.

A. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, the president of the Tamil Nadu Harijan Sevaka Sangh launched intensive propaganda and prepared five Harijans and a Nadar to enter into the Meenakshi Amman temple. It was done with the approval of C. Rajagopalachari and the trustee of the temple.¹⁹

On 8 July 1939, A. Vaidyanatha Iyer and L.N. Gopalasamy went to the Meenakshi temple along with five Harijans namely Swami Muruganandam of Alampatti, K. Kakkan of Tumbapatti, Muthu, a Harijan Sevalaya servant, V.S. Chinnaya of Madichinam and B.R. Poovalingam of Virattipatti besides S.S. Shunmuga Nadar, a prominent Municipal councillor of Virudhu Nagar.²⁰ The temple entry was a historical event as age old custom had been broken and a new chapter opened in the annals of Hinduism. They entered the Golden Lily tank inside the temple and after finishing ablution visited various shrines inside the Meenakshmi temple. Orthodox section of the people found it difficult to reconcile it. On 11 July 1939, Netasa Iyer, a leading advocate filed criminal complaints against Vaidyanatha Iyer and of Executive officer of the temple. C. Rajagopalachari, the premier swiftly acted upon. The same day the Government published an indemnity Bill with retrospective effect. The bill was prepared well in advance and kept ready for publication as soon as the temple entry was effected in Madurai. As the legislature was not in session, Erskine, the Governor of Madras on the advice of the premier passed an ordinance. It effectively put an end to all litigations.²¹ Later the ordinance was replaced by an appropriate Act passed by the Assembly legalising the temple entry. On August 3, the premier C. Rajagopalachari introduced the Madras Temple Entry Authorization and Indemnity Bill.²² The legislature passed the Bill on 4 August 1939.²³

Following the successful entry in to Meenakshi temple, temples of Tanjore were opened to the public on 16 July 1939 Rajaram, the senior prince and hereditary trustee of Tanjore palace Devasthanam opened ninety temples including the famous Brihadi swara temple to the depressed classes.²⁴ On 26 July Thirukkuthalanatheswarar temple at Courtallam and the next day Kasi Viswanatha temple at Tenkasi were opened to the depressed classes.²⁵ As a result of the Act, three more temples in Madurai, one in Trichi, Chengleput, Coimbatore and Nilgris threw open to the Harijans.²⁶

After independence, the government passed the Temple Entry Authorization Act, 1947

which removed the disabilities imposed by custom or usages on certain class of Hindus in respect of entry into Hindu temples and offered worship there in. The Act conferred on the excluded class a right to enter any public temple open to Hindu public and offer worship. This Act replaced the Act of 1939. The Act is extended to the whole of Tamil Nadu.²⁷ The Temple Entry Authorisation Act 1947 and the provisions in the constitution have legally abolished the age - old untouchability and social disabilities from which the Harijans suffered.²⁸ Thus the temple entry movement was an epoch making event in the history of Tamil Nadu as well as to the Nation.

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SOCIO - CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF BARTHOLOMEAUS ZIEGENBALG (1706-1719)

P. Jothipackiam*

Tranquebar, the queen of Coromandal Coast and the commercial city and sea-port had been a multicultural melting pot for centuries. The middle ages saw the arrival of mainly Arab merchants who settled down here. From 16th century onwards the Portuguese also came. During 17th and 18th centuries the Portuguese language became an important, means of communication in this region from 1620 onwards the Danish came and built not only a fort but also a city according to the European model. The first missionaries arrived hundred years later in 1706 thus encountered a population that was multifarious in national, religious, social and linguistic respects.

A new epoch dawned in the church history of India with the arrival of the Danish-Halle missionaries (Royal Danish missionaries) Bartholomeaus Ziegenbalg and Henrick plutchau at Tranquebar on 9th July 1706 AD. The two German Theologians represented the beginning of a process of intensive cultural and religious encounters. Tranquebar became the best known "Cradle of the protestant missions in India".

King Fredrick IV (1671-1730) of Denmark founded the Tranquebar mission as an effort to improve the welfare of his subjects at home in Denmark and also in distant colonies.¹ It was neither the powerful English nor the Dutch who first sent out missionaries to India but little Denmark. The king Fredrick IV sponsored the despatch of the first protestant mission to Tranquebar, an insignificant trading settlement in India, Ziegenbalg's journey to India on board the ship was not too happy. He called that journey "An academy of death".²

The cession of land to the missionaries at Tranquebar was resented by the Danish East India Company which had been trading in Tranquebar as they thought that this was an infringement of their rights.³ They were not even informed of this. The traders had little or no interest in their religion. The Danish East India Company was concerned with the survival of the company, maximum economic

profit for its share holders and their own salary. They viewed missionaries as intruders. Hence the missionaries had to face and overcome several social, political and economic conflicts. It was difficult to trade in India according to the precepts of the "sermon on the mount" and business and religion did not go way well together. The missionaries were ostracized by the Europeans who thought that they might serve as spies. The missionaries were caught "twixt a double fire. They met with the hostility of the Governor- Hassius who was afraid that the their had monistic way of life of the Danish bureaucrats would come under scrutiny and be reported adversely to the king of Denmark."⁴ The missionaries had to live in the poorest part of the town and had to earn the good will of those among where they lived. Ziegenbalg successfully weathered the situation. Ziegenbalg remarked we experience great opposition from Government we have not even received sufficient outward means this year. "Heathens and Mohammedans are kind enough to us ... but those (Europeans) that pretend to be Christians are worse than heathens at the bottom have shown us all the spite and malice they ever could".⁵ The directors of the Danish East India Company in Copenhagen soon after the missionaries left Copenhagen; they sent secret orders to their Governor in Tranquebar directing him to quench every effort of the missionaries to establish their mission. They thought that Christian mission would jeopardize their trade.

Interest in Learning Native Language

Ziegenbalg was a pioneer of the process of indigenization and contextualization of Christian mission in India. He studied the ground reality and planned his work accordingly. Soon after landing, he was convinced that if the mission had to be succeeded, the language of the people had to be used. He regarded the local language as the gate way to the people in the mission's region. He determined to learn Tamil, the language of the natives and studied it with rigorous dedication. He

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learned Tamil from a 70 years old Hindu teacher Ellappan sitting cross legged on the floor along with the children of Tranquebar School tracing the alphabets on the sea-sand as was the practice of learning then.⁶ He did not hesitate to learn the Tamil language from children and people representing lower castes. An Indian translator called Aleppa who knew Portuguese, Tamil, Danish, Dutch and German assisted him for nearly two years. Ziegenbalg himself points out that he learned Tamil each day in a systematic time table.

As a result of this he became a profound scholar in Tamil language and literature.

He took Peter Malayappan with him when he went for Germany in 1714 in order to have constant and continuous touch in Tamil language. More over by taking Malayappan with him, he instilled in him the German language and tradition and made him a disciple of Indology.⁷ Ziegenbalg remarked "In the first three years in India, I read hardly any German or Latin books, but spent the whole time from morning until evening reading Malabar books and also transacted my office business in that language, besides constant conversation with the heathen. Therefore I am conversant in this language as in my own mother tongue and during the two years have written several books in it. I learned to Tamil like a native"⁸ the missionaries also acquainted themselves with the Christian Tamil that was developed by Jesuit missionaries in Tamil country.

Indo - European Inter- Cultural Dialogue (Dialogue and Conversation Method)

Ziegenbalg tried to understand a culture foreign to him. The linguistic ability promoted inter-cultural communication. Ziegenbalg met the Indians on Indian terms, accepted them as they were. A solid mastery of the local language would not only enable him to communicate with the Indians, but through this he could also ensure the success of their missionary work. Knowledge of Tamil society was considered a necessary pre-requisite for communicating with or for understanding the local population. The studies of religion by Tranquebar missionaries were directed towards the teachings and contents of classical Hinduism as well as to elements of popular belief. The former were based on a reading of literature and on regular contacts with learned Brahmins. The study of popular belief

was based mainly on their own observations supplemented by explanations given by their local guide.⁹

The most comprehensive attempts to understand Hinduism were those undertaken by Ziegenbalg and these are documented in his books "Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods" and "Malabarian Heathenism" which contain a precise account of the varied religious traditions and phenomena as well as a description of contemporary society in South India.¹⁰ They carefully studied the socio-cultural and religious attitudes, beliefs, customs and practices of the people. They constantly examined the written works of the Tamil people and tried to understand the underlying forces that influenced their thought and life.¹¹

Ziegenbalg committed himself to the study of the local language, culture and life style with the help of the interpreters and translators. As soon as he was able to speak in Tamil, he entered in to religious discussions with Hindus in Tamil. He spent time to be familiarized with the native religions. He showed interest in learning to know about Hinduism. He employed the method of dialogue and conversation with the people of other religions. He initiated inter-faith and inter-religious dialogues which made him to learn more about Hinduism, Hindu religious practices and festivals. He attempted to understand the religions of Tamilians without prejudice and hostility. He was convinced that even these religions can teach many good things to the Europeans.

Contribution to Tamil Language

(a) Bible Translation

Ziegenbalg determined to master Tamil so that he could use it to translate the Bible. He translated the Bible New Testament (1715) in spoken Tamil of which he was criticized that he had no classical knowledge of Tamil and there were a lot of mistakes in his colloquial translation and mocked at him. The Bible which he translated was called by his critics as "Vedas of the Sudras".

Ziegenbalg started his historic attempt of translating the Bible on 17th October 1708 and completed on 21st March 1711. This attempt of translation in the local language was indeed a breakthrough for the community where the

accessibility to read the scriptures was rare and remote. Ziegenbalg's translation of New Testament into Tamil opened the holy scriptures to all especially to sudras and dalits who were not permitted even to listen to the scriptures when they are read. He made it possible for all to touch and read in their native language. Understanding cultural ethos of the people he presented Gospel through the native language, Tamil. He revolutionized Tamil prose by introducing simple spoken Tamil words.

G.U. Pope praised the translation effort of Ziegenbalg as the "Heroic effort".¹² Indian heritage is no longer the heritage of India alone, but of all man kind says a historian A.L.Basham.¹³

(b) Tamil Library at Halle

Not many know that a foreigner was instrumental in introducing Tamil at the Martin Luther University in Halle. He started Tamil library in Halle which is considered as the first German library. It contains 14 books written by Ziegenbalg, 21 books written by Roman catholic priests (Jesuits), 119 Hindu religious literatures, 1 Muslim books written by Muhammadan authors.¹⁴ He virtually had conferred on Tamil the status of classical language then. But, alas, modern scholars seem to have totally forgotten his services to the language.

(c) His Tamil Works

Though evangelistic enterprise was his primary concern he indulged in a fruitful study of the language, religion and philosophy of Tamils. He sustained his interest in Tamil studies. After considerable time of study and research, he crystallized his research findings and sent them to Halle where they were published later on. Effective and significant German Interest in Indology came to be realized only from 1706 when Ziegenbalg arrived at Tranquebar says Dr.Mohanavelu. He gave a mass of ideological facts in his letter.

He had collected 17,000 poetical words from the poetical writings. Another major contribution in the field the Tamilology is his "Tamil Dictionary" of 40,000 words. This formed the basis, and source book for other dictionaries which appeared later, particularly the "Tranquebar Dictionary". He prepared "Genealogy of the Malabar Gods and Goddesses" (1713). His Tamil Grammar called "Grammatica Tamulica" (1716) was

used as a guide book by later missionaries like F.R Febricius and Karl Graul and others. He wrote a book on complete description of "Malabar Heathendom" for the benefit of the Europeans.

Within two years of learning Tamil he authored 14 Tamil books, prepared diary of his works in Tranquebar. He wrote Malabar arithmetics. He made to know German nature to Tamils.

Palm Leaves Collection (His Efforts to Preserve Manuscripts)

Ziegenbalg took efforts to preserve palm leaf manuscripts of Tamil literature. It was rare to get palm leaf of Tamil literature at that time. He directed his assistants to go to the widows of Hindu priests (poor Brahmin widow who would perhaps be the first to surrender the precious manuscripts at small cost.¹⁷ He spent quite a sum of money in hiring Brahmins to copy the Tamil books on palm leaves. Brahmin widows in poverty sold palm leaves and as a result it was possible for him to establish a library in his house.¹⁸

Ziegenbalg wrote a descriptive catalogue of all the Tamil palm leaf manuscripts he had by then collected for the library of the newly founded mission. It lists altogether hundred and twelve (112) palm leaf manuscripts. He classified the books that he had procured. He collected palm leaves relating to Tamil medicine and did research elaborately on Tamil medical Knowledge. He collected and preserved Tamil books in palm leaf forms and paved the way for the Introduction of Tamil in foreign universities. He continued to purchase the books and manuscripts.

Translating Tamil into German Language

Ziegenbalg was the first European to translate a Tamil text into a European language (German). He translated in to German, Tamil didactic literature such as Needivenba, Kondreivendan, and Ulaganeeti. These translations could be found in his *kleinere schariften* (Minor writings) edited by W.Caland.

In Ulaganeethi, Ziegenbalg's translation appear side by side and the reader can gain an idea of Ziegenbalg's method of interpretations and of his ability to obtain almost by instinct, an insight into the material at hand, even though his knowledge about Tamil at that time was limited in its scope.

Apart from the linguistic aspect, the German version of the *Ulaganeedi* has an interesting human angle. It shows how the mind of a Tamil poet and Christian missionary divided by matters of faith, tradition and calling and could meet on the universal and therefore more or less neutral ground of pure ethics.¹⁹ Hence, Ziegenbalg has been described by Dr. Graul as an Ice-Breaker of south Indian studies.

Research

It was Ziegenbalg who first started research in good old Dravidian language Tamil according to western system. Tranquebar became the first station to do research of the Dravidian language. His extensive research on Tamil language and religion earned him the title "the first Dravidian scholar among the protestant missions observes Werner Raupp, the author of the *Kircheu Lexikon*. He introduced Bibliography which is used in research largely now -a- days.

Medicine

In the medical field he took interest in studying the books dealing with medicines. He opines that the medical books of Tamils are the best among all other books. Their medical books carry in formations on vital matters which are most really practicable. He noted that the Tamils believed that every human being gets three main diseases while in the mother's womb, into which all other diseases can be grouped. Correspondingly they are detectable through three pulse systems. All about these wrote in a book called "*Vaidiya Sasthirum*". From this he judged that Tamil medical men are not dull people as one might think in Europe.

Press and Publication

The historic contribution of Ziegenbalg was the establishment of the printing press in India. With the generous gift of society for the propagation of Christian knowledge in London, he installed the printing press at Tranquebar in 1712²⁰ to print and publish Tamil Biblical texts and hymns. Ziegenbalg named it as "The Tranquebar mission press." He published studies of the Tamil language and of Indian culture. By his close cooperation with SPCK (Anglican group) an early exercise of harmony was attempted between the Christian communities in the mission field.²¹ He also set up a paper mill (foundry) in a nearby village called

Kaduthasipattarai²² near Porayar to produce and supply paper to the press at Tranquebar. The young missionary was setting up a technical marvel completely not supported by any one in the colony to publish the word of God in propagating the Gospel.²³

Female Education

A separate residential school for the girls was set up in India in 1707 by Ziegenbalg which was a mile stone in the history of India. Prior to this there was no school entirely devoted to the education of girls this school becomes an ideal school for gender-balance.

As poverty was the cause of illiteracy among the womenfolk, Ziegenbalg told the parents not to sell their girls by promising help in the form of money to those who sent their girls to girl's hostel. A particular parent as per the custom of the day dedicated their daughter to God as Devadasi. Ziegenbalg helped them and got her admitted in the girl's home by helping the parents who later became a teacher in a Christian school.

His charity Boarding Home started after the model of the orphanage homes in Halle and the schools for the slaves set an example for the authorities of the East India Company to introduce the civil orphan Asylum scheme in the Madras Presidency.²⁴ To promote the importance of education in Tamil society, parents of the poor children were given "financial subsidy" for sending their children for tuition.

Free Schemes and Social Integration

By the end of the year 1707, Ziegenbalg created two schools, one Dano -Portuguese school under Plutchau's superintendence and the other a Tamil school under Ziegenbalg. In both they gave food, drink, clothes and books to the children." Thus he was a fore runner of Free Schemes. This missionary policy of giving food, cloth and books to the poor students was later followed by Thiagaraja Chettiar, former president of the Justice party in the corporation schools in 1922.²⁵ In 1957 the Midday meal scheme was followed by K.Kamaraj, the then CM. of Tamil Nadu. Though casteism prevailed in the society, no caste distinction was shown in the schools and everybody sat together at table for meals. By this he earnestly attempted social integration.

Conclusion

Ziegenbalg, a multidimensional personality, was little known to the present world. His contribution within a short span of 13 years is immense. He is a pioneer in many fields like

printing, research, advocacy, free scheme, social integration, social justice, women empowerment etc. Hence no doubt that he got the appreciations of both secular and religious scholars like A.L. Basham and G.U. Pope.

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THE BRITISH APPROACH TOWARDS SLAVERY AND BONDED-LABOUR

K. V. Ramakrishna Rao*

Introduction

After the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and French, the British inherited not only colonial Indian business and trade, but also the connected and interlinked slave-trade. How the Indians could have spread from Caribbean Islands in the Far East, to other countries like South Africa, Mauritius, Sri

Lanka, Malaysia and other Island countries, had they not been taken there. Perhaps, Mahakavi Bharathi¹ (1882-1921) has recorded about it in his poem. For some reasons, the historians, scholars and researchers have been silent about the slave-trade carried on by the Europeans from the Indian coasts with the connivance of Mohammedan

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pirates.² That the Mohammedan rulers had aided and abetted has also not been pointed out specifically. Though recently, many scholars³ worked on the maritime trade, Portuguese, French and other European forces, they have made only passing remarks on the slavery.

The British approach towards 'servants and slaves' or rather 'bonded-labour and slavery' has been intriguing. In Indian context, -the British called them Coolies also. Thus, the study of British slavery includes such serfdom. The delay⁴ in the enactment of anti-slavery Acts and implementation and the political debate taken place are interesting to study. William Adam's historical compilation⁵ records 'the Law and Custom of slavery in British India'. Though, K. M. Panikar⁶ noted the slaves, he did not analyze it. Of course, R. C. Majumdar, Radha Kamal Mukherjee and others have given details on the European slave-trade. Markus Vink⁷ has given details of such taking away of ship-loads of Indians through Mohammedan rulers, traders and brokers.

South India and Slave-Trade

With the decline of Vijayanagara Empire, particularly, after the defeat in 1565, the Mohammedan rule and control increased in power-pockets. The Indian Kings without understanding the sophistry of the Mohammedan and the Europeans, they were happily giving away permission to them for trading, business, imports, exports and even tax exemptions.⁸ As their power was restricted to certain areas, that too, overlapped by the regional rulers, they had not taken the facts into consideration in granting such permissions.

Thus from 16th century onwards, the abduction and carrying away of poor, starving and deprived Indians become a regular feature.⁹ In the European ships, along with merchandise, there were Indian slaves also. As the Portuguese, Dutch and Danish initially came to South India and started their activities there, they could exploit the prevailing conditions - wars and battles among the Indian rulers, famines and lootings of regional leaders. After battles, many people were captured and taken away and used as "bonded-labourers". However, the Mohammed rulers and agents adopted different tactics, they traded such captive-Indians as slaves to Europeans. Wherever, the

Dutch had their factories slaves were shipped from central Coromandel ports, such as Pulicat and Devanampatnam. They put-forward many arguments to justify the slavery such as: Promote colonization, Christian humanitarianism, the right of war and conquest ("oorlogh ende conqueste"), a proslavery argument by self-righteous Company officials.

However, the pattern noted among the Europeans has been significant.

Famines Exploited

A famine coincided with the revolt of the Nayaka rulers of South India (Tanjavur, Senji, and Madurai) against Vijayanagara overlordship (1645) and the Mohammedan forces took the opportunity to devastate the Tanjavur countryside, where the Bijapur army took active part. As Markus Vink¹⁰ recorded, 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, Adirampatnam, and Kayalpatnam. Between 1659 and 1661 due to the devastation of Tanjavur resulting from another series of successive Bijapuri raids and at Nagapatnam, Pulicat, and elsewhere, 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.

The Bijapuri again exploited the famine situation in 1658 in the province of Tanjavur and the eyewitness was: "The famine has worsened to such an extent that entire villages, hamlets, and settlements have been depopulated, leaving hardly anyone. In short, the miseries and sufferings are such, that no pen can describe the extremity of the situation". The Company officials portrayed Dutch participation in the traffic as a work of Christian compassion. As Governor Laurens Pit of Coromandel (1652-1663) informed the Directors in August 1660: "It is indisputable that the purchase of these poor people is a work of compassion since they would otherwise perish, as happens to those who are turned away". The purchase of slaves in exchange for rice earned the Dutch the condemnation of local members of the Society of Jesus, an active participant in the Indian Ocean

slave trade. In 1662, Antonio de Proenza¹¹ the Jesuit father of the Madurai Mission, observed from the Nayaka capital of Tiruchirapalli about the shameful act of the Dutch who had the cruelty to speculate on the misery of the Indians.

However, such Jesuit response had been superficial, as they themselves aided and abetted slavery. In fact, they ordered not only Inquisition in Goa, but also perpetuated slavery. Had their intention been genuine, the slavery must have stopped immediately in India at least.

The long drought in Madurai and southern Coromandel starting in 1673, exacerbated by the prolonged Madurai-Maratha struggle over Tanjavur and resulting oppressive fiscal practices led to another slave-raid. Reportedly thousands of people from Tanjavur, 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. Thus, it is evident that though, the British were at a low position, they aided and abetted the slave-trade.

Just War and Jihad

As Markus¹² pointed out though there appeared to be conflict in the Christian mind about the justification of slavery, they accepted slavery as an institution. As Christians they maintained that it was allowed to buy slaves originating from a just war or legitimate sale by their parents. Apart from "just war," the Dutch also purchased slaves resulting from inter-communal conflicts within non-Muslim microstates and stateless societies and petty warfare and raiding by Islamic communities in the *Dar al-Harb* (Abode / the domain of War). This concept of *Dar-ul-harab* and *Dar-ul-Islam* working in the minds of Christians and its application to slavery of Indians has been very interesting and pertinent to be noted. In theory, the Company pretended that they only accepted legally acquired slaves and rejected those acquired via outright kidnapping and robbery. In practice, however, the Dutch distinction between legal means and illegal kidnapping and robbery was as nebulous as the Muslim differentiation between "true slaves" (Arabic '*abd*') resulting from genuine jihad and ruthless raiding for helpless human prey.

The Markus¹³ quoting of Coen has been more revealing: "We have been warned by now that we will be attacked, murdered, and robbed. Do not despair; do not spare your enemies. There is no one in the world who should bother or can stop us for God is on our side". Thus, "Just wars" allowed them to procure slaves. In 1651, for instance, Governor General Carel Reniers (1650-1653) and the Council of the Indies condemned the "not very Christian" practices of the Portuguese at Nagapatnam. Allegedly they were "stealing slaves from that country at dead of night or committed open robbery with the conniving of the indigenous governors and rulers who profit from it." Seizing on the opportunity to take the moral high ground, the High Government commented: "We should never imitate this sin, even if we were never to acquire any more slaves".

East India Company: 'Servants and Slaves'¹⁴

The East India company (EIC) adopted and adapted unique method in recruiting, engaging and making Indians work for them under different capacities. The Company, British Officers and Missionaries worked together in this aspect. They engaged low-caste and untouchables purposely for the household and menial work.¹⁵ Still trained and other categories were employed as butlers, women as *ayas* and cleaning work'. Of them with good physique were inducted in army, railways, ships and other hard work. Their target of untouchables and low-caste Indians, as they categorized had been only due to their strategic exploitation of free-labour.

Since 1608, when the Indian ships anchoring at London, not only Indian ships, but also Indian sailors, lascars and workers had been demand in England. Indian maritime labour deprived India of good, skilled and technical seamen, ship-builders and sailors, as they started working for the British. Unfortunately, many of them were reportedly died aboard due to disease, accident, fights or battles. With the change of the British attitude, particularly introduction of the Navigation Acts rendered Indians jobless pushing to penury. In 1749, at the end of the war of Austrian succession, the British Navy discharged and consigned to the Company for repatriation 56 Indian seamen who survived service (Court Minutes 1-8/11/1749, 6-11-1749). Moreover, many

lascars were stranded in the ships sailing at different locations. Moreover, the British refused to pay wages, when the ships reached London. Thus, many Indian sailors became suddenly abandoned 'daily stowing about London's streets and begging' (Court Minutes 24-11-1714, 23-12-1713, 17-10-1718). Many were jailed and they had to be repatriated (Minutes 17-11-1748).

Factory Workers

The British factories at India Surat (from 1613), Bombay (1639), Masuipatnam (1611), Madras (1639) and Calcutta (1690) required many workers for the manufacture of goods. As the British opposed to the import of Indian cloth, they started production in England itself using Indian technology. However, initially, as they required Indian workers, they were exported to England.

Other Categories

Though the other category is mentioned as 'servants and slaves', for all practical purposes, they were slaves only. In 1683, Charlers II commended EIC to provide him 'one Male, and two Female Blacks, but they must be Dwarfs, and of the least size that you can produce' (Court Letters 4-5-1683, cited in Hedges, Diary, Vol.2, p.cccvii). Thus, the British used Indian servants and slaves to attend to ornament their households, to sing and dance and clean.¹⁶

The Indian slaves were even brought at the Cape and from where they were sold to different colonies by changing their names, usually to Christianity.

The Arab-Mohammedan and European Nexus

The Portuguese strife with the Arab-Mohammedan had been two-pronged one fighting with each other locally and elsewhere and helping each other also piracy. The same policy continued with the British, as the Acts enacted point out the facts. As the Indian context has to be studied through the British documents of the material period, the fact has been very explicit. As the slave-trader, broker or involved had been invariably an Arab or Mohammed it is evident that they monopolized the trade, as the ships had to cross through their dominated areas. As pointed out, both Moghuls and Europeans used the help of pirates to settle their score in many aspects.¹⁷

Banishment Used as a Façade

The British documents¹⁸ - military consultations prove the treatment of Indian rulers and their progeny. A 1801 document shows that 73 warrior-captives after 1801 rebellion were banished to the so-called "Prince of Wales Islands" i.e., Penang (Malaysia). The 73 patriots included children e.g., 15-years old boy Duraisamy, the favourite son of Marudhu Pandyan. On February 11, 1802, they were taken to a ship under "Admiral Nelson" and the ship sailed from Tuticorin to Penang. James Welsh, who took the military custody of them, recorded in his book how they were treated and finally 24 out of 63 could reach there after 76-days voyage. In 1818, when he visited Penang, he could meet Duraisamy, but he did not help. Thereafter, his fate is not known.¹⁹ This is similar to the treatment meted out to Subash Chandra Bose, as the British specified during transfer of power that he should be handed over to them, if he returned to India. Even about Chinnamalai, a doubt is raised about his end, though, according to the popular belief that he was hanged at Sankaridrug / Sankagiri Fort.

Religious Interpretation of "Slavery"

Markus Vink²⁰ in another paper gives religious interpretation to the European slave-trade. He discusses the conflict of having "Christian slaves". As a "Christian", a "Christian" could not have a "slave" and therefore, the Christians did not want to convert the slaves, as they could exploit according their Biblical injunctions. Though church meetings and individual clergymen in the Dutch Republic at times expressed their distaste of slavery, overseas religious officials of the Company by and large accepted the institution. In 1628-1629, both Reformed classis most involved in the overseas world, Amsterdam and Walcheren (Zeeland), wrote to Batavia, that "it was unchristian to have slaves." Slavery, they argued, was "unedifying and not permitted among the Christians in the Indies." The Batavia church council, however, led by the Predikant Justus Heurnius (1587-1652), replied that the Reverend brethren in patria were mistaken. Slavery was justified because of the "servile nature" of Asians, the likelihood of their defection to Islam once freed, and the milder treatment by Europeans. They argued that apart from saving the soul of

unbelievers ensnared in the trappings of the devil, the Christian humanitarian argument also involved saving people from starvation in instances of severe famine in the wake of war, droughts, epidemics, poor harvests, and/or oppressive regimes. Dutch Company officials eagerly portrayed themselves in the role of saviors, providing these people, voluntarily selling themselves or their immediate relatives, with home, family, and employment. In other words, slavery was presented as some form of "Asian Poor Law".

Company officials portrayed Dutch participation in the traffic as a work of "Christian compassion". As Governor Laurens Pit of Coromandel (1652-1663) informed the Directors in August 1660: "It is indisputable that the purchase of these poor people is a work of compassion since they would otherwise perish, as happens to those who are turned away". Thus, the exploitation of Indian slaves by the British has been evident using religion as a cover. They used so-called low-caste Hindus for menial work, but preferred high-caste women for "domestic work". Ironically, it is the British who introduced the "dry latrine" and engaged a specific group of Indians for carrying and cleaning their shit.

Marriage with Local Women, Enslaving Women

The marriage with local women is just the Mohammedan / Moghul model followed by the Portuguese and adopted by the Dutch.²¹ In Goa, the Portuguese had a slave market,²² where, they used to buy Indian slaves. The so-called "Portuguese model" was proposed by Governor Johan Maetsuyker of Ceylon (1646-1650). A professed admirer of the Portuguese system of the intermarriage of Portuguese soldiers (*casados*) and settlers (*moradores*) with indigenous women, Maetsuyker suggested the union of white men to Asian or Eurasian women to promote "colonization". In the absence of white wives for the settlers, he was even prepared to tolerate intermarriage with Sinhalese, Tamil and Eurasian women. The "arrival of thousands of slaves on Ceylon in the wake of a widespread famine in Southern Coromandel (1658-1661)" was perceived by Van Goens "as the hidden disposition of divine Providence in order to repopulate the lands here and to support the Company's designs." But, it is a fact that they were brought there as slaves.

The British too adopted such method. Many Indian women were sent or rather sent to Britain as servants or slaves. Though some of them were married to the British and merged, most of them were sexually exploited. On the other hand, the Indian men taken there had to convert to Christianity to marry a native Britain woman. Initially, Indian sailors were in great demand, followed by artisans and workers in different fields. During 17th and 18th centuries, the British newspapers carried advertisement about the "running away of Indian slaves. Though, they used to discuss "Indian servants and slaves", the fact being that they traded slaves. Michael H. Fisher²³ recently points out the exponential raise of "servants" going to Britain between 1708-79. They were from Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Surat (1708-79) and the males and females had been almost same (1708-76). Another interesting point is the exponential increase of Indian Seamen: Lascars and sailors leaving for Britain during 1741-1767 period.

References in Local Literature

Earlier, the author²⁴ has pointed out that there have been Indian response to Europeans in the religious angle. However, criticizing and condemning their political and society-affecting activities were noted by Dhanapani Swamigal (1839-1898) and Subramania Bharathi (1882-1921) direct and hence they are discussed as follows:

Dhandapani Swamigal (1839-1898)

He was the first poet to attack the British directly in his works. His "Angiliyar Anthathi" - poetry composed of 100 poems criticizing the religious atrocities of the British has been characteristically important in the context.²⁵ The expression of Dhandapani Swamigal against "Angiliyar" has been very interesting to understand the psyche of suppressed and oppressed Hindus during the British reign. The no. of the song is given in the bracket for reference.

Subramanian Bharathiyar (1882-1921)

Under the caption, "In the Sugarcane fields", he has recorded the inhuman treatment of Hindu women by the colonial forces as slaves as follows: "They work continuously for hours together and became dead with limbs falling down. They wail as there is no other way to get

redemption. They work like cattle tied to oil-mill centre-poll. It is said that even devils would pity women, but, now even Gods do not care. Only tears falling from the eyes would mix with the earth of the land, the women suffer in such eyeless islands situated south of India. Whether they think about their mother-country, house counting days? How the air would listen to their worries? Would you not tell their stories? Minds are agonizing (and hearts throbbing) as their chastity was also robbed off. Hounded women are slowly dying, but O Goddess - Vira Karali, Chamundi, Kali, would you allow them to die?"

Conclusion

The British approach towards the issue of slavery has been ambiguous in Indian context and as well as in dealing with Indians. Though, they appeared to have claimed many things on paper, in practice, they failed to maintain their balanced rule. The judiciary had been biased towards Indian slaves and they were punished heinously. Perhaps, there could be many untold miseries and heinous stories of Indian slaves. The treatment meted out to the Prince of Mardhu and Rajasthan Princess has been glaring examples. Researchers have to thoroughly probe into such instances, as there have been mysteries about the sudden disappearance of many royal dynasties.

No doubt, theological conflict of slavery led to a debate and several attempts were made to introduce anti-slavery Act.²⁶ The Slave Trade Bill, which prohibited British vessels engaging in the slave trade, received the Royal Assent (which

means that it became law) on 25 March 1807. It did not abolish slavery, but only prohibited British ships being involved in the slave trade. The Slave Trade Act was introduced in 1824, but it could not curtail slave-trade. It struck at insurance and mortgages of enterprises engaged in the slave trade. It did not abolish slavery, but only prohibited British ships being involved in the slave trade. So Slavery Abolition Act was introduced in 1833. It received the Royal Assent (which means it became law) on 29 August 1833 and came into force on 1 August 1834. On that date slavery was abolished throughout the vast British Empire. But, as it has been pointed out the slave-trade continued even after and the British approach to the same issue in England and India has been intriguing.

Precept, preaching, propagation and practice have contradicted in the case of the British and Europeans. The selective discrimination of Indians in different conditions point to the fact, as at that time not only, the Europeans acted together, but also Moghuls and Europeans colluded with each other to exploit the Indian slaves as pirated, captured or purchased as commodities along with merchandise or otherwise. That the slavery continued even after 1834 in England and 1843 in India proves the greediness of profiteering and not any love for compassion, commitment to Christ or pretended stand for what they reportedly claimed always. To quote Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa with slight change, "To teach, one must have not only authority, but also morality, otherwise teaching becomes mocker".

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the continued slave-trade followed by the British till 19th - 20th centuries.

Arasaratnam says: "The evidence of the slave trade in the Indian Ocean is scanty and periodic, and could reflect the nature of the trade. There are huge gaps. In the evidence, which might reflect the spasmodic and periodic nature of the slave trade but also the sheer lack of Information for long stretches of time"

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R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Maratha Supremacy*, Bombay : Bharatiya Vidhya Bhawan, pp.762-764. Slavery, pp:278-289; pp.595-669;
..... *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part-II.
Radha Kamal Mukherjee, *Ibid.*, pp.762-764.
7. Markus P. Vink, *A Work of Compassion? Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean In the seventeenth century*, the paper can be accessed at: <http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/vink.html>
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9. Tercentenary Madras Staff, *Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee Commemoration Volume*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994.
10. Markus Vink, *Loc.cit.*
11. A. de Proenza, Missionary of Madurai, to Paul Oliva, general of the Company of Jesus, Tiruchirapalli, 1662. In: J. Bertrand, *La mission du Madure d'après des documents inédits, III*, Paris 1848, pp. 124-125.
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See: Idem, III, pp. 129-130; and: A. Sauliure, "Madurai and Tanjore, 1659-1666," in *Journal of Indian History*, 44 (1966), pp. 777-778.
For the Jesuit apologia of the Asian slave trade: J. Correia-Affonso, *The Jesuits in India*, pp. 114-118.
12. Markus Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade, Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of World history*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2003, entire paper can be accessed from: <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/iwh/14.2/vink.html>
13. Markus Vink, *Loc.cit.*
Tercentenary Madras Staff, *Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee Commemoration Volume*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994, p.248.
It gives details of slave-trade taken place at San Thome, as it was a haven for the Europeans indulging in all sorts of activities exploiting the famine condition in 1646. Can be accessed from: <http://books.google.com/books?isbn=8120605373>...
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15. K. N. Kadam, *The Meaning of Ambedkerite conversion to Buddhism and Other Essays*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1997, pp.35-36.
He pointing this, obviously perplexed by the hidden contradiction and hence proceeded to note, "It was no wonder, then, that large numbers of untouchables in those days were converted to Christianity, Confining myself to conversions to Christianity, let us consider the 'quality' (rather than the quantity) of the conversions. How does Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism differ from the earlier conversions of untouchables to Islam and Christianity?" Irschick, Eugene F., *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft038n99hq/>
16. www.oldbaileonline.org. This site gives the details of "The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London 1674 to 1834". A fully searchable online edition of the largest body of texts detailing the lives of non-elite people ever published, containing accounts of over 100,000 criminal trials held at London's central criminal court.
17. Albert Marrin. *Loc.cit.*
18. James Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol.1, p.128.
Madras Military Council, June 1802 Public Consultations, Vol.206, p.2807 and March 1803, *Ibid*, Vol.307, pp.1249-53.
19. K. Rajayyan, *South Indian Rebellion 1800-1801 - The First War of Independence*, Madurai: Ratna Publications, 2000, pp.322-325.
P. Rajavelan, *Growing Roots: The Story of Tamil Communities in Penang*, <http://penangstori.net.mv/docs/C2-Rajavelan.doc>

In 1821, he returned to Madras and sought permission to settle down in Sivagangai. But, unfortunately, on his way, he died at Vandiyur near Madurai and cremated at Kaiaiyarkoil, where his father was buried.

20. Markus Vink, *A Work of Compassion? Dutch slavery and slave trade In the Indian Ocean In the seventeenth century*, *Op.cit.*
21. K.S.Lai, *Moghul Harem*. New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, 1988.
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Slavery had been a common feature in Goa much before it became a profitable trade for the Portuguese in the Americas. Pyrard has left for us a vivid and lewd description of the slave-market of Goa in the beginning of the 17th century. The British had a slave market in Calcutta.

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JOURNEY OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA

R. Bharathymanoharan*

The destiny of India is being made in the classroom. The teachers are real makers of future citizens and the pillars of the Nation. The optimum class room climate educates the students and brings forth their intelligence, wisdom, caliber and competence. Teachers are real architect of the nation and determine the destiny of the Nation.

Even in the time of colonial rule, Sir Thomas Munro, governor of Madras presidency was a first person, who thought about education of Natives and essential of teachers training. He had conducted the educational enquiry¹ and revealed the literate ratio as 1:1000.² In minute dated 25th June 1822 he recorded that whatever expenses that government must incur in the education of the people it would be amply repaid by the improvement of the country. For the diffusion of knowledge,³ further he stressed the need of well instructed Teachers. He explained that if the instructed teachers were superior in knowledge and diligent than the common village master, scholars would flock to them and that might enhance their income.⁴ Sir Thomas Munro recommended to start the schools in collectorate and Tahsildaree Divisions and Central Institution at Madras to give training for forty students with stipend of Rs.15 per month. The Board of Directors appointed the Committee of Public Instruction to carry out the recommendation of Munro.⁶ The

committee of public instruction took the first step to organize the central Institution of Madras to give training for forty students.⁷

The candidates were to be taken from the district in which they were expected to serve after their training. The stipend of Rs.15 per month was given to each student. One Hindu preferably Brahmin and one Muhammadan were selected from each district.⁸ Arrangements were made for teaching the Hindu Students in the vernacular languages and Muhammadans in Persian and Arabic.⁹ The selection was left to the inhabitants of principal towns in each district. A European Headmaster was appointed with salary of Rs.300/- per month. Pandits were also appointed. The Committee decided to give priority to supply the teachers for collectorate schools.¹⁰

The collectorate and Tahsildaree schools were not successful. These schools were abolished in 1836.¹¹ The Central Institution was successful in English education alone not in producing the teachers.¹² Hence the Government again sanctioned the normal classes of Central Institution of Madras in April 1836.¹³ The lesson plans were practiced without proper courses in Methodology. This normal class was not successful. Though the first normal class of 1826, then 1836 ended with failure, it was the early attempts in the journey of Teacher Education.

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In this journey, next developmental task was granted by the Wood's Despatch of 1854. It emphasized the indispensability of Training of teachers and recommended the establishment of Training Institutions in each presidency, Grant-in-Aids for training Institutions and stipends to pupil-teacher.¹⁴

On the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, the Government of Madras established the Directorate of Public Instruction and appointed Alexander Arbuthnot as first Director in 1855.¹⁵ The newly created department had started their regulatory, operational and directive functions. Its operational functions included the reorganization of the Central Institution of Madras under the designation of "Presidency College", establishment of Normal Schools, Provincial Schools, Anglo-Vernacular Taluk Schools, Schools in Hill Tracts of Ganjam, Grant-in Aid System and conduction of annual examination for Government rewards.¹⁶

In 1856, the first training school was started at Vepery to provide competent teachers for Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools.¹⁷ This normal school developed as Teachers College, Saidapet. In this training schools, the students were trained for two years as two year normal schools of united states and two year training college of England. The trained students were required to serve as a teacher for five years.

As soon as the normal school was formed, the primary department of the Government High School (Now Presidency College) was transferred to the Normal school to serve as a practicing school. The practicing school had two sections viz. the "Model Section" and "Practising Section" The pupil of the practicing section were taught entirely by the "Pupil-teacher" of the normal school under the supervision of the European Principal, while the pupils of the normal section were entrusted to assistant training masters.¹⁸

Within a year of its inception, the normal school had to be reorganized owing to the establishment of Madras University. The reorganised Normal school had three sections viz "The Normal class proper" "Vernacular Normal class"¹⁹ and "the preparatory normal class". "The

Normal class proper" prepared the teachers for Zillah School, where as "the vernacular normal class" prepared the students for taluk schools and "preparatory normal class" prepared the pupil-for entering normal school.

They received instruction in general subjects and in methods of teaching.²⁰ The examination for the award of Teachers Certificate was divided into nine grades. The examinations of the first five grades were open to the pupils of "Normal Class" and rests were open to the pupil of the vernacular normal class.²¹ After 1860, all the normal school students were required to appear for the grade tests.²²

In 1862, the first government normal school was transferred from Vepery to Mount Road. After its affiliation with Madras University in 1887, the school was designated as Teachers College, Saidapet.²³

Missionaries

The Christian missionaries took interest in teacher education. They started vernacular schools in different parts hence they were in need of teachers. Hence they took active part in opening training schools which later developed as training colleges.

A vernacular training school was established by the church missionary society at Palaiamcottah in 1856.²⁴ Sarah Tucker Female School opened a department of training classes in 1858. The Gospel Society seminary started Vernacular training school at Sawyerpuram and VEDIARPURAM in Tanjore District.

Government had started the number of normal schools to provide competent teachers for anglo-vernacular, vernacular, zillah and taluk Schools. In 1858-59 Government opened normal schools at Vellore in North Arcot District, Mayavaram in Tanjore and Cheyur in Coimbatore Districts. Later in 1859 similar schools were started in Ganjam Rajamundry, Musulipatam and Canara.²⁵ In 1870, the government female normal school was started and designated as presidency Training School.²⁶ In 1884-85, twelve training schools for mistress were existed which was raised to seventeen in 1892-93. Hobart Training School was practiced exclusively for Muslim Women. Most of

the training schools now continuously existed as secondary Training Institute and College of Education.

The next developmental task force was implemented by Hunter commission of 1882. The commission emphasised the need for establishing more normal schools. It suggested atleast one normal school should be established under a Divisional Inspector. It recommended the shorter course of training for graduates, normal school for Muslims and Women. Further it advocated the rudiments of psychology, principles of class managements.²⁷

On the basis of the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, Training colleges were started and students were prepared for the Licentiate in Teaching (L.T) Diploma awarded by government and L.T. Degree awarded by University.²⁸ In 1944, the university reorganized the L.T., course and named the new course as B.T (Bachelor of Teaching).²⁹

Sister Subbulakshmi started "Sarada Home" in 1919, which developed as "Sarada Vidyalaya" with its own training section and model school in 1928-29 in Triplicane. Dr.Muthulakshmi Reddy established "Avvai Home" in 1930 for the orphans and women destitutes in which in due course of time Training Institute was annexed. N.K.T.Training College was another example for starting of Teacher Education College by social reformers and Nationalists. "Ramakrishna Mission, Vidyalaya Teacher College" - Perianaicken Palayam was the branch of Ramakrishna Mission.

The Ladywillington Training College had its beginning in the Hindu School for Girls run by the Vizianagaram Trust in the later half of the last century. This school was taken over by the government of Madras in 1913 and extended into a Training School for elementary and secondary grade teachers. The temporary L.T. Class attached

with Queen Marys College was transferred to this Institution in 1922 and designated as Lady Willington Training College.³⁰

The Christian missionaries played active role in Teacher Education. Sarah Tucker Training Institution, Meston Training College, Madras, St. Xavier Training College Palayamkottai. St. Christopher's Training College, Madras etc were known for missionaries contributions. The need for help with the teaching of scripture was brought home to the staff of St. Christopher Training College. In 1923 it was elevated as college with support of four British and four American Societies.

The pre-independence period practiced three grade teacher education system, which comprised of Elementary grade, secondary grade and Higher grade. Form III or standard VIII was minimum educational requirements of elementary grade. If the pattern of training was basic it was called as Junior Basic grade. S.S.L.C. or Matriculation Examination was minimum qualification for secondary or secondary basic grade. Degree from the recognized university was essential for post-graduate training course or highest degree. The course duration was one year for post graduate degree and two years for other two grades.

At the dawn of Independence Madras Presidency was in the fortunate position and had 96.7% teacher trained in elementary schools and 90.4% teacher trained in Secondary Schools. 146 Training schools including 61 Women Training Schools adorned the Madras Presidency which carved around 85,000 teachers per year. Seventeen Training Colleges including four Women Training Colleges were existed and trained around 1300 teachers for high schools.³¹ Thus Madras Presidency had large system of Teacher Education at the dawn of Independence.

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CHENNAI - ITS EARLY ROMAN CONNECTIONS

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South India, mainly Tamilakam (the modern states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala) had brisk commercial links with the Roman Empire from around 200 B.C. to 400 A.D. and slightly later. The Romans came here in search of gemstones, spices and textiles. In return, they exported gold, silver, copper and wine to India.¹

Many scholars are not aware of the involvement of the regions covered by the present-day city of Chennai in this far-flung trade. The present paper seeks to describe and analyze the Roman archaeological finds in and around Chennai

and thus, trace the extent to which this region participated in the Roman trade. Many of these finds have hitherto not been adequately published or studied.²

Finds within Chennai City

1. San Thome

The present San Thome Cathedral, constructed in 1896, is the latest of a series of cathedrals erected at this spot, each replacing the earlier one, the first edifice having been erected in the first century A.D.-when the Rome-India trade

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was at its height. Apostle St. Thomas is believed to have worshipped in this Cathedral and after his martyrdom in 72 A.D., he was buried here. Much later, most of his remains were taken to Ortona on Italy's Adriatic coast. On date, one can see the empty tomb and a tiny bone relic of St. Thomas at the San Thome Cathedral.

Archaeological digs were conducted in the vicinity of the San Thome Basilica in 1923 and again in the 1960s. But the original records of none of these digs are available. The digs of 1923 are reported to have revealed fragments of stone slabs bearing inscriptions belonging to an ancient Hindu temple, probably the Kapalishwara Temple which, as per local tradition, was located close to the sea before it was shifted, around the 16th Century, to its present location at Mylapore. The digs of the 1960s revealed fragments of a type of pottery called the 'rouletted ware' that was very popular in South India from 300 B.C. to around 400 A.D. This pottery exhibited concentric bands of rouletted designs such as ovals and dots effected by a toothed wheel. This pottery is believed to have been inspired by similar Roman pottery. During the recent (2004) renovation of the church, many old artifacts including pottery fragments were recovered. But the archaeological context of these objects is unknown. Some of them are displayed in the museum in the campus.

2. Saidapet

Around the year 1883, an unidentified worn Roman copper coin was discovered, along with several old Indian coins, from the precincts of a Hindu temple at Saidapet.

3. Mambalam

In 1929, six years after Mambalam village was included within the city limits of Chennai, a mud pot containing ancient coins was unearthed from within a pit in this locality. The pot contained 771 silver coins-770 punch-marked coins or *Karshapanas* that were minted and circulated in India from around 600 B.C. to 100 B.C. and a sole denarius (silver coin) of the Roman emperor Augustus (27 B.C. -14 A.D.). These coins were not acquired by the Government Museum at Egmore, Chennai. Similar hoards containing Roman as well as punch-marked coins have been reported from many other sites such as Pennar (1803) and Tondamanathan (1918) (Tamil Nadu), Nasthullapur

(1952) and Weepangandia (1964) (Andhra Pradesh) and Eyyal (1945) (Kerala).

Finds around Chennai

1. Tiruverkadu: Tiruverkadu is located on the banks of the river Cooum on the outskirts of Chennai city. Archaeological digs have revealed that the earliest human settlement at Tiruverkadu was around the fifth century B.C. The site has revealed conical jars modeled on the Roman wine amphorae. Interestingly, the original or genuine amphorae have been discovered in coastal sites such as Vasavasamudram and Arikamedu south of Chennai.³ 2. Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram or Mallai): Mahabalipuram is located on the coast, around 80km north of Pondicherry and about 60km south of the city of Chennai. The Romans called this port Malange. Many people are not aware that the history of this port-city dates back atleast a thousand years before the Pailava dynasty rulers who created the spectacular temples and sculptures here around the seventh century A.D.

The site was a major port of the Romans, complete with a gigantic lighthouse and living quarters for the sailors. Archaeological digs (in the 1990s), by the ASI, have revealed the walls of the ancient harbour at a spot close to the Shore Temple of Mahabalipuram. The unearthed structure consists of rows of stepped walls that form part of the elaborate stonework foundation and superstructure of a breakwater in the harbour. This breakwater is basically made of blocks of reddish laterite with a stepped system of keyed granite slabs specifically meant to keep the walls from yielding to the force of the sea waves that dash against them. The gaps between the stone blocks are filled with rough lime plaster. Although these granite walls are now some distance from the shoreline, during the Roman and the Pallava periods, the sea appears to have extended right upto these walls.

More recent archaeological excavations (in 2005) at Saluvankuppam, around 5km north of Mahabalipuram, have brought to light the ruins of a brick temple of the second century A.D. Incidentally, this is the oldest temple discovered in Tamil Nadu, so far. The shrine is dedicated to Muruga, the most popular Hindu deity in Tamilakam those days. The site has also yielded terracotta lamps, spinning whorls and beads of the

early historical-early Pallava periods (second to fourth centuries A.D.). The Saluvankuppana-Mahabalipuram coastal stretch has also yielded Roman copper coins of the period of Constantine I and later.

No wonder, some of the Pallava sculptures of Mamallapuram display Roman features.

Discussion

During the period of the Indo-Roman trade (200 B.C.-400 A.D.), Chennai and its environs was mainly under the control of the Sangam Cholas. Coins of this dynasty have been unearthed at

Arikamedu.⁴ Mylapore, now within Chennai, was, those days, an important village with a port. This port was, of course, not as big and important as the one at Mahabalipuram. Mylapore has been known by various names such as Mayilapur, Mylai and Mylapuri. Claudius Ptolemy (150 A.D.), a Graeco-Roman writer, refers to the place as Mylarpha. Tiruverkadu could have had easy access to this port through the river Cooum which was, during pre-modern times, navigable. Thus, correlating the literary data with the archaeological evidences, one may surmise that Chennai and its neighbourhood actively participated in the Roman trade.

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FEMALE INFANTICIDE IN SALEM AND DHARMAPURI: CASE STUDIES OF EDAPPADI AND PENNAGARAM

B. Pramila*

Female infanticide, the term freezes the human blood, and makes the world to understand the fate of female children, who just enter this world after their cosy stay in the wombs of their mothers. Their right to life has been grabbed by the society through gruesome methods even before they can realise, and acclimatise to the new atmosphere.

The International guarantees such as the Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which enshrines the right to life, liberty and security of every human being, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)'s guarantee that every child has the inherent right to life,¹ and the guarantee provided by the Indian Constitution that no

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person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law² become invalid by the practice of female infanticide and female foeticide.

The Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994, ensures the right of the child in the womb, and hence, the right to life of the child is guaranteed even before its birth.

Although, both the practices violate the important human right, the right to life of the girl child, female infanticide is crueler because, by this horrendous practice, the female infants who have already been born are killed mercilessly. When the female children are deprived, and denied of their right to be born and survive, claiming of all other rights equal to men becomes meaningless.

In this paper, the practice of female infanticide at Edappadi Block of Salem District and Pennagaram Block of Dharmapuri District have been taken for study as these two blocks have the lowest female juvenile sex ratio in the respective districts. Again, Salem and Dharmapuri Districts are having the lowest female juvenile sex ratio in the State.

The major sources to prepare this paper are the Census of India Reports from the years 1941 to 2001, the United Nations Publications, Government of India Publications, Official records of the Tamil Nadu State Government, the Records from the State Crime Records Bureau, Tamil Nadu, Annual Reports from the Tamil Nadu State Commission for Women, Chennai, Annual Reports of the Non-Governmental Organisations, like All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA), Tamil Nadu and Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW), Tamil Nadu, the News Papers Reports, Data collected during the field study, Records collected from the Collectorates and Social Welfare Departments of Salem and Dharmapuri Districts, from the officials of the Integrated Child Development Scheme, Edappadi Block, Salem District and Records from the Offices of the Superintendent of Police and Deputy Superintendent of Police, Salem and Dharmapuri Districts. The personal interviews with the then Chairperson of Tamil Nadu State Commission for Women, Chennai, General Secretary, AIDWA, Field Officer, ICCW, and the personal interview

with the NGO personnel, Police Officers, Village Leaders, Panchayat Presidents, Block Development Officers, Village Health Workers, ICDS officials, and with the perpetrators of female infanticide were among other primary sources helpful for the study. Other sources are the published books, newspapers, magazines, journals and souvenirs.

It is very difficult to trace the origin of female infanticide in India. Although the birth of a son was an occasion of celebrations during the ancient period, that of a daughter was not a source of anxiety, or a liability. During the 19th Century, female infanticide was widely prevalent among the Rajputs, Jats, and Khattris, and Lewa Kanbis of Northern and Western parts of India. The Khonds of Orissa and Minas of Rajasthan also followed this practice. In South India, the Todas of Nilgiris practised female infanticide.³

This was first detected by Jonathan Duncan, a British Resident of Benares Division in 1789 amongst the Rajkumars, the clan of the Rajputs in Jaunpur.⁴ The British took strenuous measures to end this inhuman practice, which was finally abolished during William Bentinck's period. Since then it was unheard in India.

However, since independence, this gruesome practice has been reported from various parts of the country. The steady decline in the Sex Ratio of the Juvenile Population (0-6 age group) in India was alarming as revealed by the Census Reports (1961-2001). Though number of factors could be attributed to the gradual decline in the Juvenile Sex Ratio (JSR) from 976 in 1961, to 927 in 2001, it cannot be denied that the practice of female infanticide is continuing in India.

In Tamil Nadu, female infanticide is a recent phenomenon when compared with other states. Though it was said that Todas of Nilgiris practiced it earlier, female infanticide was brought to notice during the 1980s in the Taluks of Usilampatti in Madurai District. The article, *Varadatchanaikku Bayanthu Pen Kuzhanthaigalai Kolgirargal* (killing female children in fear of dowry) by Soundarapandyan⁵ focused on the obnoxious practice of female infanticide in Usilampatti. Six months later, another article, *Born to Die* by Venkataramani⁶ highlighted the killing of girl children in the same area. These reports dealt with incidence of female infanticide in

Madurai District among a particular community, the Piranmalai Kallars. The popular Tamil Novelist, Mrs. Rajam Krishnan visited the region herself and wrote a novel in Tamil, *Mannasathu Poonthalirsal* (The buds of the Universe). She has observed that the fertile land of Madurai region was turned to dry due to the construction of Vaigai Dam, and this led women to loose their employment in agricultural sector. To her, inability of women to enhance the economic status of the family was also one of the reasons for eliminating female children.

Female infanticide, which was once confined with the region of Madurai District, slowly had spread like epidemic to other regions also. In 1992, incidences of female infanticide were reported from Salem and Dharmapurai Districts.

The Census Reports of 1991 and 2001 prove that the Sex Ratio of Juvenile Population was unfavourable to girl children in Tamil Nadu. Though the State Level Average of the Sex Ratio for the Juvenile Population is higher than the National Average during 1991 and 2001, the JSR of Salem and Dharmapuri districts are alarming. The Salem District having the JSR of 830 in 1991 and 826 in 2001 and Dharmapuri with JSR of 905 in 1991 and 878 in 2001 is lower than the State average. These two districts rank No. 30 and 29 in Tamil Nadu, i.e. the last two districts among the 30 districts.

The sharp decline in few districts, like Salem and Dharmapuri undoubtedly reflects the son preference syndrome in those areas leading to the practice of female infanticide. Among the blocks of these two districts, Edappadi block in Salem and Pennagaram Block in Dharmapuri District were taken for present study as these two blocks have much lower JSR in the respective districts.

Factors Responsible for Female Infanticide:

Son-Preference Syndrome

Illiteracy - The denial of education to female children is the serious problem. As they are not educated, they have to depend upon the male members of the family for their livelihood.

Moreover, it is mainly responsible for the lower status of women and girl children in the society.

Poverty - they consider daughters as unwanted liability. The kinds of expenditure that incur in bringing up the female children from their birth, marriage and at the time post-marriage ceremonies are the most important causes for female infanticide.

Economic dependency of women neither gives them the courage to bring up their daughters, nor give them any chance in decision-making

The astrological prediction that the girl child may bring doom to the family is another important reason for female infanticide.

The prevalence of child marriage is also another cause. Girls married at the age of 13, 14, or 15 do not have the capacity to think, and hence, they blindly obey the orders of their husbands.

Though, mothers-in-law carry out the crime, husbands are the real actors, and decision makers behind the scene. Another important point to be noted is that the Mid-Wives kill them for money, and protect the perpetrators against any police action. Regarding the ordinal position, normally the first female child is allowed to survive. The risk factor is more for the third child than for the second child.

Normally the child is killed on the same day, or within a week to avoid the emotional attachment between the mother and the child, and to avoid public attention.

Impact of the Government Schemes

Legislative measures such as The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994 were introduced by the Government.

The legislative measures could be effective only if the crime is reported to the police. For example, the number of female infants killed in the Pennagaram Block, according to the records of Eriyur PHC was nineteen.⁹ These were the incidences, which occurred from April 2002 to

November 2004. Whereas, cases reported to the Pennagaram Police Station from November 1998 to March 2003 was only eleven. The information collected from the office of the Superintendent of Police, Dharmapuri District shows the number of cases filed from 2000 to 2001 as eight, and from 2001 to 2002 as eighteen.¹⁰

The data collected from ICDS, Edappadi Block states that 11 cases of female infanticide were recorded from December 2003 to February 2005¹¹ Whereas, the records collected from the office of the Superintendent of Police, Salem District indicate the number of female infanticide cases reported for one decade i.e. from 1995 to 2005 as 27, from the entire District of Salem.¹²

The Tamil Nadu Government introduced a number of welfare schemes including marriage assistance schemes for the needy women and female children. But, the benefits of the government's welfare schemes seldom reach them, and to get the benefits they are expected to bribe the local leaders.

To encounter the menace of female infanticide and to take care of the abandoned girl children, the "Cradle Baby Scheme" was introduced on October 1992.¹³ Total number of infants received up to 18 March 2005 by the Cradle Baby Scheme in Salem District is 665.¹⁴ Total number of female children received from the reception centre of Dharmapuri district up to 30-10-2002 was 100.¹⁵ However, the Cradle Baby Scheme is not as successful as expected. To the respondents, it would be better to kill the girl child rather making her orphan.

Self Help Groups

The Self Help Groups play an active role in rural areas in creating awareness among women. A Self Help Group Kurinji Mahalir lyakkam is functioning in Salem District.¹⁶ In Dharmapuri district, systematic social mobilisation campaign was carried out using the strategy of *Kaljathas* or

Kalaipayanam or travelling street theatre. The NGOs's role in bringing down the incidences of female infanticide is remarkable at Edappadi Block of Salem District. Poonthalir and CHESS, the two NGOs are playing major roles against female infanticide. The Tamil Nadu State Government has entrusted the job with the Tamil Nadu Unit of the Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW) in Salem and Dharmapuri Districts. In both the Districts, the role of ICCW is noteworthy. They, with the help of the village authorities and the local NGOs organise motivation camps to the adolescent girls to create awareness.

Suggestions

- Legislative measures alone could not eradicate female infanticide.
- Taking stringent actions against the perpetrators without providing proper care for the surviving children provokes the villagers, and hence increased the number of incidences.
- Mothers alone should not be made responsible for these gruesome murders.
- Compulsory free primary education to the girls should be extended up to 12th standard, and it should be made compulsory in the real sense.
- Adequate employment opportunities should be provided for both men and women.
- Equal inheritance rights to women should be made mandatory and not an optional one.
- Registration of all births and deaths should be made compulsory,
- The incidences of child marriages should be treated with severity.
- Effective implementation of the existing PNDDT Act should be ensured.
- The combination of all these factors could alone eradicate this gross discrimination against women and girl children in Tamil Nadu.

MAP - I

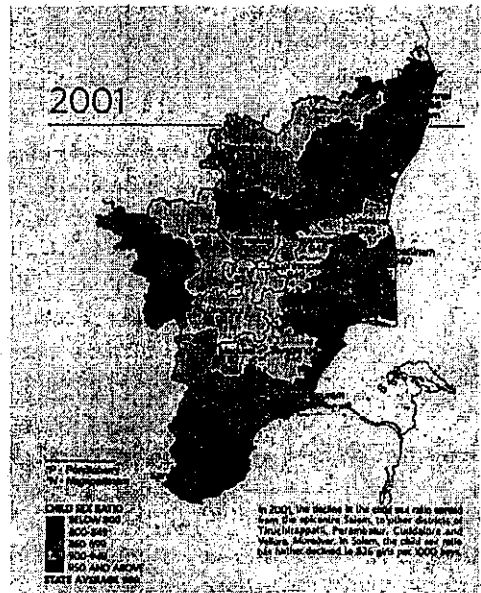
SEX RATIO OF JUVENILE POPULATION (0-6 AGE GROUP) AT DISTRICTS LEVEL IN TAMIL NADU, 1991



Source: Census of India Reports, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India.

MAP - II

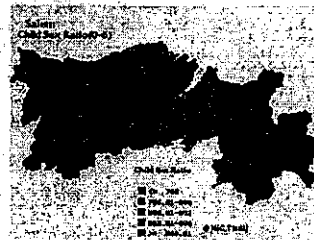
SEX RATIO OF JUVENILE POPULATION (0-6 AGE GROUP) AT DISTRICTS LEVEL IN TAMIL NADU, 2001



Source: Census of India Reports, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India.

MAP - III

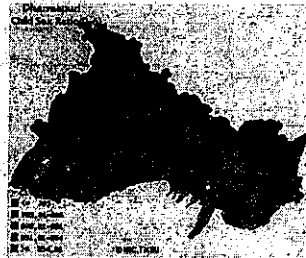
CHILD SEX RATIO (0-6), TALUK LEVEL, SALEM DISTRICT



Source: Census of India Reports, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India.

MAP - IV

CHILD SEX RATIO (0-6), TALUK LEVEL, RAJENDRAPUR DISTRICT



Source: Census of India Reports, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India.

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ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN TAMIL NADU (1939 - 1941)

M. Pitchaimari *

The out break of the Second World War on 3 September, 1939 brought about tremendous changes in the attitude of the Communist Party in Tamil Nadu. The communists and the socialists who condemned the war as an "Imperialist War" organised many strikes to strengthen their hold on the workers and sabotage the British war efforts.

The communists made anti-war propaganda speeches and their theme was "Britain's War is India's Opportunity".¹ Jeevanandam, a veteran communist, toured Tamil districts in furtherance of anti-war propaganda and delivered a number of anti-war speeches. At a public meeting held at Madras on 18 October 1939, Jeevanandam pointed out that "the peasants and workers, the backbone of the country, were very keen about ending British imperialism".² At a meeting in Ambasamudram on 10 October 1939, Ramamoorthy said that "it would be sufficient if

the British Government was attacked in the economic sphere by a general strike".³

Addressing a labour meeting at Madras, A.S.K.Ayengar asked the workers to avail themselves of this opportunity to create an internal revolution and establish democratic rule in the land. He emphasised that "there should be revolution in the country... to end British imperialism".⁴ The Communists, while addressing the Coimbatore mill workers union, urged the public "to make use of the opportunity when India has a revolution".⁵

Taking advantage of the mounting problems of the industrial workers, the communists exerted maximum influence among the labour force. Because of the war, all the cotton spinning and weaving mills in the Madras presidency and fifteen other factories, including railway workshops engaged in war effort were granted exemption from the provisions relating to hours of employment

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under section 8 of the Factories' Act. Multiple and overlapping shifts were introduced in the factories. Effective factory inspection was not undertaken. As a result, the workers had to undertake overtime work, illegal employment beyond specified hours including work during night and on weekly holidays.⁶ So that the industrial accidents were rose in the presidency.

The South Indian Railway Labour union, a communist-sponsored union, submitted a list of demands to the railway company and threatened that if the company failed to concede them within a fortnight, the workers would resort to strike. To their surprise, the company conceded all their demands. But in a short time, the police searched the house of suspected communists in the Golden Rock Colony, arrested and prosecuted eight communist leaders of the railway workers.⁷

Immediately after the commencement of the war, the Madras Labour Union, South Indian Labour Union, Government press workers union, Burmah oil company workers union, the Nellikuppam labour union, Coimbatore district mill workers union and so on referred to the abnormal rise in the prices of food and the need for giving the workers war allowance.⁸

The communist leaders organised a strike of beedi workers in Madras on 6 May 1940 over the question of wages. About 1000 workers joined the strike the police arrested 131 of them. At least, the management agreed to give 11 annas per 1000 beedie and the workers called off the strike on 8 May 1940.⁹

On 14 June, 1940 the Madras Motor Drivers association passed a resolution demanding the recognition of the union, increase in wages, dearness allowance, and reinstatement of the dismissed workers and confirmation of service. On 20 January 1941, the government appointed V.Ramakrishna, Commissioner of Labour, as arbitrator to settle the outstanding points in dispute. The bus owners agreed to give a minimum pay of rupees thirty six per month to motor drivers and the pay of the conductors agreed to pay a minimum monthly salary calculated at 12 anna per duty.¹⁰

In Madurai, the management of Madura Mills, after a prolonged struggle with the Madura

Labour Union, introduced several welfare measures to contain industrial unrest. Among them were the co-operative stores, Harveypatti housing colony, recruitment of workers through the recognised unions, workers saving fund and soon.¹¹

In the beginning of 1941, the Communists like Sri Ramulu and Mani Barathy formed a union for the workers of the Soundararaja Spinning and Weaving Mills at Dindigul, which employed about 400 workers. The executive committee of the union complained that the management was evading several provisions of the Factories Act. As the management refused to comply with the demands, the workers including women in the reeling department, down tools on 1 May 1941.¹²

On 5 May 1941, the District Magistrate of Madurai wrote that the speeches of Sri Ramulu and Mani Barathy were "Clearly Objectionable and came within the scope of the Defence of India Rule. They are Communists and are responsible for the present strike."¹³ On 22 May 1941, the Stationary Sub-Magistrate, Dindigul, promulgated an order under section 144 of the criminal procedure code, prohibiting the strikes from causing obstruction to loyal workers". The mill then started work with sixty one workers. The police arrested the office bearers of the union for "very violent and objectionable antiwar speeches" and put into jail for one year under Defence of India Rules.¹⁴

When the Government of India banned the Communist Party of India, the Communists like Jambulingam, Krishnan and others established "Jawahar Youth Association" in order to spread communism in Tiruppur". Soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, respectable congress men of Tiruppur" who were mostly cotton merchants, gave up their activities in politics and labour matters and concentrated on their business. Taking advantage of this, the communists of the Jawahar Youth Association got into the Town Congress Committee. R.K.Kannan, an ex-student of Annamalai University and N.C. Sekar to Tiruppur changed the atmosphere and now they wanted to recruit the industrial workers of Tiruppur into the communist fold."¹⁵ Proportionately, the activities of the Communists increased. One Nanja Naicken, with the assistance of Somasundaram Chetti and others formed the Tiruppur Mills Workers Union in November 1940.¹⁶

The unregistered union got inspiration from Coimbatore Communists. They arranged frequent meetings in front of the three mills Sri Ramalinga Choodambiga, Dhanalakshmi and Asher Textiles - during the intervals. In labour meetings, they told the workers how the peasants and the working class of Russia established a Communist Government. As a result of their vigorous propaganda, majority of the workers in the three textile mills enrolled themselves as members of the communist union.¹⁷

On 15 August 1940, Krishna was arrested under Defence of India Rules and was sentenced to six month rigorous imprisonment. Another associate Nanja Naicken, Periyaswami Gounden, who uttered anti-war slogans in front of Dhanalakshmi Mills and exhorted the workers not to help any kind of war efforts. So that he was charged under the Defence of India Rules and convicted to three month rigorous imprisonment. Karuppana Gounden, who enlisted majority of the workers in the Asher Textiles in the Communist Union, who incited the public to use violence against public servants. He was sentenced to six month vigorous imprisonment.¹⁸ Muthuswami Gounden, vice-president of the mill workers union, was charged for speaking against army recruitment and was sentenced to two months vigorous imprisonment.¹⁹

On July 1941, the Communists organised strikes in Tiruppur mills demanding twenty five per cent of the wages in cash as dearness allowance. According to the mill owners, the workers took a "hostile attitude against the mills." and requested the Government to take immediate effective steps to avert the impending strike and trouble.²⁰ The commissioner of Labour reported that in Tiruppur the workers of the three mills "led by some communists" struck work without notice. On 12 July 1941, demanding a dearness allowance of twenty five percent.²¹ The mill owners agreed to give dearness of ten per cent with effect from 1 July 1941. In addition, they agreed to grant one month's wage as prosperity bonus for the year 1941.²² The Communists rejected the concessions and demanded at least twenty per cent increase with retrospective effect from September 1939.²³

As the strikers started picketing, the Stationary Sub-Magistrate, Palladam, prohibited picketing, meetings and processions within the municipal limits of Tiruppur and surrounding villages.²⁴ On the charge of causing damage to the properties of the mills, the police arrested about forty ring leaders, including office bearers of the union.²⁵ The police arrested Nanja Naicken for asking the policeman to resign in his speech.²⁶ During the first Phase of the War, the Government of Madras, in order to destroy the base of the Communist Party of India, instituted conspiracy cases against the Communists. In the Coimbatore conspiracy case, Krishnan, Simon pal, Kissen, Sekhar and few others were charged and convicted for conspiracy.²⁷

When the Government was unable to control war time inflation, the South Indian Railway workers, under the influence of the Communists organised "Unity March" from Golden Rock Railway company to the Tiruchirappalli town hall, demanding war time dearness allowance,²⁸ security of service and an increase in basic wages.²⁹ So the Government instituted the Madras Conspiracy Case in March 1941. In the case Ramamoorthy, Mohan, Kumaramangalam, Subramanian, Subramania Sarma, Hanumantha Rao and Umanatha Rao were convicted to four years of imprisonment. It should be noted here that the Communists were charged "not with being members of the Communist Party but in respect of specific activities deliberately aimed at impeding the war effort in India".³⁰

By June 1941, almost all the leaders, including labour leader had been detained under the Defence of India Rules. No doubt the Communists gave "plenty of trouble" to the imperialist Government till June 1941. A sea change took place in the attitude of the communists in July 1941, When Hitler unleashed an enormous surprise attack against Russia, breaking the non-aggression pact of 24 August 1939. Now the Communists came to the conclusion that the character of the war had changed from "imperialist war" to "people's war" and that it was anti-fascist war. And from now onwards, the Communists co-operated with Britain in its war efforts.

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VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN RAMNAD COUNTRY

P. Sabapathy*

As India abounds in villages, the community life in village has been so compact and corporate from the earlier times. The village office bearers determine the course of action in every minute detail and they evolve a code of conduct serving as guidelines to the villagers. In the system many individuals either by birth or resident or occupation and some times by choice were members of the village office system which devoted to a specific local purpose. Village office system existed in the Ramnad country from very early ages. It has been pointed out that every village is reported to have had its own unchangeable boundaries and to have been inhabited by isolated community whose local

affairs were regulated by hereditary headman or chief.¹ This paper is an attempt to highlight the village community in Ramnad country during 17th and 18th centuries.

The village officers were in many cases, remunerated by grants of lands free of rent, and in a few cases, a portion of Circar produce of lands allowed for their livelihood. A portion of the gross produce was given to them in addition to both from grains in-ear and from the heaps when thrashed. This remuneration is called *Swatantram*. The system of village service has continued from a very early age with frequent changes in its extent until the rule of Muthuramalinga Sethupathy.

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Mostly the offices were held in heredity. The big village had different village officers necessary for the: due administration of the villages. The following is the list of the different officers participating in the corporate life.

(1) Ambalagar or Nattamagar, (2) Kurnam, (3) Nottagar, (4) Thandalgar, (5) Totty, (6) Madeiyan or Nirganti, (7) Kavalgar, (9) Kudumban, (9) Alavan, (10) Varian, (11) Polithally, (12) Pannaikaran, (13) Potter, (14) Smith, (15) Carpenter, (16) Barber, (17) Washerman, (18) Shoemaker, (19) Shanan, (20) Valayan, (21) Madaikidi Mukkandan, (22) Yeridum Vritty, (23) Yellai Vritty, (24) Kudai Vritty, (25) Parayan.

The headman of the village, the Amblakar² or Nattamgar represented the government in the village and had revenue, magisterial and judicial functions. The office of Ambalam varied in accordance with its function. The Karanambalam and Kattambalam were noticed from many villages, the former is older than the latter. Ramnad taluk witnessed the functionary Verambalam for the collection of Cheyroot and performing other duties in connection with it. Some villages in Ramnad, kamudi, Rajasingamangalam taluks possessed the office of Kudiambalam which existed for assisting the ryots in keeping accounts of their payments to the governments. Cowlambalam existed in Pallimadam Taluk.

The next important functionary in the corporate life was the village accountant (Karnam).³ The Notagar and Thandalgar assisted the Ambalagar and Karnam in general duties. The former was the village shroff and the latter was the link between the individuals and the Ambalagarar in the payment of their dues.

The Totty was the menial officer who was to report the quantity of water received in the village tank and watch the irrigation works with the madaian or Nirgandi. While the Totty is on another village in connection with his carrying a message he could halt or stay only at a Totty's house which implies that he was of low and servile caste. Madayan or Nirgandy had responsible post of watching the tanks and channels and reporting to the Ambalagar all breaches or defects therein. In this connection it is to be observed that Ramnad being a region of tank irrigation,⁴ their maintenance

was indispensably necessary. The proper distribution of the water of the tanks and other irrigation works and the avoidance of wastage of water were the important functions of Madaian.

Yet another important functionary in the village corporate life was Kavalkar.⁵ He had responsible duty of watching the granaries (Sekarampattari) in which Melvaram paddy is stored. Besides this the Pannaikaran is the Pannai farmer attached to the palace and in the Ain or proprietary villages in which are located siruthettu or private lands of the Circar. His duty is to look after the business of the farm. He is remunerated from the *Mania swatantram* of the entire village.

Potter who fabricates the only utensils of the village had also to supply cooking earthen vessels or utensils to the Proprietor and to the agents who visit the village on office duty. His chief privilege is to perform pujahs to the Aiyandar temples in the villages. The Iron Smith was to mend the iron implements employed in husbandry. He has to attend to the calls of the ryots and the Proprietor whenever his services were needed. The Carpenter prepared the agricultural implements to the ryots and also attended to the calls of the proprietor and ryots. Barber was to attend to the cleanliness of the ryots and also to the proprietor's agents whenever they visited the village.

Washerman washed the cloths of the officials and the ryots, supplies rags for torches and wicks used by proprietors and his agents and supplies cloths for Pandals or Booths erected for officers, camps and festive occasions in the Palace.

The Shoe Maker manufactured slippers for the use of Estate officials and villagers. Shanan or Toddy drawer supplied Palmyra leaves to the village officials to write their accounts on and for closing breaches of tanks. Whenever there was occasion, made baskets mattresses c, for the use of the proprietor's agents whenever they visited the village and also supplied Palmyra leaves for Pandal or Booths erected in the village on festive occasions.

The Valayan had the duty of supplying animals and birds from the jungles to his lord.

Madaikidai Mukkandan⁶ supplied ghee, milk and curd to the officers who resort the village

on duty and presents sheep termed "Tittikkidai" to the zemindar whenever he goes on circuit to the village. He supplied sheep for sacrifice at temples and palace and at the opening of sluices for irrigation for the first time in the year. This right was invariably held by herdsman or Idayers.⁷

Eridum virutti is an interesting office in the village corporate life. The very term signifies that the person holding this office was to commence the ploughing which in normally did in an auspicious day in the month of chitrai (April -May). The

village people considered this custom as indispensable. Unless this ceremony was performed in the village the ryots would not, as a matter of fact, commence their cultivation.⁸

Yet another interesting office was Ellaivirutti⁹ the officer holding this post was to watch the village boundaries and acted as divine arbitrator in case of boundary disputes. This officer carried out the arbitration after worshipping the village god.

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ENDOWMENTS TO SRI PANCHANADHEESWARA TEMPLE AT THIRUVAIYARU - AN INSCRIPTIONAL STUDY

P. Selvamani *

The endowments in the form of gifts in kind and cash made medieval South Indian temples a self-sufficient unit and the temples began to play a significant role in the cultural life of the people. Thiruvaiyaru temple also enjoyed vast endowments which increased the importance of the temple as an institution of socio-economic and cultural activities in the region.

Thiruvaiyaru, well known as a pilgrim centre to day and one of the oldest towns in South India, lies at a distance about ten kilometers to North West of Tanjavur district, on the left bank of the river Cauvery. Five branches of the Holy River Cauvey flow close to the town situated in a fertile neighbourhood and surrounded by luxurious crops.

The reputed shrine of Sri Panchanadheeswarar in the place is considered to be the chief among the seven famous shrines called "Sapthasthalams" viz. Thiruppalanam,

Thiruchchotruthurai, Thiruvetikudi, Thirukaadiyur, Thiruppunturuthi, Thirunaithanam and Thiruvaiyaru.¹

This ancient and famous town is considered as holy as Kasi (Banaras). This sacred place is known by a number of names viz. "Ayyaru", "Panchanadam" Boologakailasam and Kaverikkottam. Saint Appar experienced the sight of Kailasa due to God's Divine Grace at Thiruvaiyaru.

The endowments of Thiruvaiyaru temple is studied in three phases. We have numerous records of endowment made to this temple beginning with the times of Aditya I (871-907 A.D.) down to the present century. Of all the periods the endowments of the Cholas stand prominent, thanks to the magnificent and religious patronage of the Chola kings and the queens. The records of the Cholas, Pandya, Rayas of Vijayanagar, Nayaks and Marathas of Tanjore mention the gifts made to the

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temple. This paper attempts to analyse endowments made to Thiruvaiyaru temple in its varied aspects. The endowments of the three phases in the temple indicate the various economic implications.

A careful analysis of the available evidence clearly indicates that the endowments to the Tiruvaiyaru Uдайar temple were made during the first phase of temple's development. Though the temple had flourished during the times of Tevaram, saints, the first instance of an endowment occurs only during the 9th century A.D. The temple started receiving the sudden influx of endowments in the form of kind and gold coins from the time of the Chola King Aditya I. This sudden influx was a sequel to the increasing religious and charitable activities of the Cholas.

Most of the inscriptions of Aditya I record the gift of gold to the temple for the purpose of perpetual lamps.² Also instances of gift of sheep for the same purpose are noticed.³ There are two of his inscriptions which mention about land gift.⁴ One of them shows the land provided for feeding of a Brahmins (Brahmanan unna).⁵ Similarly the inscriptions of Parataka I (907 - 955 A.D.) record the gift of gold,⁶ land⁷ and sheep⁸ mainly for the purpose of lighting the lamp. There was an increase of land gift over gold during the time of Parantaka I. An inscription of Aditya II Karikala (956 - 969 A.D.) also records the gift of sheep.⁹ In this phase, most of the donations were made by the Chola Queens,¹⁰ Further more, the donations, provided by Dancers, Individuals, Chiefs and Officials, Royal Ladies, merchants, and Common peoples are many in numbers.

In the second phase, endowments were made during the reigns of Raja Raja I (985-1014 A.D.), Rajendra I (1012-1044 A.D.) Rajadhiraja I (1048-1054 A.D.) Rajendra II (1052-1064 A.D.) Kulothunga I, (1070-1120 A.D.) Kulothunga III (1178-1217 A.D.) Raja Raja III. (1217-1250 A.D.) and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (1251-1268 A.D.). Endowments made during the period of Raja Raja I and Rajendra I were large in number than those were made during the time of other rulers.

Not surprisingly enough Lokamahadei, Chief Queen of Raja Raja I who was the founder of Olakamahadeviesvaram (North Kailasa) figured prominently in making donations to the temple. Unlike the previous phase, ornaments were the

chief item of donations made to the temple. Besides ornaments, and Sheep were donated for the purpose of perpetual lamp. Lands were also donated for "Thiruvamudu". Gold and gold coins, donated in the phase, were all converted into ornaments, gold flowers, jewels etc.

In this phase, much of the donations were made to the north Kailasa shrine. A few inscriptions of Rajendra I, Rajendra II, Kulothunga I and Kulothunga III mention about the donations made to South Kailasa Shrine. The Jatavarmans Sundara Pandya I's Inscription records the donation of land to the Tiruvaiyaru Nayanar.

Only meagre endowments were received during the third phase of development extending from the Vijayanagar period of the modern period. Only three inscriptions record the donation made during the Vijayanagar period and all of them mention the gift for the purpose of worship of Lord Thiruvaiyaru Uдайar.¹¹

Endowments were made evenly by the Nayaks¹² and Marthas of Tanjore. In the present century during the absence of any Hindu dynastic empire the temple received the attention of philanthropists like Sevagachethiyar of Devakottai, Kulandaivelu Muppanar of Parithikudi, Ganapathiyar and his wife Kannamal of Manakarambai, K. Balasubramaniam and R. Swarnakalisvaram of Thiruvaiyaru.

Land Endowment

The practice of endowment of lands to Siva temple started even in the Pallava period. It became very popular at the time of imperial Cholas. It increased steadily at the time of Raja Raja I.

Land endowment for the Thiruvaiyaru temple came not only from the Royal families but also from common people. The increase of land endowment to the temple is due to the popularity of the temple as an institution rather than as a place of worship. Yet another reason for the increase in land endowment to the temple is the belief among the people that by donating one's own property to God or Charitable institutions one becomes virtuous and attains heaven.

When the land donations were made to the temple, provisions were also made for the payment of taxes and all other dues. An analysis of

inscriptions of this temple reveals the pattern of land endowment made to the Siva temple. 1. Land that was the property of the crown, 2. Unoccupied but cultivable land, 3. Lands of private bodies, individual village or trading community, 4. Land donated by residents of a particular place (Colony to the Washermen).

These categories of land endowments were generally made to the temple authorities. The boundaries of the land transferred to the temple were well marked in records. As the donations were made in the form of perpetual endowment, the production of gift by "Mahesvara" (Pon Mahesvaras raksi) was invoked.

Gift of Ornaments

The endowments to the temple other than land was comparatively large. Endowment of gold coins and ornaments stand prominent among them.

The royal donors gifted gold coins which were later converted into gold flowers, ornaments etc. They were very careful in recording their donations. They ordered the officials to record in inscriptions mentioning the details of items donated and their weight and measurement. They were also very careful to ensure the purpose for which these donations were made.

A record of Rajadhiraja I (1048-1054 A.D.) issued in his twenty second regnal year mentions that a group of twelve persons was made in charge of ornaments donated.

To conclude, this temple enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of different dynasties of South India in the ancient, medieval and modern periods and it received very good attention throughout the chronological past.

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GEORGE JOSEPH: A MADURAI BASED FREEDOM FIGHTER AND CHAMPION OF DISADANTAGED PEOPLE

L. Selvamuthu Kumarasami *

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the role of George Joseph, a Madurai based Malayalee for the cause of the nation as a freedom fighter and as a champion for the cause of social justice in Tamil Nadu during 1920s and 1930s in the colonial era. George Joseph, the eldest of nine children, was born on 5 June 1887 in Chengannur in the former princely state of Travancore, now part of Kerala. After a short period of study in Madras, George Joseph went to Britain in 1904, where he took an M.A. in philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and then proceeded to

read for the bar, passing out of the Middle Temple in London in 1908. On his return to India a few months later, he married Susannah and set up his law practice in Madurai where he soon acquired a name for himself in both the legal and journalistic circles, because he was also helping to edit the now defunct newspaper, *The South Indian Mail*.

In Madurai, he specialised in criminal cases where his forte was cross-examination. He modeled himself on an unusual English lawyer who was in Madras, Eargley Norton, one of the founding members of the Indian National

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Congress in 1885. His forensic skills attracted public attention during the Alipore Conspiracy Case of 1908 when he had taken up the brief in the prosecution of eighteen persons, including Aurobindo Ghosh, then a revolutionary.

He was soon sucked into the growing nationalist agitation that coincided with the First World War and joined the Home Rule Movement of Annie Besant. In 1918, at the age of thirty-one, he was sent as a member of a three-party delegation to England to promote the cause of Home Rule, but was turned back at Gibraltar on the orders of the British War Cabinet.

In 1919, there occurred one of the memorable events of his life: his first meeting with Mahatma Gandhi. That took him to North India. For about four years, he moved on close and equal terms with some of the giants of the Indian freedom struggle. His strong character and intellectual ability attracted the attention of Motilal Nehru who promptly selected him to edit a daily newspaper published at Allahabad, *The Independent*. But his career as an editor was short-lived. Like other leaders of the Congress engaged in political agitation, he was soon clapped into jail. One of his prison-mates was Jawaharlal Nehru.¹

Vaikom Satyagraha: George Joseph and Periyar E.V.R.

On his release two years later in 1923, he was called to take up the editorship of *Young India*, Gandhi's flagship English weekly. He soon found himself in the thick of the struggle of the Vaikom Satyagraha. Vaikom, in North Travancore, has a famous Shiva temple. It has four walls along the outer sides from which run roads used for processions and other ceremonies. The issue was that outcaste Hindus were not allowed on these temple roads although non-Hindus, such as Christians and Muslims, were permitted. For a short period George Joseph headed the movement and under his leadership the agitation continued unabated, with the result that the state government had to put barricades round the perimeter of the Shiva temple.

On April 6, 1924 Mahatma Gandhi wrote a significant letter to George Joseph who was in Madurai at that time.² Before receiving that letter at

Madurai,³ George Joseph went to Vaikom to participate in the satyagraha.³ At Vaikom George Joseph and K.G. Nair took the mantle of satyagraha on the arrest of K.P. Kesava Menon. In consequence, they were also arrested and put behind bar.⁴ George Joseph was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. While he was in Jail, George Joseph came to know about the letter of Mahatma Gandhi. The letter stated that "the supporters of Vaikom Satyagraha involved in the agitation with intention in their mind to establish temple entry right in due course. The whole issue was related to Hinduism. So George Joseph, a Christian should not involve in that problem".⁵ Not agreeing with Mahatma Gandhi's appeal, George Joseph wrote in the newspaper *Indian Social Reformer* published from Calcutta that "Vaikom satyagraha had nothing to do with temple entry. The issue was whether untouchables should be prevented from going along a public road maintained by the State, merely because the road was in the neighborhood of a temple. In fact it was made repeatedly and oftenly clear that "We had nothing to do with the temple entry. It was purely a civic question and we fought".⁶

George Joseph made an oral appeal for a grant of loan for the success of Vaikom Satyagrah in the All India Congress working Committee which met at Delhi on October 3, 1924.⁷ The final victory ended with temple entry proclamation and entry of disadvantaged people into the public streets and the temples.

The Vaikom Satyagraha was a turning point in George Joseph's political life. He reacted to the Vaikom episode by distancing himself from Gandhi and the Congress, and resumed his law practice that he had, in 1921, abandoned to follow Gandhiji.⁸

Political Activities

Back at Madurai in 1925, and apart from a short spell in Madras for about ten years, his political activities took a back seat to his work as a lawyer. At times, however, they came together as in his successful defence of his protégé, Kamaraj Nadar, a dominant figure in post-independence Indian politics, his espousal of the cause of the charismatic leader, C. K. Kesavan, who fought for equal rights for the disadvantaged communities in Travancore.⁹

George Joseph specialised in criminal cases where his skills in cross-examination were often deployed to the advantage of the oppressed, notably to a group categorised as the 'criminal tribes'. He hosted Gandhi in 1925, when he had visited Madurai to collect funds for the 'Harijans' (Gandhi's name for the 'untouchables'). In 1927, he renewed his friendship with the veteran labour leader, Varadarajulu Naidu, with whom, ten years earlier, he had helped the mill workers of Madurai to set up one of the first trade unions in South India. During his earlier years in Madurai, he also got to know Subramania Bharati, the modern bard of South India. And it was in George Joseph's house that Bharati composed his famous patriotic song, *Viduthalai* (Let Go) that became the unofficial national anthem in many parts of southern India.

However, during the ten years from 1925, a crucial period in the Indian struggle for freedom, George Joseph remained for a good part of the time isolated from the Congress. But by 1935, his homing instinct took him back to the Congress. In 1937, a vacancy occurred in the Central Legislative Assembly, Simla, and George Joseph was returned unopposed. He attended just one session and although he was not in the best of health, he made a name for himself as a good debater and able parliamentarian marked for high office in the future. George Joseph died in Madurai on 5 March 1938 at the age of fifty.

The political evolution of George Joseph is inextricably linked with two activities that engaged him from his early years as a lawyer: his espousal of the cause of the so-called criminal tribes of Madurai and his involvement in the setting up of one of the earliest trade unions in India.

Defence of the 'Criminal Tribes'

George Joseph was associated with Piramalai Kallars, one of the criminal tribes, during his long stay in Madurai. He had espoused their cause in the courts as a young barrister; written fiery pieces on their behalf in newspapers, and also upheld their rights in the Madura Labour Union of which he was a founder. They had in turn never forgotten him and continued to refer to him affectionately as *Rosapu Dorai*. It is not clear whether the first word of this name referred to

George Joseph's habit of wearing a rose on the lapel of his jacket or whether it was a mispronunciation of 'Joseph'.¹⁰

In 1871, a Criminal Tribes Act was first introduced in northern India. The main attraction of the Criminal Tribes Act was that it could use punitive policing but not at the cost of personnel and time because it enabled entire communities to be punished or subjected to restraining orders without having to establish individual culpability. It was assumed too, as with the punitive policing, that the innocent would help to coerce the guilty to surrender and community leaders would exercise their influence on the side of 'law and order. Justifying the use of these powers against the Piramalai Kallars of Madurai's Tirumanglam Taluk, the district superintendent of police claimed in 1914, that the long list of convictions against them represented only a fraction of the actual number of crimes committed by the tribe, who he said lived entirely 'almost by crime'. Their methods were so skilful and deceptive and their area of operations so large that it was very hard to obtain convictions against them unless they happened to be caught red-handed. Only through the provision of the Criminal Tribes Act, the argument went, could they be subjected to scrutiny and their movements regulated by the police and the magistrates.

An important clause in the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 gave the state power to designate any tribe, gang, or class of persons as a criminal tribe if they were guilty of a systematic commission of offences for which bail was unavailable. Once designated, members of that tribe had no right of appeal against it in the courts. They could only gain exemption by persuading the registering authorities of its non-applicability to them. In other words, the burden was on the accused to prove their innocence and not on the state. There was a provision under the 1871 Act that obliged the government to establish settlements and take other measures to bring about the reform of members of the criminal tribes. The 1911 Act, however, removed this obligation.

The severity of the Act was matched in the case of the Piramalai Kallars by the breadth of its use. Out of an estimated population of 75,000 living in Tirumanglam and adjoining wards of the

districts of Madurai, about 20 per cent had been registered by July 1920 and about half by the end of 1924. In Madurai, mainly through representations made by George Joseph and others, a humanist rather than a punitive approach was attempted. Measures were introduced to win the Kallars and others away from crime, which included the setting up of special schools for the children, establishment of cottage industries, provision of grants and loans to acquire land, and assistance in getting employment in the Madurai textile mills and in the tea and coffee estates of the Nilgiris and Anammalais.¹¹

Information on George Joseph's continuing and sustained involvement with the criminal tribes remains at best fragmentary. It apparently began early in 1915, when a Piramalai Kallar complained about the treatment meted out by the police. George Joseph took up the case and won a famous victory leading to considerable publicity both in the press and among the Kallais. As a result, other Kallars began bringing their complaints to him. During the next few years, he was involved in a number of cases of police harassment and detention of members from both the Kallar and Maravar communities. He helped in establishing a youth forum for the Kallars to educate the members on their rights. With a flourishing law practice that had grown rapidly over the years that he had been in Madurai, it must have crossed his mind that taking up the cudgels on behalf of a group of people who were impoverished and in any case regarded with disfavour by many, would not be particularly beneficial to his pocket or to his future in the legal profession. He had tried to restrict the number of cases that he took up by demanding that he be paid for his services. But unknown to him, his wife, Susannah, thwarted his plan by advancing money to the Kallars to enable them to pay his fees.

At the time that George Joseph had first come across the Kallars, he could be described politically as a moderate with a qualified belief in the benefits of the British Raj for India. His involvement with the criminal tribes had confirmed his worst fears regarding British rule and prepared him for the call of the Mahatma to take a more active part in the nationalist struggle. Even after he distanced himself from nationalist politics in 1925,

he continued to support, and uphold the cause of the Kallars and other disadvantaged groups. His 1936 diary contains entries regarding visits by delegations of Kallars who had come to him for advice on various matters.

Trade Unions and George Joseph

On 27 April 1918, the first trade union in India, The Madras Labour Union, came into existence.¹² Reports of strikes and labour unrest in the cotton mills of Madras go back to as early as the 1870s, although the first documented strike occurred in 1902 in the Buckingham Mill. Police and troops were called to expel the 'trouble makers' from the factory and when the mill eventually opened, the management systematically identified and sacked the strike leaders, labelling them 'extremists' and 'malcontents'.¹³

George Joseph knew Wadia well and was excited by the news of the formation of the Madras Labour Union. Ramanathan and George Joseph worked together to set up the first union in Madurai, the Madura Labour Union. It is interesting in this context that in later years when the link between the labour organisations and nationalist agitation had grown closer, Ramanathan distanced himself from the Madura Labour Union and tried unsuccessfully to promote a rival union. The soothing presence of George Joseph was no longer there for he had left for North India in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call.

The Madura Labour Union had certain weaknesses from its inception arising from problems peculiar to it in the recruitment, training, and retention of workers in the Madura Mills. The workforce consisted of unskilled people from the rural areas.

There was group of workers comprising 15 per cent of the workforce. They were the three associated castes of the Kallars, Maravars, and Agambadiyas. The Maravars and Kallars constituted two of the main criminal tribes of the Madurai district. The Kallars who were numerically the largest, being the third most populous caste group. In the district, had the undeserved reputation both among the management and other workers, of being intemperate and violent as well as habitual thieves.

As part of an attempt to reform the Kallars, government officials had arranged employment for them in the cotton mills. They were among the lowest paid of the workers and easily aroused the suspicion of the management and officials, being as they were under the constant scrutiny of the police. It is reasonable to think that his early involvement with union activity may have been in part motivated by a desire to protect the interests of the Kallar mill workers.

The reaction of the employers and the government officials to the newly formed union was highly unsympathetic. The union was seen as a hotbed of agitators and criminals whose real motive was to stir up a quiescent workforce against the colonial government and thus hamper the war effort of British firms. When a spontaneous strike broke out on 21 July 1918 in the Madura Mills over pay claims and conditions of service, the Harveys ignored the union and managed to convince the authorities that by curbing the activities of the local union leaders, the strike would fizzle out. The employers managed to get a court order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code forbidding Ramanathan from making any speech within ten miles of the Meenalcshi temple, one of the most famous landmarks found in the centre of Madurai.

On 16 August 1918, Naidu arrived at the Madura railway station and was met by a large crowd of mill workers led by George Joseph and union organisers. Speaking at a meeting held near the mill, Naidu combined a nationalist rhetoric on the evils of British rule with the specific demands of the workers such as a wage increase of 12.5 per cent and a reduction of working hours from twelve to ten hours. The Harveys refused to talk to Naidu and made no concession to their workers.¹⁴ Tension between the management and workers grew with each confrontation and, subsequently, under pressure from the employers, the government arrested Naidu on 18 August 1918 and charged him with making a seditious speech.¹⁵ At his trial, where George Joseph was his counsel, cross-examination of the prosecution witnesses revealed that the government was forced to act

against the union leaders because of the sustained pressure exerted on them by the Harveys. The adverse publicity attracted by the government was exacerbated on 28 August when the police opened fire into a crowd who had gathered round the Madurai courthouse. A boy was killed and several people injured.¹⁶ This was widely condemned in both the Indian and British press. On the same day, Varadarajulu Naidu was found guilty of sedition. A subsequent appeal three months later overturned this verdict. However, two days after the original decision of the court, the Harveys gave in and granted their workers a 25 per cent increase, twice what the workers had originally demanded. Subsequent developments showed a fluctuating situation between the worker and employer.

At this time, momentous changes in the political climate were taking place. It began with the adoption by the Indian National Congress of Gandhi's proposals for a programme of non-cooperation to compel the British to leave India. The Congress had ceased to be a mere forum for discussion dominated by professionals -lawyers, journalists, doctors, and teachers-and had broadened its platform to include a wider cross-section of people such as peasants and ordinary workers. The Congress was no longer hesitant to emphasise social and economic issues, and expose the myth of separating politics from union concerns. Like many others, George Joseph felt that the arena for political action had been extended beyond the local level; and for a period (1921-1924) he left the parochial issues of Madurai for wider pastures.

Until recently, at George Joseph's death anniversary on 5 March, a group of people used to congregate at his graveside to conduct a silent vigil. But, a larger group -mainly some dignitaries and local politicians-had gathered to commemorate his birth centenary on 5 June 1987.¹⁷ The group who kept the vigil every year had to be persuaded to join this birth centenary celebration. Who were these people who kept his memory alive when he had been all but forgotten by the others?

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ROLE OF SELF HELP GROUPS FOR SOCIO ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF RURAL WOMEN

R. Muthukumaran* & B. Kandasamy**

India has a population of 1027.01 million with 742 million living in rural areas. About 40 percent of the rural populations are estimated to be living below the poverty line. The country is facing economic depression and social imbalance. Poverty is the single most important factor which degrades the social fabrics and stands as an untransparent barrier in the national progress. The Preamble of International Labour Organization declares "Poverty everywhere constitute a danger of prosperity everywhere", Poverty is responsible for low nutrition, low life expectancy, work deficiency, illiteracy, child labour and leads human deprivation and this threat is going to affect the developmental side of the society. The various circles of poverty are the very hurdles of the developing countries. These countries are suffering from various types of shortages despite having vast natural resources. To overcome this situation, women population in rural India needs to be promoted. This formidable task lies in the hands of NGOs as they promote voluntary services to these suppressed, oppressed, needy classes of the society.

It is high time to empower women as administrators and come out in all avenues to bring out over all development of the country. Women's empowerment and real social development are interrelated. So women have to become conscious of their role in the economic and the social development. Eventhough the women population today got wide exposure and development; these were restricted only to the urban and educated women.

Role of SHGs

"God help those who help themselves. Those who sleep, their fortune also sleep. Those who run, their fortune also run".

Self-Help Groups (SHGs) can be defined as, "A small, economically homogeneous and affinity group of rural poor, voluntarily formed to save and mutually agree to contribute to a common fund to be lent to its members as per group decision".

The economy and social status of rural women were greatly ignored over the centuries. After Independence, various governments took

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care of women upliftment and started to introduce various schemes. Among these, SHGs have been recognized as an effective strategy for the empowerment/upliftment of women in rural areas. SHGs of women in India have been recognized as an effective organization for the empowerment of women in rural areas, bringing women together from all spheres of life to fight for their rights or a course. Since the overall empowerment of women is dependent on economic empowerment, women through the SHGs, work on a range of fields such as health, nutrition, agriculture, forestry etc., besides income generation activities and seeking micro credit.

A major project for the development and empowerment of poor and rural women was put in place in 1989 with the assistance of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). It has been implemented through a network of women self help groups which are established with the support of voluntary organizations(Vos).

The success of the project encourages to extend the project to all the rural areas in the state in a phased manner. The vision of the project is to teach out and empower women below the poverty line through self reliant and sustainable self help groups.

Infact the objectives, characteristics and strategies of SH Groups and relevant training and assistance enable women empowered.

The following is the case study of the Anaimalai Block to show the role of SH Groups sustaining the economic empowerment of women.

Opinion of Members of SHGs on Economic Empowerment

The Anaimalai Block has chosen for a sample study for the economic empowerment of rural women through the SHGs. The members of SHGs usually differ in their opinion on self help groups, they assign different levels of priority for varlpus aspects of self help groups.

Economic Empowerment

Economic empowerment means greater access to financial resources inside and outside the household. It gives women the power to retain

income and use it at their discretion. Financial self-reliance of women both in the household and in the external environment lead to the empowerment of women in other spheres.

The major findings of the study are summarized and given below.

Profile of SHGs

Anaimalai Blocks has witnessed a heavy growth of SHGs during the year 2006 Most of the SHGs are with members ranging up to 12 and the age of many of the members ranges between 31 and 40. Data collected reveal that many of the women are married but illiterate without any employment. Community distribution of the members point out that scheduled caste members are large in number.

Almost, all the members are motivated by NGOs. It is found that NGOs play a vital role in the formation of self help groups. Forty (100.00%) members are motivated by the NGOs. Earning sufficient income to enhance the economic independence of women is the prime reason with which a SHG is framed. Of the 40 groups. (47.50%) affirm this view. The following are the suggestions to improve the functioning method of self-help groups. Suggestions to the Government. Government should encourage and support to NGOs to attempt group approach and create favourable policy environment for SHGs to easily open their bank account. There is possibility of loss of resources of the poor if not protected adequately against any possible crisis. So there is an urgent need to streamline the norms that govern micro finance initiatives in the country. Necessary steps should be initiated to solve the problerii of shortage of the supply of raw materials to the members of SHGs given consent to give loan upto Rs,3 lakhs. The success was mainly due to the less marginal profit they fixed to sell their products.

Another SHG in the tribal hamlet in the Nilgiris ventured in to the flori culture of Anthuriums (Flamingo flower) the most sought decorative flower. The cost of Rs.5 lakhs for the project was generated by way of loan and subsidy. The Antfjorium grown by this SHG is exported to Washington. Having obtained international orders for their flowers the SHG is

leading to clear its loan well before the stipulated period and later on starting to earn profits.

Banangadu SHG comprising of sixty women from rural areas in the Salem District started Anklet manufacturing unit with the help of the then District Collector Dr. Radhakrishnan, over the period of one year the SHG is able to clear the loan amount Rs.2 lakhs by successfully selling their products in the open market.

These are a few examples of a successful functioning of SHG which help to empower rural women.

Conclusion

The concept of self help groups (SHGs) of women in India have been recognized as an

effective strategy for the empowerment of women in rural areas. Women through these SHGs contribute a lot on a range of issues such as health, nutrition, agriculture, forestry etc., besides income generation activities. Hence, it is very essential to encourage SHGs in order to promote country's economy in general and to empower rural women in particular. In organizing women micro power centres in villages and enabling self employment, the state government should utilize the SHG to upgrade the programme through SHG in panchayats. Through the SHG the rural women are getting more awareness to participate in social development initiatives, influence decision making in local bodies government and expansion of business ventures.

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HONOUR KILLING AND SUPPRESSION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE 17th CENTURY TAMIL COUNTRY

Usha Raghotham*

Historians in recent years have moved away from issues relating to political and narrative history to themes that explore the relationship between social groups, occupational groups, structures of power and patronage. Sometimes called new social history, historians have begun to document the hidden past at times deliberately suppressed.

Though women constitute nearly half the population, women have remained hidden from history. The reasons for the neglect of women in history are as follows.

First, the sources on which the Indian historians rely upon for the reconstruction of social history refer almost exclusively to elite

women like queens, empresses, and the wives of influential persons. Therefore seldom do we get insight into the lives of ordinary women.

The second reason for consigning women, to what E.P. Thompson had called immense condescension of history, is that, women rarely represented themselves either through writing or other means. For these reasons recording the life and times of women in history has proved a very challenging task.¹

In this paper I have attempted to examine a tragic episode in the life of a woman who lived in Ilananeri Village which was in the domain of Sethupathi's of Ramnad.² Her name was Veerayi and she lived with her parents and her brothers.

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Veerayi's story can be read as a metopher for the lives of ordinary women in the 17th century Tamil country. The inscriptions on which the paper is based has been published in *Tamilaga Cheppedugal* part I, Edited by Sridhar and published by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu.

This woman Veerayi lived at a time when the Tamil society was going through the period of rapid political and social changes. The decline of the Madurai Nayakdom had resulted in the rise of three ethnic territorial political entities Aranthanki, Pudukkottai and Ramanathapuram, representing the dominant Maravar and Kallar communities.³ "These little states or little kingdoms", as Nicholas B. Dirks, states, were based on service tenures granted to kinsmen related to the ruling family.⁴ Community formation went hand in hand with state formation and therefore the period saw the rise of competitive endogamous groups, such as the Agamudayar, the Valayans and the Ambalakarans. The grant of titles by kings or Chieftains to their military elite resulted in the emergence of groups of superior lineages which bore the title Servaikarar. Servaikaran (Captain or Commander) is the title of Agamudayan, Ambalakaran, Kallar, Maravan and Parivaram.⁵

Veerayi belonged to the Muppan lineage of the endogamous community called Valayan. This community is still distributed in the coastal part of Ramanathapuram and the clan divided into eight subdivisions such as 1) Ambalakaran, 2) Mutracha, 3) Valaiyan, 4) Muatiriyar, 5) Muppan, 6) Servakaran, 7) Muthuraja and 8) Moopar.

The above eight subdivisions seem to have been related to each other in hierarchical formation. This made women like Veerayi bearer of the alleged superior status of her clan, which was the Muppan clan or Muppan Kilai. In hierarchical societies, the status of women is tied to the patrilineal descent order and matrilineal linkages in a downward direction are normally discouraged as they reduce the status of the patrilineal family. Hence women's position is not just precarious, but subject to the oppressive dictates of social hierarchy.⁶

The woman Veerayi, the subject of this paper had the misfortune of becoming pregnant outside the bonds of matrimony, thereby creating a stir in her clan. The inscription states that

வேளாத்தரவை

வீரமு

பென் மகன் பிள்ளை விராயி தங்கள் வளவில் சிறுபிள்ளை யில் விந்து

சேந்திருந்ததி அந்த பெண்ம் பிள்ளை பெரிய பிள்ளையாய்

ருதுவ

ராகி சாதியில் கட்டிக் குடாமலருக்கையில் வயத்தில் கெற்பமாய்

ருந்தது அதுகாரியம் தாய் தகப்பன் அண்ணன் தம்பி சாதியார்

அரிந்து அந்தப் பெண்ம் பிள்ளை சாதியாரிடத்தில் சொன்னது

நயினாக்குட்டி

சேருவைக் காரணாடனே கூடி வயத்திலே கெற்பம் வந்ததென்று

ருகவுட

னே சொன்னாள் அவனைச் சாதியார் தெண்டினை பண்ண

உடனே உயிர்வ

தைப் பண்ணிபோட்டு⁷

From the above passage we understand that the male members of her clan including her father, brother and other relatives extracted the information about her pregnant condition by "beating and torturing" her. As a consequence of that torture inflicted upon her, Veerayi died.

The paramour, who was the cause of Veerayi's pregnancy, was one Nayankutti Servaikarar. It is obvious that though both Veerayi and Nayankutti Servaikarar belonged to the Valayan community, the lineage of Veerayi, i.e., the Muppan lineage, was higher in social status. As a member of a higher social group, the marriage with a male of a lower social group would have constituted dishonour to the family leading to her killing by her own father, brother and the kinsmen. We have thus seen an early instance of honour killing.

The death of the girl led to the entire community demanding compensation from the lineage of Nayankutti Servaikaran. Once again it was a woman who was to be killed as an act of retribution. The sister of Nayankutti Servaikaran named Udayakkalai was handed over to the Muppans. Two funeral pyres were constructed and the two women were to be burnt, one dead and other alive as punishment for the transgression of Muppan women by a Servaikaran male.

From this episode we understand that women were treated as commodities and not as human beings in the 17th century Tamil Country, because the males who killed the unfortunate Veerayi were not punished and the restitution of family honour necessitated the forcing another innocent woman namely Udayakkalai, sister of Nayankutti Servaikarar to pyre. But before the pyre attacked Udayakkalai, the Muppan clan saved her life and they declared that hereafter Udayakkalai will be the daughter of all the eight clans and they gave some resources for her maintenance.

The above episode leads one to draw a set of inferences about the social status of women

in the 17th century Tamil country. Though Tamil society boasts of granting dignified and exalted status for women by valorizing the various episodes in Tamil literature, the fact remains that women were deprived of any right to independent existence and their fate was decided by the males in the clan is evidenced by the instance discussed in this paper. Male domination was the order of the day because the man could surrender his sister as compensation as if she was mere chattel: The patriarchy denies the individual rights of women and institutionalizes their suppression, by negating their autonomy as can be seen by the treatment of both the women as discussed in this paper.

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THE SPECIAL PRACTICES RELATED TO THE WOMEN FOLK OF NADAR COMMUNITY IN VIRUDHUNAGAR

P. Malarvizhi *

India is a breeding ground for casteism. There are more than three thousand castes, each one a culturally distinct, endogamous community sharing traditionally a common occupation having a particular position in the localized hierarchy of castes and a particular cultural pattern characteristic of its own. Each caste has distinct behaviour and life-style. All castes have passed through complex problems in their evolutionary process. One such caste is 'Nadars'.

Among the castes of South India the Nadars suffered severe. Social disabilities and were one of the most economically depressed castes.¹ Despite geographical variations, economic disparity, political differences, occupational variations and ideological cleavages, the customs and social life promote solidarity among the Nadars.

Location of Virudhunagar

Virudhunagar is the head quarters of Virudhunagar District in the State of Tamil Nadu is a town exactly 45 kilometres south of the temple city of Madurai. It is one of the important centres of trade and commerce in the southern part of Tamil Nadu. It has assumed national significance as it is the birth place of the renowned freedom fighter and King Maker, Bharath Ratna K. Kamaraj.

Social Customs and Practices

Customs and practices emerge and gain importance as they are followed sincerely, revered properly and recognised socially. The Hindu Nadars of Virudhunagar have developed gradually certain unique customs and practices. Wherever they go and live they attach themselves with such customs and practices and are never ready to give them up. This integrity strengthens the values of their customs and practices.

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The positive aspects of rationalistic ideas like equal opportunities for all, liberation of women from bondage and inter-communal marriage and institution of self-respect marriages with no priest and rituals are noteworthy practices of Hindu Nadars in Virudhunagar.² Even today the marriages are performed without Brahmin priests, dispensing with the Hindu rituals. A respected elder of the community, with no sacerdotal position presides over the exchange of garlands and the tying of the "*Tali*" which binds the couple together in marriage. Before the marriage a number of mini social functions such as "*Poovaitthal*", "*Nichayadhartham*", "*Pown Urukuthal*" are still observed. The practice of widow remarriage among the Hindu Nadars in Virudhunagar is a welcome feature.

The social life of the said community has been undergoing a number of changes owing to the change of time, challenges that it faced and the concept of adoption it has. A special practices related to women folk of Nadar community³ in starting from the birth of a child till the death a number of ceremonies associated with both happy and sad occasions are practiced. There are many unique features found in the practices followed by the Virudhunagar Nadar people.

Marriage Ceremonies

Marriage is an important social institution which admits men and women to family life. It includes a lot of ceremonies. First step in Hindu Nadar marriage is Matrimonial choice. In this process, marriage-brokers, Nadar-barbers and marriage counseling centres play an important role. The Hindu Nadars follow certain practices like confirming the matching of the horoscopes. If they are satisfied with the suitability of the bride, then they make arrangements which enable the boy to see the girl. Among the Virudhunagar Nadars this takes place mostly in temples on normal occasion or at the time of Mariamman temple Panguni festival of Virudhunagar or in the exhibition ground or in some public places. This function is known as *Penparthal Padalam*. The religious congregations serve as places for men and women to find their mates.⁴

At the scheduled time and date, earlier decided in consonance with both the parties the *betrothal* called the *Nichayadhartham* is held.

Among the Hindu Nadars, *Nichayadhartham* is a significant social function that precedes a marriage. On the date of this function, close relatives and friends visit the girl's house. The bridal price called *Parlsam* which includes sweets, fruits, flowers, garlands, betel-leaves with supari, sandal paste and other auspicious articles and a costly silk saree is given to the bride.⁵ The maternal uncles of the boy and the girl play an important role in this function. The kith and kin and the elders confirm the mate, the date and the place of marriage, the quantum and the mode of dowry etc. When such factors are finalized, the maternal uncles exchange garlands and mutually apply sandal paste on their forearms and forehead. They exchange the salt and turmeric brought by both the families and then sweets are distributed to the guests assembled. This is followed by presenting the "*Bethrothal Saree*" to the bride. The role of the groom's sisters is significant. They adorn the bride with that saree. The groom's sister brings the bride to the central hall where all have assembled. She would place flowers on the plait of the bride and the groom's mother garlands her. If the groom has no sister, his cousin sisters play this role. Elders bless her by applying vermilion on her forehead. The entire gathering enjoys the ceremony with happiness. The ceremony comes to an end with the distribution of sweets, plantains and betel leaves followed by a feast usually arranged by the bride's parents. The *betrothal* is usually held one to three months before the wedding. Now-a-days because of the geographical distribution of the populace *betrothal* is held on the night before marriage itself. Some are now performing the *betrothal* on the night before the wedding day, to do away with the need for an extra feast and making it unnecessary for guests to make two separate trips. The date and the place of the wedding are set on the day of *betrothal*.

Usually the marriage takes place at the kalyana mahal or temple. The families of bride and bridegroom book separate kalyana mahals for their sojourn. Many Kalyana Mahals are run by different *Uravinmuraish*. On a selected auspicious day, Muhurtha saree is selected.

On the day of wedding the bridegroom is garlanded by his father. Blessed by his parents and close relatives, who apply holy ash on his forehead, the groom sitting in a chariot or car or

on an elephant, depending upon the economic status of the family, is led on a procession accompanied by friends, relatives and all other invitees to the Bride's Kalyana mahal where the marriage ceremony is held.

As soon as the bridegroom and his party reach the venue of the marriage, the sisters and cousin sisters of the bride offer a traditional welcome to the groom with varieties of *arathy*.⁶ The bridegroom will be required by the arathi performers to present a gift for the performance. Then the bride's father gets hold of the right arm of the groom after garlanding and presenting a gold ring or chain. Sometimes the bride's brother presents the gold ring or chain and accompanies the groom to the beautifully decorated stage meant for the marriage ceremony. The bride wears the Muhurtha saree and come to the decorated stage accompanied by the sisters and cousin sisters of the bridegroom. She does namaskaram to all those present and sits on the left side of the groom.

The tray containing the sacred Tali adorned with flower and vermilion are kept will be taken round by an elder person seeking the blessings of those present in the marriage hall. Dispensing with the Hindu ritual, a reverential person, invited to perform the marriage function will conduct the marriage by asking the bride and the bridegroom to exchange the garlands worn by them on their necks thrice and there after the chief event of tying the "Sacred Tali" by the groom takes place. This is known as *Tirupputtuthal*. Thus the marriage takes place in Nadar community.

Owing to the opposition of the caste Hindus the Nadars stopped inviting the Brahmin purohits for their rites and ceremonies. Self-Respect marriages were arranged in the presence of the elders of the community. The Tamil Nadu Government through the marriage act of 1967 legalized Self Respect Marriages, which started in 1928.⁷ E.V. Ramasamy became the forerunner of the Self Respect marriage among his community and in his marriage he refused to allow the purohit to perform the ceremony.⁸

Valaikappu or Seemantham

During the seventh month or the ninth month of first pregnancy, on an auspicious day,

the parents invite their daughter for delivery with a small ceremonial function. This is called "*Seemantham*" or "*Valaikappu ceremony*". Only close relatives of both sides attend the function. On the day, the parents of the daughter prepare Kattu Soru in odd numbers and along with them take sweets, fruits, flowers, betel leaves with supari and sandal paste. The pregnant mother wear muhurtha saree at that time of this function. The relatives put bangles on the pregnant mother's wrist and bless her by applying holy ash on her forehead and after certain ceremonies like '*Madi Nirapputhal*',⁹ she is sent to her parent's house. Apart from sociological significance this function also assumes biological significance from the point of view of the health of the pregnant woman so far as temporary physical separation of the husband and wife is concerned.

After the delivery they conducted the ceremony called "*Kayaru kattudal*" ie. tying the yellow thread with gold ornaments around the hip of the newborn. The new born should be placed in a winnow made of palmyrah fibres and rolled thrice. This seems to be the initiation of the new born to the palmyrah tree.

Half Saree Wearing Function

At the age of eleven, they celebrate a grand function in which the girl is given half saree or dhavani to wear. Close relatives are invited for this function. The maternal uncle presents a new half saree, flowers, turmeric, kumkum, betal leaves and sweets to the girl.

Puberty Function

Mostly all Hindus, irrespective of caste, celebrate this social ceremony when the first mensuration occurs to the female child. This ceremony is widely prevalent among the Hindu Nadars. However there is no such custom prevalent among the Christian Nadars.

A small ceremony is conducted by the close relatives on the first day or on the third day of puberty. It is a custom that close relatives bring milk, eggs, sweets, flowers, coconuts, banana etc. As soon as the guests gather the girl will be given a ceremonial bath.¹⁰ During this period, gingelly oil, fruit and egg are given to her. Her maternal uncle presents her with a saree. The girl is garlanded and blessed by all. A feast follows.

Thereafter she is separated by an iron or wooden ulakkai from the house and sits in a separate place or room for the following sixteen days. She is given separate utensils and instructed not to touch other utensils. During the days she has to wear the saree given by the dhobi that is called "*Vannan Mathu*". In turn the dhobi will be presented with money. During that period the grandmother and her uncle's family send special eatables like Kazhi, Kesari, Puttu, Idiyappam, Savouries and Sweets, as this is the appropriate period to give nutritious food to improve her health. Care is taken to provide her with vitamin rich foodstuffs. On the 16th day she will be again given a purificatory bath and made to cross a burnt firewood or ulakkai. Then she returns to the normal life. These expectations and rites are not in vogue now-a-days because of a significant change in modern life pattern. Firstly the girl cannot be detained for sixteen days from going to school. Secondly the *vannan mathu* is defied on health grounds. Thirdly there is lack of privacy in the small house where the family members hardly have moving space. So the girl returns to normal life after giving a purificatory bath on the third or fifth day of puberty.

Subsequently the puberty ceremony is celebrated on a grand scale on any day, mostly on the thirtieth day or on the third month or within a year. All close relatives are invited. The role of maternal uncle (*mama*) assumes significance in this function. He occupies a prominent place in the life of his nephews and nieces. He has special obligations towards them which exceed those of the father. He has a prior right over their royalties. He presents sarees usually Kanchipuram silks, gold ornaments and money according to his status and wishes. He also prevents sweets, coconuts, fruit, new clothes arranged in either seven or nine trays.

Other relatives also present her with sarees, vessels or ornaments. A grand feast is arranged by her parents. The implied significance

of celebrating this social function may be to make it known to the society that she is fit enough to enter into married life.

Conclusion

The status of Nadar women, as any other women in ancient and medieval Tamil Nadu was one of subordination to men. The willing and unquestioning submission of wife to husband was the order of the day. The institution of patriarchy, patrilineal succession to property, man dominating family etc. were not unknown. The best that would happen to a married woman would be to pre-decease her husband for if she should have misfortune to survive him, she would be confined to widowhood. This was a rather unpleasant status for a woman. She had to lead the life of an ascetic, shed her ornaments, forego edibles and sufficient sleep and in the bargain be treated with contempt all round.

As a result of the selfless services rendered by great social reformers, the appalling conditions of women have changed. Now, the Nadar women are considered as an embodiment of the highest traditional feminine virtues of purity, faithfulness and complete devotion to husband and her family.

Women and daughters remain as good as men and sons, the earning members of the household. Many of the Nadar women have taken to professions like Medicine, Engineering, and Teaching etc. This earning power of women made them feel independent of their dependence upon males. In upper classes, the Nadar women are property owners and in middle and lower classes they are wage-earners or professional workers.

Thus all the customs, beliefs and practices of Nadar community are respected and still followed by the women folk of this community. Changes in customs and practices in any community are inevitable. Nadar community is not an exception to this. While it retains the good old practices, it also absorbs what is good in other communities and makes a steady progress.

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9. The bride holds the loose end of the saree worn by her on which coconut, banana, betel leaf, areca nut, toffee etc., are placed by the groom's mother.
10. In villages at the time of the ceremonial bath they raise a musical chorus with the tip of the tongue called 'kulavaividuthal' which hardly is a practice now a days in urban areas.

SOWBHAGYA ILLAM, A HOME FOR ABANDONED CHILDREN - A STUDY

P. Maran *

Other than the Government orphanages giving asylum to abandoned children, some non-governmental organizations run orphanages successfully to save the life of abandoned children. Among such NGOS, Sowbhagya Illam is one familiar children home functioning at the foot hill of Sirumalai of Dindigul District.

Gandhigram Trust has established a number of welfare institutions for the welfare of the rural people. Among such institutions, the first institution created by Gandhigram Trust in Gandhigram was Sowbhagya Illam the Children's Home. This Children's Home was established by Mrs. Soundaram, the founder of the Gandhigram on 7th October 1947. It is home for the destitute children. The first batch of co-workers of Soundram and volunteers who had been given training as Grama Sevikas earlier at Thiruvannamiyur took care of three orphans. This home slowly grew in size and babies, some of them even new born abandoned under trees, in drains, rail platforms and so on were taken under its wings.¹

Initially the Children's Home was run only with donations, but later on it started getting Government grants and donations were utilized only to bridge the gap. Over the fifty years, 1082 children have come out of the home and are well settled in life. Today there are more than 200 children in the Children's Home.

The aim of Gandhigram Trust has all along been to ensure that the orphans did not miss their parents. The Sevikas devote on them love, affection and parental care, though this is easier said than done. In spite of their best

efforts some children still seem to pine for their parents.

Prime Aim of the Children's Home

The main objectives of the Children's Home are as follows viz:

1. To provide a place of warmth and security to the young orphans who are sent to the Home ;
2. To cultivate in them good personal hygiene and social hospitals even from early childhood, and
3. To give them proper education and vocational training and in order to help them in setting down in life.²

Great care is taken whenever a boy or girl from the Children Home is married or given in adoption and antecedents of the family going to adopt or take the spouse in marriage are thoroughly screened. So much so even today those who were once inmates of the Children Home continue to be in touch, come to the Home and partake in festivals. It has now become the practice for the old children of the Home to have a get together meeting during the second week end of May every year. A number of them come to the Children's Home with their spouse and children, spend their time together and plan to help the current batch of children in some way or other.

As a socially conscious institution, the Children's Home is always interested in the alleviation of poverty and help people to improve

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their life by caring for those who cannot take care of themselves. The Trust has two institutions at Gandhigram to help children and women and its branches are also located at Sivasailam in Tirunelveli District.

Sowbagya Illam, the Children's Home, which was started with 3 boys in 1948, now has got a total strength of 178. Among this the boys are 66 and the girls 112. So far 1250 children have been rehabilitated from this home and married and settled in life. They are working as doctors, engineers, technicians in army and airforce, teachers, nurses, typists, social workers etc. After their education and training 534 children joined their parents or relatives.³

Children of the Home are maintained under three schemes namely:

- Juvenile Home(founded by Department of Social Defence),
- Destitute Home(founded by Social Welfare Department,) and
- Lakshmi Seva Sangam's Maintenance Scheme.⁴

These Children's Home have been working for the educational development of the poor children. They send the boys and girls to school to acquire general education. According to the Children's Home Administrative Report for 2000, 61 boys and 99 girls are undergoing general education from creche to college level; nine girls got admitted in Diploma in Nursing Village Health Workers Training, and Arogya Sevika Training. One student doing TTC in music and 2 boys in ITI, three boys who are not interested in formal schooling due to their poor academic achievement are being provided with an alternative vocational training in tailoring.

The Objectives of the Children's Home

- To get every child an opportunity to education;
- To give them to love and affection, and
- To create conditions for the nascent potentialities of every child to fructify.

The children of the home are adopted from the various ways. The Profile of the Children Home provided some data for the adoption of the children. Some case studies are given in the succeeding pages.

In 1949, Vasantha Kumari, was found abandoned in a dustbin in the Madurai Government Hospital. The Juvenile Welfare Board sends her to United States. She grew up, got educated, married an American engineer and now lives a happy family life in America.

In 1970, the police found a two year old baby named Girija Mary, who was begging in the Madurai Railway Station.⁵ She was adopted in the Children's Home and, today she is happily married and becomes mother of two children with a full time job at Auroville, Pondicherry. Another one child, Ramu was only 30 days old when a vegetable vender found him abandoned near the railway track. Today he is a professional electrician.⁶

Two years old Kuppamal was found abandoned in a train compartment by the Villupuram Railway Police. Today she is a fully trained community health nurse and combines her profession with a happy family life. There are the some examples of the children, who are under parental care of the Children's Home.

Sowbhagya Illam is a Children's Home aided by the Tamil Nadu Government. Non-delinquent children below 7 years are sent by the Juvenile District Courts and Children's Welfare Board to this Home. They are the courts wards in the children care.

Functions of the Home

Children's Home has four cottages. The first cottage is meant for the babies upto 5 years of age, the second for the primary school girls, the third one for the post puberty girls and the last one for the boys. Besides these, a number of children who are continuing their studies in other residential institutions.

In the residential institutions at present there are 44 babies of 1 to 5 years age, 40 primary school girls, 41 post puberty girls, 34 boys and 13 non-resident children. Over the years some 1082 children have found their home in the Children Home.⁷

Most of the day is spent in the school. In between, children come home for lunch. After the evening snacks and tea, children are encouraged to take up some extra curricular activities and involve in some non-academic pursuits such as crafts, painting, dance, music, tailoring, embroiding etc.

At the sunset the home conducts the Sarva Dharma prayer. Passages from the Koran, Bible and Gita are read. Next is study time followed by dinner. Juniors go to bed after dinner while seniors can continue with their studies upto 10.00 p.m.

All meals are simple but wholesome. On certain day's, the home provide a special meal. Every month on the full moon day such a meal and a get together is organized in meeting hall by one of the Gandhigram sister organizations.

Governing Body Members

The Managing Trustee is the head of the Children's Home. He or she has the power to

control the entire home activities. Apart from the Managing Trustee one correspondent is the direct controller of the Children's Home. The Sub-Collector of the District, the District Medical Officers, the District Education Officer, the Probation Officer and Neela, Superintendent of the Children's Home are also the members of the Governing Body of the Children Home.⁸

The pupil of the children's home are rehabilitated as a request to the education produced to them, education of different arts, academic, technical, vocational and varied skills.⁹ Besides the above, the inmates are socially rehabilitated as pointed at earlier.⁹

Thus the Children Home plays a prominent role in the rehabilitation of deserted children.¹⁰ The way, in which the children the Home are taken care of by the authorities, they are made to feel that they are some one important like others.¹¹

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THE PORTUGUESE OCCUPATION IN NAGAPATNAM - A STUDY

G. Jancy Rani*

Nagapatnam situated at the mouth of Uppanar, was the premier port of the Cholas as evident from the Chinese records. The discovery of Chinese coins at Vikraman village (Pattukottai taluk) in the hinterland of Nagapatnam in 1942 and 1944 attest this fact.¹ It was the first major port in the

south, an ancient port, which served as an outlet of the Kudaivayar River. Though the port declined in the fourteenth century, it regained its importance and emerged as an international trading mart during the 1520's. The main reason for this was that the Muslim merchants began to participate in the

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overseas trade along with the Portuguese, who had then taken control of the port and had also build a fort there in 1642.² This paper attempts to study, how Nagapatnam emerged as a main port of rice trade and a departure point for Coromandel's goods during the Portuguese occupation at Nagapatnam. It also discusses about the religious policies of the Portuguese and their society.

The Portuguese appeared on the Coromandel Coast when the Vijayanagar Empire was at its fullest glory.³ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Vijayanagar Empire comprised almost the whole of Tamil Nadu from its territorial limits of Vengadam to Cape Comorin. For the purpose of administrative convenience the kingdom was divided into many principalities, some of which were governed directly by the king himself and some of which were placed under the control of Saluva Nayaka or Saluva Narasingaraya Dannayaka, the most powerful nobleman in the empire. Nagapatnam was one of the important ports of the Vijayanagar and '*the route to very large countries*'. Nagapatnam is referred to as '*Coromandel*' by early Portuguese.⁴

Portuguese Settlement

In the beginning the Portuguese were not allowed to built any castle or even erect a fort in Nagapatnam. The permission to not only build but also even to use a specific kind of material in building the castle had to be obtained from the native rulers. This was because the native rulers thought that large substantial building of brick or stone might easily be turned into forts from where his authority could be defied. Hence, the Portuguese in Nagapatnam only had a settlement and did not have any castle or fort. In due of course of time the Portuguese power increased steadily at Nagapatnam and this was possible due to the complete absence of European rivalry and importance of Muslims to resist their guns and ships. During the initial stages trade was a simple mercantile transaction and was restricted to the purchase either of the products of the country such as spices, precious stones, pearls, etc., or of the manufactured goods like silk, cotton, piece goods, porcelain etc. Nothing more was requisite in conducting this simple trade than a few agents settled in proper places to assort the goods and load and unload them as soon as the ships arrived. But a Portuguese captain was sent as the head of

Nagapatnam settlement by the Governor of Goa for a period of three years. He was to look after the promotion of trade also.⁵

Fortification

The constant threat of the Dutch on the one side and that of the Nayak on the other side made the Portuguese realize the need for a strong fortification. Since then they not only started erecting fortifications but also proposed to make Nagapatnam a crown city. The Viceroy at Goa granted the title '*city*' to Nagapatnam and sent a garrison under the command of the well experienced captain *Antoniovaz Pinto* to occupy the place. Thus the fortified area of Nagapatnam became subject to the king of Portugal in 1642.⁶

Port Administration

The king of Portugal appointed officials to look after the port administration in Nagapatnam. There was a captain as the head of the settlement. The Portuguese king passed regulations of the custom houses, and these regulations were accepted by the residents and traders of Nagapatnam in January 1645. Later these regulations were notified by the Municipality of Nagapatnam in August 1645. At the first instance this new order of the king prohibited private traders trading with the Dutch, the English and the Danes.⁷

Customs Duties

Detailed regulations were issued by the king of Portugal relating to Custom house duties. A particular regulation for conducting trade in the port of Nagapatnam declared as follows, "All types of goods coming from several places in the hinterland to the port of Nagapatnam should pay tax as ordered, failing which the commodities would be confiscated and taken into the royal account of the king of Portugal".⁸ As per this declaration the following taxes were levied and collected. An entry free of five percent was collected on items like cereals, vegetables, provisions and foodstuffs coming into Nagapatnam for sale or export from the surrounding countryside. On every mound of arecanuts a tax of two panams was collected. However no custom duty was collected on cinnamon, but cinnamon traders should get a license for its trade. For the coir brought to the port of Nagapatnam 5% of tax was collected and 7% tax was levied on goods

coming from the ports of the Danes, the English, and the Dutch.

Export Duty

Seven percent of the value of goods was collected as export duty from all merchants of Nagapatnam, whether they were Portuguese, Hindus, Muslims or others. This tax included one percent towards the cost of the fortification of Nagapatnam. This also included a portion to be paid to the Nayak of Tanjore. The calculation was done very meticulously by the Portuguese customs officer called 'Customs Appraiser' (*Juiz de Alfandega*). It was also his duty to pay it to the royal treasury of Tanjore, and obtain receipt therefore.⁹

Customs House Duties

A well streamlined procedure was followed in the Portuguese customs house at Nagapatnam. Separate Registers were maintained for the receipts and expenditure of the Customs house, and the accounts were audited every three months. Separate account books were maintained for each merchant in order to avoid mistakes. This work was done by native officers called '*kannakkupillai*', and he was paid salary from customs revenue. The chief officer of the Customs House was known as the *Alcaide-mor*. All the functions in the Customs House were operated under this supervision.

It may thus be seen that the Nayak of Tanjore had lost control over Nagapatnam port and that the Portuguese had come to exercise a kind of sovereign authority over that port. But the Nayak was assured of a share in the customs revenue without any responsibility. Secondly, this situation placed the Indian merchant almost under the control of the Portuguese king, since they had to act according to the customs regulation issued by the Portuguese king. Thus the native Nayak failed in his duty to protect the interest of the native traders.¹⁰

Religious Activities of the Portuguese

The Portuguese used Nagapatnam as a center of Catholic Missionary activities. But Christianity existed in the Coromandel Coast even before the Portuguese had come. We first hear of the Christians in Nagapatnam when *Lodovico-de-Varthema* visited it in 1505. When St. Francis

Xavier visited Nagapatnam in about 1544, the Portuguese were well established at Nagapatnam. They erected two churches dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi and the other to Our Lady of Health. It is recorded that in the very first year of the Portuguese occupation of Nagapatnam about 300 Hindus were baptized.¹¹ The arrival of St. Francis Xavier at Nagapatnam increased Christian Missionary activities in the region. He had already converted the Paravas of the fishery coast to Christianity. The Portuguese considered religion and commerce combined together always in the expansion of the Portuguese power.¹² The naval power of the Portuguese from Nagapatnam was used for the propagation of Christianity and its defence. Thus there was a steady increase in the number of native Christians in Nagapatnam.

The services of the Christian Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, for the cause of education and welfare of the people of Nagapatnam region are remarkable. They understood that no spiritual life was possible without the minimum of material comfort and security. The Christian church is so constructed that it always furnished to the people some advantage of temporal nature. It was seriously felt that it was difficult to give attention to things of the spirits when mind was not at rest owing to economic insecurity. The preaching of Christianity involved the Missionaries into two broad types of activities, spiritual and temporal. Though education was given with a Christian background it led the people on to social and material prosperity.¹³

Fall of Portuguese in Nagapatnam

Many causes contributed to the fall of the Portuguese power in Nagapatnam. The supremacy held by the Portuguese over the trade routes was challenged by the Dutch in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Consequently the Portuguese suffered serious losses not only on the coast but also in Ceylon, where their power was slowly declining, yielding place to the power of the Dutch.¹⁴ The religious policy of the Portuguese made them unpopular and brought on them the wrath of the Nayaks.¹⁵ Finally in 1658 Nagapatnam was taken over by the Dutch from the Portuguese. Since then it became a Dutch colony, and also one of the most important trading centers next in importance to

Pulicat. This led to the Dutch Directorate of the Coromandel Commerce being shifted from Pulicat to Nagapatnam. Under the Dutch, Nagapatnam handled the substantial Dutch trade in textiles, rice

and other country produce. However, in the eighteenth century Nagapatnam declined to a shadow of its former greatness of an important trading center.¹⁶

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THIRU. VI. KA. AND GENESIS OF MADRAS LABOUR UNION

S. Kameswari *

During the British rule the reforms introduced to improve the working conditions in factories proved inadequate to deliver the expected benefits in India. On the one hand the restricted scope and limited application of the Acts and on the other hand the improper implementation of the provisions of the Acts generated dissatisfaction among the workers. In a background so susceptible for agitation, the spread of revolutionary ideas created a resisting tendency among the workers. Also the political and economic climate of the first two decades of the twentieth century appeared favourable to the workers to seek remedial measures. The industrialists turned against the workers and their organizations. In spite of the consequent difficulties and losses suffered by the labour leaders and the workers, the national, and class,

consciousness that emerged among the workers. It not only brought the workers" together for a common cause of national liberation but also their common endeavor also bore fruits in the long run. This offered a remarkable lesson that any exploiting force could no longer stand against the hard work of the tireless leaders and the legitimate interests and aspirations of an awakened, organized and disciplined workers.¹

Birth of Madras Labour Union

A religious association popularly called "Venkatesa Gunamrutha Varshani Sabha" situated at Perambur² served as the nucleus of labour movement. The Sabha evinced interest in the affairs of the workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, who participated in large numbers in

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monthly religious meetings held under its auspices.³ It provided them with an opportunity to assemble and share their views regarding their grievances to the members of the Sabha.⁴ The grievances were brought to the notice of the mill authorities through anonymous letters and problems were listed in newspapers for the information of the public.⁵ They found that the anonymous letters had some effect, for the mill authorities enquired about the complaints and removed some of the irritants.⁶

Following it, the Sabha organized a labour meeting in 1917. The organizers of the meeting collected and compiled the complaints of workers and despatched them to P. Kesava Pillai, a follower of Annie Besant and a close friend of Thiru.Vi.Ka.⁷ He had identical views with Thiru.Vi.Ka. and his articles in the *Indian Patriot* highlighted the grievances of the workers in the mill.⁸ Following this, on March 2, 1918 under the auspices of the Sabha, a big labour meeting was held in the garden of Ramaboyammal on Strahams road.⁹ Thiru.Vi.Ka., the editor of *Deshabhaktan* spoke at the meeting and highlighted the success of the labour movement abroad and explained the reason for the poverty, premature death and spread of epidemics in India.¹⁰ The immediate result of the meeting was the drafting of a petition, containing demands for increase in wages and reduction in working hours. Signatures were obtained from the workers, but it was not submitted to the mill authorities, for fear of the police.¹¹ A proposal to organize an association to safeguard the interest of the workers too was made¹² but did not materialize as a result of police intervention. However the Commissioner of Police gave a different picture when he reported that since the Sabha came to know that labour movement was a political one, the members stopped getting signatures from the workers for the organization of labour union.¹³ On knowing that the Sabha was going to form a labour union, the mill authorities in fact issued an order to the effect that no employee of their mill should become member.¹⁴ Thiru.Vi.Ka. was warned against writing articles against government in *Deshabhaktan*. As a result the effort to organize a union of workers came to an abrupt end.¹⁵

The leaders who came forward to organize labour came from different walks of life. Thiru.Vi.Ka., P. Kesava Pillai and B.P. Wadia as

politicians were anti-British. Hence the reaction of the Government against the organization was not in favour.¹⁶ With the intention of knowing the problem of the workers directly, B.P. Wadia went to Perambur along with them and had a look at the workers of the mill at their meal time. To quote him, "they came, they gobbled, they turned"¹⁷ Moved by this sight, he agreed to preside over the labour meeting.¹⁸ At a public meeting held in the compound of Ramaboyammal, Perambur, on April 12, 1918 a large number of workers attended. Thiru.Vi.Ka. who participated in the meeting along with B.P. Wadia spoke about the welfare of the workers and the problems that were standing before them.¹⁹ At another meeting held at Perambur on April 27, 1918 the workers accepted the proposal to form union. Accordingly, an association called the 'Madras Labour Union' (MLU) was formed under the Presidentship of B.P. Wadia.²⁰ P. Kesava Pillai and Thiru.Vi.Ka. were elected as Vice-Presidents and G. Chelvapathi Chetti and Ramajulu Naidu as Secretaries.²¹ Though the importance of Swaraj was stressed at the meetings, the primary aim was to improve the economic, moral and social conditions of the workers through peaceful means.²²

Stand of Press

The organization of the union evoked a mixed reaction. Most of the newspapers especially. *The Hindu*, *Swadesamitran*, *New India*, *Common Weal*, *Andhra Patrika*, *Indian Patriot* welcomed the newly formed labour union. But the Newspaper *Madras Mail*, the government and the employers blamed the Home Rule League as responsible for kindling labour unrest and described B.P. Wadia and Thiru.Vi.Ka. as dangerous politicians.²³

Angered at the politically motivated labour leaders like Thiru.Vi.Ka., the Government initiated measures against the labour leaders who instilled nationalism in the minds of the workers and induced them to agitate against the European owned mill authorities. The industrialists turned against the workers and their organizations. In spite of the consequent difficulties and losses suffered by the labour leaders and the workers, the national, and class consciousness that emerged among the workers. It not only brought the workers together for a common cause of national liberation but their common endeavor also bore fruits in the long run.

This offered a remarkable lesson that any exploiting force could no longer stand against the hard work of the tireless leaders and the legitimate interests and aspirations of an awakened, organized and disciplined workers. A development of this kind in 1918 marked the beginning of a new chapter in the

relations between the workers and Congress based labour leaders like Thiru.Vi.Ka. In fact, Thiru.Vi.Ka. rendered yeomen service to unite the workers for the cause of the nation through the Madras Labour Union. He was the real founder of the Madras Labour Union.

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AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN TAMIL NADU SINCE 1600 A.D. - A CASE STUDY OF PARAIYAS

V. Palanichamy*

Agriculture was the main profession of the people. Agricultural labourers in this period were subjected to segregation and economic exploitation. Most of the labourers hailed from Pallas and Paraiya communities considered to be low in the caste hierarchy. It is commonly believed that the caste system appeared in Tamil Nadu in the Sangam age.¹ We see that by the Sangam classics numerous professions had appeared. We hear of several sub-castes in *Purananuru*,² viz. the Mallan, Kuttan, Panan, Kadamban, Tudian, Paraiyan, and Pulaiyan. Clearly these groups came into being on the basis of the different occupations pursued by

them. The caste system assumed an hereditary character even in the Sangam age.

In medieval period the Paraiya labourers became untouchable categories, they were treated as slave labourer in Tamil Nadu. Several inscriptions belonging to the imperial Chola period mention slaves as property of their masters. One of the inscriptions issued by Rajendra II in the year 1117 A.D. speaks about a woman becoming a land owner on the demise of her husband.³ With lands, the woman is said to have inherited Jewels, cattle and slaves of her husband. The dominant caste groups forced them to servitude to their land and

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some times attached with their land. They were forced to live in separate quarters known as 'Cheris' on the outskirts of villages. As hereditary slaves, they were attached with land and sold along with land. Slaves had to work from dawn to dusk.⁴

Agricultural Labour

Paddy being the most important item of cultivation in the wet districts, it was but natural that it was labour intensive as well as more demanding in terms of capital investment. The creation and maintenance of such resources like channels and tanks needed considerable labour and capital. This was the case with transplanting and harvesting seasons. The result was that not only big and medium sized land owners but also some of the marginal land owners too had to depend on tenants and Pannaiyals for their cultivation. Patta holding labour contributed only a small number to the labour force. This was the situation in the wet districts of Tanjore, Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli where tenants as hired labourers were great in number.⁵ There were two Tamil terms which were used for agricultural labourers namely *Pannaiyal* and *Padiyal*. *Pannaiyal* was a term used to mean a permanent farm servant. All unfree labourers came under this category. "*Padiyal*" is a hired farm servant usually receiving wages in kind. According to Dharma Kumar another term for *Pannaiyal* is "*Adimai*" meaning slave. British records of the 19th century use "*Pannaiyal*" more frequently than "*Adimai*". But administrators had the tendency to denote the agricultural labour by their castes such as Palli, Pallan, and Paraiyan. Whatever might be the origin of the system it is clear that at the beginning of 19th Century, the Pannaiyals in some Tamil areas were in a condition of servitude.⁶ As stated by Mr. F.W. Ellis, the Collector of Madras, "The Paraiyar and the Pallars most of whom are slaves attached to the land of Vellalars as well as Pallis (Vanniyars) who are the generally serfs on the lands of the Brahmin Mirasidars". Another important feature is that there seems to have existed a close connection between Mirasi tenure and agricultural labourers.⁷ Ellis pointed out that all the Paraiyars in the villages where Mirasi tenure prevailed existed in a state of bondage which he termed as village. Hepburn, the Collector of Thanjavur district in the year 1815, remarked that periodical slavery seems to

have been prevailed whatever landed Mirasi was known.

According to Ellis, Mirasi tenure seems to have existed in the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput which formed part of a Geographical region known from horay past as Tondaimandalam. It also prevailed in the districts of Tiruchirappalli and Thanjavur on the banks of 'Kaveri' and also in Coimbatore, Ramnad and Tirunelveli.⁸ In Madura and Dindigal, according to Collector's report slavery existed during the Muhammadan Government. The slaves were sold at the pleasure of masters. When a Pallar or Paraiyar was unable to gain a livelihood, he was accustomed to offer himself or his relatives as slaves to the cultivating inhabitants for a sum of money varying from one to ten Pully chuks when a bond of slavery was drawn and signed. If they married, their children were considered to be the property of the owner and they were employed in the cultivation of land and were maintained by the owners. The slaves were also disposed at the pleasure of the masters. Although slavery existed; it had been slowly disappearing since the assumption of the Company.⁹

Labour Arrangements

Slavery existed in all over Tamil Nadu, in South India, in Chingleput villages right up to the mid-nineteenth century. The Paraiyans of each village were community in slavery jointly owned by the Mirasi body of the Village. Among the privileges attached to Mirasi was a share in the labour of these people. The slaves worked for Mirasidars in rotation, according to the share of each Mirasidar in the village. For this, they were paid a fixed proportion of the produce called *Kalavasam*. The *kalavasam* of Mirasidars servant was between 3.33 per cent and 11.11 per cent of the gross produce of the village. Non-Mirasidars also seem to have availed to the services of slaves, as suggested by a reference to the *kalavasam* rates of their servants in a correspondence to the Board of Revenue in 1795. It seems that they had to pay higher *Kalavasam* than the Mirasidars.¹⁰

A category of free labourers seems to have existed during this time, but the demarcation between free labourers and slaves seems hazy. Reports from the Collectors on the condition of free labourers frequently refer to the state of

indebtedness and the ensuring attachment to particular Mirasidars. After the Slavery Abolition Act was enacted in 1843, the erstwhile slaves continued to work in slave-like conditions under the name *Padiyals*. The name *padiyals*, the only difference was that the deed of sale was now substituted by an arrangement by which a man pledged his labour in return for money borrowed or in lieu of interest—a system man-mortgage. Any breach of contract hinder such a deed could be punished under the Breach of Contract Act.¹¹ The *Padiyals* houses were still on land under control of Mirasidars, and they could refuse terms offered by Mirasidars only to face eviction from their house sites. The wages of *padiyals* in 1863 were fixed grain wages for the first six months alone, and were 20 per cent of the harvest and the right to glean the fields and certain other perquisites for the remaining six months.¹² “Personal type of slavery” implies a contract or agreement between the landlords and slaves by which a man pledged his labour in return for money borrowed or simply in lieu of interest. The ‘Contract’, known as ‘*Adimai olai*’ in Tamil was in the form of a sale deed.¹³ Contractual obligations were ensured by the Contract Act of 1859 which made the landowners to exercise “control” over the slaves for breach of contract involving punishment. Breaches of contract were severely dealt with in the village or taluk courts. The courts recognized “debt slavery”.¹⁴ The Contract deed was written and registered in the Registration offices. As per the contract, the serfs (*Pannaiyals*) would receive an amount of paddy or grain as wages every month. They were entitled to receive *Kalavasam* (fixed amount of produce) during harvest. On festival occasions like *Pongal* and *Deepavali*, they were given presents. The income being insufficient to meet obligations, the serfs were always forced to get loans from the lord. The only ‘wealth’ he possessed was ‘labour’ which he pledged. The landlord fully exploited the situation and the contract deed became a tool at the command of the lords.¹⁵

Labourers Wage

The Chingleput district manual published in 1879 states that even when a free labourer was engaged he frequently received a sum of money as an advance and could not leave the services of the land owner till the debt had been cleared. He

received a grain payment of between 24 and 40 Madras measures per annum and between Rs. 2 and 3.5 in money. During harvest the labourer still received a payment called *Kalavasam* amounting to 0.03 to 0.05 of the grass produce. The women of the labourer’s family also worked alongside on all operations except ploughing and baling water. In many cases the labourer was given a small piece of land of his own cultivation.¹⁶ There is also mention that workers on wetland were paid in kind to a larger extent than workers on dry land, and that some operations were paid in cash while others were paid in kind.¹⁷ By early twentieth century, however, the system of mortgage seems to have disappeared. While all *Padiyals* were indebted in their masters, the legal service arrangements of earlier times had been replaced by simple promissory notes.¹⁸ The work obligations of *Padiyals* in Chingleput taluk varied from village to village, and so did their wages. This is a trend that continues to this day.

The Rise of Paraiyan Land-ownership

The rise of Paraiyans in the agrarian hierarchy is an important phenomenon especially since it was a break from centuries old tradition and social restriction. Land which passed over from the hands of the upper caste land owners was obtained by castes lower down in the hierarchy (such as Paraiyans) by state intervention to distribute land to these castes under favourable terms. This was true both of the British period and post-Independence.¹⁹ The British Government attention was first drawn to the condition of Paraiyans in Chingleput after the seventies in the nineteenth century by the Christian Missionaries who worked in the district. The famine of 1876-77 brought in a dramatic influx of Paraiyans into the Christian Churches. The Missionaries turned their attention increasingly towards this more respective outcaste community. By the eighties and the nineties of the nineteenth century, there were mass conversions of Paraiyans in the district.²⁰ The spread of Christianity among Paraiyans greatly alarmed the Mirasidars who were not slow to realise that this meant eventual loss of their power and profit extracted from the former as a caste. They retaliated by ejecting Christian sub-tenants from lands long cultivated, *padiyals* who had been converted were thrown out of employment and asked to quit the *Paracheris*. Strife was created

between Christian missionaries that unless Paraiyans gained the right to become land owning ryots, they were likely to be intimidated by Mirasidars from conversion to Christianity. This implies that the preference afforded to Mirasidars in granting wasteland applied for under the darkest rules be discontinued. Both the Methodist and Scottish Missionaries carried on wide-spread propaganda on the condition of the Paraiyans in Chingleput. The Madras newspapers carried features on the Paraiyans' situation. Rev. Andrew, a Zealous Missionary committed to the Paraiyans' cause, met some members of the House of Commons in this connection during a visit to England.

Pressurised from all sides, the Madras Government took various steps to redress the situation which culminated in a government order²¹ in 1892 that specified that land that had hitherto and would in future be purchased by the Government for arrears of revenue should be assigned to Paraiyans and other low caste communities for cultivation and building purposes. This was a landmark in the agrarian history of Chingleput that paved the way for the gradual acquisition of land by Paraiyans.

Subsequent to Independence, the Harijans (comprising all the untouchable castes) has been given special concessions some of which have not been available to other groups. This includes reservation of a substantial proportion of wasteland for assignment to Harijans. In Tamil Nadu, 91,950 acres of land was assigned to Harijans between 1949 and 1960; of this 44,796 acres had

been brought under cultivation at the beginning of the sixties.²² Apart from land assigned by Government, Paraiyans seem to have acquired small extent of land by purchase as well. Employment opportunities as unskilled workers in the industrial sector which grew in Madras and its suburbs gave them some possibility of saving enough to invest in land in their villages. Some acquired land from savings accumulated while working in plantations in Malaya, Sri Lanka, etc, although their numbers in Chingleput are very small. The World Wars saw some Paraiyans enlisting in the armed forces, and they were also able to buy an acre or two. Despite all these measures and changes, land actually acquired by Paraiyans has been very limited and unevenly distributed across villages. *Cheri* after *Cheri* has legends to narrate on the long drawn out struggle to gain possession of land even when it had been officially assigned to them. Some common forms of harassment recounted include letting loose cattle to graze the fields of the Paraiyans just when the crops are ripe and ready for harvest; bringing them up for trial in the upper-caste council on trumped up charges and making them in unnecessary litigations and bringing about their financial ruin; and yet still, denying them irrigation facilities from village tanks. To survive such a hostile environment the Paraiyan landowner had to tread carefully, taking care never to appear 'uppity' nor appear as though challenging the authority of the upper castes, and never asserting his land owning status. The influence of these past difficulties is evident even today in the docile behaviour of Paraiyan land owners.

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HISTORY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU DURING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RULE

D. Bindu Ramani *

Education plays an important role in bringing changes in the society. Education in Tamil Nadu in ancient times was generally religious based and the languages used were Sanskrit and Tamil for orientation. Though the ultimate goal of education was to improve the intellectual, moral, religious and spiritual aspects, its aim was also to equip people for different professions and service to society. Hence, the study of subjects like fine arts, arithmetic, medicine, technical studies, received equal attention, and patronage. It enjoyed a status equal to that of literary studies. Likewise the indigenous education system was also largely influenced with the advent of the Europeans particularly the English, as western education was introduced by them. Through this paper, the emphasis is made on the importance of the History of Science Education in Tamil Nadu and its impact on the people.

The study of astronomy and allied sciences gained importance in India with the establishment and gradual expansion of the suzerainty of the East India Company. In 1792 Charles Oakley Governor of Madras had established the Madras Astronomy for promoting Astronomy and navigation in India.¹ Thomas

Deane Pearse (1741-1789) of the Bengal artillery undertook a series of observations of latitudes and longitudes from 1774 to 1779 and again from 1781 to 1784 during his marches to and from Madras in the Mysore war.²

First Observatory at Madras, 1792

The motive behind the British to develop astronomical sciences was their commercial interest and political ambition, for promoting the knowledge of Astronomy, Geography and Navigation in India,³ to know the latitude and longitude of India, and to expand their territories. Sir Charles Oakely the then Governor of Fort ST. George, established the observatory which came into existence in Madras in the year 1792. It originated from a small private observatory, started in 1787 by William Petries, as a Scientific members of the Govt.⁴ He had built an observatory at his private expenses, probably the first modern astronomical observatory in the East.⁵

Reason for the Development of Astronomical Sciences

The main reason for showing interest in astronomy was, the authorities of the company

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found it necessary to prepare accurate maps of the territories under their control and of the sub-continent in general. This required accurate determination of longitudes and latitudes of important places. The longitudes of the Madras observatory had a most important role as a fundamental meridian from which observations for longitude in the Indian survey were reckoned. The accuracy with which a map of India fits into a map of the world depends solely on the accuracy of the longitude, determination of the transit instrument pies at the Madras observatory. The work of the great Trigonometrical Survey of India commenced at Madras on 10 April 1802.

Invitation to Scientists

In 1829, the Governor of Port Louis (Madagascar) Colville invited the co-operation of Scientific men for the advancement of astronomy, he also requested the Governor in Council to allow the notice to be printed and circulated in the Presidency of Madras that such men as were occupied with these pursuits and were inclined to communicate with the astronomical observers at Port Louis, might avail themselves of the advantages which were likely to result from the combined efforts of many directed to the same objects of research.

Thomas Glanville Taylor held the charge as an astronomer from 1830 to 1848. He equipped the observatory with new and more powerful instruments and began the compilation of his star catalogue which in its final form was published in 1844. Furnished with much superior instruments he completed a general catalogue of 11,015 stars, founded on observations made at Madras during the years 1822 to 1843, which rendered his name familiar in astronomical annals.⁶

Origin and Growth of Western Medical Education

Before the arrival of the British in the 16th Century Allopathic dispensaries were established in Goa and Santhome in Madras by the Portuguese evidenced by the book "Simples and drugs of India" written by Portuguese physician Garicada Orta.⁷

The English founded in 1679 in Madras a military Hospital which is now known as Madras General Hospital. Until 1640, the East India Company imported Surgeons from Europe; some

of the Natives were also given training to work as hospital assistance.

In 1770, there was a great famine in India which affected most parts of the country. Famine continued for more than a decade followed by diseases and pestilence. The Ayurvedic and Unani systems of Medicine were not of much use in the event of wide spread diseases and deaths. So the western system of medicine had to be applied in India. From the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, efforts were made to impart western sciences to Indians. It was accelerated after the charter act of 1833 and Lord William Bentinck appointed a committee to formulate the principles on which the Medical Education should be based on. The committee came to a conclusion that the proposed medical curriculum should be ample, comprehensive, not intended merely to supply the wants of a state but a moral engine of great ability and power.⁸

The first medical college in India were established and administered by provincial Governments at Calcutta and Madras in 1835 and at Bombay in 1845.⁹ From the third decade of the 19th century onwards medical educations in India received the proper attention of the company's Government.

Stanley Medical College

The history of this Institution cannot be written without dealing with the history of Medical Education in Madras presidency, the origin of which can be traced back from the days of the East India Company. Fort St. George was built in 1640 and the Madras General Hospital was founded as the Military Hospital in 1679. Until 1940 the surgeons employed by the East India Company were the servants of the company and enjoyed concessions of commerce and colonization. The profession of medicine was only a secondary occupation for them. They employed the natives of the places as their assistance in the General Hospital and in the Military Hospital, and gave them some training in the art of healing, as they knew it.

The medical department of the company was first created in 1740. It as composed of British military surgeons and their assistants, the native doctors,¹⁰ who had no other qualifications except

some practical training at the military station Hospitals.¹¹ By the order of the company dated 7th Feb 1835 a military medical school was opened in Madras. In 1852, the school was raised to the status of a college. In 1856, it was recognized by the Royal College of Surgeons, London and in 1857 the Madras University was founded by the Government and the medical college was affiliated to the University.¹²

Madras Medical College

The Madras Medical College, Madras was opened as a Medical school by the Hon'ble Sir Frederic Adam K.C.B, by General order of Government, dated 13th February 1835 and school began its first session on the first of July 1835. The object of opening the Medical school was to make the medical subordinates more efficient in the performance of their professional duties and to give them more systemic course of study and training under capable officers than was possible under arrangements then existing.¹³

In 1850 on the representation made by the school council, through the medical board, a higher designation to the college was granted and from the 1st October 1850 the institution has been known as the Madras Medical College. The first

principal was Dr. James Shaco. In 1855-56, the course of instruction given at Madras was recognized by the Royal College of Surgeons, London. Thus, Medical Education and medical services have reduced the death toll due to epidemics in the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. In fact the native infirmary in the Madras medical school was started for the sole purpose of providing medical aid to the suffering poor in Tamil Nadu in the year 1872. The wide spread mortality in India due to epidemics like cholera and small pox has been reduced to a great extent after the development of western medical services and medical institutions. Malaria and other diseases have also been controlled with the development of Medical Education there has been a steady and systematic war against diseases by doctors equipped with weapons forged in the armoury of science. Mortality has been reduced by preventive cured curative measures.

The foundation of modern science in Tamil Nadu was laid by the Europeans. They introduced the scientific knowledge of the west and brought cotemporary science to Tamil Nadu. This changed the situation in Tamil Nadu and led to an intellectual awakening. The British East India Company rule in particular marked the beginning of a scientific revival in Tamil Nadu.

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GROWTH OF SCHOOL EDUCATION TAMIL NADU (1947-1963)

P. Venkatesan*

Introduction

Education is one of the most important instruments for removal of Poverty, Illiteracy, Superstitions and Economic inequalities exist in the society. It is a preparation of life. The teachers are the builders of the nation and the destiny of the country is moulded in the class rooms.

The main aim of this paper is to find out the policies and programmes adopted by the Government of Tamil Nadu for the growth of school education alone between 1947 and 1963. Besides it also analysis the language issue, and the specific attempts taken by Kamaraj and his ministry for the growth of school education Tamil Nadu.

The sources for this paper are collected from the Government orders of Tamil Nadu, Administrative Reports, Assembly Debate Reports etc. Records of Tamil Nadu Archives related to education and a few useful books are also referred.

Growth of Primary Education

In the Wardha conference in 1937, free and compulsory education with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in schools was recommended.¹ After independence the government decided to open schools in every village with a population of 500 or more.

In 1948, there were only 36 basic schools. In 1949, the government intended to convert all elementary schools into basic schools gradually. Basic education was evolved to prepare the folks to operate cottage industries and to work in the workshops in rural areas. Due to the continuous efforts of the government, there were 2000 basic schools in the state in 1954.

School Education under Rajaji

In July 1952, Rajaji introduced a new scheme of primary education in Tamil Nadu. By this new system Rajaji introduced shift system in schools with the hope of doubling the literacy rate with the same buildings and teachers. While one set of students was attending classes, another

would learn the traditional craft of their family. Rajaji hailed this system as a part of basic education.

E.V. Ramasamy Periyar called Rajaji's new system of education as "Kulakalvi Thittam" (Caste Based Education) which created a strong opposition to Rajaji from all sides.

In Rajaji's ministry in 1953, free education was given in the government schools upto fifth standard.²

School Education under Kamaraj

In 1954 Kamaraj became the new chief minister of Tamil Nadu on 13th April 1954. The first important decision taken by Kamaraj was to drop the controversial "Kulakalvi Thittam" of Rajaji and he restored the old system of education from the academic year 1954-55.³ Also Kamaraj decided to provide free education upto secondary level.

Kamaraj directed the local bodies to concentrate first on the provision of facilities for Elementary education until the areas within their jurisdiction were fully covered by an adequate number of elementary schools.⁴

Mid-Day Meals Scheme

To attract more children to schools, the Mid-Day Meals Scheme was introduced in Tamil Nadu. In 1946, the Mid-Day Meals were supplied only to the Harijans in the Harijan Welfare Schools.

In 1951-52, there were 1,313 Harijan Welfare Schools and nearly 81,505 students were fed in these schools. The cost per meal per student was 2½ Annas.⁵

Kamaraj wanted to enroll more children to elementary schools. To attract children towards the schools and to reduce the percentage of dropouts, he introduced this scheme of supplying Mid-Day Meals. It was first started unofficially in an organized form on a voluntary measure in July 1956.⁶

In 1957, Kamaraj placed the entire scheme on regular footing and subsidized it as part of the state education plan.

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By the end of second Five-Year Plan in 1961, the scheme was extended to all existing schools in rural areas. For this scheme 40% of the total cost was borne by the local public, 60% of the total cost was government's share.⁷

From the year 1961-62, the Mid-Day Meals Scheme was assisted by the American International Voluntary Organisation, CARE. This enabled the government to extend the scheme to urban centres also.⁸

By the end of 1963, about 4 lakhs of children in urban areas and 13 lakhs of children all over the state were benefited by this scheme.

Secondary Education

Secondary education has a vital role to play in the programme of education. It is the connecting link between elementary and higher education.

In 1947, there were 975 high schools in the undivided Madras State. Within ten years the number of schools rose to 2,200 in Tamil Nadu alone. In 1950, secondary education was reorganized and the new courses were introduced in 100 secondary schools. In 1951, the secondary education was further revised and provision was made for teaching some useful crafts.

In 1953, a "Secondary Education Commission" was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmana Swamy Mudaliar, the then vice-chancellor of the University of Madras.

During Kamaraj's rule the secondary education was again reorganized on the basis of the report submitted by Dr. A. Lakshmana Swamy Mudaliar. The new scheme provided opportunity for a student to learn mother-tongue or a classical language and Hindi besides English.

Diversified courses were also introduced in the secondary schools with the object of providing technical education at the secondary level. This made secondary education not merely academic, but also technically oriented. Under this scheme Engineering, Textile Technology, Agriculture, and Home Science etc. were included. These courses were started from the academic year 1956-57.

The report of the state secondary education commission also made provision for the new pattern of secondary education, which came to consist of 11 years of which 7 years were spent at the primary level followed by 4 years of higher secondary stage. This new pattern provided for subjects like Mathematics, General Science and Social Studies under compulsory subjects.

It was in the year 1962-63 XI standard was started abolishing the old SSLC class. The opening of XI standard forced the government to face heavy financial crisis. So, the government decided to reorganize the school education as follows.

1. From standard I to V, formed primary course,
2. From standard VI to VIII formed upper primary course and
3. From standard IX to XI formed secondary course.

School Improvement Conferences

A new experiment was under taken in February 1958, by the government to improve the conditions of schools. Particularly in the remote villages in rural areas where many of the schools were housed in sheds without proper equipments and sanitary conditions.

To improve the conditions of the schools, a scheme known as "School Improvement Movement" was launched under the guidance of the Director of Public Instruction. Under which people living in a locality contributed to the all round improvement of the schools. Their contributions were of many forms - money, materials, clothing to children, gifts of land and building, furniture and equipments, supply of books, writing materials to the children etc.

This scheme was first started at Kadambattur village, in Chingleput District, in February 1958. By 1963, about 160 conferences were held covering about 24,565 schools. By the year 1962, some of Rs. 6.5 crores was collected through the people's voluntary efforts for the improvement of school buildings and promotion of education.

Single Teacher Schools

In 1957, the government decided to open schools in school less centers. The government of

Tamil Nadu also adopted the scheme proposed by the government of India to promote primary education in rural areas by creating single teacher schools.

Under this scheme, relief was provided to unemployed youth force in the rural areas. Especially, Kamaraj's Ministry made considerable progress in promoting primary education by creating more single-teacher schools in school less centers.

Teacher Training Schools

The government of Madras realized the need to provide for more trained teachers to meet the demand of primary and secondary education. It came forward to open more number for training schools both for men and women. In 1953-54, there were 140 training schools of which 76 were for men and 64 for women with a total intake of 19,250 scholars of both sexes.

Compulsory Education

In 1960-61, the compulsory education scheme was introduced to prevent discontinuations in between classes and make such children complete the elementary course.

According to this scheme every child in an area already enrolled in a school in any of the first five standards, was not permitted to be

withdrawn until the completion of class V or attainment of 12 years of age which ever was early.

Every child living within a distance of one mile from a school in that area who had completed 6 years of age but had not completed 7 years was enrolled compulsorily, if the child was not enrolled voluntarily in the previous years.

Free Uniform Scheme

In 1960, the Education Department provided necessary funds to supply free uniform to school children.

The schools grew with the generous public support and the numbers of children receiving free uniform rose three fold within 5 years. The scheme started with 3.6 lakhs children in 1961 and which increased to nearly 9.4 lakhs in 1966.

Conclusion

After Independence the congress chief ministers of Tamil Nadu gave their support to the spread of Basic Education. They implemented the policy of opening elementary school in every village with a population of 500 or more. As far as the school education is concerned the rule of Kamaraj was the "Golden Age of School Education". Each and every part of school education achieved specific growth.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MADRAS PORT TRUST BETWEEN 1981 TO 1991 A.D

M. Muthukumar*

Introduction

The Madras Port Trust which is located in Chennai plays an important role in the development of maritime trade between India and the world. The progress of the Port Trust

contributed tremendously for the growth of the economy of the Tamil Nadu in Independent India. In this paper an attempt is made to discuss the trading activities and the financial position from the celebration of the Centenary year to 1991 A.D.

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Centenary Celebration of the Madras Port Trust

The Madras Port is an artificial one, constructed in 1881 A.D. It has completed its 100 years of history in 1981 A.D. Sir Francis Spring became the Chairman of the Madras Port (1904-1919) to implement the plans and designs, and the founder of the Madras Port Trust in 1905. The year 1981 is an eventful year for the Port of Madras. In the year, 1981 being the Centenary year, an International Maritime Conference was organised from 11th to 13th February 1981 in the distinguished presence of Shri. C.P. Srivastava, Secretary General, International Maritime Organisation, London. A special postal cover was released by the Hon'ble Shri Veerendra Patil, Minister for Shipping and Transport on 12th February 1981. An International Athletic Meet was organised at Madras during March 1981. For the first time in India and International Marine Equipment Exhibition was held from 5th to 20th December, 1981 in which a number of countries exhibited their products.¹

Under the provisions of the Major Port Trust's Act, 1963, the Port Trust Board was re-constituted with effect from 1st April 1982.² The year 1984-85 was an impressive year with progress all round. There was growth in traffic; increase in financial resource. The Port has become a terminal in operational Port. Sailings from Australia low terminate at this Port. Direct sailings are available to Ports of Australia, Japan, USSR, UK, Continent and Far East Countries. Regular sailings are also available to USA, Africa, South America, Middle-East and Gulf countries.

Trade of the Port

Traffic

Traffic in Madras Port has increased an all time record of 10.45 million tonnes in the year 1981. The export traffic was 3.96 million tonnes. And the import traffic was 6.42 million tonnes. 0.07 million tonnes was transhipped during the year.³ In 1991 the total traffic of 24.52 million tonnes consists of 14.12 million tonnes of imports and 8.65 million tonnes of exports, besides the transshipment throughput of 1.75 million tonnes.⁴ As container traffic in Madras Port was going up from year to year, the Port developed a fully equipped modern container terminal. There was quantum jump in container traffic in Madras Port during the years

from 1983-84 to 1986-87. It was during this period that Madras Port commissioned its containers terminal with its quay, modern equipment and back-up area. Till recently Cabbotage law applied and only Indian vessels were allowed to transship containers from one Indian port to another. This has now been relaxed.⁵

Shipping

Before the opening of the Suez Canal foreign trade with India was carried almost exclusively in railway vessels. Since that event the importance of steamers increased continuously. The new dock, however, had the serious constraint. The berth has draft of 12.8 m. The maximum tide variation is 1 m. The full-fledged container terminal came to the actual cost Rs.38 crores. On December 18, 1983 the terminal was inaugurated by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.⁶ Later the Master Plan study of Madras Port also recommended expansion of container handling facilities in Madras. In 1985 the capacity of the refinery was raised to 5.6 million tonnes. A second Oil berth was commissioned in 1986.⁷ The shipping tonnage rose from 26.05 million GRT to 26.27 million GRT registering an increase of 15.30%⁸ while constructed Bharathi dock had depth varying from 12 to 14.6 m. An area of acres has also been reclaimed under the scheme. It was completed in April 1986. The cost involved was Rs.26.56 crore. The project was financed under bilateral aid agreement with the Netherlands Government.⁹

Financial Position

Assets and Liabilities

Madras Port has been consistently good financial results. There has been increasing profit of the Port. Over a period of ten years from 1981-82 to 1991-92 the profit increased from Rs.7 crores¹⁰ to Rs.88 crores, more than twelve times. Reserves and surplus of the Port increased from Rs.97 crores in 1982 to Rs.500 crores in 1991. Cargo handling storage and container handling storage and container handling fetched income of Rs.75 crores. The main expenditure was on salaries and wages which came to 50% of the total operating expenditure in 1990-91. 18 stores accounted of 17% depreciation 11% water and electricity 3% CISF 3% and other expenditures 10%.

Development Works

In 1981, was started the pre-appointment training for the marine workers to be appointed. An Intergrated Management Development Programme has been introduced during the year 1981, employing a combined technique and action oriented training.¹¹ A Fisheries Harbour to provide haven to Modern Ocean going crafts and trawlers will prove a boon to the fishing industries in Tamil Nadu. The Port is constructing a Fisheries Harbour to accommodate 50 trawlers and 500 Pablo in the initial stage and 150 trawlers and 500 Pablo boats in the final stage with facilities on shore, like auction and packing halls, freezing plant and slipway.

In 1982, an Anti-Pollution Cell functioning from November, 1982 to inspect the ships on conditions tending to pollution and or observance of anti pollution regulations. A comprehensive check list prepared in this Port is signed by the master of the vessels after such check.¹²

In 1982, the Madras Port has been selected by the Government of India for developing a full fledged container terminal. The development was planned to be taken in two stages. 1. To provide store based container handling equipments, 2. To provide an exclusive container terminal, designed to International Standards, to handle third generation cellular vessels.¹³ The Port Trust has taken up the construction of a multi-storage building within the administrative office complex as the existing area is not sufficient. The estimated cost of the project is Rs.2.30 crores and the work is scheduled to be completed by September, 1985.¹⁴

Social Service Cell

The Social Service Cell created earlier analysed the problem of alcoholism among the employees of Madras Port Trust and Madras Dock Labour Board during the 1984. Another cell was created to survey to the health hazards.¹⁵ The

cargo Workers Training Centre was also created in 1984. The National Institute of Port Management was formed as a society of 20th November 1984 and registered at Madras during February, 1985 under the Tamil Nadu Societies Registration Act 1985.¹⁶

Marketing Cell

The Port has India's first lull fledged container terminal, with container handling capacity of 75,000 containers per annum. The Cell is also engaged in popularity the land-bridge concept and firmly establishing a direct link between the shippers in Northern India and Madras Port Trust in 1985.¹⁷ Marketing Division is organising various "meet the Trade" and personal contact programme between the users of the Port. Marketing Division has introduced a Port Bulletin titled "Counsel" from November 1986 onwards providing information, facilities, pricing documentation problems confronting the user's agencies etc.¹⁸

In 1988, construction of Satellite Port for transport of coal to the North Madras Thermal Power Project of the Tamil Nadu Electricity Board, at Ennore. Tamil Nadu Electricity Board has undertaken the development of the North Madras Thermal Power project at Ennore under Asian Development Bank Aid. The coal required for the above project will have to be transported from coal mines situated at Talcher Mines in the state of Orissa by rail to Paradip Port and from there to the proposed Satellite Port at Ennore by sea.

Conclusion

As natural conditions of Madras were not well suited for trade, costly efforts were made to provide a harbour in its exposed shore. But after the formation of the Madras Port Trust, well development of the economy of Tamil Nadu and also regular trade from the Madras to any other country improved a lot. So we must preserve our Port and foster our overseas trade.

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CONDITIONS OF FAMINES IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY FROM 1800-1900 - A HISTORICAL STUDY

P. Kala*

The distinctions, disparities and disabilities actually involved in any particular state in various respects can be identified by the study of the social and economic structure of the time. In the same way, the study of the economic structure of the Tamils during the end of 18th and beginning of 19th century will disclose the economic nature of the society. In Tamil districts the land and caste played a significant and predominant role in bringing out the economic and social changes.

As agriculture was a gamble of monsoon, the failure of monsoon, frequent flood, famine, and drought paved the way for its deteriorated condition. The water resources arranged were also misused. There was no scope for any other employment apart from agricultural pursuits. The farmers were moving from one place to another in the form of immigrants. This was the practice which took place in the 19th century largely.

The famines in Madras Presidency caused deterioration in the agricultural sector. The frequent famines from 1781 affected whole economic system of Madras and the other Southern districts.¹ In the Jaghire, large number of the people perished and those remained were migrated. Most of them sold their farms for any rate they could obtain. During 1865-66 and 1876-78, widespread famine affected the agrarian prosperity of Madras.² It was estimated that 3.5 to

4 million people died. Further from one eighth to one tenth of the rural population was severely affected. The causalities met by human beings and cattle had their own repercussion in agriculture.

To identify the general conditions of famines, to assess the nature of famines from 1800-1900 and to analyze the impact of the famines in Madras are the aim and objectives of this study.

As remarked by Place, cultivation was reduced to about half owing to want of hands to work due to the famine. The government took certain relief measures such as free dining. At one time about 4000 people were fed in the free dining. But they still kept on pouring gradually and about 9,000 had to be sent away to northern Madras where the availability of grain was abundant.³

The agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, and small farmers suffered due to the famines in Tamil Nadu. The agriculturist in North and South Arcot, Madura, Dindigul, Chinglepet, Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts felt considerable distress.⁴ In Madras more than 17,000 perished and the loss of cattle was heavy that it was impossible to convey adequate supplies to the stricken areas.⁵ In Chingleput alone, it affected five times. Fifty per cent of cultivated area in this region was affected by the famine.⁶ Thus, the agriculturists of the Tamil country had to withstand the natural calamities.

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But they could not respond to them effectively. During 1805-1807, 1865-66 and 1876-78 the farmers of the Tamil country were severely affected by the famines and that led to the indebtedness of economy in Madras Presidency.

The British Government was aware of the famine conditions and took steps to avert the loss of human life. The administrators carried out necessary prompt and effective measures. Beyond such measures the horrors of nature caused distresses and miseries.

The loss of human life due to famines worsened the economy. The droughts and floods due to inconsistent monsoon too brought havoc to this region. The destructive flood, which often visited, in Tamil country to had its own impact. The first flood is recorded in December 1809. Then the Cauvery and Coleroon and the Uyyakondon channel banks got breached and the whole of neighbouring tracts were flooded.⁷ Another flood at the beginning of the cultivation season of 1817 in the Cauvery and Coleroon damaged their banks and not less than 837 places in Madras Presidency were affected totally.⁸

The value of the crops lost was estimated at about four lakhs of rupees. The damage, which affected many of the fields, was by sand deposited by the floods deposited.⁹ In 1819-20 nearly 55 villages in Lalgudi taluk were completely swept away and the entire crops were totally lost. In the Chintamani taluk of Trichinopoly district the crops utterly destroyed and many people were either washed away or drowned.¹⁰

In the British occupied Tamil districts there were severe distresses due to natural calamities such as bad seasons, lack of rainfall, heavy flood and drought, repeated famines, etc. No part of the agricultural economy was spared. The loss of life of human beings led to chaos, turmoil and disorder in the society.¹¹ The loss of cattle was immense and the farmers became entirely destitute of the means of living. Such problems led to emigration, rioting and plundering and followed by epidemics.¹²

In 1870 Lord Mayo the Governor General of India endeavored to improve the conditions of the agriculturists. The Agricultural Department

was created in 1871. This new department was to take cognizance of all matters affecting the practical improvement and development of the agricultural resources of the country.¹³ Richard Temple pointed out that the success of a Central Department depends upon the support given to it by the provincial departments, which functioned under local governments in every province.¹⁴ This paved the way for improvements in the village establishments. The land record system was put into operation for compiling and collecting the annual agricultural data and statistics of every village in various provinces.

The provincial agricultural departments had to maintain the records and data to be used as references in the future. The examining and inspecting authorities of the land records and village maps got particulars from them.¹⁵ The agricultural analysis made then indicated not only the circumstances and conditions of each tract, but also the production yielded at times of natural calamities. That in turns beneficial for the improvement of the agricultural system.

The agricultural analysis made then indicated not only the circumstances and conditions of each tract, but also the production yielded at times of natural calamities. That in turn was beneficial for the improvement of the agricultural system. The famine commission has reported "any special organization which may be required to meet the exigencies of famine or to enter into any new field of agricultural experiments, a permanent agency should be closely associated with the existing authorities in each province for the systematic prosecution of agricultural enquiry. The importance of this view, which directs attention to those duties of the agricultural department, which must precede any attempt at agricultural improvement, has been far too greatly overlooked".¹⁶ The resolution quotes the words of famine commissioners "the success of an agricultural department would mainly depend on the completeness and accuracy with which agricultural and economic facts are collected in each village and compiled in each sub division and district throughout the country ... the department would thus naturally acquire that very knowledge, which it has been the main efforts of a settlement staff to attain".¹⁷

Without doubt too a permanent department of this kind would in course of time, become more competent to deal with questions of settlement demanding as they do an intimate acquaintance with agricultural conditions, than any temporary department forced to gain a hurried experienced at great cost to the country during the

actual process of assessment". The Famine Commission endeavored to solve this problem in a different way with the assistance of the newly created departments. But it should be remembered here that these departments at the initial period of their introduction not at all directly benefited the agriculturists.

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MADAM K.R. CAMA - A REVOLUTIONARY WOMAN IN INDIAN POLITICS : 1861 - 1936

J. Jeyakumari Gnanadeepam*

An attempt has been made to study Madam Bhikaji Rustum K.R.Cama Revolutionary Women in Indian Politics: 1861-1936. This is done in order to understand the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 which furnished a political platform to women. It was in the year 1900 that Swarnakumari and J. Gangoli attended the congress session held in Calcutta as delegates from Bengal. Smt. Gangoli was the first women to speak from the congress platform. This was perhaps a beginning of the new era and then onwards the women took an increasingly active part in the political activities of the country. There was no mass awakening amongst

the women at this time but there was some sort of movement spreading slowly in them.¹

The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the revolutionary activities in the political field. Bhikaji Rustum K.R.Cama openly supported the cause of the revolutionaries and rank amongst the outstanding leaders of this period.

Madam Cama was born on 24th September, 1861.² She was the daughter of Sarrajji Framji Patel, a famous merchant and man of means of a large family.

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Parsis by then were in the forefront of business, education and industry and no less in philanthropy. Young Bhikaji education was completed in Bombay at the Alexandra Parsi Girls School.³ After leaving the school she devoted herself to the mastery of some foreign languages which was useful to her in later life but from the beginning she was rebel and a nationalist. She was married to the son of K.Rustom Cama, a Parsi reformer, who made a name in the presidency. A rich handsome social worker and lawyer but ideologically they were poles apart. Mr.Cama adored British and loved their culture. But about the British rule their opinions were differed. To the husband England was heaven; the English man was God himself.⁴ He was the view that there was no power which would excel or even equal the British rule. But in Madam's view the British were tyrants who were sucking the blood of India; they were the polished deceivers, the unprincipled people who had invaded India to suck blood till the body was a just of bag of bones. Madam Bhikaji now a full fledged nationalist always believed that British had fleeced India, and practiced worst form of imperialism. She had thousand and one reasons to present how India was kept in object poverty by the British to help themselves to become the most powerful country in the world of that period.

Their marriage proved to be incompatible. Madam Cama meanwhile plunged in several social activities. Plague broke out in Bombay Presidency at that time and she was in the forefront of voluntary team which strives to save miraculously. She was left very weak and was advised to go to Europe for rest and recuperation.⁵ She went to Europe in 1902. Madam Cama spent a year in Germany, Scotland and Paris before settling down in London.⁶ These wanderings were perhaps a prelude to her political career. By the time she was back in London the seed of revolutionary party had already been sown by patriots like Shyanji Krishna Verma.⁷

Bhikaji Cama came in contact with him who inspired her to join the revolutionary movement whole heartedly.⁸ She had perhaps, already made up her mind to dedicate her life to the cause of her motherland and started the

work in a systematic manner. She took immediate steps to establish contacts with nationalist of Ireland, Russia, Egypt and Germany.⁹ She was mindful of the handicaps of the extremists at home and supplied them revolvers concealed in toys ostensibly sent as Christmas presents.¹⁰

When it was announced that the international Socialist Congress was to meet in Stuttgart (Germany) in August 1907, Madam Cama was quick to grab this opportunity to acquaint the cosmopolitan gathering with the conditions prevailing in India. A thousand representatives from several countries were attending. An Indian lady in a colorful sari was a rare phenomena in those days and her majestic appearance and rare and clear words made everybody think that she was a Maharani or atleast a princess from a native state.¹¹ Her speech on that memorable occasion dealt with the lives of the dumb millions of Hindustan "who are undergoing terrible tyrannies under the English capitalism and British Government".¹² She said that 35 million pounds were taken annually from India and consequently people, in India died of poverty. At the end of the speech she unfolded the Indian National Flag. Thus Bhikaji Cama was the first Indian who unfolded the Indian National Flag in a foreign country before an international gathering.¹³ The flag was composed of horizontal strips of red, yellow and green. The red strip at the top had eight white lotuses embossed on it in a row. On the yellow strip the words Vande Mataram were inscribed in deep blue in Devanagri characters. The green strip had a white sun on the left and a white crescent and star on the right.¹⁴ She served as private secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji a great Indian leader in the forefront of national movement. She came in contact with several patriots, students and Europeans intellectuals who were sympathetic to Indian cause during this brief period. She herself played a dominant part in promoting freedom struggle.¹⁵

Madam Cama did a Yeoman's task for the election of Dadabhai Naoroji to the parliament. She was the first lady to sit in the House of Commons.¹⁶ Her Paris home became a shelter for world revolutionaries. Even Lenin, the father of Russian Revolution visited her house and

exchanged views.¹⁷ Then she left for America where she was to launch a vigorous campaign to win the sympathy of the people of that great republic for her just and sacred cause. On October 28, 1907 Madam Cama addressed the members of the Minerva Club at the Waldorff Astoria hotel in New York and asked their help for political enfranchisement of India. She said "The people here know about the conditions in India under the English Government. Our best men are sent to prison like criminals, and there they are flogged so that they have to go the prison hospitals. We are peaceful, we do not want a bloody revolution but we do want to teach the people their right and throw of despotism."¹⁸ She addressed meetings at several places.

In November 1908, Madam was back in London and addressed the gathering at India house. Her speech was printed in a leaflet; copies of which are afterwards sent to India in large numbers. In a message to the youth of the country said: "March forward friend! and lead our helpless, dying, downtrodden children of motherland to the goal of Swaraj in its right sense. Let our motto be, 'we are all for India for the Indians'.¹⁹

Madam Cama was an apostle of unity-whether she addressed the Muslims, the Hindus - her watchword was that they should fasten the ties of brotherhood that relation between the countrymen should be firm and resolute without bringing in the question of religion.²⁰ She preached the sermon of non-cooperation in a far off land and exhorted the Indians not to accept any office however high it might be under the British Government.²¹ By now Madam Cama's activities were widely known and the British Government began to look upon her as a dangerous revolutionary whose aim was to overthrow the British rule in India. The detectives were set to follow her like a shadow. She moved to Paris and left London in May 1909. She was associated with S.R. Rana,²² Shyam Krishna Verma and other revolutionary leaders. Madam Cama interested herself chiefly in the business of preparing and forwarding to India seditious literature in the form of leaflets. And then generally in assisting with advice and what was probably more important with her money. She was at this time the recognized leader

of the revolutionary movement and was said to be regarded by the people as a reincarnation of goddess *Kali*.²³

In 1907 when the renowned Indian journalist and revolutionary. B.C.Pal, editor of *Swaraju*, was prosecuted for his seditious writings. Madam Cama felt the need of having a press of her own away from the clutches of the British Government. Then she shifted to Paris in 1909. To carry on the required propaganda work she started her own paper the *Bande Mataram*.²⁴ This journal was supported by voluntary contributions. The famous press act was imported to India by the bureaucratic government in 1910. By virtue of this act several editors were sent to Jails. She encouraged her countrymen and wrote in Vol.1, March 1910, of her journal that press Act was a confession on the defeat on the part of the Indian Government and attributed to the efficiency of the revolutionary party. It was emphasized that the act would not affect the future of the cause since revolutionary journals and books were printed abroad.²⁵

In another article in 1911, Madam appealed to the Indians in Europe to make the best of their stay in the west, by taking all kinds of physical training.²⁶ Copies of this journal found their way to America, Egypt and Many parts of Europe and India. At one time nothing less than 426 copies were intercepted at the Oxford post office.²⁷ Madam Cama was so popular in socialist circles in Paris that when V.D. Savarkar's ²⁸ arrest and recapture became known she used her influence with such effect that the Vir Savarkar was at once taken up in the socialist paper. She engaged socialist advocate Jean Languet to watch the proceedings of the Hague Tribunal on Savarkar's behalf and represent him there.²⁹ Madam Cama also contributed literally to the Abhinav Bharat Society.³⁰ This society was started by V.D. Savarkar in India and in London which was responsible for the murder of Jackson, at Nasik, later through V.V.S.Aiyer in Pondicherry of Ashe in the Tirunelveli District.³¹

So the British Government was alarmed. The Governor General issued orders for the interception of Madam Cama's mail. A thorough check was made on all the seaports. But her leaflets and parcels reached India via Pondicherry.

The British Government made another check on her activities in 1910. She was declared an absconder from justice under section 88 criminal procedure code on non-execution of warrants. Her property worth one lakh of rupees was attached.³²

After that, Madam Cama fell seriously ill in 1914. After reaching Bombay, she was hospitalized at this time she helped in distributing copies of the Gujarat Ghadar and carried on copious correspondence with the Indian revolutionaries in all parts of the world.

Madam Cama continued her work in the face of all these difficulties till the toil of years rendered her invalid. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who visited her during his European tour in 1926, wrote in his autobiography: "we saw Madam Cama, rather fierce and terrifying, as she came up to you and peered into your face and

point at you and asked abruptly who you were. The answer made no difference for she formed her own impressions and stuck to them, despite facts to the contrary"³³

She died on 13 August 1936 at Bombay. This brave lady who sacrificed her all for the liberation of her motherland and spent practically her whole life in exile in a far off land, was amongst the pioneers of the freedom struggle. The birth centenary of Madam Cama was celebrated few months ago. The stamp now being issued bears a portrait of the great women leader who dedicated her life to the cause of Indian freedom. The posts and telegraphs department feels pride in paying tribute to a person who made such valuable contribution to the cause of Indian - Independence whose ideals she summed up in her famous words: "India must be free; India must be republic India must be united".³⁴

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EMERGENCE OF INDIAN RAILWAYS IN MADRAS AND TANJORE, 1853-1947 : A STUDY

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Madras Railway

The British introduced Railways in Chennai during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor General of India. Railway communication was introduced speedily throughout India for political, trade and military reasons. The Madras Railway Company was established in Madras on 22nd December, 1851.¹ By the end of 1859 eight railway companies had been formed. The Madras Railway Company was allowed to construct railways in South India on a contract basis. Among the lines sanctioned by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, the first railway line to be opened in South India was between Madras, Vyasarpadi and Arcot in 1856.² Royapuram was selected as a main terminus of the railways because it was very close to Harbour and Customs House. A branch line was constructed from Madras Central to Perambur, where the Integral Coach factory was located.³

Integral Coach Factory

The Integral Coach Factory planned and equipped with more than 1000 latest type of machinery and plant, was one of the biggest coach building units in the world. Modern methods were introduced in the shops to obtain regular manufacturing flow. For effecting economy in cost and ensuring trouble free-production, thousands of figures and fixtures were specially designed for manufacture and assembling.⁴ In 1963 about 8600 persons were on the pay rolls of this factory of whom 4350 worked in the shell unit, 1750 in the

furnishing annex and 2500 are engaged in design, planning, production, housing, construction and other ministerial work. True to the ideals of a welfare state, the Integrated Coach Factory has provided to its workers all the basic amenities of a modern city life.⁵ The staff work not only in clean, healthy and well ventilated shops but care has also been taken to give them wholesome and nutritious food through canteens run by workers committees on a co-operative basis.⁶ For the first time in India the manufacture of all steel broad gauge coach body was undertaken by the Integral Coach Factory, Perambur near Madras. The design was pioneered by Messrs. Swisscan and Elevator Manufacturing Corporation Limited, Zurich.⁷

Traffic Training School

In the Traffic Training School, Madras 11 courses of training for railway staff were held for the benefit of Station Masters, Assistant Station Masters, Signal men and Senior and Junior Guards. In 1943 the numbers of staff trained were 224 of whom 177 came out successful in the examination held. In the Telegraph Training School, 96 employees and 24 telegraph probationers were given training in telegraph and 99 of them passed creditably. At the request of the Andhra University one of their graduates was given training in transportation work and he attended the Assistant Station Master's course in the Traffic Training School.⁸ The arrangement of giving a course of training in Perambur shops to prospective Junior of Loco and Fuel Inspectors to fit them for eventual

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appointments as Loco Foremen was continued. In addition to the above training, for railway employees, the training of personnel for Railway military units was also undertaken from November, 1941. Upto 31.3.1942 the following staff were trained and returned to the military authorities.⁹

Assitant S M.	11
Drivers	3
Clerks	10
Firemen	17
Section Controller	1
Pointsmen	62
Guards	51
Porters	4
Telegraph signaler	7

Tanjore District

Tanjore was unusually well supplied with railways, all of them on the metregauge. The South Indian Railway the route between Madras and Tuticorin, traversed the District from North to West, passing through the towns of Mayavaram, Kumbakonam and Tanjore.¹⁰ The mainline from Madras to Dhanuskodi ran via Sirkali, Mayavaram, Kumbakonam, Papanasam and Tanjore Taluk. This line entered the Tanjore District at Coleroon from where it run via Nidamangalam, Tiruvarur and Nagapattinam upto Nagore.¹¹ A railway branched off from Mayavaram and ran Southward as far as Arantangi for a total distance of 99 miles. This was constructed jointly by the District Board and the Government as far as Muthupet and was owned by them in common till 1890 when the Board acquired the exclusive ownership by purchase and constructed the further extension to Arantangi. The funds for its original construction and for the extension later were raised by the levy of a cess of three pies per rupee of the assessment on land in occupation, in addition to the cess of nine pies per rupee collected for local purposes under the Local Boards Act.¹² Vallam was Central place with a population of 10,000 surrounded by many villages. It was one of the important business centres in the Tanjore District, Aimuallly 40,000 bags of groundnuts and 20,000 bags of red grams were exported from here.¹³ This town is 7 miles Southwest of Tanjore. It is a small pilgrim centre and attracts people from the adjoining villages on Sundays in the month of Karthigai and Avani. The residents of Vallam about 62 persons sent a

petition for constructing a railway line. Finally the line was constructed at the cost of 1½ lakhs.¹⁴

The Tanjore-Pudukottai line was constructed at the cost of Rs. 17,27,000. The traffic of the Tanjore Pudukkottai line passed the following stations: Surankottai 5 miles, Uluvur 9 miles, Orathanad 13 miles, Papanad 20 miles, Enadi 24 miles, Pudukottai 29 miles. In the beginning the line was stopped at Papanad. In 1934 Rao Bahadur P.S. Rajappa, the Zamindar of Papanad and a Member of the District Board adopted in January 1934 a resolution requesting the agent of South Indian Railway, to extend the line upto Pudukottai town. Finally the line was extended upto Pudukottai. This line was not only very important for the development of the area commanded by the Kaveri-Mettur project but also for affording better marketing facilities for the surplus products raised in the existing delta.¹⁵ Another line from Mayavaram proceeded to Karaikudi in the Ramanathapuram district passing through Peralam, Tiruvarur, Tiruthurai pundi, Pattukottai and Arantangi.¹⁶ This line was constructed in Sections, upto Muthupet in 1894, upto Pudukottai in 1903 and last to Karaikudi in 1905. In 1905 a survey from Tiruthurai pundi to Vedaranniyam, 21 miles was constructed.¹⁷

From Nagore to Tanjore the line passed through Nagore, Kadambai, Velippalayam, Customs house, Nagapattinam, Sirkali, Nivalur, Kuthur, Karaildial, Peraiyar Road, Tirunalar, Ambagarattur and Peralam. From Peralam a branch line built in 1898 took off to point Calimere. The last line was built in two Sections, first upto Agartyampalli in 1919 and then upto point Calunere in 1936.¹⁸ The Nidamangalama-Mannargudi Railway of the Tanjore District Board was opened for traffic on 15 February 1915. From the report it will seen that the outlet to end of August, 1915 was Rs.491775-3-9 the estimate of Rs.52168-0-0 and that the remaining assets and liabilities subsequently adjusted amounted to Rs.24752.¹⁹ In 1904-5 the Tanjore District Board Railway constructed 99.46 miles which had cost Rs.46.33 lakhs and the net earnings were 2.61 lakhs of 5.64 percent against 4.58 percent in the previous year. The railway carried 16,02,994 passengers and 498340 tonnes of goods. The capital expenditure upto 31 December 1904 amounted to Rs.4632763 and the net earnings to Rs.261364 yielding a dividend of 5.65% on the

capital outlay.²⁰ There was a railway agency at Tiruvaiyar for passengers, parcels and goods served by Tanjore Junction and an out agency at Tirukkatupalli for parcels and goods served by Budalur railway station.²¹ There was also an out-agency at Vallam for parcels and goods served by Tanjore Junction. Proposals were made for extending a short line from Tanjore to Pillaiyarpatti quarry at Vallam, but that had fallen through on the same grounds.²²

A unique feature of the railways in Tanjore was that with the exception of the main line from the Coleroon to Tanjore and the extension from Agasthyampalli to point Calimere and Arantangi to Karaikudi, all the Railways in the district were constructed by the District Board. The Tanjore District Board was the first Local Board in the Presidency to embark boldly on a risky and costly enterprise like the construction of railways.²³ The idea was suggested by one of its earliest Presidents, H.S.Thomas. As early as 1878 he recommended to the District Board to take up the scheme, urging that the railways would never become a constant drain on the public purse like the roads and that the maintenance of them would be paid for much more accurately than in the case

of roads by the people who used them. The funds required for the construction of the railways were shared equally by the District Board and the Madras Government.²⁴ The Board provided its share by setting aside one quarter of the ordinary land and it could very well afford to do this as the cess was levied at one anna per rupee of land assessment, while the ordinary expenditure of the Board required its lay at the rate of nine pies per rupee. Subsequently it repaid the Government contribution and became the sole owner of the railways. It however delivered all the lines for working to the South Indian Railway on certain conditions.²⁵ The last of the lines constructed by the District Board was from Mayuram to Tranquebar in 1926. All the lines constructed by the District Board were taken over by the Government of India in 1929. The expenditure incurred by the District Board was then treated as part of the share capital of the South Indian Railway and guaranteed a minimum dividend of 3½ percent. These shares now fetched a very good return upon the capital. In 1945-46 for instance their dividend. The British not only introduced railways in urban areas but also step by step expanding the railways from one place to another in South Tamil Nadu.

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ERADICATION OF CASTE: MISSIONARIES' EFFORTS AND CHRISTIANS' RESPONSE

R. Antony Paul*

Introduction

The European Christian missionaries when they started converting the natives of Tamil Nadu from 17th century onwards found many social evils like caste, exploitation of women, slavery and illiteracy widely prevalent among the natives. While some missionaries especially the pioneers found it essential to allow such evils especially caste among the converts in order to enable Christianity to take deep roots in the Tamil soil, some of their immediate followers and many later evangelists tried to hold big stick against such allowances. Ever since the Jesuit Missionary, Father Robert de Nobili the founder of the Catholic Madura Mission had begun his missionary efforts in Tamil Nadu in 1606, he understood clearly that conversion sans caste marks was highly impossible and for that reason admitted caste distinctions among the native converts. Christin Frederick Schwartz was the first Lutheran Protestant Missionary who allowed the same, caste distinctions like the Jesuits, on various occasions of marriage, social gatherings, funeral ceremonies, burial, worship in the churches, schools boardings and seminaries and in the establishment of exclusive Christian villages or settlements. The missionaries had a smooth sail till they allowed such non-Christian practices. Other missionaries who considered such a situation as against the true Christian values of love and brotherhood opposed it tooth and nail, yet in the midst of stiff resistance by the caste Christians. This article tries to trace out such circumstances of missionary encounter with these established social evils and the response of the caste Christians to such efforts during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries A.D. in Tamil Nadu.

Some Early Allowances

As far as a tolerant policy towards caste practices was followed, the caste Christians were obedient and respected their missionaries. Father de Nobili instituted the Sannyasi Mission to convert the brahmins. Later separate missionaries

called pandarasamys for the sake of sudras were sent in 1623 to avoid pollution and to up keep the caste purity of the caste Christians. Later when the sudras did not like the pandarasamis serving the outcastes, the superiors of the mission appointed separate missionaries for the paraiyas and such a lenience very much pleased the sudra Christians. As a consequence in 1744 a separate Paraya Mission was established. Pope Benedict XIV gave an edict in the same year to this effect. Jesuit Fathers Ferdinand Pimenta and Antony Duarte from the coast became the first paraiya missionaries.¹ Separate paraya Churches were also built. The caste Christians like the vellalas and mudalis and canars in some places were adamant and tried to show up so as to prove that they did not give up the hallmarks of caste by embracing Christianity which was looked down upon as the religion of the paraiyas, the outcastes. Father Thomassini in Vadakkan Kulam allowed caste distinctions among the Christians there, in 1752 and even dug an exclusive well for the vellala Christians. For his services, the vellala Christians, raised a monument for him after his death in 1775. Schwartz in Tanjore allowed no tension to mount up, through his flexible policy. The preference was given by him for the sake of peace. He drank wine out of the same cup after all sudras and paraiyas had drunk and tried to make the sudras realize their mistake. However when the missionary refused to permit distinction or tried to associate or mingle with the low castes tension mounted up.²

The Early Efforts of Eradication and Mounting Tension

Though the Jesuits were decidedly flexible in their approach towards the problem of caste, some among them who tried to put an end to the odious distinction, met with failure. The earliest effort was taken by Fr. Balthazar da Costa in 1644, despite the warning of Fr. Nobili. His attempt misfired and ended in the imprisonment of Fr. Emmanuel Martin his companion in Trichy, with 6 brahmin Christians. Fr. Manuel Alvarez, a

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visiting Portuguese missionary was unmindful of this drastic event, tried to give sacrament to a paraiya in Trichy. He was captured and marched through the town riding a donkey, sitting backwards. This was the reaction of the caste

Christians, whenever missionaries violated caste rules.³ Fathers Simon Carvalho, Antonius Dias and Xavier Maria Borghese in the beginning of the eighteenth century, also suffered as they had slighted the social restrictions of the country.⁴

At times the conceited Sudra Christians compelled their missionaries to chastise those Christians among them, who continued their contact with the paraiya missionaries. When the missionaries refused, they rebelled. As a result the missionaries had to vacate their station taking shelter in some other residences. In 1749, the sudra missionaries of Nandavanampatti were in such deep waters. They took shelter in the Marava and returned only after peace had been restored. During that time the Sudra Christians of the Marava fortunately supported the missionary who took refuge, for his bold stand.⁵ Exactly for this reason Fr. Thomassini S.J. had to leave Avur in 1751, as he did not permit, the vanniya and the nayak Christians to observe distinctions against the paraiyas.⁶

The Resistance of the Sudra Christians of Vadakkankulam

When the priest supported or associated with the low castes, the high castes created problems and wanted a change of priest. This is what had happened in Vadakkankulam in South Tirunelveli district between 1818 and 1824. Fr. Francis de Miranda, a Goan priest was in close association with the the canars. The vellala and mudali Christians disliked such closeness between the priest and the canars, who in some places were treated as outcastes in those days. They got offended highly at the Priest's permission to the canars to come to the altar to receive the Communion. Fr. Francis, forbade the vellalas and mudalis to conduct 'House Marriage', a marriage ceremony in which they observed the rites of Brahminical Hindu religion to show their caste superiority.⁷ He compelled them to use wedding rings instead of tali a nuptial cord tied around the

bride's neck and demanded the couple to be married, to take a nuptial vow by telling each others name audibly. He pronounced curses on those who performed House Marriage after the non-Christian manner.

The vellala catechists supported the new privilege conceded to the canars, as the canars were generously paying them. These catechists along with the priest were condemned by the vellalas and the mudalis.⁸ On the Christmas night of the year 1821, when the canars as permitted by the Priest approached the altar to adore the image of newborn Jesus, the vellalas created a commotion, called the catechist names and manhandled him for his abetment in the scandal.⁹ A case was filed by the priest and the vellala Catechist in the village court at Perungudi, against the high handedness of the vellalas. The vellalas were insulted, as they had to stand, clasping their hands in front of the canars, during the trial. Due to this insult many of them joined the Protestant Church under the care of Rev. Malte, a LMS (London Missionary Society) missionary in South Travancore. Others sent a deputation to Sarugani near Ramnad, to appeal to the Bishop of Pondicherry to send them a French missionary who would respect their caste position.¹⁰ The sudra udayar Christians of the Marava (Ramnad), who had the same problem also joined the delegation with the vellalas under an elderly person namely Sinnamuthu Udayan from a village called Kalladitidal. The judgement in the case was in favour of the vellalas. It ordered that the House Marriage customs can be continued by them and cancelled the new stipulation of wedding rings instead of talis. But is safeguarded the new privilege of the canars on the ground that in so far as they were allowed to come to the altar once, they would continue with that right but through a hole, on the side wall and not through the vellala's portion.¹¹ By this new privilege, the relations between the two Christian communities became worse. The priest was advised to be congenial to the vellalas.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a dominant group of vellala Christians of Sarugani village in the Marava opted for the change of priest. They preferred Fr. Vedapodagar a Goan priest to Fr. Clare, a French Jesuit for the

latter discouraged caste distinctions against lower castes. The nayak Christians of Avur near Trichy supported the vellala Christians, in maintaining their superior status.¹²

The Protestant Christians Were No Exception

Like the Catholic Christians the high caste Protestants also used despite their missionaries' protests, different types of talis and mentioned their caste titles in the wedding bans to be read in the church, on the three Sundays that came just before the marriage day.¹³ Their marriages were celebrated with intemperate feasts, procession of tomtom, music and all kinds of heathen peculiarities. Bishop Heber who was informed of such customs among the Tamil Christians, never took them serious, and dismissed them as harmless.¹⁴

Yet some of the SPG missionaries after 1825 had to be hard and forced their caste Christians of Tanjore to abstain from such heathenish caste based usages. The Christians, during marriages, resisted on the ground that parting with distinctions would cut them off from all social intercourse with their people and as such respectable marriages would be impossible to arrange, for they would be denounced as Paraiyas. They also argued that without the use of garlands at marriages and Indian musical instruments in the church, their marriages would not be solemn. When the missionaries persuaded them many left the Protestant Church.¹⁵

Exceptionally in some towns the stiff Christians yielded. Among the Lutherans Rev. Christian Phole in Trichy and Rev. Rhenius in Tinneveli set their face against caste among their Christians. He also objected to the lenience of Schwartz in appeasing the caste Christians.¹⁶ Yet Rev. Rhenius was one of the earliest Lutheran missionaries to make a decided stand against the observance of caste beyond the pale of the church, inside his seminary. As discussed above, he closed the seminary for one year and reopened it in 1822 only on the assurance of the Sudra parents that their children would not observe any distinctions in the seminary. The first among the seven vellala seminarians who had earlier challenged Rhenius in 1821 came back weeping and begged for readmission. Following him the

second Sudra scholar also rejoined with a promise that he would obey all the rules of the seminary. The strength of the seminary increased from twenty to twenty four and Rhenius strictly disallowed caste distinctions among the seminarians.¹⁷ Perhaps the haughty and worldly wise sudra Christians would have found in their perception a rare superiority that the blessings of missionary education would confer upon them which might as well serve as a springboard to further their upward social mobility as against the one already enjoyed by them as illiterate members of the caste Hindu community.

In Tanjore the Sudra Christians were forced to abandon caste. Those who opposed the hard-line of the missionaries sent appeals in 1823 to Bishop Most Rev. Reginald Heber in Calcutta to relieve them from such difficulties. They implied threats to leave the church, if their demands were not met. Heber convened a meeting of all the South Indian missionaries in 1824 as to be explained, on the nature of the caste and its effect on Christian life. Twenty four missionaries from eight different missions including Kohlhoff and Rosen of SPCK,¹⁸ Rhenius and Schmid of CMS,¹⁹ attended it. Of all only one thought that, caste had done no harm and it should be allowed.²⁰ Heber sent a pastoral letter which was humble in spirit, requesting the sudras of Tanjore to give up their proud notions as it was against the quintessence of the Gospel. He also advised the pariyas to carefully abstain from every expression or habit which might excite disgust in their high caste brethren.²¹ He also wanted reports to be sent on the improvement of conditions. But he died in 1826 before he could do something to better the conditions.

Unlike Heber, the next Bishop, Most Rev. Daniel Wilson, had a decisive campaign against caste. He sent a pastoral letter on July 5, 1833, to all the protestant missionaries of India that the distinction of caste must be abandoned immediately and finally. He demanded the repudiation specifically in the contexts of allotting seats in the church, administering of Holy Communion, receiving all the Christians equally into the church by the country priest, admitting the low caste catechists into the sudras' houses, staying of the high caste catechist in the inferior

castes' villages, selection of godparents irrespective of caste and allowing the low castes to bury the dead in the grave yard of the high castes.²²

But for Tinneveli district, the Christians of other districts opposed the decision of the Bishop, tooth and nail. A noisy confusion prevailed among the Tanjore Christians when Rev. Kohlhoff read the letter in the church in 1834. All in the employment of the mission were warned to comply with the requirements of the letter. As a result, only one of the four country priests, 60 percent of the superintending catechists, only about 10 of the general body of catechists and school masters conformed. The dissidents sent a memorial to His Excellency the Governor of Madras to interfere but Bishop Wilson maintained that the civil authority had no part to play in the matters of ecclesiastical discipline. The Bishop visited Tanjore on 1 October, 1835. He had difficult conferences with the non-conformists. Yet he was

able to make twenty of them to take their seats near the paraiyas. In Trichy he led a little group of Christian paraiyas to the front seats, where they sat with the sudras.²³ In Tirunelveli district, the canars did not object much, for they formed the majority of the Christian villages like Mudalur, Nazareth, and Sawyerpuram.²⁴ Whereas in Tanjore and Trichy many high caste Christians relapsed to Hinduism.

Missionaries Had to Be Flexible

The missionaries' hope that time would decrease the acute caste consciousness of the Christians failed in the face of severe retaliation from the side of caste Christians themselves. Besides backsliding here and there among various congregations, many caste Christians somehow remained in their new faith by observing their own social customs and practices that the missionaries were not able to uproot for the sake of sustaining their missions in India.

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5. Lr. of Fr. Julius Ceasar Potenza, to Fr. General, dt. 20.9.1750.
6. L. Besse, History of Malabar Province, Vol.III, Madras, 1946, p.727; Their demand was made in accordance with the Bull of the Pope Benedict XIV, which allowed the practice of the distinctions known as Malabar Rites.
7. The vellala and mudali Christians never tied talis inside the church during the mass. Instead, they got them blessed by the priest and took them safely to their houses. Then in a marriage canopy erected before their house, the bridegroom would tie the tali around the brides neck with all the ceremonies involving superstitious beliefs. Heathenish customs like breaking coconuts, drawing circlets around the head and daubing the forehead of the couples with ashes though forbidden by the Catholic Church, were followed in the House Marriage of the caste Christians as tokens of the retention of their superior position.
8. To condemn the infamy brought to the caste of vellalas by the Catechist Yagappa Pillai through his close association with the canars, a verse was composed by one Mariadoss Pillai who was the accountant of Mr. Bilder beck, a European businessman, resided at Vadakkan Kulam. The verse reads thus.

"Canaroduravadi Inattarukku Nahaippe Seitan"
 Also Fr. Francis Miranda was derided as
 "Annavi Signor Murantak Kurumuniye" i.e., Teacher and Monsignor

- Miranda: You are a dwarfish cunning sage. Quoted in S. John Devasahayam, *Savarirayan Munnor Carittiram* (The Ancestors of Savarirayan Pillai), Palayamkottai : 1897, p.63.
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JUDICIAL ORGANISATION IN MADRAS UNDER BRITISH PERIOD - A BEGINNING

G. Karuppuchamy

The early settlements of the company in India had very poor administrative set up and till 1726, the judicial system therein was even poorer. However, in course of time, for the administration of their factories and settlements, as of necessity, some legal and judicial system had to be developed. But the growth of justice system in each of the three presidency towns followed altogether different course and there was no uniformity whatsoever in its growth among these centers.

Beginning of British Justice in Madras

Francis Day was regarded the founder of the city of Madras. He built fort St. George in 1640 on the site given to him by the local Naik Venkatadri, whose territory lay between Pulicat and Santhome.¹ The English East India Company which gradually became a territorial power and established its hegemony. The administration of the territory which came under the British became their responsibility. It was remarkable that from the infancy of the settlement at Madras the British

Government paid due attention to the administration of justice.²

To begin with Madras was given the status of an agency. Its administrative head was called the agent. He administered the settlement with the help of a council.³ The English factories in Madras, in the initial period, derived authority over the area under their control from two sources : (1) the charter of the company under which they carried on their operations in India and (2) the grants from the country powers which conferred on them lands and privileges from time to time. The earlier charters of 31 December 1600, 31 May 1609 and 4 February 1622 gave the company power only to make reasonable laws for its own government and to "chastise and correct all Englishmen committing any misdemeanour in the East Indies".⁴

The Charter Act of 1661 and the First Jury Trial

In order to ensure justice and maintain law and order King Charles II issued a charter on 3

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April 1661. The charter specifically authorized the Agent or Governor and council to judge all persons including natives under their power in civil and criminal cases according to the law of England. The Charter had an important bearing on the evolution of judicial system in India. It brought, for the first time, all the people both natives and foreign under the company's control.⁵

This step was important because the Charter vested judicial power in the Governor and not in the agent and the council. Also, the full authority however, for the introduction of British law in India was granted by this Charter. Now the Governor and council were armed with power to decide cases of all nature.⁶ The first trial by jury in Madras was the trial of Mrs. Ascentia Zawes, when - Foxcraft was made the first governor of Fort St. George. The jury consisted of six Englishmen and six Portuguese.

Thus, from 1639 to 1661, two separate bodies were administering justice at Madras. The agent and council were the judicial authority for the English people residing in Madras and the indigenous people were under the jurisdiction of the Choultry court. In March 1678 governor Streynsham Master Council resolved to establish a court of judicature for the trial of civil and criminal cases by jury deriving authority from the charter of 1661. It was decided that the Governor and Council were to sit as a court of judicature in the chapel in the Fort St. George every Wednesday and Saturday. They had to try and determine all civil and criminal cases according to the law of England with the help of a jury of twelve men. This court was formally inaugurated on 22 March 1678.⁷

Along with this, the Choultry court was also reorganized. It was decided to replace the native 'Adigars' as they had involved in corruptive practices. Henceforth the Choultry court consisted of the company's servants (mint master, customer, paymaster or any two of them) sat twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays. It tried petty cases and civil actions upto fifty pagodas (a gold coin valuing Rs.3). All other cases and appeals from the Choultry court were heard by the Court of the Governor and Council with the help of Jury. Thus a hierarchy of courts was established in Madras with their respective jurisdictions specified.⁸

Under the provisions of the Charter of 1683 a new court was established in Madras on 10 July 1686. It was called the Admiralty court. The company sent the qualified lawyer in July 1687. Till then the Governor was appointed to be the judge advocate. Sir John Biggs, a professional lawyer was sworn in as judge-advocate on 28 July 1687.⁹ The Admiralty court in practice came to function as a general court of the land. It was not confined merely to maritime and admiralty cases proper as was envisaged by the charter. It exercised a much wider jurisdiction and dispensed justice in all cases-civil, criminal, maritime and mercantile. The governor and council thereafter relinquished the judicial functions which they had been exercising hitherto under the charter of 1661 and ceased to sit as a court. The year 1687 was thus considered to be important for two reasons. Firstly, a professional lawyer came on the scene to administer justice. Secondly, the executive gave up judicial functions in favour of the admiralty court. The court was assisted by a jury in criminal cases, but not in civil cases.¹⁰ The admiralty court was to be regarded as the forerunner of the high court of judicature of Madras.

Mayor's Court

In 1688 yet another court was set up in Madras. The town of Fort St. George and the surrounding territories within the radius of ten miles were made to be a corporation by the company's charter of 30 July 1687.¹¹ It was customary in England in those days to confer judicial power on municipal corporations. The Mayor and three senior Aldermen of the corporation formed themselves as court of record known as the Mayor's court. This courts started functioning in 1688.¹² The Mayor and Aldermen were called as justices of peace. They tried all civil and criminal cases arising within the corporation limit according to equity and good conscience. The Mayor's court punished offenders with fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment. In civil cases valuing over three pagodas and in criminal cases when the offender was sentenced to loss of life or limb, appeals from the Mayor's court were to lay to the Admiralty court. In all the other cases the decision of the Mayor's court was final.¹³

The year 1726 is a landmark in the judicial history of the presidency town of Madras as well

as of Calcutta and Bombay. About forty years after the company's charter of 1687 the crown attempted to re-model the corporation and Mayor's court. King George I granted a charter on 24 September 1726 which gave a new life to the evolution of judicial institutions in the three presidency towns. Prior to 1726 the judiciary in each of the presidencies followed a course of its own without any uniformity. The judicial system thus grown was hardly satisfactory. The charter of 1726 provided for the establishment of uniform judicial institutions for the first time in the three presidencies. The charter established similar civil and criminal courts in all the three presidency towns. They derived their authority not from the company but from the king, the fountain of English justice.¹⁴

In Madras the charter of 1726 was put into operation on 17 August 1727. In terms of the charter, the Mayor's court was re-constituted. The Mayor and nine Aldermen were to be a court of record by the name of the Mayor's court of Madraspatnam or within any of the factories subject or subordinate into Fort St. George.¹⁵ The charter of 1753 also created a new court called the court of requests, at each presidency town. It was to decide cheaply, summarily and quickly the claims of value less than five pagodas (Rs.15) to help the poor litigants who were mostly Indians. The charters of 1726 and 1753 introduced technicalities of English law and procedure and forms of English judicature in the presidency towns. But the system of 1753 was not without defects.¹⁶

Recorder's Court at Madras

In an attempt to remedy this defect, atleast partially, the British parliament enacted an Act in 1797. It authorized the crown to issue charters to establish a recorder's court at Madras and Bombay. King George III issued a charter on 20 February 1798 authorizing the company to establish recorder's court at Madras. The recorder's court at Madras started functioning in November 1798. It consisted of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a recorder. The recorder was to be appointed by the king. He was required to be a Barrister of England or Ireland of not less than five years standing. He was to be the president of the court. The jurisdiction of the court extended to civil, criminal, ecclesiastical and admiralty cases. All British subjects-residents within the British

territories as well as those residing in the territories of native princes in alliance with the government were brought under the jurisdiction of the court.¹⁷ The recorder's court absorbed into itself the Mayor's court existing under the charter of 1753. The first recorder at Madras was Thomas Andrew strange. The position of the recorder was next to the governor. The British parliament entertained a view that the judiciary should be separated from the executive in India. It also wanted to extend the judicial system of Bengal to Madras and Bombay with the Supreme court as the central court. The parliament still held the view that judicial administration in India should be served for the British crown.¹⁸

The Supreme Court at Madras

Under these circumstances, the Recorder's court had a very brief period of existence. The king, by letters patent issued on the 26th December 1800, abolished the recorder's court and authorized the erection of the supreme court at Madras. It came into being on the 4th September 1801. Sir Thomas Andre Strange, who was already working previously as the recorder, was appointed its first chief justice. The two other puisne judges were sir Henry Gwillim and Benjamin Sullivan.¹⁹

The Indian judiciary was the creation of the British as they had not inherited any such institution from the rulers of pre-British India. The English administrators had realized the importance of having a sound judiciary to better consolidate political and administrative measures. Hence they had started their task of evolving a judicial system from the beginning of their administrative career. Thus the responsibility of dispensing justice fell on the Englishmen simultaneous with the acquisition and administration of territories by the East India Company. The administration of justice did not seem very intricate. But with the growth of the settlement and the expansion of the presidency, the suits multiplied in number and diversity. New legal issues sprung up and the inability of the existing courts to deal with them hampered the administration of justice. In consequence parliament enacted fresh legislation from time to time either for establishing the new courts or improving the existing ones. These trends in the judicial organization of Madras were particularly conspicuous in 1798-1802.

The early courts were manned by non-lawyers who were mainly traders and merchants. They did not have any judicial training. They were too much under the control of the executive. They had followed the Hindu and Muhammedan laws and customs to deal with the Hindu and Muhammedan litigants and English law towards the British. As the judicial officers did not know the intricacies of laws which they were supposed to follow, justice came largely under their discretion. They had depended on the doctrine of equity and good conscience, which led to vast degree of inconsistency in the decisions. The situations had slowly started changing from 1687. The first

professional lawyer Sir John Biggs came to administer justice in that year in the admiralty court of Madras. The judiciary began to be freed from the executive control. But the establishment of Mayor's court in 1688 and its re-constitution in 1727 once again drove the judiciary under the control of the executive. The establishment of supreme court at Madras in 1801 had set the judicial system of the presidency in a firm footing. All the judges of the court were barristers appointed by the crown. They had followed English law and procedure and with this the executive control over the judiciary came to an end.

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EMERGENCE OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN MADURAI

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Introduction

The formation of Trade Unions and Socio, Economic and Political conditions of Labour in Madurai forms the theme of this paper. Madurai has its own glorious history regarding culture and religious heritage.¹ The events during the later parts of the 19th and the early parts of the 20th centuries directly and indirectly caused the formation of the Labour Union.²

Tamil Nadu played a vital role in the origin and development of Trade Union movement in India.³ When V.O. Chidambaram organized Textile mill workers Union in 1905 in Tuticorin mill, it was the first Trade Union Association in the history of Trade Union movement in India. Because it was then only without any fear and shy all the workers united together under one union and willingly participated in strikes and agitative activities. After

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the formation of this union, the workers of Buckingham and Carnatic Mill,⁴ united under the leadership of B.P. Wadia and he formed the Madras Textile labour Union in 1919. But the high court of Madras granted an injunction restraining the Madras Textile Labour Union from interfering with in the business.

Buckingham and Carnatic Mill

This decision resulted in the breaking of the union but the workers had to suffer in the absence of freedom of association and on the right to voice, their grievances and to agitate for their redresses.⁵ It was with the avowed purpose of granting these rights to the working classes that a bill was later-introduced in the Indian Legislature which finally led to the enactment of the Trade Union Act of 1926. This Act has its own limitations but it protected the rights to form trade unions. These factors favoured the trade union movements in Madurai.

In early times, there was only one Union Madura Labour Union was formed. But after the first world war, Russian Revolution of 1917, Buckingham and Carnatic mills workers strike and formation of Madras Labour Union there arose several unions in Madurai. Among them AITUC, TUC, INTUC, MSCITU, Dravida Pajhalai Thozhilalar Sangam, etc., emerged and now these unions are played a vital role for the betterment of the labourers of Madurai.

The Formation of Madura Labour Union

The organization of Madura Labour Union in 1929 marked the climax of several factors and reasons at work both internally and externally. Internally the workers in Madurai were living in poor conditions. The living conditions of workers in mills and factories were very worse to the costs. There was no freedom to express their problems and grievances. There was no sanitary facilities and other welfare activities, etc., The growth of Labour unions in India and the consequent strikes elsewhere in lot of mills in India, the impact of first world war, the trade Union legislation, freedom movement in India, the visit of Royal Commission on Labour and growth of Industrialization of British Government formed the external causes and factors.

The origin of Madras Labour Union may be traced from the religious institution. Because it was founded and organized by Chelvapathy

Chettiar and Ramanujulu Naidu⁶ for the promotion of spiritual thinking among the Hindu workers. Under these groups, B.P. Wadia a member of the Theosophical society worked for the welfare of the industrial workers. After consulting workers he organized a meeting on 11th April 1918 and formed the Madras Labour Union.⁷ The workers of Madurai also tried to form a similar Union for their welfare. In 1918, a strike broke out in Madura Mills under the leadership of J. Ramanathan with in a very short period all the workers supported this formation a Union. But the government of Tamil Nadu prohibited his activities about the strike with in ten miles of Madurai. Consequently they organized Labour Union in Madurai under the leadership of M.T. Subramanya Mudaliar as president.

Causes Leading to the Formation of Madurai Labour Union

After the end of First World War labour conditions were developed. International labour organization was organized in 1919. It changed the existing acts and conditions regarding labour and management. In 1922 an act of amendment was passed by British Government. In India, this act provided for some reference. It was followed by the workmen's compensation Act of 1923. This was the first measure of social security introduced in the country on the basis of all India.⁸ The workers who were injured by machinery were protected by this act. This act also provided for the payment of compensation to the injured workers. After some restrictions, the act was passed in 1923, and it came into force in 24th July 1924. Following this act the condition of workers in factories and mills were improved by the managements. Also there was no strike and agitative activities in Madurai Mills and Factories upto 1926. After a long period of sustained effort the Trade Unions Act was passed on 25 March 1926. This Act was a turning point in the history of the working class movement in Tamil Nadu. It revived not only the inactive labour unions but also gave impetus to the involvement of politicians, in the movement. The above act which came into force on 1st June 1927⁹ provided immunity to the registered unions from civil suits and permitted voluntary contribution to separate political fund of Labour Union".¹⁰ It permitted the unions to make use of its fund for the benefit of the workmen in general, which included the organization of the unorganized workers.

However the unregistered unions were not brought under the provisions of the Act of 1926. Hence this act was criticized by Lala Lajpatirai, D.P. Sinha and other Trade Union Leaders and Politicians. But the workers took advantage of the limitations of this Act and encouraged the formation of rival Unions. The absence of the provision to make the employers to recognize the Unions compulsorily was an indirect incentive to them to ignore the unions which they did not like. For instance the management of Madura Mill recognized a rival union that was newly formed with a limited strength. After 1926, it provided the registration of trade unions. It also encouraged the trade union leaders to form trade unions. In 1929, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission on Labour in India with J.H. Whitley as Chairman and Eleven Members.¹¹ Its main object was to collect data on the working conditions of Industrial labourers in India for making some reforms to the welfare of the workers. It visited all over India and gathered data about labour problems and the sanitary conditions in mills and factories. The workers' conditions and facilities were enquired by this commission during the visit of Madras Presidency. Infact this commission supported the workers and trade union leaders to form the trade unions. Leaders of the various trade unions registered their old trade union and made reformations.

The above developments induced the trade union leaders to form the Madura Labour Union with the help of B. Sinha Rao of Madras Labour Union Member and President in 1926 and S.R. Varadarajulu Naidu the Madurai Labour Union was revived on 17th November 1929, and B. Sinha Rao as President, and S.R. Varadarajulu Naidu as Secretary.¹² Following this there was the formation of various trade unions in Madurai and other areas within short period the workers of the Papanasam Mills also organized there own Labour Union under the leadership of S.R. Varadarajulu Naidu. The workers of the Madura Mills and other Cotton Mill workers united under the leadership of P. Ramamurthi and they formed the Madurai Textile Workers Union in 1944.¹³ The Madura Mills textile workers union organized a strike in 1944. It was organized by the Madura Labour Union. Madura

Labour Union criticized the Governments standing order of 1921 and also cooperated with the workers strike of Tuticorin Textile Mill and Papanasam Mill.¹⁴ With the help of Papanasam Mill workers union and Textile mill workers Union of Madurai and Tuticorin, Madura Labour Union organized an association for the welfare of the workers. It was established in Harvipatty near Tirupparamkundram. It did some welfare activities for the benefit of mill workers and other factory workers of Madurai. The formation of Madura labour union in Madurai encouraged trade Union Movement.¹⁵

Formation of Indian National Trade Union Congress

From 1920 onwards, the communists tried to establish their control over workers. Also the All India congress committee tried to stop the communists from exerting their influence over the workers. Hence the All India Congress formed the Indian National Trade Union congress on 3rd May 1947 under the Chairmanship at Sardar Vallabhai Patel.¹⁶ The branch of INTUC, Madurai was organized under the leadership of R.Venkattaramayyar and it soon gained the strength and patronage of the congress party in 1948. The Government recognized INTUC as the Chief representative organ of the Indian working class. After the attainment of independence and the formation of Congress ministry in Tamil Nadu it gave the working class movement a face lift in Tamil Nadu.

In emergence of trade union movement in Madurai was slow but gradual. Initially the workers attempt for the formation of labour union foiled by the managements of Madura Mills, other mills and private factories. Following the trade union Act of 1926, the activities of trade unions developed in Madurai among the working class people. The working class people formed the Madura Labour Union in the year of 1929 in Madurai after a great struggle. The formation of this labour union in Madurai have augmented labour unrest among labourers in Madurai. The communists party utilized this chance this and played a leading role for the formation of various labour unions in Madurai. When INTUC was formed in 1947 Madurai had its own branch.

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ROLE OF THE PANCHAYAT RAJ IN THE PRIMARY EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL NADU

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A true and stable democracy must begin at the grass root level. By this people can manage affairs in their own little communities. The efficient and success of democratic local Government depends very largely upon the interest, the public likes in and the support it give to its activities. The rural administrative system comprises of three tires. They are panchayats, panchayati samiti or panchayat union and zilla parishad or district administration. In this Panchayati samiti or panchayat union played more important role than the other two institutions in regard to social and economical development in rural areas. The panchayat is an important old institution which undertakes increase number of developmental works in the villages.¹ This paper deals with the works of the Panchayt Union in the educational administration.

Transfer of Primary Education Subject to Panchayati Raj

After independence the Congress Government which believed in "India lives in Villages" and took many welfare measures

including education for the rural people. It took a policy decision for partially transfer of education subject to the newly set up Panchayat Raj. In 1962, the Government of Madras State had partially transferred the education to Panchayat Samiti or Panchayat Union. By which, maintenance and establishment of primary schools was handed over to Panchayat Union. Further Panchayat Union also exercised its control and supervision over primary education through its committee. This committee consists of some members of the Panchayat Union and some co-opted members.² The executive officer entrusted with the administration of education was the Block Development Officer or Vikas Adhikari. He was assisted by one or more Education Extension Officers and Assistant Educational Officer (AEO). Curriculum text book and system of examination was concerned with the Directorate of Education. Teachers were recruited by district establishment committee and appointed by the Panchayat Union from the list of approved candidates. Transfers were made by the BDO who could also impose minor punishments to the teachers. Educational

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Extension Officer and Assistant Educational Officer (AEO) were the immediate officers to the Head Master and Teachers of Primary Schools.³

A Study on Functioning of Panchayat Raj in Educational Administration

To assess the impact of the transfer of education to Panchayat Raj bodies, a committee was appointed by the Government in July 1965. The committee obtained factual information from Panchayat unions and ascertained the views of different categories or persons like Block Development Officers, Educational Extension Officers, Assistant Extension Officers, Officers of the Education Department and Teachers. The replies showed wide divergence of opinion between the elected representatives of Panchayati Raj Institutions on the one hand and teachers and officers of the education department on the other. The elected members viewed that the experiment had achieved many good results, such as improvement in the attendance of teacher, regular and quick disbursement of salaries and an enhancement in the interest shown in education by the local community.⁴ They did not generally speak and uphold the view that the morale of teachers had been adversely affected and they did not concede that there were many political pressure underlying on postings and transfers of teachers. They did not think that the standard of teachers had deteriorated. They complained that the officers of the education department did not take enough interest in primary education and provided little guidance to the teachers or the Education Extension Officers. The other respondents were of the opinion that the attendance of teachers had improved and their salaries were disbursed regularly. The moral of teachers had deteriorated lamentably that the teachers had got involved in politics for postings and transfers. This was done on arbitrary basis and often on political grounds. On this basis a large majority of teachers were strongly in favour of abandoning the experiment and re-transferring the administration of primary schools to the department of education.

Advantages

1. An interest in the development of primary education had been awoken in the minds of rural population.

2. A new leadership had emerged, which compensates by boldness and enthusiasm. These new leaderships were Panchayat Presidents and Panchayat Union Chairmen etc.⁵
3. Attendance of Teachers had improved as on the spot supervision was exercised by Panchayat Raj authorities and Panchayat President.
4. There had been a marked improvement in the enrolment of pupils in primary schools in Panchayat union managed schools.
5. A close contract has been established between the school and the community. This enabled the people to understand that there had been a closer link-up between education and other aspects of life, like health improvement, agricultures and community development.⁶

Disadvantages

1. The teachers have been demoralized by frequent and arbitrary transfers. Even though the state had made a rule that no teacher should be transferred within a period of two years without the previous permission of the District Establishment Committee. This rule was observed more in the breach than in observance. According to the committees reports in nearly 200 Panchayat Unions there were 6367 teachers constituting 27% were transfers in a year in 1964-65. There were 3605 teachers were disturbed and transfer within a year of their posting and 2762 were disturbed within two years. One teacher, unfortunately, disturbed more than 10 times in a year. The Panchayat Unions had regarded the transfers as a kind of punishment and also there were no guide line or convention for transfers.⁷
2. The second factor leading to deterioration in the morale of the teachers was that a teacher became victim of pressure politics. The basis loyalty of the teacher was to his pupils and frequent case of flouting the authority of education administrations by teacher who has a favourable personal equation with Panchayat Union Chairman and President of Panchayat were also reported in the committee report.⁸

3. The Education Committees of Panchayat Union which administered primary schools on behalf of Panchayat Union were not able to function effectively owing to the low competence of the members, out of 1548 members of the standing committees on education only 592 were below the age of 35 who were expected to be progressive in their outlook and experience in public activities. 835 members were between 35 and 55 years and 121 members were above 55 years. Among them those who were educated below the 5th standard of school education was 1352 and 196 were below matriculation qualification. Further nearly 12.5 percent of the members participate in the meeting regularly and 20.7% did not participate at all. Large number of meetings were only for 15 minutes. It was only formal meeting without any hard discussion and questioning.⁹
4. Recruitment of Teachers has been made by district establishment committee consisting of members of Panchayat Union District council service commission, collector etc. Half of this establishment committee members should attend for selection of regular teacher appointment. This had been found very difficult to bring majority members of meeting. These committees had not been able to meet frequently. So the Panchayat Union had often to make temporary appointment under the emergency powers vested to them. This appointment had to be regularized afterward. Union Chairman began to act as boss and pay masters. This resulted in the recruitment of teachers without required qualification and standard. There was nepotism in the appointment of teachers. In short this system of recruitment was opposed by all section of people and the system of recruitment had not worked well.¹⁰
5. Teachers have not been able to get the necessary technical guidance. The Panchayat President and other members of Panchayat union visit the school from time to time. Such visits would have some value for purpose of checking the irregularities and absenteeism on the part of teachers.¹¹ They had hardly technical significance. They became more of a nuisance than a help and hinder the teacher from working continuously. Technical guidance

could come to the teacher directly from EEO and AEOs but they were spare for inspection of standard of school children with less span of time. But most of the inspection time they were compelled to inspect administration and non-education work which education department officers had to do.¹²

6. Panchayat unions had not been able to raise substantial finance for school improvement or maintenance. They had not been able to meet their 50% share of the non-teaching recurring expenditure of schools which they are required to pay. The Panchayat union complained that it was not fair of the Government to ask them to meet any share of the recurring expenditure. Before the transfer Government used to meet the entire expenditure.¹³ Why they should not continue the same practice. This resulted in the financial break down of Panchayat union. It was unable to pay monthly salaries of the teachers for many months and school improvement programme stand still. This resulted in the teachers pray and petition for taking over of schools. This resulted in the take over of school administration by education department.¹⁴

Finding and Suggestions

1. For effective supervision primary education should be under the administration of the Panchayat Union.
2. Selection and recruitment of teachers should be made by statutory body for whole of state on the basis of qualification and standard.
3. Some officers should be recruited by the school education department specially trained to check the standard of the children of primary schools. Their reports should send for primary education department for punishment and rewards.
4. Syllabus, curriculum and examination system framed and designed by Primary Education Department with the consultation of educationalist.
5. Financial administration of school education should be in the hands of State Government. Both recurring and non-recurring expenditure
6. should be handled by the Government.

7. Local village committee should be formed to look after the functions of schools and regular attendance of the teachers. Their view and

panchayat union committee views should be correlated for any punishment and reward to the teachers.

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RAMASETHU : MYTH OR HISTORY?

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Now the well orchestrated (?) opposition to the Sethu Project is based more on religious grounds than on environmental reasons. The submerged chain of sand dunes across the Gulf of Mannar are mischievously presented as 'living evidence' of Rama's military bridge for the invasion of Lanka. It is considered, Sethu - Rama's bridge - is not only holy but also historical.

Those who argue that Rama's expedition to Ceylon was a historical fact, occurred some 1750000 years ago and this submerged sand dunes across the Gulf of Mannar were nothing but the remnants of the manmademilitary bridge caused by Rama, quote only some Sanskrit verses and European references of 18th century A.D.

For example a logo adopted in the Survey of India in 1767 mentions "Aa Sethu Himachalam" which is interpreted by them as 'India spread between Rama Sethu and the Himalayas' and a Raman koil has been shown on in 1747 map made in the Netherlands, called the Malabar Bowen map

and a 1788 edition old Map of Hindoostan, available in the Saraswati Mahal Library makes a reference to it' are basic evidences produced by the supporters of Rama Sethu.

The logo mentioned above reads 'Aa Sethu Himachalam' and not 'Aa Rama Sethu Himachalam'. The word 'Sethu' in Sanskrit by itself does not imply Rama Sethu. In fact Sethu means a water reservoir or lake or seas or oceans. Only Sethubandanam would mean controlling or bunding of waters i.e. bridge; hence Sethu is not synonymous with bridge. Though the antiquity of the phrase 'Aa Sethu Himachalam' is not established it can only be sensibly interpreted as 'the land between the seas and the Himalayas'.

That Ramar Koil has been shown on a 1747 map made in the Netherlands (the Malabar Bowen Map) is in no way relevant to the Rama Sethu issue. The question in dispute is not the Rameswaram temple, but only the mythological Rama's bridge.

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They live outside the towns separate from other people on their estates which are fenced in. 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. If they did not do it, the Nairs might kill them without penalty.

The Nair wedding is called Sambandam and Pudavakodukkal. It generally takes place at the bride's house. The bridegroom arrives at her house is received by the bride's elder brother and seated on a small plank (Mana). Before him is kept a tray with 8 objects known as Ashtamangalam. They include oil lamp, a spadix of an aracanut tree, grains of raw rice, turmeric, Kumkum a piece of new and unbleached cloth a mirror and a comb. The bride is brought to Pandal escorted by her Ammavan (அம்மாவன்). (The maternal uncle) and is made to sit to the left of the bridegroom. The bridegroom ties the marriage pendant (Minnu or Thalai) and the bridegroom and bride exchange garlands. Then the very important ceremony Pudavakodukkal follows.

The bride perform ritual obeisance to her husband and receives the Pudava. Kanya ceremony is also performed. The couple leave for the bridegroom's home after the marriage. Only vegetarian food is served during wedding.

The Nair observe Pre Delivery rituals. The pregnant woman is taken to her mother's house during the 7th month of her pregnancy. After delivery pollution is observed for 16 days which is terminated by a ritual Sattipani Thoduthal. On the 27th day after the child's birth or the first recurring day of the star under which it was born, marks the next important event.

The Karanavar On this day gives to the child a spoonful or two of milk mixed with sugar and slices of plaintain. Then he names the child and calls it in the ear by the name 3 times. This is followed by a feast to all friends and relatives. The expenses of which are met by the father of the child.

Choroon or rice feeding is the next ritual. With the Nayar every event is introduced by a ceremonial. The first meal of rice is an important one. Rice is given to the child for the first time generally during the 6th month. The rice giving

ceremony in some cases preferably performed at some famous temples that at Guruvayur being a favourite one for this purpose.

Kathukuthu (காதுகுத்து) is an important ceremony. Generally the astrologer fixes the day and the child is bathed and adorned with ornaments is brought and laid on a plank. A plaintain leaf is spread in front of it and a lighted brass lamp placed near. On the leaf are served a small quantity of cooked rice-generally a portion of cooked - rice offered to some temple deity. Four kinds of food items i.e. Kalan, Olan avial and ericchakari and some pappadam, plaintain and sweet meat called "upperi" are served.

Pollution which may come through a death in the family, through child birth or menstruation must be removed by Mattu. It must be done in the right way at the right moment under pain of the most unpleasant social consequence. Mattu is effected by the washer woman who is known as the Mannan or Vannam caste during the time of menstruation.

On attaining puberty a Nair girl is confined to a room for 7 days. Ritual objects such as an empty Bashel, a fresh coconut spadix, Paddy and an oil lamp are kept in her room. On the 4th day a ceremony called Nalukuzhi (நாலுகுழி) is performed.

The months of Kerala are like the Lignams in astrology. They are Mesam, Rishabam, Midunam, Karkadagan, Singam, Kanni, Tulam, Virucchagam, Dhanu, Maharam. Kumbam and Meenam, The stars 27 in numbers Hke Ashwani, Barani, Karthigai, Rohini, etc. They gave much importance to the Birth stars.

Importance to the Birth Star

The important festivals of Kerala are Vishnu which usually falls in April and Kanikanal is a unique feature. Onam which falls in the month of August or September is celebrated with Pomp and show for 3 days starting from Pooradam Utradam and Thiruvonam. Added to it Sankaranthi and Thiruvathira are important ones.

The Vidyai-ambam Ceremony is celebrated with great joy and importance at the age of five or six. In some places the child is first taken to the temple where some water sanctified

by Mantras is poured over the child's head by Shanthikaran (officiating eating Priest).

The ceremony at the house is opened by Ganapathi Pooja. Performed by Ezhuttachan or by a Nambutri or another Nayar. The Ezhuttachan (எழுத்தச்சன்) writes on the child tongue with a gold Fanam (Coin) the 51 letters of the Malayalam alphabet. Then he grasp the middle finger of the child's right hand and with it traces the same letters in Parched rice. He also gives the child an *ola* (strip of Palm leaf) inscribed with them and receives in turn a small fees in cash. Next the child touches first the feet of Ezuttachan and then his own forehead with his right hand which seems to have been the keynote of the old Hindu system of education.

Some of the Nair folk arts such as Pulikali, Onakkali, Onathullu, Oongalattam, Kummikkali, Kolkottikali, Kolattam and Thumbi Tullal are still preserved. The songs sung during

these performance reveal the folk memory of the community.

The Nair Community is one of the most progressive and forward looking communities. They have availed of the opportunities created by modern education. The Nair exhibits a high level of responsiveness and literacy. They are health conscious and hygienic. They reaaUse and respect the dignity of labour that is why there is an old anecdote that when Hillary climbed up the Everest and hoisted the flag he heard a Nair asking him "Chaya venu?" Meaning do you want tea?

They are hard working, sincere and duty conscious nowadays, they occupy exalted posts both at the centre and state level. To mention a few Dr.Madavan Nair of ISRO and Sivasankaran Menon. Mrs. Sathi, K.Secretary of Andhra Pradesh, Shanthi Sheela Nair and Leena Nair are in the state government.

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POTTERS - FOOD FOR THOUGHT

S. P. Mekalai *

Man is a social animal. In order to satisfy his urges, the society was divided into many sections based on their occupations. One such section of the people are the Potters. The Kusavans are the Tamil Potters. They are also referred as Kuyavan, Kosavan, Kumbar, Salivaganara and Kulalar. Udayar, Udayan and Velan are their other tiles and they prefer to be called Udayar Kulalar or Kusavan Velar.

Regarding their origin, H.A. Stuart states that the term 'Kusavan' is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word 'Ku' signifying earth, the material with which they work and 'avan' is a personal termination. There are many legends in

vogue regarding to origin of the Potter classes. Mr.E. Holder writes, "it is supposed by themselves that they are descended from a Brahamin father and a sudra mother, particularly created to make sacrificial earthen vessels".

For the term Kumbhar there is an another legendry origin, "when the elephants by the river sided poured muddy water on their forehead, he clay dried on the hollow part leaving a cup shaped object which man found possible to use as a storage vessel. The head of the elephant is called Kumbha, so the maker of such clay vessels came to be known as Kumbhar".

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Thus the Potter's craft is believed to be one of the most important traditional crafts of Tamilnadu (India). It has come down to the modern age from the pre-historic age. In the earliest stages, the potters on seeing the bottle guards and baskets made mud vessels. The "adivasis" or the tribal people had used baskets as moulds to make mud pots.

In the Neolithic age when man had adopted a settled mode of life, this potter's craft was associated with the settled farming communities. The Neolithic Pottery were utilitarian in character and it consists of different types of bowls jars, vessels and the burial urns. It had been unearthed in many places in Tamilnadu in such places as Adichchanallur, Sawyarpuram etc. and from this it had been well inferred that there was a common ceramic tradition almost all over the country. The Potters of different regions used to maintain a reciprocal contact among themselves and they had learnt some new techniques from the Romans also.

There are many interesting references in the Sangam literature which forms as a mine of information to know about the Pottery of ancient Tamils. From these literary sources it is well known that the making of Pottery was occupied by the Potters with the use of wheels.

The Potters apparatus is described by Monier Williams, "as a simple circular horizontal well balanced fly wheel, generally two or three feet in diameter, which can be made to rotate for two or three minutes by a slight impulse. On this the Potter loads the clay and with a few easy sweep and turns of his hands, he moulds this material into beautiful curves and symmetrical shapes and leaves the products of skill to bake in the sun". Thus the mud pots are used to save and preserve water and food items, which were more cleaner than the other vessels made out of skin and wood. Several varieties of pots are made such as Kuzhisi, Chadi, Kalan, Kannal, Tasumbu, Thayhi, Kuvalai, Mandai, Agal etc.

In Tamil, these Potters are called as 'Kalamseyko' or 'Vetko' and 'Vetkosirar'. Purnanuru says that,

“வேட்கோச் சிறார் தேர்க்கால் வைத்த
பசுமட்குரு உத்திரள் போலவன்
கொண்ட குடுமித்தித் தண்பனை நாடே”

The Potters used to bake their pots and other vessels in a 'klin' of ancient form, and this has been proved by the Tamil Poems. Purnanuru says,

“இருள் திணிந்தன்ன குழு உத்திரள் பரு உப்புக்க
அகலிடு விகம்பின் ஊன்றுஞ்சுளை”

Thus the term Choolai' refers the existence of the "klin" of ancient origin to bake the mud vessels and pots in Tamilnadu. They used to bury the dead bodies in a pot vessels or the burial urns known as Thazhi and in Tamil they were known 'Emaththazhi'.

Regarding the customs of the Potters, the Coimbatore Manual stated that, "the potters never begins his day's work at the wheel without forming into a lingam and saluting the revolving lump of clay, which, with the wheel bears a strong resemblance to the usual sculptured conjunction". The women assist the men in their work, where chiefly the delicacy of execution is needed. "As they derived their descendency from the Brahmins, some of them are wearing the sacred thread and they profess both Saivism and Vaishnavism. Many village deities or the demons are the principal objects of workshops for them.

The Kusavans are traditionally non-vegetarians. Rice, millets and ragi are their staple foods. They eat all locally available pulses, roots, vegetables and fruits. The Kusavans are divided into two major linguistic groups the Tamil speaking Udayar and the Telugu speaking Udayar. Each of these two sub-groups are endogamic.

In the past, the child marriages were practiced but now it is not in practise. Most of the Kosavan women are housewives. Divorce and remarriages are common among them.

Significance of the Potters

The services of the potter are required in connection with the marriage ceremony of many castes in Tamilnadu. Even today, in the marriages, the custom of keeping up the decorative pots in front of the fire is common. In the Brahmin marriages, Lingayats marriages and in the other castes ceremonies, coloured pots are kept as a custom in the marriage pandal. In the graveyard, the ceremony of breaking a pot containing water prevails almost in mostly all castes. This shows

that the life cycle of the man begin from the earth and thus ends in the earth itself.

During the festivals, the significance and importance of the potters is very much needed. The newly baked mud vessels and the 'Agal vilakku' (the oil lamps) are very popular on some festive seasons. At the time of 'Aruvathumuvar' festival in Mylapore (the festival of the 63 saints), people used to carry a new pot in their hands while returning from the temple which they purchase along with other artefacts and various utilitarian household objects.

The village potters are considered to be the adepts in treatment of some ill health also. Lord Elephinston, the then Governor of Madras had referred once incident that the Potters had acted as the medical practitioners as bone setters. While the barber treats the cases of boils and wounds, potter confines himself to cases of fracture and dislocation of bones".

In some villages, the potters are acting as 'pujaris' for which they have to pay annual fee to the village headman. When a newly married couple are anxious to have female child, they used to take a vow to offer figures of the such virgins to the temple. Whenever people recover from cholera, small pox, other severe illness, they used offer the clay or terracotta figures of the corresponding sex to the temples. Figures of animals such as cattle, sheep, horses, dogs etc are offered by the people when they recover from sickness. Horses made of clay, hollow and painted in red colours are set up in the fields to drive away the demons, or as a thank offering for recovery from sickness.

In the villages potters used to erect the village deities in the form of Ayanar, Ellaimman, Muniyandi and Munisvarar as the guardians of their villages.

And regarding the Potters and their Pottery works under the colonial period, many changes had occurred. The proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department, 1870 had clearly stated the importance of the Potters in order to construct the newly erected town Madras at that time. A good deal of information had been collected by the British on the subject of the pottery materials and they needed the Potters for

the construction of the sanitary works generally. The process of the glazing pottery of the Madras Presidency, especially the Karigiri Pottery in North Arcot district had been appreciated by the British. Though the British had imported the English made earthen bowls for sale, in the Thanjavur district during the festival and market days but the trade in earthen ware also had rapidly increased in the Trichirapalli and in many other places in Tamilnadu. The English people had been attracted by the Pottery works of the Madras Presidency and they wanted to improve their own art of mixing pottery materials in order to improve the quality of the English Pottery ware. The British wanted to know the secrets and many knowledge about the glazed pottery which have been practiced by the Tamil Potters in the Madras Presidency. And thus in 1870, on 29th November, the proceedings of the Public consultation No. 1539 had referred that Dr. Hunter, the then Superintendent of the Madras School of Arts has been furnished a letter to improve the progress in the art of glazing and firing of pottery works in the School of Arts and Crafts.

All the then Collectors of North Arcot, Madurai, Coimbatore, Mylapore and Coorg where there by informed to give information about the Pottery works of Tamilnadu and many samples were collected from each province and the moulds have been collected and they were sent as the specimens of the Pottery to England.

Thus with the assistance of the craft lovers of England, who resided in Tamilnadu the social status of potter class had been greatly improved during this period. After independence in 1947, many steps had been taken to improve the conditions of the potters as one of the artisan communities and for their pottery works. The establishment of All India Handicrafts Board (AIHB) in 1952 also had mobilised the artisans of Tamilnadu and the potters also had got some encouragement for their works and their livelihood.

In the Third Five Year Plan the State Planning Commission, Madras had envisaged and formulated some schemes for the development of Potters. It had allotted the provision of Rs.2.50 lakhs for the expansion of Art Pottery centre at Madras in Kosavapet. It had been decided to locate the unit in the building of the defunct match

factory at Perambur. Orders had been issued for the supply of simple machines for Rs.37 lakhs had been placed. Arrangements have been made for the construction of the Klin in Kosavapet.

Now with all the demands and cry from the Kulalars, the Government had established a Kulalars Variyam (Board) for the potters. As a result of which it is believed that the standard of living up the potters will improve.

Today potters are registering their names as the craftsmen in the Office of the Development Commission (Handicrafts) and they are participating in many exhibitions and craft melas. Many craftsmen in pottery works had been honoured by many awards in State and National level with merit certificates. In the modern scenario there is a good hope and scope for the potters in the near future.

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WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN TAMIL NADU : EMERGING TRENDS AND STATE INITIATIVES

A. Barnabas Abraham*

Women have had a long history in asserting their rights. It is a commonly accepted view that the male-dominated patriarchal society and power structure would usually keep the position of women low. This powerless situation of women has itself made them to look for a way out and liberation. Reformation thinking, feminist movements, freedom struggle have all contributed in awakening their consciousness. Women empowerment refers to strengthening women's position in social economic and political power structure of the society. It also implies capacity

building with the leading role played by the State and non-State organizations.

Modern State and Women Empowerment

The modern state realized later that the women must be given their due. This state of development did not come up suddenly. There were a number of movements, struggles and sacrifices against the oppressive tendencies of the society and the state. These led the modern states to uphold equality of citizens and non-discrimination in terms of gender. Besides, they

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follow protective discrimination for the welfare of the women. Modern states gradually realized the fact the women are powerless in relation to men in social, economic and political spheres. The emphasis is shifted from the concept of welfare to development and further to empowerment. Empowerment has its own economic, social and political dimensions.

The concept of women empowerment has been given much attention all over the world. Debates and writings are proliferating at global, national and local levels. International institutions, nations and non-governmental organizations have formulated policies, programmes and schemes for empowering women. They have found their own way for implementation with the support of the government. The state has abundance of policies that seek to achieve gender equality and to ensure empowerment of women. It seems that the source of empowerment remains confined to the domain of government. A change in the social attitude towards woman is also required for a meaningful achievement of empowerment of women.

The subjugation of women to the oppressive order of society is clearly visible through different forms in both traditional and modern societies. During the eighteenth century, the West voices in Europe first paved the way for demanding women's rights. Since then a debate has been on between feminists and the state about the necessity of giving women their due civil, legal and political rights. By prolonged and intense struggles by women organizations in Europe and America throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that woman's demands have been met.

Women's Liberation and Empowerment in India

Movements in the West did affect India as well. Some of the liberal ideas like women's education were accepted. Reformist organizations such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Smaj, the Arya Samaj and the Christian Missionaries all sought for women's liberation. As early in the nineteenth century, the colonial administration itself favoured women's liberation within its agenda. Inspired by nationalist ideology, Indian women organized themselves into mahila samitis. The Indian National Congress itself organized women's wing and sent delegation of women to

England. In 1917, the Congress session at Calcutta was presided over by Annie Besant and addressed by Sarojini Naidu with the presence of 400 women. The first national level women's organization was formed in 1927. State level women's organizations have become an imperative after that. Throughout the national movement, women's rights were addressed sympathetically. After Independence and the end of colonial rule, the new republic with written Constitution assures equality of rights and special protection to women. It was in recognition of the contribution of women during the Civil Disobedience Movement that the historic Karachi session of the INC in 1931 adopted a resolution of fundamental rights committing to the principle of equality to all its citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex. This resolution was incorporated in the Constitution of India adopted in 1950. A report on women's role in planned economy was prepared under the guidance of Nehru as early in 1939.

Apart from these developments, there was a general legal solution for the oppression of women in India. Women's welfare legislations in India were landmarks in empowerment. The Sati Abolition Act of 1829, the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929, the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act of 1937, the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women & Girls Act of 1956-57, the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961, the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976. These legislations are the key instruments for improving the status of women in India. But most of them are limited to the Hindu women as Muslim women are governed by their own personal law. In fact, these measures set the Indian women in a better position as compared to the traditional society.

Agenda for Empowerment

The United Nations declared 1975 as the International Women's Year. Subsequently the decade 1975-1985 was declared as International Women's Decade. This led to a renewed interest in women's issues. The emergence of women's studies as an academic discipline is one of the achievements during this period. In 1979, the UN adopted a convention for the elimination of discrimination against women. This established

not only an international bill of rights for women, but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the enjoyment of these rights. As one of the signatory nations, India was bound to follow the recommendations by suitable legislative and administrative action. The National Perspective Plan for women in 1988 and the formation of National Commission for Women in 1992 are some of the steps in this direction. Since 1995, the Human Development Report has introduced Gender Development Index to measure the development of women in any country.

In 1992, women were given 33 per cent reservation in local bodies through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. However, another effort for providing same amount of reservation in State Assemblies and Parliament is yet to be materialized. International agencies and Non-governmental organizations are taking leading participation in the empowerment process. They play a prominent role as mediators between the state and the grassroots women. The democratic institutions smoothly adopt the NGOs for implementing the schemes. In 2001, national policy for the empowerment of women was formulated. It increasingly involves the NGOs in the empowerment process. The emergence of self help groups and women entrepreneurs are the consequences of empowerment process. There is a qualitative shift from the elitist approach which was a characteristic during the pre-independence era.

Women Empowerment in Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu, a southern State of India having more than 30 million women, has had significant developments in the position of women. In ancient times women in general enjoyed dignity. They served as homemakers, literary and spiritual personalities, and rulers as well. They also performed as good advisers for their spouse-kings. Till thirteenth century there was no caste discrimination. Most of the social evils prevailed in north India against womenfolk were absent in Tamil Nadu. Later, caste discrimination and gender inequality gradually infiltrated in the society. Consequently unequal power structure developed between man and woman. The global and national women liberation thinking have had their corresponding impact on Tamil Nadu as well.

Apart from the mainstream national movement, the so-called Dravidian Movement stressed women's liberation in broader perspective. As early in 1931, a Bill was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy to abolish Devadasi system (a kind of immoral traffic by religious sanction) prevailing in Madras Presidency.

Empowerment in Progress

The State government has come up in impressive way to empower women through its policies, schemes and its liberal principles in involving non-governmental organizations. The State extends its welfare activities to women through the Department of Social Welfare. In 1983, a separate Corporation was established for the development of women (TNCDW), with a view to empowering the rural women. Since July 2006, this Corporation has been brought under the administrative control of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Department in order to bring better coordination in implementing schemes meant for self help groups. In Tamil Nadu 30 per cent of seats are also reserved for women in education and employment since 1989.

Started in 1989 with the assistance of International Fund for Agricultural Development, the number of self help groups exceeds 3 lakhs covering 50 lakhs women. Following its success, 'mahalir thittam' was introduced in 1997 and is being implemented in partnership with NGOs and banks. Under this scheme, SHGs are formed and monitored through NGOs affiliated with the TNCDW. There are at present 638 approved NGOs under mahalir thittam. Training for the members and the group is given regularly. This women's development project focuses on the poor and disadvantaged women for providing social empowerment, economic empowerment and capacity building. Entrepreneurship development training programme is also in progress. The NGOs are also trained by the government. With the assistance of the World Bank, empowerment and poverty reduction programmes are being implemented.

Conclusion

The emerging trends reveal certain significant development in the sphere of women

empowerment in Tamil Nadu. With the help of state initiatives and the NGOs the empowerment process assumes positive achievement. The following points are obvious in the process of women empowerment in Tamil Nadu. Both tradition and modernity historically played a significant role in deciding the status of women in Tamil Nadu. Global and national policy decisions have had corresponding impact on the policy decisions of the state government. Tamil Nadu has had its own

social, economic, and political conditions apart from global and national trends for making policy decisions in empowering women. Non-governmental organizations have played a major role in implementing the policies in relation to women's empowerment. Empowerment of women is a level playing of various factors such as individual efforts, social attitude. State's initiative and the work of non-governmental organizations.

ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE PROMOTION OF HEALTH

R. Russel Raj *

'Health is wealth', 'Prevention is better than cure', sound mind in a sound body, in a sound family and in a sound environment are some of the common dictum stressing the importance of health. In the Oxford Dictionary, health means, the state of being free from sickness, injury, disease or bodily conditions, something indicating good body condition. However, the widely accepted definition of health given by the World Health Organisation in 1948 states that health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not merely and absence of disease or infirmity.

The mass media such as, press, cinema, radio, television, books, magazine, pamphlets, posters etc. play a major role in the promotion of health. The flow of information through communication, circulation of knowledge, ideas and propagation of thoughts has much impact on human life. The role of communication through mass media in community health is to help and motivate the people to accept the ideas. The ultimate aim of communication is to bring about changes in human behaviour towards betterment. The mass media reach their extends to vast heterogeneous masses of the population living in a wide and extensive area of a country.

In our country, however, the mass media are infact a minority media as their each extends little beyond the big cities and towns. The folk media have much wider audience. They are media close to the hearts and minds of our people, suited to a poor country and help facilitate

identification and participation. The hold of mass media on the contemporary life has become so immense and edifying that no field of human activity has been untouched by the ever increasing means of communication. Their influence on the society is large, is all pervasive and penetrating and shapes the social, economic, political, cultural and historical aspects of the society.

The flood of information has opened new visits of generation and dissemination of ideas. Mass media serve as an effective tool of nation building. The mass media carry their function by keeping us posted about the latest news in our own region and around the world. The mass media help us to keep the culture and heritage of our society alive, and to transmit it to others. Folk media serve a similar purpose in developing countries.

The present day world has witnessed the great media explosion of the last two decades of the 20th century. Electronic broadcasting and satellite television has penetrated the insides of homes and changed the psychology and approach of the people to life and living. There is a great debate on the effects of the communication and media explosion on the minds of the younger generation. In spite of the many arguments for and against the media explosion, this is a phenomenon of a few years which is already being accepted as a fact of modern life just as the accompanying phenomenon of globalisation and the destruction of boundaries by the satellite invasion.

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Media of communication, thus, acted as a mirror of society. Today, the media, especially television cannot be separated from the various aspects that make up human society. One such aspect is the health and sanitation process.

In India the print and electronic media render an yeoman service in improving the health and living conditions of the people by writing, broadcasting and telecasting instructive and informative programme to both literates and illiterates. Evidently the mass media have been extensively used in the field of health education, hygiene and family planning. Both the print and electronic media have covered effectively the issues such as malaria, filaria, leprosy, cancer, polio, immunization, awareness on AIDS, awareness on female infanticide, family planning among the rural womenfolk, awareness on untouchability, maternal and child health care, women empowerment, breast feeding etc and being encountered by the people of India.

Further, All India Radio's 'Home service' programmes are beamed from 169 transmitters for

over 5 lakhs hours every year and cover 79.8% of the geographical area and 93.3% of the population. They, thus, cater to nearly all the important cultural and linguistic regions of India. The television is the new giant, glamour and powerful medium of mass communication. Television audience is a family audience. The impact of television upon the people is greater than news print because, literacy is not a bar for television viewers. Even a small slot on AIDS, polio, pre and post natal care of expectant mothers, on evils of drinking, female infanticide, produced good result and stimulated a scientific temper among the people of both urban and rural areas. Doordarshan had disseminated the message of family planning and health measures as a means of population control and family welfare. Mass media play a significant role in creating awareness among the rural and urban masses about the policies and programmes of health and developments. Mass media also help the people by motivating them to become as active partners in nation building endeavours.

ROLE OF NABARD IN SELF-HELP GROUPS (SHGs)

V. Chitra*

In Indian society, women and children have significant priority in ail development efforts. In patriarchal societies, the quality of life of women will be determined by the economic factors as well as social and cultural factors, owing to their gender, they could not reap fruits of development on par with men. The plight of a rural woman is far worse than that of an urban woman. Moreover, the excess burden of poverty has been borne by women because the responsibility of the survival of the household rests on the woman. Under these conditions woman has to work for longer hours- paid as well as unpaid- and cut down her own consumption. Formulation and implementation of relevant strategies are needed to face the challenge of feminization of poverty.

The post nationalization period in banking sector witnessed substantial amount of resources being earmarked towards meeting the

credit needs of the poor. The pioneering efforts at this direction were made by NABARD which was vested with the task of framing appropriate policy for rural credit, provision of technical assistance, backed support to banks, supervision of rural credit institutions and other development initiatives.

NABARD (National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development)

NABARD is set up as an apex Development Bank with a mandate for facilitating Credit flow for promotion and development of agriculture, small-scale industries, and Cottage and village industries, handicrafts and other rural crafts. It has the mandate to support all other allied economic activities in rural areas, promote integrated and sustainable rural development and secure prosperity of rural areas.'

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Rural Development Activities NABARD's Towards Self-Help Groups

In 1976 Prof. Mohammed Yusuf of Chittagong University in Bangladesh introduced the concept of 'NijenKori' means literally 'we do it ourselves' or 'Self-help' stated the women's group and create thrift and savings among them. Now it has developed into a bank named Bangladesh Grameen Bank. This movement became a silent revolution within short span in the rural credit delivery system in many parts of the world. In India, NABARD has taken initiative to set up an action research project in 1987. This was aimed at providing financial services to the marginalized and neglected poor. In 1987, NABARD developed a delivery mechanism that encompasses financial relationship between informal Organisation of the poor like the self-help groups (SIGs) and formal organizations like banks. Consequently in 1992 NABARD gave a fillip to the movement when it started the SHG-Bank linkage programme. This was the first major attempt to link the mainstream financial institutions with the informal groups thereby, linking them with the market. Later on with the needed backup policy support from the reserve bank and the central government, the SHG-Bank Linkage Programme was launched by NABARD as a pilot project in February 1992. Encouraged by the success of the pilot project, the Government of India also accorded importance to the Programme of self-help groups as a tool for empowerment of rural people, increasing, outreach of the banking system and alleviating poverty. The deposit and credit linkage program of NABARD has been proven success throughout the country. The SHG/bank linkage of the NABARD actively engages themselves with facilitation of group formation and group linkage for savings and deposits.

The self-help group has been defined by NABARD "as a group of about 20 people from a homogeneous class who come together for addressing their common problems. They are encouraged to make voluntary thrift on a regular basis. They use their pooled resource to make small interest bearing loans to their members. The process helps them imbibe the prioritization of needs, setting terms and conditions and accounts keeping. This gradually builds financial discipline

in all of them. They also learn to handle resources of a size that is much beyond individual capacities of any of them. The SHG in certain multiples of the accumulate savings of the SHG. The bank loans are given without any collateral and at market continue to decide the terms of loans to their own members. Since the groups own accumulated savings are part and parcel of the aggregate loans made by the groups to their members, peer pressure ensures timely repayments".

- Forming and nurturing small, homogeneous and participatory self-help groups (SHG) of the poor has today emerged as a potent tool for human development. This process enables the poor, especially the women from the poor households, to collectively identify and analyses the problems they face in the perspective of their social and economic environment. It helps them to pool their meagre resources, human and financial, and prioritize their use for solving their own problems.

Capacity Building

- NABARD sponsors capacity building programmes for various partners in the field of micro finance to sensitise and equip them with concept & nuances of SHG-Bank Linkage programme."

Besides its support to Government, NGO partners, NABARD coordinates micro finance efforts. Its other activities are providing Micro enterprise development programme for matured SHG's, Refinance support to banks for financing Micro financing in India, Scheme for financing matured SHG's for farm production and investment activities and Scheme for Capital/Equity support to Micro-finance institutions from MFDEF.

Success of SHG-Bank Linkage Programme

The SHG-Bank linkage programme launched by NABARD in 1992 continues to be the predominant Micro-Finance model in the country. It is a proven method of financial inclusion, providing unbanked rural clientele with access to formal financial services from the existing banking infrastructure.

Credit Linkage of SHG

During the year 68640 new SHG's were credit linked with banks as against 620109 during 2005-06 taking the cumulative number of credit linked SHG's to 2924973. The phenomenal outreach of the programme has enabled an estimated 409.5 lakh poor households to gain access to MF from the formal banking system as on 31.3.2007 registering a growth of 24.2% over the previous year.

Regional Spread

In 2006-07 witnessed the spread of the MF programme in resource poor regions of the country indicating a marked shift from the initial concentrations in the southern region. The cumulative share of Non southern regions rose from 29 % as on March 2001 to 48 % as on March 2007. In order to reduce the regional imbalances in the spread of the SHG-bank Programme, NABARD identified 13 states, which have a large population of the poor for focussed attention. The Cumulative number of SHG's credit linked in these 13 states increased from 10.05 lakh in 2005-05 to 13.75 lakh in 2006-07. During 2006-07, the number of SHG's credit linked in 13 priority states constituted 53.9 % in the all India credit linkage of 686408 SHG's.

The concept of SHG has fully honoured the needs, wisdom and discipline particularly of low income women, who were living under extreme economic pressure and uncertainties to manage their financial operations according to their day to day as well as their income generating needs

NABARD has been successfully discharging the promotional, credit and supervisory functions relating to cooperative banks and regional rural banks. The Microfinance -SHG programme nurtured by NABARD helped in resurgence of an alternative credit system administered clientele themselves, which has been effective in reducing poverty and has opened up sustainable development opportunities for the poor.

NABARD has enabled Self help groups have become agents of empowerment promoting agencies in rural India. They have gained the momentum as a movement and they can make sustainable development a reality in rural areas. There should not be any discrimination among the members based on caste religion or political affiliations. Empowerment among rural women through self-help groups can be significant step and a milestone in the history of rural development in our country. Suggestions.

KAVALI VENKATA LAKSHMAIAH'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF MADRAS - A NOT-WELL KNOWN IF NOT IGNORED EPISODE IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF MADRAS

C.V. Ramachandra Rao*

Venkata Borraiah, Venkata Lakshmaiah and Venkata Ramaswami, known as the 'Kavali Brothers', after their surname 'Kavali' were the renowned scholars and assistants who helped Colonel Colin Mackenzie (A.D. 1754-1831), the first Surveyor-General of India, in his unenviable and pioneering task of securing the source material for the history and culture of the Indian peninsula. Here it is proposed to give an account of the significant contributions of Venkata Lakshmaiah to the social, cultural and intellectual life of Madras, during the early half of the nineteenth century.

Col. Mackenzie died in Calcutta on 4th May, 1821. Lakshmaiah was with him at that time. After the death of Mackenzie, Lakshmaiah continued his residence in Calcutta till 1828 and collaborated with H.H. Wilson in the preparation of a descriptive catalogue to the Mackenzie Collection. This catalogue was published in 1828, from Calcutta, under the title Wilson's Mackenzie Collection it may be mentioned here that Lakshmaiah joined the establishment of Mackenzie, as interpreter at Hyderabad, in 1798.

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Founder of Hindu Literary Society

Lakshmaiah returned to Madras in 1829 and made it his permanent residence for the rest of his life. While he was in service with MacKenzie, he obtained Tinnalore, a village near Trivellore in Chingelpet district as a Jagir.

In Madras, along with his brother Ramaswami, Lakshmaiah took a leading part in the social and cultural life of that city, besides trying to preserve and promote the work done by Mackenzie. Encouraged by Sir Alexander Johnston, Advocate-General and letter Chief Justice of Madras High Court, in 1834, Lakshmaiah established the Hindu Literary Society, of which he became the first President, with V. Srinivasaiah as its secretary. This society was formed in imitation of the local, predominantly European Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was also appointed as 'Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain'.

First Indian Member of the Madras Literary Society

It goes to the credit of Lakshmaiah that he was first Indian to be accepted as a member of the Madras Literary Society, an exclusive European club, founded in 1812, in Madras, for the promotion of literature and science. As the first Indian Member, Lakshmaiah makes his appearance in the records of the Society on the first day of 1831, with his name spelled as 'Cavelly Venkata Lutchmiah'. While in Madras, Lakshmaiah continued with his exertions in the fields of historical and Literary research. In 1831, he presented two gold coins and three sets of copper coins to the Madras Literary Society with explanatory memoranda on them. He also presented to the Society a 'Mineral'.

Lakshmaiah Versus Taylor – The Mackenzie Manuscripts

On the suggestions of H.H. Wilson, at that time Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a part of the Mackenzie Manuscripts at Calcutta, called the 'Madras Manuscripts' in the language and characters of South India, were sent to Madras in 1828 and deposited in the College Library. In 1830, S. Lushington, Secretary to the Asiatic Department of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society wrote that 'Cavelly Venkata Lachmaiah had proposed in 1829

to continue Colonel Mackenzie's unfinished researches". On the request of Lakshmaiah, in 1830, the Mackenzie Manuscripts deposited in the College Library and lying pell-mell in "a confused and utterly useless state" were transferred to the Library of the Madras Literary Society. A few articles based on these manuscripts appeared occasionally in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science. In 1833, Lakshmaiah reported were being destroyed or disposed for small amounts.

In a letter dated 1835, Lakshmaiah intimated that he was carrying out research on Ancient Indian Ruling Classes and asked the Madras Government for authority to pursue and carry on the researches started by Mackenzie, with provision for two scholars in every district and free postage.

The Government of Madras referred Lakshmaiah's request to the Governor-General's Supreme Government in Calcutta for a decision. The Supreme Government's rejection of the request of Lakshmaiah and its decision to choose Rev. William Taylor of the Madras Literary Society for the work were indicated in a letter dated October 18, 1836 to the managing committee of the society from Robert Clerk, 'Secretary to the Government'.

The rejection of Lakshmaiah and the selection of Taylor, by the Asiatic Society, to edit and catalogue the Mackenzie Manuscripts, was most unfortunate, to say the least; it proved to be a total disaster for scholarship. Lakshmaiah, who assisted and worked with Mackenzie, in Calcutta, was not only familiar with the nature and contents of the Manuscripts, but also was well-equipped with a knowledge of South Indian history and South Indian languages, the sine qua non for an understanding and interpretation of the contents of the Mackenzie Manuscripts.

It seems that Taylor was a kind of mandarin of scholarship who imposed himself on the Establishment in Madras. There were severe indictments on his scholarship by knowledgeable contemporary scholars. The reputed Indologist, George Buhler, in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, comments on Taylor's Catalogue Raisonne of Manuscripts in the Government Library, thus : I can only father two things ...

firstly that Taylor cannot properly read and Devanagari characters and secondly that he does not understand a single word of the passage that he quotes... In fine, I can only regret that so much time and money should have been expended in order to produce so untrustworthy and unpractical a catalogue". C.P. Brown calls Taylor "an ignorant illiterate man, acquainted with the colloquial Tamil alone and unskilled in chronology.

In the Catalogue Reissenne of the manuscripts prepared by Taylor, we find included some manuscripts translated or commented upon by the one or the other of the Kavali brothers Borraiah, Lakshmaiah or Ramaswamy and these names were indicated in the work by the initials as C.V.B, C.V.L. and C.V.R. respectively.

Important Member of the Indian Elite

In between his social and literary activities, Lakshmaiah off and on, appears to have engaged himself in gainful employment, in securing which his European acquaintances should have certainly helped him. We find that in 1837, for about six months, he was employed as a Munshi to teach Tamil to one Mrs. Julia Thomas. Mrs. Julia Thomas was the wife of Mr. James Thomas, who was District Judge at Rajahmundry during the years 1837 to 1839. Before they took up their residency at Rajahmundry, Mr. And Mrs. Thomas sojourned in Madras from December 1936 to July 1957. During this sojourn, Mrs. Thomas engaged Lakshmaiah as a Munshi, on five 'Pagodas' a month to teach her Tamil, in her work, Letters from Madras during the Years 1836-1839, By a Lady (London, 1846), in one of these letters, from Madras, dated January 11th, 1837, the Lady (i.e. Mrs. Julia Thomas), wrote of Lakshmaiah, thus : "A Monshee seems to be a component part of most English establishments, so I have set up one also. He comes three times a week to teach us Tamil. ... He is President of Hindoo Literary Society, and at its opening delivered a lecture in English of which he is very proud. He brought it to me today to read. The whole was capitals; and it concluded with a hope 'that this respectable institutions so happily begun in smoke, might end in balze". This letter testifies to Lakshmaiah's proficiency in Tamil and to his good English which could win appreciation from a discerning English lady.

Important Member of the Indian Elite

In Madras, Lakshmaiah and his brother Ramaswami were recognized as important members of the Indian elite, and the government drafted their services in some honorary capacity. From the notifications in the Fort, St. George Gazette, dated January 4, 1834 and April 19, 1834 respectively, we find that Lakshmaiah and Ramaswami were among the native members of the Grand Jury for the years 1834-1836. On 2nd February 1833, the Government passes a rule that "natives may serve on Grand Juries and that the Sheriff and clerk of the Crown respectively in making out the annual list of jurors do insert in the list of Grand Jurors any native inhabitants to Madras ... having previously ascertained ... that such persons are sufficiently conversant with the English language". The Fort St. George Gazette, Saturday, January 4, 1834 gives a list of 28 names of the Grand Jury, and we find against entry No. 27, "Veneta Lutchoomiah Braminy, Cavally". The Fort. St. George Gazette dated April 12, 1834, p. 272 and supplement Gazetted dated April 19, 1834, p. 273 notify a list of 25 names on the Grand Jury for the Second Sessions of the Court on Monday, 21st April, 1834, and the only native on this list was "Venceta Ramaswamy, Braminy, Cavally". The Fort. St. George Gazette dated Wednesday, April 30, 1834, p.317 gives a list of 28 native inhabitants of Madras who were qualified and liable to serve as Grand Jurors for the year 1834-35, and against entries Nos. 5 and 6, we find respectively the names, "Venceta Lutchoomiah Braminy, Cavally" and "Vencata Ramawsamy Braminy Cavally". The Gazette Notification dated Thursday, April 30, 1835, p. 267 repeats this list of names, as Grand Jurors for the year 1835-1836.

Scholar and Writer - Authentic Monograph on the Monuments of Mahabalipuram

Lakshmaiah was a scholar and writer in his own right. In 1803, Lakshmaiah wrote quite a perceptive, knowledgeable and authentic monograph in Telugu, on the monuments of Mammallapuram (Mahabalipuram); it was included in the Mackenzie Collection. It is the first Indian contribution of scholarship on the Mahabalipuram monuments. This account and its English

translation rendered by Lakshmaiah himself, appear in M.W. Carr's compilation, the *Seven Pagodas*, published by the Government of Madras in 1869.

Lakshmaiah translated into English the great Sanskrit poetical classic, the *Kiratarjuniya* of

Bharavi. A portion of this work with the title 'Arjuna's Penance' appears as an Appendix in Carr's *The Seven Pagodas*. List of Pandyas from Thiruvilayadal, a work of translation by Lakshmaiah from Tamil to English points to his mastery in Tamil.

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EDUCATION FOR ALL: THE SITUATION OF DALIT CHILDREN IN INDIA

J. Devakumar *

Any effort towards realizing the constitutional commitment of universal element education (UEE) for all children must seriously address the constraints that have hitherto excluded large sections of India society from basic education. Among the educationally most deprived sections in India are the Dalits, officially called Scheduled Castes. According to the 2001 census, there were around 138 million Dalits accounting for 16.5 per cent of the population of India. In the mid-1990s, barely 41.5 per cent of Dalits in rural India were literate and only 62.5 per cent of children in the 6-14 age group had been enrolled in school at some point of time. Attention to the education of their children is, hence of critical importance. The perspective within which the educational concerns of Dalit communities should be addressed must be one of social justice as dalit communities have suffered from social discrimination and have traditionally been denied access to learning. A frame work of social justice is important in that it goes beyond aggregate concerns of equality in the context of access,

participation, and outcomes in education to one which emphasizes qualitative concerns of what educational experiences mean for identity and self-worth as well as for future life chances. It also draws attention to the commitments that educational systems make to the more vulnerable groups and how this bears out in concrete terms.

The Constitution of independent India acknowledged the centuries of social, economic, and educational deprivation suffered by the Dalits and specific provisions were incorporated at protect these communities from discrimination as well as to facilitate their development Where education is concerned, the Constitution directs and economic interest' of Dalits and other weaker sections (Article 46) However, even in the 2001, Dalits remained economically extremely vulnerable relative to the general population. In 1993-2004 as many as 48.1 per cent of Dalits in rural areas were below the official poverty line in comparison to 31.3 of 'others' (other than Dalit and tribal persons).³ In urban areas, almost 50 per cent of Dalits were below the poverty line in the same

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year. Further, almost 70 per cent of rural Dalit house-holders owned an acre or less of land and 61 per cent were wage labour householders.

Are Dalit Children in School?

The progress of schooling among Dalit children (5-14 years) has been relatively poor compared to that of the general population, school attendance rates in rural areas (where almost 90 per cent of the population reside) in 2000 was 64.3 per cent for Dalit boys as compared to 74.9 per cent amongst boys from other (other than Dalit and tribal) social groups.⁴ In urban areas, Dalit boys have higher attendance rates (77.5 per cent) but the lag in enrolment rates vis-a-vis other boys continues to be around 10 percentage points. As in the general population, Dalits girls have lower school attendance rates than Dalit boys. The male-female lag in urban areas. Poor school enrolment attendance rates among Dalits relative to the other communities also points to sharp disparities in literacy rates. In the 1981-91 decade, Dalits lagged behind the general population by as much as around 15 percentage point in literacy (37 per cent among Dalits as compared to 52 per cent for the general population). Barely 34 per cent of Dalit women were literate according to the 2001 census.

Schools attendance rates rural areas ranged from over 85 per cent for Dalit boys in states such as Himachal Pradesh and Kerala to less than 60 per cent in Bihar, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh in 2001. For rural girls, inter-state educational disparities are sharper and range from over per cent in Himachal Pradesh and Kerala to an abysmal 23 per cent in Bihar, and 22 per cent in Rajasthan.⁶ What is significant is that in high-performing states such as Kerala and Himachal Pradesh, the participation of Dalits in schools almost equals that of other social groups. However, in the educationally most backward states such as Rajasthan and Bihar disparities in school attendance rates between Dalits and other social groups are far sharper.

Data on dropout of children from school also points to significantly poorer school completion rates among Dalits as compared to other social groups. As many as 40.5 per cent of Dalit children in rural areas and 24 per cent in urban areas had discontinued school.⁸ The

proportion of children who had discontinued school was significantly lower for 'other' social groups (28.8 per cent in rural areas and 13.3 per cent in urban areas).

The discussion highlights disparities in school participation between Dalits and other social groups. It also points to the need to look beyond literacy and school enrolment/attendance rates to actual school completion rates in order to assess, in concrete terms, the progress in education among Dalits relative to other groups.

Policy Perspectives

The 1986 National Policy on Education (NPE) aimed at universal enrolment of all Dalit children in the 6-11 age group and 75 per cent enrolment in the 11-14 age group as well the successful completion, by them of primary and middle school stages by 1990. These targets have been reiterated the revised programme of action in 1992. The educational scene in the 1990s has been dominated by the District Primary Education Programme access, participation, and achievement of children from marginalized groups. In addition, the 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA) announced in 2000 emphasizes the involvement of Dalit communities in the ownership of school committees, setting up of alternative schooling facilities in unserved habitations, using community teachers, monitoring attendance and retention of Dalit children, and so on. Strategies laid down to universalize primary/elementary education among Dalits are concerned with.

Access to Schools

By 1997 India as many had 598,000 primary and 177,000 upper primary schools. However, schooling within easy access has always been relatively poorer for the more vulnerable groups as compared to the population in general, especially in rural areas, primary schooling (schools/education) is available within a significantly smaller number of predominantly Dalit habitations (37.03 per cent) as compared to general rural habitations (49.79 per cent). Where upper-primary schools are concerned, access within habitations is poor but this is definitely more in the case of Dalit habitations (only 6.51 per cent of which have rural habitations (13.87 per cent)).¹⁰ The official distance norm is that primary schools/

sections are to be set up within a 1 km distance and upper-primary schools within 3 km distance of rural habitations with a population of 300 and above. In 1993 around 82 per cent of Dalit habitations had primary schooling within 1km while 77.6 per cent had middle schools/sections with 3km.

What is significant about the nature of educational access is that each population slab, including those with more than 5000 persons, a relatively smaller proportion of Dalit habitations had primary schooling when compared to rural habitations in general.

There are very few references to social accessibility of schools. In many habitations, the school is situated in the localities inhabited by upper castes and minority groups' village in Tamil Nadu where Dalits form a small minority has disturbing implications for social accessibility of schools. None of the Scheduled Castes were allowed even to walk through the residential areas of the dominant castes or through the village's main street running through the residential areas of the dominant castes. They had to walk a lone way to reach their status.

Who provides for Schooling?

All-India Educational Survey,(2001], Dalit communities avail of government schooling. Of the Dalit children in primary schools, 91.3 per cent in rural areas and 64.6 per cent in urban areas were in schools managed by government and local bodies. At middle stage, a relatively larger proportion of Dalit children were enrolled in privately managed schools, though expectedly this is more so in urban areas (46.6 per cent) as compared to rural areas (32.9). A study of the increase in enrolment of Dalit children in elementary schools between 1986 and 1993 points to a significant trend. As much as 32 per cent of the increase in primary school enrolment among Dalit boys and 21 per cent among girls in urban areas was accounted for by private unaided (PUA) schools between 1986 and 1993. In rural areas PUA schools accounted for a relatively smaller proportion of the increase in enrolments during this period, around 7 per cent for Dalit boys and 4 per cent for Dalit girls 14 Official statistics on enrolment in private schools do not include enrolment in private schools that are not granted official recognition by the

government. These PUA unrecognized schools are mushrooming in cities and towns and in the larger village. It estimates that there in rural India pointing to a significant underestimating of the PUA sector in education even in rural India

Does Poverty Constrain Schooling

As mentioned at the outset, a large section of Dalit families are below the poverty line and agricultural and other wage labour is the primary occupation of the majority of households, especially in rural areas. Poverty is hence likely to continue to be a major deterrent to education despite growing aspiration for education among Dalit parents, which has been documented in a number of recent studies.

Among the poor, the extent to which households experience some security of livelihood is also likely to influence whether children are sent to school or not, able to continue their education. Irregular income, frequent migration in search of work, or the death or from these households educationally at great risk.¹⁷ In this study of dropouts among Dalits, observe s that 'schooling of the boys as well as girls came to a halt as soon as the head of the family was bedridden. Every two out of 10 Harahan children were forced to leave their studies on the grounds of illness or death in the family'.

The role of public policy in providing incentives for education (textbooks, midday meals, etc.) and thereby reducing the direct costs of schooling has been seen as crucial in addressing educational deprivation. The midday meal programme in particular has been seen to encourage school enrolment and attendance and to raise the nutritional status of children as well. The areas where school meals are operational, most teachers the view that they have boosted school attendance, and parents share this view'.

One of the important survival strategies of the poor is the involvement of their children in work. Around 8.1 per cent of Dalit children were categorized as workers. It is significant that though only around 2 per cent of children attending schools were working, a far greater proportion of Dalits (around 17 per cent) who dropped out of school were officially included under the category of workers.

What emerges from the forgoing discussion is that poverty and its bearing on costs incurred in schooling as well as children's work are likely to be serious constraints in the education of poor Dalit children.

Conclusion

In the light of both educational policy and actual school participation what are the major issues for the future where the education of Dalit children is concerned? As has already been discussed, policy interventions in education have been largely at the level of provisioning and providing incentives to encourage schooling. While provisioning is inadequate in terms of physical access even at primary stage, the issue of how socially accessible schools really are for Dalits have never been addressed. This is primarily because policy fails to acknowledge or confront the role of discriminatory caste relations that pervade the educational experiences of Dalit children. As is clear from the foregoing discussion, caste continues to obstruct the access of Dalit children to schooling as well as the quality of education they receive.

Poverty continues to be a major impediment in the education of Dalit children and costs tft education, as well as children's contribution to work, remain serious issues to be considered. The present policy of providing incentives to children is unlikely to address the

constraint of poverty in relation to education. Where children's work is concerned, the larger issue to be addressed is that of sustainable livelihoods of the poor. On the other hand if schools reach out to these communities with meaningful education that is attractive to young children, allow for flexibility in timings and schedules for children who work and provide academic support that they invariably need, it is likely that very young children can be prevented from becoming workers by default, and the entry of old children into the workforce can be delayed.

Thus at the end of the 2001 a, gap between the constitutional commitment of education for all children up to the age of 14 years and the actual participation of Dalit children in schools remains large and is likely to continue. The role of effective state policy and political will is critical if the education of all children including Dalit is to be ensured, particularly in the context of the demands being made of education in the last few decades. The changing knowledge and skills package that will increasingly determine future life chances requires that must mean more than basic, and indeed, school education. Education is thus of importance not only because of its critical linkages with human capabilities and empowerment, but also because in instrumental terms, in the global zing world of today, laici of education of Dalit communities in India must hence be of serious concern.

A PROFILE OF WOMEN'S PROBLEM AND POSSIBLE SOLUTION

N. Dhanalakshmi *

"You can tell the condition of a nation by looking at the status of its women"- Jawaharlal Nehru.

The conventional role of the women as homemakers has now given way to women as equals in the political and social spheres. From time immemorial, women have tilled the fields and taken an active part in the domestic duties along with their men folk, be it their father, brother, husband or son. They spent a very restricted life. They had no part to play in the administration of the country. But today they are professors,

scientists, engineers, doctors, journalists, managers, police officers school teachers, clerks, and so on. In this changing scenario, we see the strong presence of women in all departments. In this paper, an attempt has been made to study the problems of working women in various fields. A sample has been obtained from some working women. As they have not been very forthcoming it has been difficult to analyze the impact of social and economic empowerment on their lives. Since this has been done for research purposes the time span is restricted.

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Education plays a vital role in the development of knowledge in an individual's life. Mahatma Gandhi considered illiteracy a sin and strongly advocated its eradication for the social transformation. According to the 1991 Census Report the literacy rate in India is 52% among males and 39% among females. The elementary schools particularly run by the state governments are contributing to the increase in the literacy rate. These institutions bear the responsibility of offering elementary education to Indian children. Besides, a number of private schools and other formal and informal agencies are also engaged in the process of offering elementary education to Indian children. The secondary schools colleges, other institutions and universities bear the responsibility for educating and increasing knowledge in the area of higher education. Both the private and public sectors have a very definite role to play in this.

In India, women have always been treated as second class citizens from time immemorial. They were denied all kinds of opportunities in life. Lack of financial support, either due to widowhood or separation from husbands made their need for employment more acute. Women needed education for economic empowerment too. Reforms were brought about with the advent of the Missionaries and the British. This helped greatly in the education and indirect empowerment of women.

Even though the Indian Constitution guarantees equal rights to men and women, the latter face a lot of hardships both at home and in their workplace. Earlier the family was a joint family. Recently the emphasis is on a nuclear family. In case of the former it is easy for women to concentrate on their job. Their performance at the workplace is good especially if they have the backing and support of their family members like the mother-in-law, sister-in-law, etc to help them. But women in nuclear families struggle a lot between their commitment to family and work. They are not able to do justice in both the places.

Higher the number of children they have lower in their commitment at the workplace when compared to their commitment at home. For settling down at work, they postpone some of their family

commitments like marriage and child birth. Today, women prefer to have a single child. They try to concentrate on their work as well as family.

Time-management is a major problem particularly for women. Not only do women have to look after the household duties, raise children and concentrate on their education, but they also have to take on additional responsibilities at their workplace. In order to fulfill all these things women need both physical and mental stamina. When they fail to find a balance between both, their health deteriorates. They end up with either high or low blood pressure, anemia etc.

Another problem is the non co-operation both at home and the workplace. If their men folk are not co-operative at home, it is very difficult for the women to concentrate on the work in the office. Indian society is a male dominant society and men never make an attempt to understand the problems of women. They treat women as bonded labor. Similarly, when the colleagues in the office are non co-operative, women cannot complete their work satisfactorily. In this kind of an atmosphere women lose their peace of mind.

Salary is considered one of the major problems faced by women. Even though they have equal rights in rules and regulations, this is not so in reality. Equal pay is practical to a considerable extent, for the white-collar job. However, women in the private sectors are paid far less than men even though they may be equally qualified. Women also get depressed by uninspiring and unmotivated environment, frequent transfers and poor quality of life at the work place Gandhiji said men and women are equal, but not identical. "Intellectually, mentally, and spiritually, woman is equivalent to a male and she can participate in every activity." He always advocated a complete reform which he called "Sarvodaya" meaning comprehensive progress. He believed that the difference between men and women was only physical and has expressed several times in his writings that in many matters especially those of tolerance, patience, and sacrifice the Indian woman is superior to the male.

Gandhiji formulated India's freedom struggle as a comprehensive plan for women's development. Even though a lot of inequalities

remain in our society, there is a fundamental agreement that men and women are equal. As Indians, we can be very proud that the same cannot be claimed even by so called "advanced nations". In Britain as well as in the U.S.A., women could not vote 75 years ago. But women's voting came very naturally to us from the beginning. About 100 years ago, the western woman could not own property, get a divorce or take the custody of her children.

If Gandhiji's vision has failed it is only because of politics. Indian politics has been the bane of Indian women. The continued exploitation of women can be attributed to the degradation in moral values of the society, and utter poverty of our nation. The leaders have ignored the role of social service, job dignity, and self reliance.

The society should come forward to encourage the working women. The society should try to cultivate egalitarianism. Women require developing optimism and appropriate proficiency and outlook, which are the strategies to become successful in life. When women develop themselves, the nation develops automatically. A welcome step has been the constitutional amendment acts which have helped empower women. In Indian Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI) 1 million women have actively entered political life in India. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts, which guarantee that all local elected bodies reserve one-third of their seats for women, have spearheaded an unprecedented social experiment which is playing itself out in more than 500,000 villages that are home to more than 600 million people. May this trend continue and may we see a brighter India.

Conclusion

As UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has stated, "Gender equality is more than a goal in itself. It is a precondition for meeting the challenge of reducing poverty, promoting sustainable development and building good governance".

This recognition is currently missing in India. Transforming the prevailing social discrimination against women must become *the* top priority, and must happen concurrently with increased direct action to rapidly improve the social and economic status of women. In this way, a synergy of progress can be achieved.

- As women receive greater education and training, they will earn more money.
- As women earn more money - as has been repeatedly shown - they spend it in the further education and health of their children, as opposed to men, who often spend it on drink, tobacco or other women.
- As women rise in economic status, they will gain greater social standing in the household and the village, and will have greater voice.
- As women gain influence and consciousness, they will make stronger claims to their entitlements - gaining further training, better access to credit and higher incomes - and command attention of police and courts when attacked.
- As women's economic power grows, it will be easier to overcome the tradition of "son preference" and thus put an end to the evil of dowry.
- As son preference declines and acceptance of violence declines, families will be more likely to educate their daughters, and age of marriage will rise.
- For every year beyond 4th grade that girls go to school, family size shrinks 20%, child deaths drop 10% and wages rise 20%.
- As women are better nourished and marry later, they will be healthier, more productive, and will give birth to healthier babies.

Only through action to remedy discrimination against women can the vision of India's independence - an India where all people have the chance to live health and productive lives - be realized.

LAND GRANTS MADE TO TEMPLES IN MEDIEVAL TAMIL COUNTRY - AN OVERVIEW

M. Geetha*

Introduction

Religion and religious pursuits are the part and parcel of human life from the ancient period. The Temples are the outcome of the imagination of men. They are symbolic. There is a strong faith among the people that God is the key centre for every happening on the earth. Hence the people began to worship God and construct temples, where they assemble for worshipping the God in several names and the manner they like.

Religion played a harmonious role in society in the Sangam age than in the succeeding age. During the Sangam age, the temple was called *Nagar*, *Kottam*, *Koil* and *II* or *Griha* meant place of residence. God was known as *Kon*, *Iraivan* and *Kadavul*. In the early days, the temples were of brick and timber and the images of the Gods were mostly painted or carved in wood. So no remains of it have survived because of its perishable nature. During the rule of Kalabhras, Jainism received a royal patronage and reached its zenith. After the Kalabhra interregnum the temples formed an important landmark in the monumental history of Tamilnadu. The Saiva and Vaishnava hagiologists propagated the temple cult and they were responsible for the erection of them. What the Pallavas had done for our temple is to substitute imperishable material such as stone for perishable material like brick, timber, etc., in building temples.

In the medieval period, sculpturally, architecturally and in the matter of worship the temple became the most important institution of the Tamil country. It played a pivotal role in the Medieval Tamil society.

The grants generally mean the contribution made for a particular activity. Hinduism is very ritualistic. By performing various religious rites in the temples the Hindus believed that they would go nearer to god and gain both materially and spiritually. The number of temples built in the pre-Pallava period were few and small and the cost of maintenance were few and small and the cost of maintenance was also easy, but when the temples

of big size came into existence there was a need for more funds. Temple had become a city of miniature in the medieval period. The grants were made by the Royal personages, Ministers, Officials, Merchants and the commoners. The epigraphs of the medieval rulers of Tamil Nadu like the Pallavas, Pandyas, the Cholas. The Vijayanagar rulers and chieftains speak a lot about them.

Why Grants and Gifts

The temple is a vehicle of religion built for the fulfillment of the spiritual desires of the people. It was and is a powerful social and economic entity and a source of religious inspiration for the people.

In the early period the temple was a simple institution. It was not a wealthy and complex institution but from about the early eighth century A.D. building of temples to Lord Shiva and Vishnu and making gifts to them became universal.

- i. The Hindus give more importance to *Danam*, i.e., Gifts. It is ordained in the Dharma Sastras of the Hindus that a portion of earnings of every man should be set apart and devoted to charity.
- ii. The Bhakthi movement which emerged as a volcano to sweep the rivals in the Tamil country in sixth century A.D. also motivated the people to give gifts to temples in order to get blessings and favours of the deities.
- iii. The supreme faith of the Hindus was in their *Karma*. *Dana* or gift was slowly trying to substitute it including sacrifice. Gifts were considered extremely efficacious. So *Dana* had become the religious fashion of the day.
- iv. Grants and gifts were made to promote the Hindu religion of both Saivism and Vaishnavism and to develop the resources of the temple and to carry out the temple activities uninterruptedly.

In the medieval society monarchy, religion and temples were inseparable part of society. Monarch was considered either the representative

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of god or next to god. Before the emergence of God as an entity the monarchs considered themselves to be living Gods on earth. It was their duty to protect the interest of the people. In course of time the Monarch wanted to perpetuate this by justifying the ways of God to men through the Institution of religion by constructing temples and maintaining them by Grants. Temple became a major institution, hence required a high income. Temples seem to have been well placed because of the grants made by the kings, royal family members. Chieftains, officials, corporate bodies such as *Sabha*, *Ur*, *Nagaram* and rich and poor individuals.

Occasions of Grants and Gifts

The Pallava, the Pandya and the Chola kings were great patrons of temples. The occasions for making grants by the kings, by the royal ladies, chiefs, officials and other rich and poor individuals are found in the inscriptional records. Grants made on the *ayana* day, on *Sankrantis*, on the eclipses of the sun and moon, on new moon and full moon

days and on several *tithis* were considered meritorious.

Purpose of Grant

There was an immense variety in the purpose for which the grants and gifts were made to the temples.

- ❖ Grants made for merit of themselves or their dead ancestors or for their overlords.
- ❖ Grants made for making food offerings daily and also on special occasions like festivals.
- ❖ Grants made for the maintenance of perpetual lamps.
- ❖ Grants made for providing articles of worship.
- ❖ Grants made for celebration of festivals.
- ❖ Grants made for the recitation of holy texts.
- ❖ Grants made for feeding of Brahmins and ascetics.
- ❖ Grants made for repair and renovation.

CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT IN TAMIL NADU

T.R. Satya*

Child marriage is a violation of human rights whether it happens to a girl or a boy. But it represents perhaps the most prevalent form of sexual abuse and exploitation of girls.

The Native Marriage Act (or Civil Marriage Act) signified the coming of legislative action in prohibiting child marriage in 1872. In 1880 child marriage as a problem became a public issue in India during the debate of the Age of Consent Bill. The Age of Consent Act of 1891 had laid down that the minimum age of consent within marriage for girls should be 12 years. In 1925, Gour's Bill was passed to raise the age of consent within marriage to 13 of girls. Rai Harbilas Sarda proposed in 1927 that instead of focusing on the age of consent, marriage conducted in a public

ceremony should not be permitted before the age of 16 years for girls. The Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 was also known as Sarda Act. It came into effect in 1930.

In independent India, the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act of 1949 increased the minimum age for all girls from 14 to 15 years. The Amendment Act of 1978 raised the marriageable age of the girl to 18.

According to "National Plan of Action for Children 2005", (published by Department of Women and Child Development of India) a goal has been set up to eliminate child marriage completely by 2010. In 2006 the Union cabinet gave its approval for undertaking Parliamentary Legislation to prohibit child marriages.

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ANNIE BESANT AND THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY- A STUDY

J. Srinivasan*

Annie Besant joined the Theosophical Society under the blessing of Madam Blavatsky and eventually took up residence in India in 1893. She succeeded the Madam to the Presidentship of the Society in which position she continued till her death in 1933.

Seeing the Theosophical Society as a nucleus of world brotherhood was an important factor in her dedication to its work. Her concept of brotherhood was based on her acceptance of the ancient Hindu belief in the identity in all of the Universal self, sexless, endless, without color, caste or race. She organized a band of workers within the Theosophical Society called "Brothers of Service", who took as one of seven pledges the disregarding of "all restrictions based on caste". The tenets of organization appealed to Annie Besant much more than did the individualistic, rights-oriented, social Darwinist, Laissez-faire philosophy of the west which was being imported to India in this period through the works of Mill, Spencer and others.

The religion Annie Besant espoused was a combination of monism and pluralism which, she believed, was found in the Vedas, Upanishads, Bhagavad Gita and other early Hindu documents.

She emphasized tolerance, openness, understanding, a willingness to live and let live based on the principle unity in diversity. The Society recognized "the spiritual unity of all religions" It propounded a spiritual religion "which recognized unity of all" Annie Besant saw the Theosophical Society as playing a central part in the developing of this attitude.

Annie Besant had long been interested and active in educational reform in Britain. She pressed for a system of national education so that all segments of the population would have an opportunity for schooling. She made "the battle for the education of girls". She also had a concern for the Education of the depressed classes. She recognized also that change is inevitable in the life both of individuals and societies.

Thanks to Theosophy, Annie Besant, later on acknowledged leader in the National Movement, commanded a respectable following before she embarked on her political career. For under the aegis of the society, a social educational and religious reform movement had taken root all over India especially in the south.

விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டம் பள்ளிச் சீரமைப்பு திட்டம் அமைப்பும் - நோக்கமும்

நா. நடராஜன்**

முன்னுரை

"கல்வி" என்ற சொல் 'கல்' என்ற பகுதியையும் 'வி' என்ற விசுவத்தையும் உடையது. "கல்" என்பதற்கு "தோண்டுதல்" என்ற பொருள்படும். "கல்வி" மனிதனிடம் மறைந்துள்ள உள்நுணர்வுகளை தோண்டி நல்ல பண்புகளை உருவாக்குவதாக பொருள் கொள்ளப்படுகிறது.

சமுதாய அடிப்படையில் நோக்கும் போது கல்வி ஒரு தலைமுறையின் அனுபவத்தை மற்றொரு தலைமுறைக்கு கடத்துவதாக இருந்துள்ளது. சமுதாயச் செயல்களில் நேரடியாக பங்குபெற்ற மனிதன் கல்வி பயில ஆரம்பித்தான். பின்னர் சமூக செயல்பாடுகளே கல்வியாக

மாறியது. சமுதாயம் தன் அறிவை மேம்படுத்திக் கொள்ள தமக்காக ஏற்படுத்திக் கொண்ட இடங்களே பள்ளிக்கூடம் எனப்படும்.¹

சமூகத்திற்கு தேவையான வித்யாதானம் (கல்வி) தானம் (மருத்துவம்) ஆகியவற்றை முற்காலத்தில் சமணப் பள்ளிகளும், புத்த விகாரைகளும் அளித்து வந்தன என்பதை சீனப்பயணிகளான யுவாங் சுவாங், இட்சிங் ஆகியோரின் பயணக்குறிப்புகள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன.

பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்புத் திட்டம்

பண்டைய காலத்தில் கல்வி மேம்பாட்டிற்கு அரசர்களும், பிரபுக்களும், ஜமீந்தார்களும் பல்வேறு

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** முதுகலை ஆசிரியர் - வரலாறு, அரசு மேல்நிலைப்பள்ளி, விழுதாவுர், விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டம்.

உதவிகளை செய்துள்ளார்கள் என்பதை அறிய கல்வெட்டுகள், செப்புப்பட்டயங்கள், ஓலை ஆவணங்கள், பல்வேறு இலக்கியங்கள் நமக்கு சான்றுகளாக அமைந்துள்ளன.

அந்நாளில் பள்ளிகளுக்குத் தேவையான வகுப்பறைக் கட்டிடங்கள், மேசை, நாற்காலி, அமரும் பெஞ்சுகள் போன்ற தளவாடப் பொருள்களை சேகரித்தல், குடிநீர் வசதி அளித்தல், நூலகம் அமைத்தல் போன்ற பள்ளியின் அனைத்து வகை முன்னேற்றத்திற்கும் பொது மக்களை அணுகியோ அல்லது பொதுமக்களே தம் விருப்பமாக பள்ளிக்கு அளிக்கும்போது சமுதாயத்திற்கும், பள்ளிக்கும் ஒருமித்த நெருங்கிய உறவை ஏற்படுத்துகிறது. இதனால் அப்பள்ளிக்கூடம் எப்போதும் சமுதாயத்தின் பொறுப்பில் உள்ள ஒரு அங்கமாக செயல்படும்.

எனவே இச்செயல் வகைகள் பள்ளியையும் சமூகத்தையும் இணைக்கும் ஒரு பாலமாக இருப்பதால் அரசு இச்செயல்திட்டத்தை "பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டம்" என்று வகுத்துள்ளது.^{2 & 3}

இச்செயல் திட்டம் விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டத்தில் எவ்வாறு செயல்பட்டு வருகிறது என்பதை ஈண்டு காண்போம்.

பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டத்தின் அமைப்பும் நோக்கம்

ஒரு பள்ளி பலவகைகளில் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்திருந்தாலும் சில தேவைகள் இருந்து கொண்டுதான் இருக்கும். அனைத்து பள்ளி வயதுக் குழந்தைகளும் எளிதில் சென்று படிக்கும் வகையில் தற்போது 1 கி.மீ.க்கு ஒரு தொடக்கப்பள்ளி, 3 கி.மீ.க்கு ஒரு நடுநிலைப்பள்ளி 5 கி.மீ.க்கு ஒரு உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளி 8 கி.மீ.க்கு ஒரு மேல்நிலைப்பள்ளி என்று பட்டிதொட்டிகளில் எல்லாம் பள்ளிகள் திறக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

அனைத்துப் பள்ளிகளுக்கும் அரசு பல உதவிகளை செய்திருந்தாலும் சிறுசிறு தேவைகளை நிறைவேற்றிக் கொள்ள சமுதாயத்தை பயன்படுத்தி பள்ளி வளாகங்களை மேம்படுத்திக் கொள்ள வேண்டும். பள்ளிக்கு தேவையான கட்டிடங்கள், தளவாடங்கள், குடிநீர் வசதி போன்ற அத்தியாவசிய தேவைகளை தீர்க்க முயல்வதே பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டத்தின் முக்கிய நோக்கமாகும்.⁴

தமிழ்நாட்டில் பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டம்

1950-ம் ஆண்டு ஜனவரி திங்கள் 26-ஆம் நாள் இந்தியா முழு சுதந்திரத்தை பெற்றிருந்த காலக்கட்டத்தில் 1952ல் சர். ஏ. இலட்சுமணசாமி முதலியார் தலைமையில் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்ட கல்வி குழு இந்திய பள்ளிகளில் கரும்பலகை கூட இல்லாத நிலைமையைச் சுட்டிக்காட்டி, பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டத்தின் அவசியத்தை வலியுறுத்தி அறிக்கை சமர்ப்பித்தது. அதனால் 1958-ம் ஆண்டு

பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டம் இந்தியாவெங்கும் நடைமுறைப்படுத்த இந்திய அரசால் அறிவிக்கப்பட்டது.⁵

இத்திட்டம் தமிழ்நாட்டில் முழுவீச்சில் செயல்பட பாடுபட்டவர்கள் அப்போதைய முதல்வராக இருந்த திரு. காமராசர், கல்வி அமைச்சராக இருந்த திரு. சி. சுப்பிரமணியம், கல்விச் செயலர் திரு. க. திரவியம், கல்வித்துறை இயக்குநர் திரு. நெ. து. சுந்தரவடிவேலு ஆகியோர் ஆவர்.

1959-ம் ஆண்டு இந்திய முதல் பிரதமர் ஜவகர்லால் நேரு அவர்களால் தமிழகத்தில் இராமநாதபுரத்தில் தான் முதன் முதலில் பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்புத்திட்டம் தொடங்கப்பட்டது.

1960-ல் இந்திய குடியரசுத் தலைவர் டாக்டர். இராஜேந்திர பிரசாத் அவர்கள் வேலூரில் பள்ளி சீரமைப்பு மாநாட்டை தொடங்கி வைத்தார்கள். அம்மாநாட்டில் கல்வி வளர்ச்சி பெற இது போன்ற மாநாடுகள் தொடர்ந்து அனைத்து மாவட்டங்களிலும் நடத்தப்பட வேண்டும் என்று வலியுறுத்தினார்.

தேசியக் கல்விக்குழு அறிக்கை : 1964- 66

பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டம் பற்றி தேசிய கல்விக்குழு தன் அறிக்கையில் கூறுவது என்னவெனில்

1. கற்பித்தலின் தரம் உயர, நாட்டிலுள்ள ஒவ்வொரு பள்ளிக்கும் அடிப்படைத் தேவைகளையும், கற்பித்தல் கருவிகளையும் அளித்திடல் வேண்டும். சமுதாயத்தின் உதவிகளைப் பயன்படுத்தி பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு திட்டத்தை வளர்த்திடல் வேண்டும்.
2. பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்புத் திட்டம் முடிவற்றதாக இயங்க வேண்டும், அத்திட்டங்கள் தொடர்ந்து சீராக மேற்கொள்ளப்பட வேண்டும்.
3. ஒவ்வொரு மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள எல்லாப் பள்ளிகளும், இத்திட்டத்தில் பங்கேற்று பயன்பெறும் வகையில் அமைத்தல் வேண்டும்.

தேசிய கல்விக்குழுவின் ஐந்து கொள்கைகள்

பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்புத் திட்டம் பற்றி ஆசிரியர்களும், பெற்றோர்களும் ஐந்து கொள்கைகளை மனதில் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

1. பள்ளிக் கட்டிடங்களைப் பழுது பார்த்தலும், வெள்ளை அடித்தலும்.
2. கரும்பலகைக்கு நிறம் ஊட்டுதல், பழுது பார்த்தல்.
3. சுகாதார வசதிகளை அளித்தல், முக்கிய தளவாட பொருட்களை சேகரித்தல்.
4. பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட குடிநீர் வசதி அளித்தல்
5. நூலகம் அமைத்தல்

பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்புத் திட்டத்தைப் போன்றே புத்தக வங்கி திட்டம், துப்புரவு இயக்கம் போன்றவை,

அமைக்கப்பட்டு பள்ளிகள் மேம்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டும் என்று தேசிய கல்விக்குழு தனது அறிக்கையில் கூறியுள்ளது.⁶

1976-77-ம் ஆண்டு வரை தமிழகத்தில் மட்டும் 556 பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு மாநாடுகள் நடத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன. பொது மக்களிடமிருந்து 14.15 கோடிவரை நன்கொடை கிடைத்துள்ளது. 40.46 இலட்சம் ஏழை மாணவர்களுக்கு 2.66 கோடி ரூபாய் மதிப்பில் சீருடை இலவசமாக கிடைத்துள்ளது. மதிய உணவிற்கும் நன்கொடை கிடைத்துள்ளது.

1977-ம் ஆண்டு தேவக்கோட்டை கல்வி மாவட்டத்தில் உள்ள காரைக்குடியில் நடைபெற்ற பள்ளி சீரமைப்பு மாநாட்டில் இப்பகுதி மக்கள் தாமத முன்வந்து அப்பகுதியிலுள்ள பள்ளிகளுக்கு அளித்த மேசை, நாற்காலிகள், கற்பித்தல் பொருட்கள், மதிய உணவு, சமையல் பாத்திரங்கள் போன்றவற்றின் மதிப்பு மட்டும் 5 இலட்சங்களாகும்.⁷

பள்ளிச் சீரமைப்பு மாநாடு - விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டம்

கடலூரை தலைமை இடமாகக் கொண்டு செயல்பட்டு வந்த விழுப்புரம், கடலூர் ஒருங்கிணைந்த தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தை தமிழக அரசு 1993-ம் ஆண்டு செப்டம்பர் 30-ம் நாள் விழுப்புரத்தை தலைமை இடமாகக் கொண்டு விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டம் என்றும் கடலூரைத் தலைமை இடமாகக் கொண்ட கடலூர் மாவட்டம் என்றும் பிரித்து செயல்படுத்துகின்றது.

விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டத்தில் முதல் பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு மாநாடு 25.1.2000இல் மிகச் சிறப்பாகக் கொண்டாடப் பட்டது. விழாக்குழுத் தலைவர் ச. கண்ணப்பன், முதன்மைக் கல்வி அலுவலர், அவர்கள் விழா ஏற்பாடுகளை சிறப்பாக செய்து இருந்தார். அதில் தற்போதைய நிதி அமைச்சரும் அப்போதைய கல்வி அமைச்சருமான மாண்புமிகு பேராசிரியர் க. அன்பழகன் அவர்களும், கலந்து கொண்டு பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறையை பாராட்டினார்.

விழுப்புரம் வருவாய் மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள மொத்த பள்ளிகளின் எண்ணிக்கை 2286 ஆகும். இப்பள்ளிகளின் மூலம் இம்மாநாட்டிற்கு ரூ.74.28 லட்சத்திற்கு அசையும் சொத்துக்களையும், ரூ.3.45 கோடிக்கு அசையாச் சொத்துக்களையும் பள்ளிகளுக்கு நன்கொடையாக அளித்து மாநாட்டை பொது மக்கள் சிறப்பித்துள்ளனர் என்பது பாராட்டிற்குரிய செயலாகும்.^{8,9}

இரண்டாவது பள்ளிச் சீரமைப்பு மாநாடு 08.02.2007

2006ஆம் ஆண்டு நடைபெற்ற தமிழ் சட்டமன்ற கூட்டத்தில் கல்வி மானியக் கோரிக்கையின் மீது நடைபெற்ற விவாதத்தில் தமிழக முதலமைச்சர் டாக்டர் கலைஞர் மு.கருணாநிதி அவர்கள் தமிழகத்தில் பள்ளியின் முன்னேற்றத்தினை கவனத்தில் கொண்டும் மாணவ மாணவிகளின் கல்வி நலனை கருத்தில் கொண்டும்

7 மாவட்டங்களில் பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு மாநாடுகள் நடத்தப்படும் என தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டதின் அடிப்படையில் தஞ்சாவூர் மாவட்டத்திற்கு அடுத்ததாக விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டத்தில் 08.02.2007 அன்று பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு மாநாடு நடத்தப்பட்டது. விழாக்குழு தலைவர் பூ.ஆ. நரேஷ் முதன்மைக்கல்வி அலுவலர் விழுப்புரம் மாவட்டம் அவர்கள் விழா சிறப்பாக நடக்க, ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்து இருந்தார்.

இம்மாநாட்டில் தற்போதைய மாண்புமிகு உயர்கல்வித்துறை அமைச்சர் முனைவர் க.பொன்முடி அவர்களும் மாண்புமிகு பள்ளிக்கல்வித்துறை அமைச்சர் தங்கம் தென்னரசு அவர்களும் கலந்து கொண்டு பள்ளிக்கல்வித்துறையை பாராட்டி மேலும் சிறப்புடன் செயல்பட வாழ்த்தினார்கள்.

2006 - 2007 ம் கல்வி ஆண்டில் விழுப்புரம் வருவாய் மாவட்ட மொத்தப் பள்ளிகளின் எண்ணிக்கை 2,295 ஆகும். இப்பள்ளிகளின் மூலமாக இம்மாநாட்டில் ரூ.88.17 லட்சத்திற்கான அசையும் சொத்தினையும் ரூ.4 கோடியே 70 லட்சத்திற்கான அசையா சொத்தினையும் பள்ளிகளுக்கு நன்கொடையாக பொதுமக்கள் வழங்கி அரசுக்கு பக்கபலமாக இன்றும், என்றும் உள்ளனர் என்பது பெருமைக்குரிய செயலாகும்.^{10 & 11}

நிறைவுரை

மேற்கண்ட நிகழ்வுகளை நாம் உற்றுநோக்கும் போது பள்ளிகளின் சிறிய தேவைக்கெல்லாம் அரசை எதிர்த்தோக்கும் எண்ணம், பள்ளிச் சீரமைப்பு மாநாடுகளால் நீக்கப்படுகிறது.

உள்ளூர் செல்வந்தர்களுக்கு தங்கள் பள்ளிக்குத் தேவையான கட்டிடங்களையும் வசதிகளையும் செய்து கொடுக்கும் தன்னம்பிக்கை உணர்வை அவர்களுக்கு ஏற்படுத்துகிறது.

பள்ளிக்குழுத்தைகள், பெற்றோர்கள், ஆசிரியர்களுக்கு இடையே பரஸ்பர கூட்டுறவு மனப்பான்மையைத் தோற்றுவிக்கின்றது.

சாதி, சமய, பேதமற்ற சமுதாயம் உருவாக பள்ளிச்சீரமைப்பு மாநாடு வாய்ப்பளிக்கின்றது.

மக்களிடையே கூட்டுறவு, பொதுச் சொத்தை பாதுகாத்தல், தன் பொறுப்பு என்ற எண்ணத்தையும், சமுதாய உதவியின் அத்தியாவசியத்தை நிகழ்த்திக் காட்டும் பாடமாக மாநாடு அமைகிறது.

இது போன்ற பள்ளிச் சீரமைப்பு மாநாடுகளால் பள்ளிகளின் சில அத்தியாவசிய அடிப்படைத் தேவைகள் பூர்த்தி அடைகின்றது என்பதை நாம் கண்கூடாகக் காணமுடிகிறது. நாமும் நம்மால் இயன்ற உதவிகளை நம்மைச் சுற்றியுள்ள பள்ளிகளுக்குச் செய்து “கல்விக்கண்” திறக்கப் பாடுபடுவோம்.

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தமிழக அரசின் சமச்சீர் கல்விக் கொள்கை

க. வெங்கடேசன்*

எந்தவொரு நாட்டின் முழுமையான வளர்ச்சிக்கும், முன்னேற்றத்திற்கும் கல்வியே அடிப்படையான ஆதாரம். அதனால்தான் இந்தியக் கல்விக்குழு (1966) தனது அறிக்கையின் துவக்கமே 'இந்தியாவின் தலைவிதி அதன் வகுப்பறைகளிலே உருவாக்கப்படுகிறது.' என்று பறைசாற்றுகிறது. நாட்டின் நலன்களை அடையத் தேவைப்படும் சமூக, பொருளாதார, பண்பாட்டுத் தொடர்புடைய மாற்றங்களை உருவாக்கும் வலுவான கருவி கல்வியே என்ற கருத்து எந்தவொருவரும் மறுக்க இயலாது. தனிமனிதரது வாழ்வு சிறப்பாக அமைதலுக்கும், நாட்டின் வளர்ச்சி சீரானமுறையில் விரைவாக நிகழ்தலுக்கும், நன்கு திட்டமிடப்பட்டு சிறப்பாக செயற்படுத்தப்படும் "கல்விச் செயல்முறை" இன்றியமையாததாகிறது.

கல்வி - விளக்கம்

கல்வி (Education) என்னும் சொல் பொதுவாக 'கற்றல்' (Learning) என்பதுள் அடங்கும். இவ்வனுபவங்கள் அறிவு சார்ந்தவையாகவோ, மனவெழுச்சி சார்ந்தவையாகவோ அல்லது மேற்கூறிய யாவற்றும் ஒருங்கிணைக்கப்பட்டதன் தொடர்புடையதாகவோ இருக்கக் கூடும். பிறப்பு முதல் இறப்பு வரை நமது வாழ்வில் கற்றல் தொடர்ந்து நிகழ்கிறது.

ஒருவனது வளர்ச்சியில் பாதிப்புகளை ஏற்படுத்தி, இதன் விளைவாக மாறிவரும் அவனது சூழ்நிலையுடன், உயர்நிலைப்பட்ட பொருத்தப்பாட்டினைப் (Superior Adjustment) பெற உதவுகின்ற எந்தச் செல்வாக்கும் கல்வி என்பதுள் அடங்கும். பரந்த பொருளில் காண்கையில்

கல்வி எனப்படுவது நடத்தையைப் பாதிக்கும் எல்லாச் செல்வாக்குகளையும் உள்ளடக்கிய, மனிதன் பிறப்பு முதல் இறப்பு வரை நீடிப்பதாகும்.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் சமச்சீர் கல்விக் கொள்கையின் அடிப்படைத் தேவை

இந்திய நாடு முழுவதிலும் கல்வி நிறுவனங்கள் ஒரே மேலாண்மையில் இல்லை, சான்றாக பல கல்வி நிறுவனங்கள் நடுவண் அரசின் ஆளுமைக்குட்பட்டும், மாநில அரசுக் கட்டுப்பாட்டிலும், தனியார் நிர்வாகக் கட்டுப்பாட்டிலும் உள்ளன. இக்கல்வி நிறுவனங்களில் வழங்கப்படும் கல்வி ஒரு சீரான சமமான கல்வியாக இல்லை. டாக்டர்.கி. வெங்கிட சுப்பிரமணியம் கூற்றுப்படி "இந்தியாவில் கேரளக் கல்வி, மகாராட்டிரக் கல்வி, ஆந்திரக் கல்வி, வங்காளக் கல்வி உள்ளதே தவிர, இந்தியக் கல்வி இல்லை" என்கிறார்.

எனவேதான் திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழக கட்சி தலைமையேற்றுள்ள இன்றைய தமிழக அரசு சமச்சீர் கல்வி என்ற கோட்பாட்டை உருவாக்கி அதனை நடைமுறைப்படுத்த முனைப்புடன் செயலாற்றி வருகிறது. இதற்காக செப்டம்பர், 2006-ஆம் ஆண்டு சமச்சீர் கல்வி முறைகளை ஆய்வு செய்து நடைமுறைப்படுத்த ஒன்பது பேர் கொண்ட கல்விக் குழுவை பேராசிரியர் ச. முத்துக்குமார் தலைமையில் அமைத்து சமச்சீர் கல்விக் கொள்கையை சீரியமுறையில் நிறைவேற்றி முனைந்து செயலாற்றி வருகிறது. இந்த சமச்சீர் கல்விக் கொள்கையை வரலாற்றுப் பதிவிற்கு பறைசாற்றுவதே இவ்வாய்வு கட்டுரையின் சாராம்சமாகும்.

* முதுகலை கல்வியியல், மாணவர், அரசு கல்வியியல் மேம்பாட்டு நிறுவனம் (தன்னாட்சி), சைதாப்பேட்டை, சென்னை-15.

சமச்சீர் கல்விக் கொள்கை - அறிமுகம்

2006ஆம் ஆண்டு செப்டம்பர் மாதம் தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தற்போது தமிழகத்தில் செயல்பாட்டில் உள்ள கல்வி முறைகளை ஆய்வு செய்து அனைத்துப் பள்ளிகளிலும் ஒரே கல்வி வழங்க சமச்சீர்க் கல்வி முறையை உருவாக்கி நடைமுறைப்படுத்த அமைத்தக் கல்விக் குழுவானது பலமுறை கூடி விவாதித்ததுடன், சென்னை, மதுரை, திருச்சி, கோயம்புத்தூர், சேலம், திருநெல்வேலி ஆகிய நகரங்களில் கருத்துக் கேட்புக் கூட்டங்கள் நடத்தி பொதுமக்கள், மாணவர், ஆசிரியர், கல்வியாளர் ஆகியோருடைய கருத்துக்களைக் கேட்டறிந்து மேலும் பல உட்குழுக்களை அமைத்து பாடத்திட்டங்களை ஆராய்ந்து அறிக்கைகள் பெற்றது. இவற்றின் அடிப்படையில் கடைசியாக 21.04.2007 அன்று சமச்சீர் கல்விக்கு தனது அறிக்கையை பரிந்துரையாக வழங்கியது.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் பள்ளிக் கல்வித்துறை சற்றேறக்குறைய 56,000 பள்ளிகளில் 130 இலட்சத்திற்கும் மேற்பட்ட மாணவர்கள், நான்கு இலட்சத்திற்கும் மேற்பட்ட ஆசிரியர்கள் அடங்கிய ஒரு மாபெரும் அமைப்பாகும். இத்துறையில் ஐந்து வகையான பாடத்திட்டங்கள் செயற்பாட்டில் உள்ளன. இவற்றை ஒருங்கிணைக்கும் முயற்சியே இந்த சமச்சீர் கல்வி அறிக்கையின் சாராம்சமாகும்.

சமச்சீர் கல்வி - விளக்கம்

கலைத்திட்டம், நன்கு பயிற்சி பெற்ற ஆசிரியர்கள், உள்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகள், ஆசிரியர் மாணவர் விகிதம் இவற்றுள் ஏதாவது ஒன்று மட்டுமே சமமாக இருந்தால் சமச்சீர் கல்வியை உருவாக்க முடியாது. ஆகவே பள்ளிக் கல்வி சம்பந்தப்பட்ட யாவற்றையும் ஆராய்ந்து ஒரு மேலான, தரமான, தேவைக்கேற்ற கல்வித் திட்டத்தை உருவாக்கி நடைமுறைப்படுத்துவதே சமச்சீர் கல்வியாகும்.

கடந்த பல ஆண்டுகளாக அரசு எடுத்துக் கொண்ட முயற்சிகளினால் அனைத்து, பள்ளி வயதுக் குழந்தைகளும் பள்ளியில் சேர்க்கப்படுகின்றனர். அவர்கள் தொடர்ந்து எட்டு ஆண்டுகள் சமச்சீர்க் கல்வித் திட்டத்தில் கல்வி கற்பதை உறுதி செய்ய பள்ளி இடை நின்றலுக்கான காரணிகள் கண்டறியப்பட்டு அவற்றினை நேர்படுத்த சர்வசிக்ஷா அபியான் திட்டத்தில் பல புதிய செயல்பாடுகள் வகுக்கப்பட்டு நடைமுறைப்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டும்.

சமச்சீர்க் கல்வி முறை வந்த பின்னர் ஒரே திட்டம் தான் இருக்கும் என்பதால், ஒரே தமிழ்நாடு மாநில பள்ளிக் கல்வி வாரியம் அமைக்க வேண்டும். தமிழ்நாடு மாநில பள்ளிக் (சமச்சீர்) கல்வி வாரியம் ஒரு தலைவர்,

செயலர், உறுப்பினர்களுடன் செயல்பட வேண்டும். அதன் கடமைகளும் பொறுப்புகளும் பள்ளிக் கல்வியைப் பொறுத்தவரை ஒரு பல்கலைக்கழக கல்விக்குழுவுக்கு உள்ள கடமைகளுக்கும் பொறுப்புகளுக்கும் இணையாக இருக்க வேண்டும். இவ்வாரியத்தின் பணிகள் சிறப்பாக நடைபெற பின்வரும் குழுமங்கள் தேவை: 1. தமிழ் 2. ஆங்கிலம் 3. ஓரியண்டல் மொழிகள் 4. மற்ற மொழிகள் 5. கணிதம் 6. அறிவியல் 7. சமூக அறிவியல் 8. கல்வி சார்ந்த மற்றவை - கலைகள், விளையாட்டு, உடற்பயிற்சி போன்றவை 9. தனிக்கவனம் தேவைப்படுபவை ஆங்கிலோ இந்தியன், ஓரியண்டல் கல்வி 10. தனித் தேவைகள் 11. மேலும் வாரியம் தேவை என்று கருதும் துறைகள் / இனங்கள், தமிழ்நாடு மாநில பள்ளிக் கல்வி வாரியம் என்று ஒரு தன்னாட்சி பெற்ற வாரியமும் அதன் கீழ்த் தேவைப்படும் கல்விக் குழுமங்களும் அமைக்கப்பட்டு அவை உயிர்ப்புடன் செயற்பட அரசு நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தால்தான் சமச்சீர்க் கல்வி முறையை வெற்றிகரமாகச் செயற்படுத்த முடியும்.

கல்வித்துறை நிர்வாகச் சீர்திருத்தம்

சர்வசிக்ஷா அபியான் திட்டத்தில் அரசாணை எண் 108 பள்ளிக் கல்வித்துறை; நாள், 31.7.2003ன்படி கிராமக் கல்விக்குழு அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டத்தின் கீழ் அரசாணை எண் 102, ஊரக வளர்ச்சித்துறை, நாள் 12.4.2005ன் படி கிராமக் கல்விக்குழு அமைக்க வழி வகுத்துள்ளது. இவ்விரு குழுக்களையும் சட்ட அடிப்படையில் ஒன்றாக இணைத்து, பள்ளிக் கல்வித்துறையின் கீழ் செயல்படச் செய்வது ஏற்புடையது. இத்தகைய கல்விக்குழு பள்ளிக்கும், சமுதாயத்திற்கும் இடையே ஒரு நெருங்கிய தொடர்பை ஏற்படுத்தும்.

ஒவ்வொரு ஒன்றியத்திலும் உள்ளாட்சி சட்ட அடிப்படையில் ஒரு கல்விக்குழு உருவாக்க வழிவகை உள்ளது. ஒவ்வொரு மேல்நிலைப் பள்ளியும் தமது வட்டாரத்திலுள்ள தொடக்க, உயர் தொடக்க, இடைநிலைப் பள்ளிகளுடன் தொடர்பு கொண்டு ஒரு தாய் போல் செயல்பட்டு அவற்றின் கல்வித் தரம் சிறப்பாக அமைய உதவ இக்குழு வழிகாட்டும் இத்தகைய குழுவில் எந்த ஒரு மாணவரும் தனது படிப்பைத் தொடரவும், பன்முகப்படுத்தப்படும் நிலையில் தான் விரும்பும் பாடத்தைத் தனக்கு தகுதி இருப்பின் விருப்பப்பாடமாக எடுத்துப் படிக்கவும் வசதி இருக்கும்; எந்த மாணவரும் தனது பள்ளிப் படிப்பைத் தொடர்வது குறித்துக் கவலை கொள்ள வேண்டியதில்லை. பெற்றோரும் எந்தப் பள்ளியில் சேர்ப்பது என்பது பற்றிக் கவலைப்படாது, தமது குழந்தைகள் சீரிய முறையில் கல்வி பெறும் என்று நம்பி நிம்மதியாகச் செயல்படலாம்.

ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

DRIFT OF ART IN TAMIL NADU

S. Govindaraju*

Distinguished historians, fellow students of history, ladies and gentlemen.

Permit me at the outset, to offer my sincere thanks, for the task you have bestowed upon me to preside over the art and cultural history section of the fourteenth Annual session.

The foundation of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, I hope, has introduced a new era in the annals of history, particularly cultural history. A host of scholars begin to unite and appreciate the art history of Tamil Nadu vis-à-vis. the art and cultural history of other states too. I am conscious of my limitations; yet I desire to speak to you a few words on the Drift of Art in Tamil Nadu and indicate some greyspots in the realm of art study and research in Tamil Nadu, where we have to do more than what have so far been achieved.

The word 'Art' is derived from the Latin word 'Ars' meant 'skill'. Collin's Encyclopedia defines art as an expression of a word of thought and feeling trying to portray relationship between god and man. Art can also be defined as "the use of skill and imagination in the creation of aesthetic objects, environments or experiences that can be shared with others." Hence Art is well defined as the production or expression of what is beautiful, appealing or more than significant. It is a universal language which people of all nations can understand. Each nation has its own mode of expression of its art, i.e., architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance though the culture of each nation is different.

Art can be divided into two main categories i.e., Visual arts and Graphic arts. Visual Arts deal with architecture, sculpture, painting, dance and music. The most imposing among visual arts, architecture, had developed into two forms i.e., secular and religious. The survival rate of secular specimens through the ages is slender

compared to the religious multi differential buildings. Graphic Arts comprise wood cutting, engraving on bone and ivory carving, floral and animal motifs over ceramics etc. It is no exception to this universal phenomenon.

The Indian art especially the Hindu one is based upon the belief that creative nature is the manifested will-force of God, which is represented in Hinduism by the Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva who symbolize the powers of creation, preservation and destruction. Hence the art consciousness among the people of India had its origin in the early years of Indian History and it gradually evolved itself into an ideal race experience. This art of India is not a wealth of particular dynasty or region and possess migratory character due to political, social, religious and economic factors.

It is enough to state, at this juncture, that the drift of art in Tamil Nadu is well entrenched not only in India but had bid fair to swamp the entire South Asian, zone comprising such independent regions like Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia. So far as the art was concerned all these regions display a chthonic affiliation and this would speak highly not only of the voluntary absorption of the art media but also the politico-cultural matrix of South India more specially Tamil Nadu.

Architecture

Let us discuss at first how the elements of the Architecture have drifted from neighbouring regions to Tamil Nadu and get added new features and then migrated to their regions.

Architecture is the most finite, technically exact and visually impressive medium of the aesthetic legacy compared with other categories such as sculpture, painting, dance and music. In Tamil Nadu it has been the most spectacular and

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perennially satisfying entity cementing national and international understanding. It happens only because of its drifting nature. This migratory character is not a sudden invention of the Tamils but transformed from the North.

The tradition of rock cut architecture i.e. the Chaityas and Viharas of the Buddhists initiated by Ashoka at Barabar hills was soon taken up in the trap rock regions of the South India. This expanding character of Buddhist architecture was adopted earlier by the Buddhists and then by the Hindus and the Jains. Also the combined Buddhist and Hindu characters of architecture spread into the Deccan region probably during the regime of Satavahanas. The Brahmanical and Jain creeds too started adopting the Rock cut mode of temples all over South from Deccan to the Cape. There were a number of Buddhist excavations of Chaitya halls and Viharas found in the vicinity of Poona and Nasik and Ajanta and Aurangabad. Even in the Eastern Ghat lying in the northern coastal regions of Andhra, where the laterite hills found abundant, these types of architecture were excavated. These Viharas and Chaityas show their own distinct regional characters as against their compeers in North and North West India. These two elements were then transformed into rock cut temples by the three great empires. The Chalukyas on the coastal Andhra, the Pallavas of Kanchi on the eastern coast and the Pandyas of Madurai in the far south. The Chalukya king Mangalesa excavated a cave temple for Vishnu in Badami and it was only a perpetuation of early tradition of the Mauryas. The contemporary Pallava ruler Mahendravarma I also excavated a cave temple at Mandagappattu but it was purely his own innovation. At the same time there are certain characters found in these temples copied from North India. The Adhistanas, for example, in the rock cut temples of the western Chalukyas and the Pallavas contain the panels depicting Ramayana stories and Krishna Avatar. But this style of engraving tiny figures on the Adhistana had already been there in the Dasavadar temple of the Guptas at Deogarh.

There are certain elements of Chalukyan architecture traced in the Pallava architecture that prove the migratory nature and the transitional character of that time. The Taranga Pothigai in Pillars, Elephants in Adhistana, Prastharam,

Kapotam, Gajaprishta Vimana etc. are few standing examples of this kind. The drift in this kind of elements occurred only due to the constant wars between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas.

Though the Pallavas stand out as the earliest fore runner of Vimana architecture in the south, it is not an innovation by them. The origin of the monolithic Vimana shrines lie in the carved out Stupas inside the rock cut Chaitya halls of western India. An early monolithic shrine form is found in the Tawa Cave at Udaigiri (MP). Hence we could derive a conclusion that some architectural features of the Pallavas are not only copied from the Chalukyas but also a direct perpetuation from North India.

This rock-cut tradition might have also been followed by the early Pandyas either from the Chalukyas or the Pallavas. It is believed that the tradition of laying a Linga in the sanctum sanctorum is copied by the Pandyas from the Western Chalukyas. The former's political contact with the latter against the Pallavas might have been the cause of the adoption of their style.

Like the Pallavas and the early Pandyas, the Cholas also copied certain architectural characters from Deccan. The projection and recession of Bhadra is a common characteristics of Indian architecture. The Malligarjuna temple at Mahakudi and the Sirval temple are found with projected Bhadras. The same pattern is followed by the Cholas at Thiruchorruthurai, Thirunamanallur, Palur, Erumbur, Kizhaiyur, Thirukkattalai and Enangur. Likewise, a triangular pothigai was introduced at Aihole in the 9th century A.D.

The Rashtrakutas also followed the same pattern in the Jain Temple at Pattadakal in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. This pattern migrated to Tamil Nadu due to the expeditions undertaken by Rajaraja over Deccan. He introduced it in his temple at Thathapuram, Mathagadipattu, Kudankuzhi and Thanjavur.

The Temple at Chidambaram is famous both for architecture and sculpture. The pillars found in front of the sanctum and sanctorum of Nataraja are purely Hoysala in character. The conquest of Cholas over Hoysala region and vis-à-vis temple may be the cause of the installation of sixteen pillars in Natyasabha in Nataraja Temple.

The conquest of Tamil Nadu by the Vijayanagar rulers also contributed much for the development of temples in Tamil Nadu. The idea of constructing thousand pillared hall, and the erection of Kalyana Mandapa may be a pattern introduced by them. The pillars erected in the temples during the reign of Vijayanagar rulers are nothing but a transition from Hampi.

The Nayaks of Madurai, Tanjore and Senji also introduced the Andra Style of architecture in their respective monuments. Thus Tamil Nadu as observed adopted different elements of architecture from other parts of India to fulfil the needs of the people.

Tamil country has also contributed much to the transformation of architecture to other parts of India as well as to the far off countries. The Lion motif in the pillars of the Narasimhavarma I is seen in the Sirval Temple Pillars of Rashtrakutas built in the tenth century A.D. The Thoranas of Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi is said to have been transformed to the temples of Rashtrakutas and Eastern Chalukyas. The Thoranas in Bavanasisangam Bujangeswara temple (850 A.D.) of Rashtrakutas, the Pichchavolu Solingeswarar Temple and Chandra Sekar Temple (850 A.D.) both of Eastern Chalukyas resemble the Thoranas of Narasimhavarma I.

The influence of Circular bosses in the temples of Tamil Nadu during the medieval period was quite common among the later Pandyas and the early Cholas. This feature is later adopted by the Rashtrakutas. The Circular bosses were first used in the Panamalai, Talagiriswara temple and then in the Kalugumalai Vettuvankoil temple of the Pandyas, are traced in the Sirval temple (939) of Rashtrakutas and Sammundarai temple at Sravanabelgola. Hence the use of Circular bosses has migration to Deccan in due course. Some decorative symbols of flowers, buds and leaves carved around the hallow space of Kudu had been a special feature of the Pallava Rathas and a few temples of the Pandyas. The same character is also found at Ellora and Pavalancangam Rupala Sangameswara temple of the Rashtrakutas. First ever in the south the Sala-Sikara of Pallavas at Mahabalipuram (Bhima Ratha) was then used in Rashtrakutas Kailasanatha temple at Ellora.

After the decline of the Pallavas in Tamil Nadu, the Cholas emerged as a triumphant power. Everyone knows that they were responsible for the erection of number of temples in Tamil Nadu. Their age is famous for Vimanas. The erection of Vimanas attained maturity only under the Later Cholas. For instance the Tanjore Vimana, erected by the Cholas, is considered as the Touch Stone of Indian Architecture as a whole. Some of their architectural elements have drifted from our soil to other regions for various reasons as indicated earlier. The Chariot like Mugamandapa, erected at Melakadambur by Kulottunga I later attained further advancement at Darasuram and Suriyanarkoil. The Simmachalam temple of the Eastern Chalukyas his a witness for this motif. The matrimonial alliance between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Eastern Gangas has given maturity for this style at Konarak.

The Chola architecture is not merely migrated to the other corners of India but also overseas. Rajaraja I has constructed a Siva temple at Polannaruva in Srilanka in the same pattern of Chola architecture. His son Rajendra I conducted eastern expeditions in order to stabilize the trade between Tamil Nadu and far flung countries of South East Asia. The temple of Angorwat in Combodia was born out of commerce and conquest. The succeeding dynasties like the Later Pandyas, the Vijayanagar and the Nayaks had ever taken the elements of Tamil architecture to anywhere in the country.

Sculptures

Like Architecture, Sculptures also migrated from one region to another region. The antiquity of Icons goes back to Sangam age in Tamil country. The Sangam literature contains information regarding the existence of the idols of Gods like Vishnu, Surya, Karthikeya and Goddesses like Devi. We could derive from this that the Sangam Tamils were well known about the Idols. But the knowledge of making sculpture out of soft rock was familiar among the South Indians and the Tamils very particularly from sixth century onwards. Sculptures like Siva with his consort Uma, Ganesa, Brahma, Vaikundhanatha, Narasimha, Karthikeya, Suriyan, Durga and Gangadevi were chiselled out of rock in the Maleget Siva temple at Badami in 642 A.D. The same types of sculptures are also found

in the temples of the Pallava, the Pandya and the Chola of Tamil Nadu little later. It proves that the knowledge of sculpture is liberally adopted in South India - Deccan and Tamil Nadu. The influence of Duvarabalaga is common among the Chalukas, the Rashtrakutas, the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the Cholas. The conquest of these rulers and the migration of the skilled craftsmen and artisans from one place to another might have caused the transition of this art. The artistic nature of the rulers and the craftsmen resulted in the combination of different styles and the creation of new ideas in making sculpture. One would not deny that the same style was also adopted simultaneously in different regions.

A chain made of beads in Nandi of the Kodumbalur Temple is proved to be the Chalukyan influence in Tamil Nadu. A panel of Lord Siva's dancing posture, watched by Parvathi and Nandi playing Muzhavu at the Tiruparangunrum rock cut temple of the Pandyas resembles the same that of the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal. A Lingothbava sculpture in the Virupaksha temple and a Somaskanda of Kasi Viswanatha Shrine in the same temple have been taken from the Pallavas of Tamilnadu. A Siva Nataraja figure from Pattadakal has been brought to Tirupparankundrum. This migratory aspects of sculpture has happened due to the culmination of culture and the political contacts.

Narasimhavarma I's Mahisasuramarthini panel of Mahisasuramarthini Mandapa at Mahabalipuram has been taken to Malligarchuna temple at Pattadakal. We can say that the Pattadakal panel is the furtherance of the panel of Mahabalipuram. Another example of the migratory nature of sculpture from Tamil Nadu to Deccan was the royal emblem of the Chalukyas. Those emblems (Varagha, Crouch, Sun and Mirror) were engraved on the Mugamandapa pillar of Ladhkan temple at Aihole. The same emblems are later transformed into the royal emblems of Vijayanagar rulers with certain changes. These emblems are found both in the Varadharaja Perumal temple at Kanchi and in an incomplete temple tower of Azhagarkoil. In the same way, the sculptures of Vidhyadharas and Nagarajas of the Vijayanagar were mobilized to temples of Kerala and the Mandapas of Madurai Nayaks. The trade activities of the Europeans - Portuguese, Dutch and English

- also changed the Pattern of carving sculptures in Tamil Nadu. The traditional artisans began to emulate or imitate the European art-forms which advocate anatomical features of the body like projections and recessions. Sculptures came to be carved with rib-bones, wrist-bones, the assemblage of muscles on the torso, veins, nails, calf muscle etc. is against the Agamic rules. It is not that Tamils were not aware of the Anatomy but such carvings do not imply the super humanly quality of a deity. These sculptures register several notable advances particularly in terms of embellishment which is profuse, novel and of quality. Several new ideas were received from outside processed and absorbed into the traditional style. Thus sculpture too in Tamilnadu is not static in character and ought to transition in different stages.

Paintings

Like sculpture, paintings have also drifted from one area to another area. The paintings of Ajanta by the Satavahanas, Vakatakas and the Chalukyas had given an idea to the early Pandyas to paint the walls of the rock cut cave at Sittannavasal. The idea of colouring, technique of painting and other anatomical features of Sittannavasal is as same as Ajanta but the theme is different.

The Sittannavasal pattern is more or less followed by the Rashtrakutas at Ellora. The image of Nataraja and the demi Gods are similar to Thanjavur temple paintings. The paintings of Vijayanagara are entirely different in character. The idea of telling a story through paintings was originally introduced by the Vijayanagar rulers in Tamilnadu. This technique is adopted from Andhra Pradesh. Nayaks also followed the pattern of Andhra style in their paintings. Thus the element of painting never exempted from the characteristics of migration.

Dance

Dance is also a kind of fine arts most popular from the age of Sangam in Tamil Nadu. In the Post Sangam age dance became a classical one. But art of dance as a classical one among the minds of the Tamils became familiar from the days of the Pallavas. The institution of Devadasi began during the Pallava period and reached its zenith under the Imperial Cholas. The concept of

Natyasastra by Bharathamuni is portrayed in a manner of panels on the Vimana of Tanjore Temple by Rajaraja and Nataraja temple at Chidambaram by Vijayanagar rulers. Eventhough dance is familiar in Tamil Nadu, the basic concept of Bharatha Natya perhaps be migrated from North to Tamil country. Kathakali, the traditional dance of Kerala is enacted even today in the southern tip of Tamil Nadu. Bhagavathamela, a kind of dance of course, migrated from Andra is enacted even today at Milattur a village in Thanjavur district. All the above evidences prove that dance is also drifting in nature.

Music

Music in India is categorised as Hindustani in the north and Carnatic in the South.

The Carnatic music, patronised by the Vijayanagar rulers, Nayaks and the Marathas of Thanjavur, invited many number of musicians from outside Tamil nadu. Thiyagaraja, the exponent of Carnatic music, composed so many Kirthanas in Telugu, stayed and died at Thiruvaiyaru. Shyama Sastri and Muthusamy Dikshidar also became the patterns of Thiyagaraja. The occupation of Telugu rulers in Tamil Nadu may be the cause of the introduction of Telugu Kirthanas in Carnatic Music.

From the above mentioned facts one could infer that Art is not a static in character, but it may get into access to the other parts for various reasons like political, social, economic, religious attitudes and atmospheric aspects.

REFLECTIONS OF SOUTH INDIAN ART - CHANDESANUGRAHAMURTI

A. Ekambaranathan*

The study of art is almost conditioned by a study of religion, particularly in India, where image worship forms the very core of every religion. It helps one to understand the evolution of the various cult deities and their development from time to time.¹ Images of gods and goddesses serve the purpose of expressing high philosophic ideals in symbolic forms, giving scope for the artist's imagination and skill and inspiring devotion in the followers of the faiths to which they belong. They have definite ideas to convey to the on-lookers and have sublime expressions and religious impulses of mankind.

To the development of art, certain regions have made remarkable contributions. Regional variation in concepts as well as forms, mutual influence of the different schools that flourished in one particular area etc; are known by a systematic study of the specimens found in the respective region. Tamil Nadu has its due share of contribution to the growth of religion, art and iconography. Besides, it has also some exclusive cultic developments, not to be seen in other parts of India. One such unique development is that of Chandesa which had its origin, development and proliferation in Tamil Nadu and later on spread to other parts of South India.

The Story of Chandesa

The story of Chandesa, for the first time, occurs fifteen times in the hymns of Gnanasambandar and Tirunavukkarasar of 7th century A.D. Similarly, the 8th century Saint Sundarar refers to Chandesa in five of his hymns. All these hymns contain only brief accounts connected with the story of Siva conferring grace upon Chandesa. As Chandesa is glorified by Gnanasambandar and Tirunavukkarasar, he should have certainly lived in the 6th century A.D. The absence of Chandesa - myth in the pre-sixth century Tamil works also subscribes to this date.

The Tevaram-saints refer to the boy (Chandesa) by various names such as Maani

(brahmachari), Chandi, Chandan, Chandanayaka, Chandisa and Chandesvara.² Besides these, Sundarar adds 'Dandi' as one of his names.³

Sambandar states that the young boy heaped up sand in the form of a linga and performed abhisekha with milk. It was at that time, his father destroyed the linga and hence the boy cut off his legs. On seeing the devotion of the boy, Siva bestowed grace upon him, tied a garland around his head, gave him the name Chandisa and made him chief of his devotees.⁴

In one of his hymns, Sambandar also mentions that the father kicked off the milk (pot) and spilt it, hence the boy cut off his foreleg with a *parasu*. On seeing this, Siva sprinkled Ganga water on him and bestowed his own form to the boy.⁵

Tirunavukkarasar gives some more details about the episode. Accordingly, the boy established a *sthavara* linga underneath a fig tree, performed *abhisekha* to it with the milk milched from the cows, decorated it with flowers and performed *archana*. At this sight, his father became wild and committed the mistake, whereupon the son severed his legs.⁶ As Chandesa was made chief of Siva's devotees, people began to pay obeisance to him also.⁷ Sundarar also narrates all the incidents referred to by the above two Saiva saints.

Periyapuranam the hagiological work of the 12th century elaborates the story of Chandesa and treats him one among the sixty-three Saiva *Nayanmars*.⁸

Chandesa in Art

Chandesa found a place in the art of Tamil Nadu consequent to the rapid spread of bhakti ideology, popularization of Chandesa-myth by the Saiva saints, proliferation of the cult of Siva and extensive patronage of the ruling class to Saivism. The Pallava and early Pandya rock-cut and structural temples, in the sequel, came to be adorned with his sculptures since the 7th century.

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The earliest rock-cut sculpture, datable to the 7th century A.D., depicting the story of Siva bestowing grace upon Chandesa is found in the Dharmaraja ratha at Mahabalipuram. The four-armed figure of Siva, shown in semi-profile and turned towards Chandesa, holds a chowri (?) and a serpent in the upper hands, while the lower right rests on the waist and the corresponding left embraces the boy. His left leg, bent at the knee, is crossed behind the right one which rests on the ground. Chandesa stands with a forward stoop, "his right arm is folded in front of the chest and the fingers are in the act of reaching upto close the mouth. The left arm is folded across and supports the bent elbow, the pose of both hands indicating utter submission to his lord". "Chandesa wears a heavy *Jatabhara*, parted in the middle and falling over either side of the face with a small conical knot".⁹

Anur, near Tirukkalukunram, has a 7th century low relief representing Chandesa, seated in *ardha-utkutikasana* posture on a low pedestal. He wears a *karandamakuta* with spread-out *jatas* on either side. The cheeks are chubby and the nose is flat. He has a dwarfy stature and the limbs are rather stumpy. A *rudrakshamala* is worn around the neck and a thinly carved ribbon-like sacred thread across the chest. His right arm holds a roughly shaped axe, while the left rests on the thigh. Stylistically, this relief sculpture appears to be earlier than the Mahabalipuram specimen.

The famous Kailasanatha temple of Rajasimha Pallava (700-728 A.D.) has three panels and a sculpture in round depicting the episode of Chandesa. The first two panels carved on the northern side of the enclosure wall depict two events of the Chandesa-story. In the first panel, Siva is seen standing with his right leg firmly placed on the ground and the left leg, bent at the knee, is kept on a square platform with a *linga* underneath. He is four-armed, his upper right arm has a bunch of flower (for garland) while the corresponding left holds a bow. His lower right hand exhibits *varada* pose while the left arm appears to be in *simhakarana* posture. Here, Siva is in the act of conferring boon to Chandesa who is seen holding an axe in his right arm. Chandesa's father, lying prostrate with his leg severed, expresses wonder (*Vismaya*) at the incident of Siva appearing on the scene. The next panel represents

the concluding part of the episode, wherein Siva in *rajalilasana* is accompanied by Parvati to his left. At his foot-level, Chandesa is seen squatting with folded arms in *anjali* thus, it symbolizes the acceptance of Siva's divine grace by the devotee. As the panels are earlier than the composition of the *agamas*, they are not in conformity with agamic prescriptions.

At the north-eastern corner of the *parakara* wall of the Kailasanatha temple is carved a bold relief of Chandesa with a massive body, having heavy *jatabhara* and seated on a pedestal^o in *sukhasana* pose. His right arm possesses a *parasu* and the left arm rests on the thigh in *ardhadhyana* posture. Being a plaster-coated figure, its originality is very much obscured. An identical sculpture in the round, with its right arm broken, is now kept in the north-eastern corner of the same temple.

The Pirvatesvara and Matangesvara temples, also in Kanchipuram, have carvings of Chandesanugrahamurti particularly at the north-eastern side of the wall. In these panels, Siva is engaged in tying a garland around the head of Chandesa who stands reverently with folded hands.

Yet another 8th century Pallava sculpture of Chandesa is found in the Ramanandisvara temple at Porur near Chennai. It is shown seated in *ardhautkutikasana* posture, holding a long-handled axe by the right arm. It wears a turban-like heavy *jatabhara*, a pair of huge *kundalas*, a single necklace and a ribbon-like sacred thread.

It deserves special mention that when the Chandesa-story gained popularity in Saivism through bhakti ideology, a parallel myth and iconic form representing Vishvakshena anugrahamurti was introduced in Vaishnavism. Accordingly, Vishnu is said to have bestowed grace upon Vishvakshena, a brahmana, and made him the chief guardian of his celestial abode. In conformity with this story, a sculpture depicting Vishnu tying a garland around the head of Vishvakshena, standing with his arms in *anjali*, is carved at the north-eastern corner of the Vaikunthaperumal temple at Kanchipuram.

Some of the 8th - 9th century early Pandya and Muttaraiyar rock-cut temples in southern Tamil Nadu also possess relief sculptures of Chandesa. At Kunrakkudi in Sivaganga district, the Saiva

rock-cut temple contains a 8th century relief-sculpture of Chandesa, slightly different from the contemporary images. Here, he is shown seated in *ardhapadmasana* with his right arm in *dhyanamudra* (?) and the left placed on the thigh. He wears thick *jatabhara*, a *rudrashakmala*, *patrakundalas* and a *patta*-like *yajnopavita* across the torso. Strangely enough, his *parasu* attribute is vertically planted on the ground to his right side, a rare feature not to be seen in other sculptures. To some extent, it resembles the figure of Lakulisa.

The Malaiyadipatti and Kunrandarkoil rock-cut temples of the Muttaraiyar chieftains of the early 9th century in Pudukkottai district have niches containing carvings of Chandesa seated in *sukhasana* with *parasu* in the right arm and the left placed on the thigh. Among the two figures, the latter specimen is excellently portrayed with a smiling countenance, curly locks of *jatabhara*, heavy *kundalas* in profile and half-closed eyes in deep meditation.

Chandesa was considered to be one of the *eight parivara devatas*, probably from the latter half of the 9th century, and thereby a small shrine for him was built at the north-eastern side of the *prakara* wall. The early Chola temples of Aditya I (871-907 A.D.) testifying to this tradition are the Sundaresvara temple at Tirukkattalai and Agasteswara temple at Kilappaluvur, both in Tiruchi district.

Other early Chola temples built till about the last quarter of 10th century have either small shrines or a loose sculpture at the north-eastern side of the ambulatory passage. Such examples are found at places like Allur, Sittur, Kodumbalur, Nirpalani, Nangavaram, Kamarasavalli, Uraiur, Kilaiyur, Tiruvelvikudi, Kudumiyanmalai, Govindavadi, Vayalur, Tiruvandarkoil etc., (in some temples, the figures are dislocated now). Icons of Chandesa found in all these places are depicted in *sukhasana* with the right arm possessing a *parasu* and the left arm resting on the thigh. Heavy *jatabhara*, huge *patrakundalas*, ribbon-like sacred thread and single necklace are the common features of these sculptures. However, minor variation like either left leg or right leg is shown hanging down in them. Similarly, the *parasu* is sometimes held above freely or it rests on the shoulder. Except for these

minor differences, other iconographic features are one and the same.

The finest of all the early Chola sculptures of Chandesa is found in the Adipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur in Chennai. It depicts Chandesa majestically seated on a raised pedestal in *sukhasana* posture, having proportionately modelled physique and limbs. Its head is adorned with an exquisite *karandamakuta* with tresses of hair falling on either side. The contemplative calmness of its face, half-closed eyes, melting contour of the physique, majestic appearance etc. illustrate the immaculate workmanship of a 10th century master craftsman.

Most of the early Pandya structural temples (9th - 10th century) dedicated to Siva in southern Tamil Nadu have disappeared with the passage of time. Moreover, some loose sculptures of Chandesa from places like Naalur, Edirkottai, Kaliumadai (Virudhunagar district), Tiruvadagam (Madurai district) and Tirukkottiyur (Sivaganga district) have survived to the present day. In all these specimens, Chandesa is shown seated in *sukhasana* with the right leg hanging down. The right arm holds the axe and the left arm rests on the thigh. *Jatabhara* is the typical hair style of these images except the Tiruvadagam specimen which has a halo behind the head. Another sculpture from Thentiruppoovanam (Tirunelveli district) differs slightly in having the left leg hanging down instead of the right and having the hair secured like a top-knot in the center of the *jatabhara*.

The cult of Chandesa gained a new lease of life from the time of the imperial Chola monarch Rajaraja I (985 - 1012 A.D.) who built a small temple for Chandesa closer to the *pranala* on the northern side of the Brihadiiswara temple at Thanjavur. This practice of building a small temple or a shrine for Chandesa closer to the main *vimana*, initiated by Rajaraja I, is continued in all the Siva temples till date. At Thanjavur, it is a two storeyed *vimana* with a shrine preceded by a *mandapa*, having sculptures of Chandesa in the *devakosthas* and *grivakosthas*. The original image consecrated by Rajaraja got damaged on its right leg and therefore, it was replaced by a new one in later times.

Following the foot-steps of Rajaraja-I, his son Rajendra I, and his successors like Rajaraja II and Kulottunga III built small *vimanas* in their imposing temples at Gangaikondacholapuram, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam respectively. In all these four royal temples, apart from the Chandesa images consecrated in the small *vimanas*, narrative panels connected with the episode of Chandesa are carved either on the *gopura* or *mandapas*. All these would reveal the esteemed position occupied by Chandesa during the rule of the middle and later Chola monarchs.

Rajendra Chola excelled his father in not only building a small temple for Chandesa, but also embellished the Gangaikondacholapuram temple with a spectacular sculpture of Chandesanugrahamurti, unparalleled in the art history of India. It is accommodated in the north-eastern niche of the temple. The four-armed Siva seated in the company of his consort ties a garland around the head of Chandesa with love and care, while the boy offers worship with his arms folded in *anjali* in the attitude of self-surrender to the lord.

The period between the 10th and 13th centuries represents the proliferation of the cult of Chandesa coinciding with the imperial Chola power in Tamil Nadu and its expansion in the adjoining territories of Kerala, Andhra and Karnataka. Every Siva temple, small or big, came to possess a shrine for Chandesa on the northern side closer to the main *vimana*. Beautiful stone and metal images of Chandesa were consecrated in almost all the Siva temples of their period.

It may be said in this context that from about the 12th century onwards, every important Siva temple in Tamil Nadu possessed an additional image of Chandesa consecrated along with the other Saiva Saints (63 Nayanmars), besides the one installed in the small shrine meant for him. This is in conformity with the *Periyapuranam* tradition making him one among the sixty three Nayanmars.

Images of Chandesa consecrated after the 14th century, are decorated with a *karandamakuta* or *jatamakuta* in addition to the *jatabhara* hair style. In some places, he is attributed with four arms. Such four-armed variety is reported from Mayiladuturai and Tirukkachchur. The specimen from

Mayiladuturai is a sculpture in the round, decorated with a *jatabhara* having a *karandamakuta* at its center. The lower right arm, as usual, holds a *parasu* while the left rests on the lap. Its upper right hand displays *chinmudra* and the corresponding left *ahuyavarada*.

Tirukkachchur, near Chingleput, has a unique icon of Chandesa consecrated in the Marundisvara temple. It is shown seated on a pedestal in *sukhasana* and represented with four heads and four arms. The upper hands carry *akshamala* and *kamandala* while the lower hands possess *parasu* and *sula*. Its eyes are bulging out and fangs are seen on either side of the mouth, thus revealing his terrific nature. It depicts the 16th century Vijayanagara style of art. The reason for the attribution of *akshamala* and *kamandala*, the principal attributes of Brahma, to Chandesa can not be adduced at the present state of our knowledge.

Modern stone images of Chandesa occupying the small shrine are only in seated position. On the other hand, processional icons cast in metal are depicted in standing position with the two arms folded in *anjali*. Multi-armed figures are not found in any of the modern temples.

Reflections of Art

The cult of Chandesa is a regional contribution of Tamil Nadu to the growth of Saivism, art and iconography. It had its origin, development and culmination in Tamil Nadu and subsequently spread to other parts of South India.

Chandesa was a historical figure of the 6th century, around whom was spun the episode of Siva conferring his divine grace, when the cult of Siva began to attain wide popularity. The incorporation of the Chandesa-story, in addition to other local stories connected with Saiva devotees like Kannappa, Dandiadigal and Naminandi by the *Tevaram* -Saints in their hymnal literature, was mainly to popularize bhakti-ideology and infuse the spirit of unsullied devotion to lord Siva in the mind of the common man and thereby, a wider socio-religious base for the bhakti movement as well as Saivism could be achieved. Besides, it also served as a catalyst to popularize linga worship and make it acceptable by all, as linga found its way in the temples of Tamil Nadu only in the 7th century A.D.

The verbal imagery of linga as well as Chandesa found in the hymns of *Tevaram* was translated in stone by the Pallavas and early Pandyas in their temples.

The Chandesanugraha story also served as a useful analogy to undermine the preceptors of the Buddha and Jaina sects, as they had no power granting a favour (*anugraha*) or even a disfavour. Thus, the superiority of Siva over the Buddha and the Jina is indirectly alluded to in the Chandesanugraha story.

It is also to be noted that the Brahmana boy (Chandesa) performing the feat of cutting off his father's leg and the instantaneous *anugraha* of Siva and assigning him the position of his chief devotee and subsequently elevating him into a deity (*parivara-devata*) could have also been done to ascertain the ascendancy of the Brahmanas in social hierarchy. No other Saiva devotee has been assigned the status of a deity like Chandesa in the Saiva pantheon.

Influence of Pasupatha Saivism

It needs to be added here that the Pasupatha school of Saivism had some connection with the final make up of the iconic form of Chandesa. The Pasupathas who had their origin in Western Deccan, migrated to the Tamil country during the early centuries of the Christian era and gradually gained currency in the subsequent centuries. Their presence in some Important Saiva centers like Tiruvarur, Tiruvanaikka and Kanchipuram is attested to by the hymns of *Tevaram*¹⁰ and the Sanskrit burlesque *Mattavilasaprakasana*¹¹ of the 7th century A.D. Curiously enough, the presiding deity of Tiruvanaikka (near Trichy) is addressed as 'Pasupatha' and the followers of the Pasupatha school are said to have taken active part in the rituals and festivals connected with the temple.¹²

The bhakti cult popularized by the Saiva Saints admitted all forms of worship and people from all communities into its fold and therefore, the Pasupatha, Kapalika and Mahavratins find mention in their devotional poems.

Lakulisa as Precursor

Lakulisa is stated to be the founder or systematizer of the Pasupatha school of Saivism. Although he is described in the *puranas* as an incarnation of Siva, he was undoubtedly, a human

being who must have lived in the 2nd century A.D.¹³ He is styled as Lakutapani and Dandisvara in the lithic records of the Chalukyas and Renadu Cholas. Infact, the Renadu Cholas were adherents of Pasupatha Saivism and many of their epigraphical documents begin with an invocation to Lakutapani.¹⁴

Early and medieval sculptures of Lakulisa from Western Deccan, Karnataka, Orissa and Andhra portray him either standing or seated, holding a club in the right arm and an indistinct object (Chinmudra / a vessel) in the left arm. Majority of them shows him ithyphallic with the genital upwards. At times, a snake entwines his *danda*.

In Tamil Nadu also, a few, sculptures of Lakulisa have been reported from places like Perur, Arittapatti and Devarmalai. The 7th century loose sculpture from Perur (Erode District) is shown seated with the legs crossed, ithyphallic and holds a *danda* (club) in the left arm and an indistinct object in the right arm. The hair is arranged in the form of *jatabhara*.¹⁵ The other two 8th century bold reliefs from Arittapatti (near Madurai) and Devarmalai (near Pudukkottai) are carved at the flanks with Ganesa occupying the other end in the rock-cut temples. The former specimen shows him seated in *sukhasana* pose, with the right arm placed on the thigh while the left holds a *danda*. The latter sculpture from Devarmalai is depicted in *ardha-utkutikasana* with the right arm holding a *danda* entwined by a snake and the left arm resting on the thigh. It wears a heavy *jatabhara*, *patrakundalas*, *rudrakshamala*, *keyuras* and *kankanas* of a simple pattern. Except for the *danda* in the right arm, other features resemble those of Chandesa.

It may be pointed out at this juncture that there are marked similarities between Lakulisa and Chandesa. Both of them are known by the name "Dandisvara" as they possess *danda* in their arms. It must be noted that in the Chandesa-myth the *danda* (staff) he used to tend the cattle is said to have transformed into a *parasu* when he cut off his father's leg. In most of the early sculptures of Chandesa, the handle of the *parasu* is actually carved like a club or *danda* only. Both of their images are decorated with *jatabhara*, *rudrakshamala*, simple *keyuras* and *kankanas*. The position of their *asana* is also similar, i.e. either *ardha-utkutikasana* or *sukhasana*.

In all probability, Lakulisa figure served as a precursor or proto-type for the image of Chandesa. Being a deified human being like Lakulisa, the sculptors had chosen his figure as the proto-type for sculpting Chandesa images. The period when Pasupatha school of Saivism gained good support in Tamil Nadu, coinciding with bhakti movement, was conducive for this synthesis, in consequence of which Chandesa was accommodated into the Saiva pantheon. The equation of Lakulisa and Ganesa in some rock-cut temples of Tamil Nadu, similar to that of Chandesa and Ganesa in Bhairavakonda (Andhra) in the 8th / 9th century, is obviously due to the impact of Pasupatha school of Saivism in both the regions. The genesis of the concept and form of Chandesa, thus, owes its origin to Lakulisa.

Siva-Diksha and Chandesa

The Chandesanugraha episode also reflects the practice of Siva-diksha ceremony connected with Saivism. The *diksha* ceremony of initiating a disciple into the religious order is done by a preceptor or guru by offering special worship to Siva. The disciple has to stand by the side of the guru with folded arms in utmost reverence and undergo some religious rites. Finally, the preceptor, considering his own hand as that of Siva, places it on the head of the disciple and utters the *mulamantra*. A *diksha-nama* (name bestowed on initiation) will be given to him and thereafter, he becomes initiated into the Saiva order.¹⁶ In the Chandesa-story also, similar incidents occur, but instead of the *guru*, Siva himself sprinkles ganga water, ties a garland around the head and places his hand on the head of the boy. The name "Chandesvara" is conferred upon him and thereafter, he becomes the chief devotee of Siva.¹⁷

Images of Chandesa

Sculptures of Chandesa or Chandesanugrahamurti came to be carved in consonance with the story in some of the 7th – 8th century Pallava and early Pandya temples. Generally, these sculptures are found in the north eastern corner of the shrine-wall or the *parakara* wall. In some Pandya rock-cut temples, the northern side outer niche is assigned to him. When he was considered one among the eight *parivaradevatas*, a small shrine accommodating his image was constructed in the north eastern side of the *prakara* wall.

His cult reached its culmination during the time of the great Chola monarch, Rajaraja I (985-1012 A.D.) who built a two-tiered *vimana* adjacent to the *pranala* of the main *vimana*. Chandesa was shifted from north eastern corner to northern side closer to the main *vimana*. This practice of constructing a small *vimana* could be seen in the royal temples at Thanjavur, Gangaikondacholapuram, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam. Other temples dedicated to Siva, as a rule, contain a small shrine for Chandesa at the same locality even today.

In modern times, Chandesa does not enjoy an exalted position as he did in the medieval period. Although every Siva temple has a shrine for Chandesa and the devotees conclude their worship with him, he has not been considered on par with the other *parivaradevatas*. Some devotees clap their hands standing before his image, mistaking him for a deaf-deity. Changes brought about in the cultural life of people, losing faith in the age-old customs and traditions of the land etc., resulted in making him merely a minor deity of less importance.

Notes & References

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3. Sundarar, 55:3, 72:9
4. Sambandar, Tiruvettakudi, 3; Tirukolili, 4; Tiruseynalur, 7, Tiruvural, 5.
5. *Ibid.*, Tiruvalavay, 5.
6. Tirunavukkarasar, Tiruchcherai, 4.
7. *Ibid.*, Tiruchykadu, 6; Tirukurukai, 3; Tiruapadi, 4; Tirukottaiyur, 6.
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FURNACES IN ANCIENT TAMILAGAM - NEW REVELATIONS FROM EXCAVATIONS

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The Proto historic period in India had witnessed the use of two kinds of metals namely copper and iron. Soon after the Neolithic period, the copper was used as a metal for manufacturing artifacts, and this period is also called as Chalcolithic period. In other words, the Neolithic period was succeeded by Chalcolithic period i.e. Copper Age. After copper, iron was used as a metal for manufacturing tools and implements and other artifacts, though copper and iron are richly available in the minerals, as the process of obtaining copper from copper ore is quite easier, it would have been probably experimented initially. After having expertise in the technique, they subsequently started separating iron from iron ore.

In South India, the pure Copper Age is not available. Traces of Copper are found in association with Neolithic vestiges; hence, this composite phase is called as Neolithic-chalcolithic period. As a result, in South India so far no unadulterated Neolithic or Chalcolithic culture is identified in the excavations. Being a part of Penninsular India, Tamil Nadu is not an exception to this cultural trait, which is very well endorsed by the archaeological spadework conducted therein.

The excavations conducted in the Vellore, Tiruvannamalai, Villuppuram, Dharmapuri, Tirunelveli, Thuthukudi, Kanchipuram, Tiruvellore and Erode Districts, have brought to light different kinds of material evidences, in the form of crucibles, iron slags and remains of furnaces, endorsing widespread iron smelting in these places. The remains of furnaces in association with iron

slags, in the stratified layers in these places indicated the active functioning of iron. The metallurgists are of the opinion, that though both copper and iron are available in the minerals, the presence of rich iron ore deposit in Tamil Nadu, played a vital role in the extensive iron smelting in ancient Tamilagam.

The excavations conducted in different parts of Tamil Nadu brought to light existence of furnaces in different shapes and sizes. They are in the shape of rectangular, oval, oblong and circular. On the basis of the shape and type of usage, these furnaces are classified as crucible furnace, bowl furnace and trough furnace. This paper tries to analyse these furnaces, exposed during course of excavations in Tamil Nadu.

Tiruverkadu - Crucible Furnace

The excavations, conducted on an archaeological mound found on the bank of the river Palar in Tiruverkadu near Chermali, yielded traces for iron smelting, in the form of iron objects, iron slags and remains of furnaces in the trenches TVD 1, TVD 3 and TVD 4. In TVD 1, two circular furnaces (Fig. No.1) were exposed at a depth of 0.75m and 1 m respectively. The dia of these furnaces measured respectively 0.7m and 0.65m. The periphery wall of the furnace was very hard and highly brunt due to its usage. As the remains of these furnaces are highly damaged, the inlet and outlet holes could not be traced. The concaved depth of the furnaces had a depth ranging from 6cm to 10cm. As the most of the furnace wall was damaged, the full depth of the furnaces could not

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be ascertained. In the same level iron slags were also collected from the cultural deposit.

Similar evidences of two more furnaces were also observed at a depth of .84mt. and 1.09m respectively, corresponding to the stratum (4) in TVD 4. These furnaces were also in the shape of circle.

However, in TVD 3, a furnace (Fig.No.2) in full shape was exposed at a depth of 1.33m, assignable to layer (6). Like other furnaces, this one was also in more or less circular shape. Near by the remains, a floor level possessing iron slags in association with black and red ware sherds were observed. The furnace had a dia of 0.72 m. Its wall was made out of clay, which subsequently turned as burnt clay due to fire generated in the furnace. The approximate thickness of the furnace wall measured 20 to 21 cm. From the size of the furnace and the thickness of its wall, it could be conjectured that it ought to have a depth of not less than 20cm. An opening with a width of 16cm. was found on the furnace wall. It was further partitioned by placing a brick in the middle of the opening to obtain two passages. One, served for bellowing air and another probably for retrieving the molten metal.

The structural remains of the furnaces, which were exposed in the various trenches at Tiruverkadu were belonged either to Period IA or the early level of Period IB. Thus, they could be dated between 400B.C. and 300A.D.

Palur - Crucible Furnace

During the course of the excavation at Palur in Kanchipuram District, a circular furnace (Fig.No.3) was noticed in the northwestern corner of the trench PLR-6, at a depth of 1 m. The outer diameter of the furnace, north to south and east to west measured about 56cms, thus it is in a perfect circle. The clay wall around the furnace had a height of 11 cms and thickness of about 4cms. As it was constantly in touch with the fire in the furnace, it had burnt and turned as a terracotta wall. This justified that the furnace was actively used.

A major portion of the undisturbed circular furnace structure was exposed without much damage during the course of excavations. It was filled with powdery ashy deposit mixed with

charcoal remains. On removal of this deposit, a well-paved deep shallow furnace-floor was observed. The maximum depth of the furnace measured about 11 cms. From the size and depth of the furnace, it could be conceived, that it would have been used for melting high quantity of iron ore for manufacturing different types of equipments.

On the floor of the furnace, a hole having a diameter of 3cms was noticed for letting in air that was bellowed in to the furnace. To the southeastern side of the furnace, another hole was noticed on the furnace wall. It was roughly circular in shape. And further probe in to the furnace indicated, that the above said outer hole and the hole on the floor of the furnace were inter connected by a channel, that was wider near the outer hole and narrower towards the furnace-floor. The length of the channel measured about 16cms. From this, it could be conjectured that the furnace was operated manually by blowing the air through outer hole by using a bellow. The narrow channel was probably intentionally made to let in the air with more pressure in to the furnace, so that; high temperature could be created in the furnace.

In the same level of furnace, discarded iron slags in lumps were also collected in association with black ware and black and red ware sherds. Apart from this, many unidentified iron objects were also collected. With the presence of black ware and black and red ware in association with furnace remains, one could assign the furnace at Palur to 3rd century B.C. The iron slags in lumps found nearer to the furnace, undoubtedly confirmed that the furnace was used for smelting of iron.

Kodumanal - Bowl Furnace

At Kodumanal, the Tamil University during their course of excavation(1985-86), brought to light remains of a furnace, identified by the excavators as bowl furnace. As it resembles a bowl, it is called as bowl furnace. Built out of clay, which turned burnt clay due to its usage, measures 115cms in diameter. As the furnace is damaged, its full height could not be ascertained. Remains of terracotta pipes were also found attached to the furnaces. The presence of iron slags and wrought iron(beaten iron) in the same level, indicate, that the furnace had produced molten iron, which was

subsequently heated and beaten to remove impurities, if any remain in the metal. Thus, wrought iron was produced at Kodumanal.

Further, in the same site two more furnaces were found at a depth of 1.25m. Both the furnaces were oval in shape and their diameter measured 112cm. north-south and 100cm east-west. The depth of the furnace measured 40cm. It was built out of clay and the thickness of the wall is 20cm. Due to the usage, it had turned as a hard stone. A rectangular hole on the furnace wall probably would have been used for bellowing air. The excavators had dated the furnaces to 300 B.C. Similar furnaces were also noticed in Pudukottai region (Fig.No.4).

Guttur - Trough Type Furnace

The excavations conducted (1982-83) by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, at Guttur in Krishnagiri taluk, wherein the author of this paper had the opportunity of participating in the excavation as a Post Graduate student, had brought to light, a row of furnaces (Fig.No.5) in oblong-rectangular shape in a trench GTR 4, laid on the foot of Gutturmalai. Each of these furnaces measures 2.02m in length, 0.63m in width and 0.45m in height. The furnace wall was made out of clay. Since, it was constantly in touch with fire, it had become burnt clay. The thickness of the furnace wall is about .06mt. There were three openings i.e. one on its side and two in the front. They should have served the purposes of retrieving the molten iron and removing the slag respectively. In association with the remains of furnace, black and red ware sherds and iron slags were found. A comparative study gleaned that perhaps, it could have been one of the largest furnaces, functioned in Tamil Nadu in around 300 B.C. Further, not only one such furnace was unearthed; as many as four such furnaces were exposed at the site. This would go to show the existence of a very large iron smithy that indulged in producing fused iron in large quantity. In this connection, it is pertinent to mention here, that iron ore is richly available in the northern part of Tamil Nadu, wherein Guttur is located. Probably, this would have induced the Iron Age people at Guttur, to establish such a large iron smithy. Further, it would not be out of context to mention here, that even today, Guttur and its

surrounding villages are reeling under dry condition, which has resulted in lack of job opportunities for the local people. The same climatic condition would have prevailed even in the Iron Age, which would have forced the people to exploit to maximum, the richly available mineral content. The black metal produced here would have fulfilled the demand of nearby areas.

The recent chemical analysis of an iron artifact found in association with furnaces, divulged, that it was a cast iron - an alloy of iron and carbon, containing carbon content from 3% to 5%. As the cast iron is so hard, it could be utilized for manufacturing mould made objects. In this regard, occurrence of terracotta rings (dia 15.cms) (Fig.No.6) with a spout at Tirukkampuliur in Kulittalai taluk, wherein excavations were conducted by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, deserves special mention. Through the spout the molten iron was poured and was cooled for sometime. Then, the terracotta ring was broken and iron ring was obtained. Thus, the Iron Age people acquainted the knowledge of even manufacturing cast iron object out of moulds. Such like terracotta moulds were also available in a few other places like Kannapalayam near Mettupalayam and Nattukkallpalayam, wherein archaeological spade works were undertaken by Tamil University.

Discussions

- ✓ The iron smithy had existed and flourished in ancient Tamil country as an indigenous industry.
- ✓ The study of structural plan and shape of the furnaces found in the excavations in Tamilnadu revealed, that they could chiefly be classified as crucible furnaces, bowl furnaces and trough furnaces.
- ✓ The first type of furnaces are found in the northern part of Tamil Nadu (ex. Tiruverkadu, Palur, Melchittamur, Adiyamankottai etc). Normally these types of furnaces were in circular shape, in which, crucibles were used for separating iron from iron ore. In this connection, it is pertinent to mention here, that the excavations conducted in various parts of Tamil Nadu yielded crucibles used in the smithy. For example, at Adiyamakottai (AMK 2), a terracotta

crucible having a dia of 5.6cm, with and height of 4cm was found. Recently, at Melchittamur (Fig.No.7), similar crucible in the size of 8cm in height, 6cm in dia was noted. These crucibles were in deep convex shape and devoid of either handle and rim or pedestal. Such like crucibles filled with iron ore were inserted in to the furnaces and a fire at a very high temperature was generated. Due to heat the sediments got separated from the iron and gradually settled down in the crucible. With the help of water the molten iron was segregated and solidified. The sediments in the bottom were ignored as slags.

- ✓ In case of bowl furnaces, as it was in the shape of a bowl, it was named so. Such like bowl furnaces are found in the western part of Tamil Nadu. So far, evidences for the use of such like furnace is available at Kodumanal.
- ✓ The third type of furnace was in trough shape, for which the solitary evidence is available at Guttur.
- ✓ Further, a comparative study gleans that the furnaces in the northern part of Tamil Nadu are larger in size, compared to furnaces found in southern and western parts of Tamil Nadu. Probably as stated earlier, as the iron ore is richly available in the northern part of Tamil Nadu, people would have embraced a profession in iron smithy. Hence, more remains of furnaces in association with iron implements and slags are found in this part of Tamil Nadu.

- ✓ The trough type furnace found at Guttur would have functioned wherein iron ore was available in large quantity. The iron produced from these furnaces, would have met out the demand of the near by villages.
- ✓ As the archaeological evidences are scarcely available, among the three types, the earliest type and the latest type could not be ascertained. However, with the scattered data, it could be postulated that the crucible furnace could be the earliest. As more molten metal could not be produced^o at one time, bowl furnace could have been invented to meet the demand. The solitary trough furnace had purely functioned as an industry.
- ✓ Mostly furnaces were made out of red loam (fertile soil of clay and sand contain humus). However, as it was in constant touch with the fire, in due course of time it had burnt and become very hard.
- ✓ Holes meant for bellows always situated at the lower portion of the furnace.
- ✓ An ethno archaeological study revealed that bellows were normally made out of sheep skin.
- ✓ A close examination of the crucibles divulged that it was made out of burnt vitreous clay.
- ✓ Though, the iron industry existed for more than 2000 years as indigenous industry, by the advent of the Britishers, it ceased to exist by the end of 19th century, due to the introduction of blast furnace (Fig. No.11) and import of iron.

Illustrations



Fig. No.1 - Crucible furnace - Tiruverkadu



Fig.No.2 Crucible furnace - Tiruverkadu

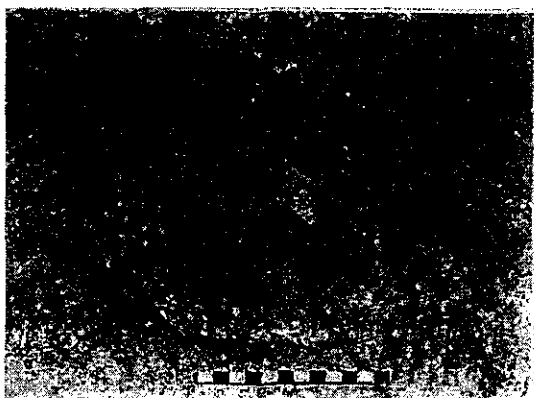


Fig. No.3 Crucible furnace -Palur

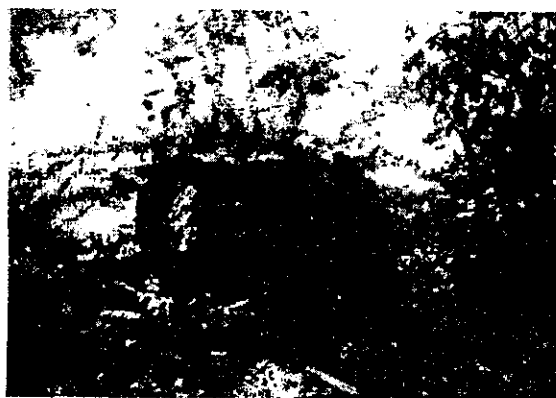


Fig. No.4 Bowl furnace - Perungalur



Fig.No. 5 Trough furnace - Guttur



Fig.No.6 T.C. Ring-mould -Tirukkampuliyur



Fig.No.7 Crucible - Melchittamur

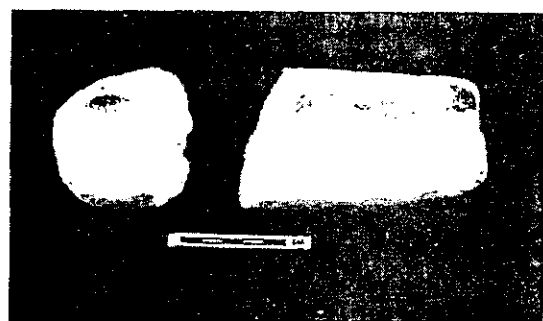


Fig.No.8 T.C.Mould for ingots - Palur



Fig.No.9 Pot furnace -Lothal



Fig.No.10 Sanfeng ceramic furnace 1541 A.D. - China



Fig. No.11 Blast furnace invented by Abraham Darby 1709A.D. - U.K.

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BRAHMAPURISVARA TEMPLE IN PULLAMANGAI: ITS ICONOGRAPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE

J. Soundararajan*

Pullamangai alias Pasupati Koil has a temple dedicated to Siva, popularly known as "Sri Brahmapurisvara temple" (or) "Naltunai Isvara Temple".¹ In inscriptions the deity is known as "Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar," "Tirunanipalli Udaiya Mahadevar".² The temple is considered to be one of the finest early Chola examples for its art and architecture and the 16th in the series of *Tevara* stalams in the Chola kingdom situated on the south of the river Kaveri.³

A total of eighteen inscriptions are found in the temple, the earliest of which dates from the time of Aditya.⁴ The majority of inscriptions belong to Parantaka-I (early 10th century).⁵ There are as many as twenty-five sculptures and sixty-four miniature panels beautifully depicting mostly Ramayana, Mahabharata and Sivapurana episodes.⁶ There are five niches in the *garbhagrha* and *ardhamandapa* which contain images of Ganapati, Dakshinamurthy, Lingodbhava, Brahma and Durga. Sculptural features of this temple display a profound sense of aesthetics. The friezes of yalis, scroll works and the several other features of delicate workmanship found in the miniature panels above, and below the niche images, are the reminiscent of the Pallava plastic art.⁷ Miniature sculptures are counted among the mines of gods and goddesses which form subject for independent research in their multifarious aspects of the iconographical features about which a study has been attempted here. It is with this intention the present study is attempted to highlight the iconographical significance of a few miniature sculptures.

Early Chola temples and the images in them are noted for the continuity and further development in style as they display features of the earlier Pallava-Pandya school. The images and architectural mouldings are infused with a ray of classical charm. This aesthetic flavour goes on diminishing during the subsequent phases under the middle and later Chola periods. Good examples

of early Chola temples are found at Narttamalai (Vijayalayaicolisvaram), Pullamangai (Brahmapurisvara), Kodumbalur (Muvarkoyil) and so on. S.R. Balasubramaniam gives a long list of 321 temples of the early Cholas.

An important dimension of Chola art is its artistic productions on stone and bronzes. The *dravida - satanga - vimana* fitted with *devakosthas*, housing stone images reached the stage of perfection under Cholas. Various parts of the temple such as *plinth*, *pata* and *vimana* are decorated with miniature carvings of images. The *galapadas* (e.g. Pullamangkai temple) accommodate a series of sculptures. All these merit a study in the context of iconography.⁸

Siva - Nataraja

The epithet Siva Nataraja, meaning King of Dancers (natah 'dancer' and raja 'king'), appears for the first time in an inscription of the later Pandya period, around the 13th century A.D. Earlier, the epithet Kuttappiran 'Lord of Dance' was much more popular, in the Nataraja temple at Chitambaram where the cult was deep-rooted no inscription, giving the name, Nataraja has been reported. Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014) who donated several bronzes to the Rajarajeswaram at Tanjavur, called Nataraja by the name, Adavallan. So, Scholars in the field thought Nataraja and Atavallan are equals.⁹

The Pullamangai temple in its *galapada* section houses a few stone carvings which illustrate *Urdhajanu* and *Kiratarjuniyam* in which both Kirata and Arjuna are in dancing mode (ECT PL 39). In the *Urdhvajanu* mode of the Lord is eight handed and holds a trisula in one of the hands (ECT.37), the other hands are holding *damaru* and *agni* in *para hastas*. The front right hand is in *abhaya mudra* and left in *gaja* or *dola hasta*. The Lord dances standing on the left side of the dwarf, *Muyalakan* or *Apasmara*.

The Karkotesvara temple at Kamaracavalli houses a few miniature relief images

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in atibhanga stance (ECT Pis. 123-124). A miniature carving within a *makaratorana* decoration in the Tirumiyaccur temple accommodates two images of anandatandavam and urdhvajanu. There is a miniature of anandatandavam in the Turaiyur temple (ECT. Pl.14). The middle Chola period finds a progression in respect of the dancing images of Siva. New forms emerge, both in bronze and stone which are listed by S.R. Balasubramaniam (MCT).¹⁰

Krishna - Lila Themes

In the Pullamangai temple, we find a Bhagavata Purana miniature panel beneath the Durga *devakoshta* which portrays the episode of baby Krishna killing the demon Putagi by sucking her life through her breast. Krishna's Juvenile exploits commence with the killing of putana. She was an ogress, commissioned to kill Krishna. She came disguised as a kind lady, went to Nanda's house as a wetnurse and started, feeding the baby with her breast. Aware of her evil intentions, the lord sucked milk and thus His lips sucked forth her soul. When she fell dead her original form came out. She had a fearful mouth with terrific tusks, nostrils like mountain caverns, breasts like hillocks, disheveled hairs, eyes deep like well, buttocks like sanddunes, arms and legs like dams.¹¹

Krishna, is the hero of the *Mahabharata* (its Harivamsa Section). Vishnu and Bhagavata-Puranas, are popular themes in Indian art since the Gupta times.¹² The Dasavara temple at Deogar in its plinth mouldings houses a few panel of Bhagavatapurana episodes and some of the fallen images from the temple have been removed to the National Museum at New Delhi. A few of the early Chalukyan temples house images of Krishna in *devakosthas* and plinth mouldings, a good example being the upper Sivalaya in Badami. Badami Museum is in possession of four panels, illustrating the various aspects of Krishna's *lilas* (sports).¹³ These are supposed to have been performed by the Lord in League with his elder brother Balarama and Bala-gopis of Gokula in Mathura. The Bhagavata Purana gives a detailed account of the mythologies which have been adequately summed up by several scholars (Desai-19, Hardy-10, Kalidos 1986, the later two with a flash back of the Alvars' Literature in Tamil).¹⁴

Some other panels illustrate a few other Krishna *lilas*. These panels represent the stories like Krishna killing the mad elephant and Bhima killing Jarasandha. These include the birth of Krishna who is carried by a lady, Putana Vadham, Sakatasura- Vadham and Govardhanadhari.¹⁵

Miniature Images

In the Pullamangai temple in its inside the *hara*, dancing female figures are exquisitely portrayed. This shows the intricate skill in workmanship of the sculptor. In some pillars carvings in *tongu tamam* are hanging chains coming out from the mouth of Kirtimukha. Between these kirtimukhas is a scroll design which consists of animal figures like lion, elephant, deer, nandi, musical instruments, players and budaganas in different postures clearly visible and shown beautifully. There is a bhutagana frieze below the cornice and a yali frieze above where in is depicted some soldiers as riding the yalis, some opening the mouth of yalis and vyala and some others carrying shield and sword. *Bhutaganas* are carved on the *uttira* portion showing different activities and rasas like playing with each other, with different musical instruments, snake, fighting, carrying sword and shield. In some places the bird Hamsa (swan) is seen between the ganas. Some *bhutaganas* bear the head of lion (lion faced gana) owl and mahisa head.¹⁶

Miniature stucco figures found in the Kantha level of the Sikhara in four niches in four cardinal directions are those of Dakshinamurti, Siva with his consort, Brahma and Durga. In the gopura at the entrance gateway the stucco panels depicting *panchakostha* murtis namely Ganesa on his mouse vahana, Muruga on Peacock, Sivaparvati on bull, Ambal in standing posture, Chandikesvara in Sukhasane posture are portrayed.¹⁷

Ramayana Scenes

A few panels from the Pullamangai temple depict the scenes of *Ramayana* like Rama and Lakshmana practising archery, Guha meeting Rama, Rama and Lakshmana in the kingdom of monkeys, Hanuman as Ramaduta to Sita in Asokavana, Ravana abducting Sita and fighting with Jatayu on pushpaka vimana, Hanuman in the court of Ravana seated haughtily on an asana made by the coils of his tail, surpanaka attacking

Sita, Indrajit battling against Hanuman, Rama killing Tādagai, Vali and Sugreeva fighting, Vasishtha teaching Rama.¹⁸

Puranic Scenes

Some panels depict the scenes from Puranas and epics. The panels include Varaha Avatara of Vishnu, Narasimha, Vishnu with conch and disc in the centre, Ardhanarishvara flanked by simha and Nandhi, Kaliyamardhanam, Vishnu with Sanka and Chakra and on his left is Brahma, Siva at Dhaksha's court, marriage scene of Siva and Parvati and Bringhi in the background, Siva as Tripurantaka, Siva and Durga as Mahishasuramardini, Siva with Markhandaya or Chandikesava, Subramanya seated on his vehicle peacock, and holding weapons in his six arms fighting with a demon Kali, Devi with Jwalakesa, Devi fighting with a demon. Lord Surya with Usha and Sandhya wielding bow, Renuka fashioning pot, Kama with sugarcane bow and manmatha, Kali as Simasana, Durga fighting, dancing females accompanied by musician, Lady with attendants male figure.¹⁹

Ganapati

This image is found enshrined in the *devakoshta* of *ardha mandapa* facing south in a seated posture with four arms having *ankusha* and *pasha* in the upper left arms while the lower right arm holds sweet pudding and the left arm simply rests on the thigh. He wears *hara* around his neck and also a thick *yajnopavitha* (sacred thread) and the *udarabandha* just above his belly. He also wears *kankanas* and *keyuras*. On the sides of this *koshta* image, *ganas* in various attributes are depicted besides some *rishis* too. The foliage architectural member above the *Koshta* is artistically chiseled out with Siva and Parvati in seated posture in the centre. In the earliest stratum of Tamil Literature, Ganapati is a rare God.²⁰ Ganapati appears rarely in Pallava art. In Pandya art, he is conspicuous. In Pallava and early Pandya art, no significant development in iconographic programme relating to Ganapati is found.²¹ Since the early Chola period, he is accommodated in the southern *devakoshta* of the *antarala* section. Therefore, as is the case with Daksinamurti, Brahma and Mahisasuramardini, images of Ganapati appear in huge numbers. As many as 87 images have been reported.²²

Daksinamurti

Siva seated in yogic austerity is known as Daksinamurti. He is supposed to be a teacher of Yoga, music and other sciences. According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao, he came to be called so because he is seated facing the south. It is because all temples uniformly house the image in the Southern *devakoshta* of the *garbhagrha*.²³ This idea has been challenged in recent times. Daksina means south but it gives several meanings such as skilful, clever, competent, pleasing face and so on.²⁴

The iconography of Daksinamurti is recounted in several *agamas* and *Silpasastras*. Perhaps the largest number of images in Chola Temples, next to Siva-Nataraja, is Daksinamurti.

Eventhough the original image is missing in the Pullamangai temple, now (e.g. Pullamangai of Parantaka's time) its later insertion is found. This image is found seated in a *virasana* posture beneath the banyan tree in the *devakoshta* of *garbhagrha* facing south. Here too, on either side of the niche the *rishis*, *Sinha* and *gana* images are portrayed in attentive posture.

The Lord is supposed to be seated below the Vatavrksa tree (*Ficus bengalensis*). His eyes are closed and the front right hand is held in Vyakhyanamudra. One of the legs is suspended below and placed on Apasmara. Great sages who are four in number attend him. The attendants are supposed to be Narada, Jamadagni, Vasistha, Bhrgu, Bharadvaja, Samala, Agastya, Visvamisra, Pulastya, Angiras, devas, munis, devarisis, Kinnaras, Kimpuruidas, Siddhas and so on.²⁵

Lingodbhavamurti

The Lord who appeared within the Linga is called Lingodbhavamurti (one who manifests within the linga). The earliest image appears in the cave temple of Pillaiyarpatti, Tirumeyyam and Kunnakkudi. Since the early Chola period, the murti came to be fitted to the back *devakoshta* of the principal *garbhagrha* in most Siva temples. In Pullamangai temple also is beautifully enshrined in the western niche of sanctum sanctorum facing west.²⁶ Siva is portrayed in the linga's scooped out portion while Brahma and Vishnu are taking the form of a flying swan and burrowing boar respectively to find out top

and bottom of Sivalinga. Moreover the representation of Brahma and Vishnu in human form flanking the Lingodbhava in standing posture as found in the Siva Linga here is a rare feature.

Brahma

Brahma is the God of creation and foremost in the literary circle. However, there is no developed cult over Brahma. Normally temples in Tamil Nadu do not accommodate any separate shrine for Brahma. In certain cases temples for the Trinity may appear. The *mulabera* in the Cucintiram temple is called Sthanumalaya perumal (sthanu 'pose'=Linga, Malaya=Brahma, Perumal=Vishnu), a combination of the Hindu Trinity.²⁷ In Pullamangai temple, Brahma image is enshrined in standing posture in the *devakoshta* of *garbhagrha* facing North. The head dress is of fastened hair arising above the three faces of Brahma. A double stringed *hara* runs around his neck. The *yajnopavitha* flows from the left shoulder to the right hip. The god is depicted with four arms, the upper arms hold a *aksha mala* and *kamandalu*, where as the lower right is in the act of abayamudra, while the lower left is in katihasta. He wears *Udarabanda*, *Kankana*, *Keyuras* and a class serving as a buckle of hip belt fastening the lower garment shown with flowly projection. The god also wears *anklets*. On either side of this image, two disciples are found seated in a very attentive posture-one in an act of recording the teaching and the other portrayed listening in an astonished manner.

The image of Brahma is found installed in temples since the early Chola period on the northern *devakosthas* and later on the northern section of the *vimanas* and gopuras. Numerically speaking, his image appears in large number. It has been counted as follows: Early Chola-45, Middle Chola-37, Later Chola -23, total-105. The early Chola temples are lesser in number and images of Brahma are more.²⁸

Durga

The iconography of Durga is elaborately dealt with in the canonical texts. She is called Durga because she eradicates the sorrows of her devotees and so called Sarvaduikkhasayankari. The *Devimahatmyam* lists a group of Durgas called Navadurga. The Pullamangai temple image is found accommodated in the northern *niche* of *ardhamandapa* in standing posture over the head of the buffalo. It posses Eight arms, holding weapons like *trisula*, *sword*, *chakra* on the upper right arms and *shanka*, *ketaka* and mace on the left arms, while the front left and right arms are in the act of *abhaya* and *varada*. She wears a *karanta makuta* (concentrate cubicle design). The entire image is surmounted by an *umbrella* or *chanravall*. On either side, figures of a lion and stag, the vehicles of the goddess are depicted. At her foot level are two warriors, one in the act of offering his head to the goddess, and the other engaged in adoring her with his raised arm.

Scholars have held identically both Mahisasuramardhini and Durga. Raju Kalidos is of opinion both are different. This is because one who kills Mahisasura is Mahisasuramardhini. One who is expected to kill Durgama is Durga. This event like kalki-avatara is expected to take place in future. Iconographically one who stands on the head of Mahisa is Mahisasuramardhini. One who stand on a Padmapitha is Durga. These two types of images are being found in the Pallava cave temples at Mamallapuram-Varaha-mandapa and Draupadi-ratha.²⁹

Thus, this study on the temple at *Pullamangai* brings to focus the merits of the plastic art of the Chola period, especially its development in early phase. Thus sculptures with which the temple is embellished makes it a veritable museum of early Chola art, besides the temple structure itself is a classical example of the temple architecture of the early Chola period. Thus for better understanding of early Chola art and architecture, the study of this temple is an inevitable necessity.



Fig No. 1 Siva - Nataraja

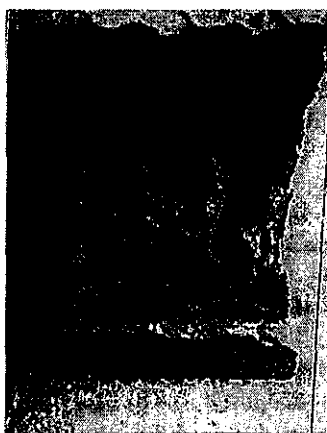


Fig No. : 2 Krishna and Putana

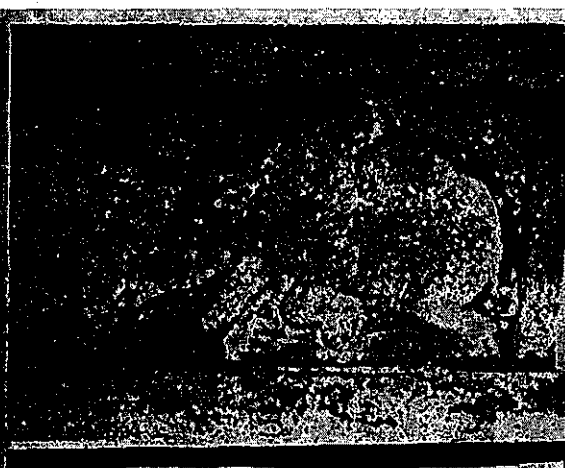
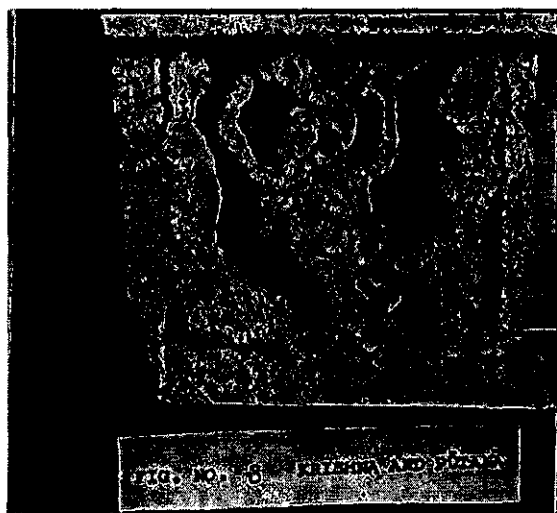


Fig. No. 4 Krishna Killing the Elephant

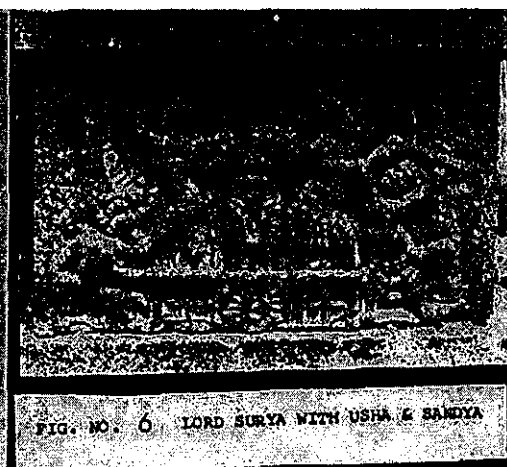
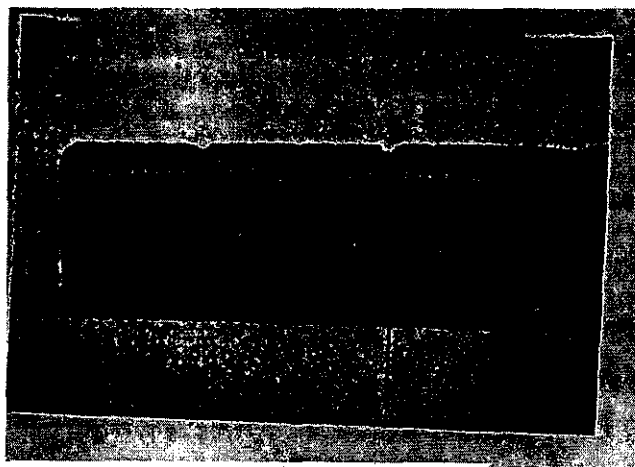


Fig. No: 5 Badami, Panel Depicting Krishina Lila Episodes (Chalukya)

FIG. NO. 6 LORD SURYA WITH USHA & SANDHYA

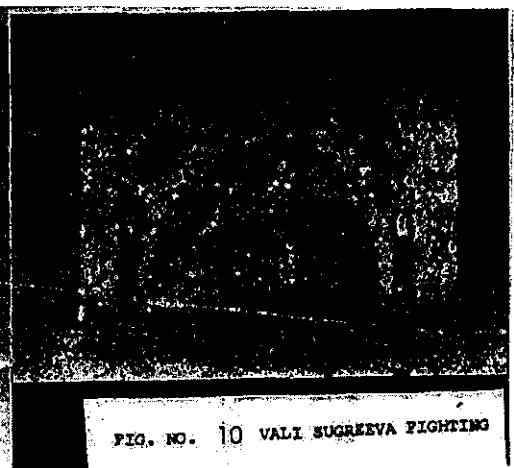
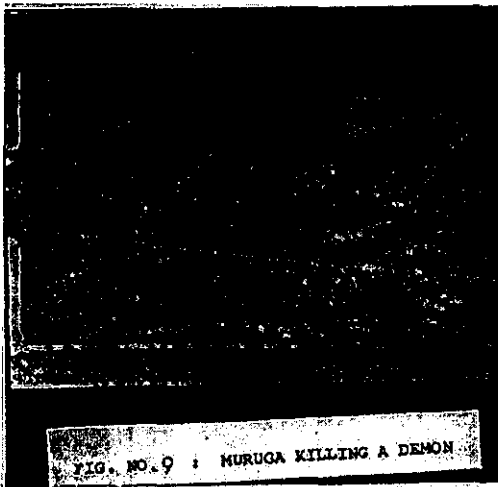
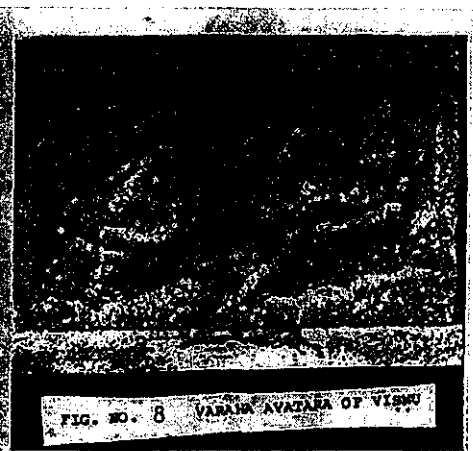
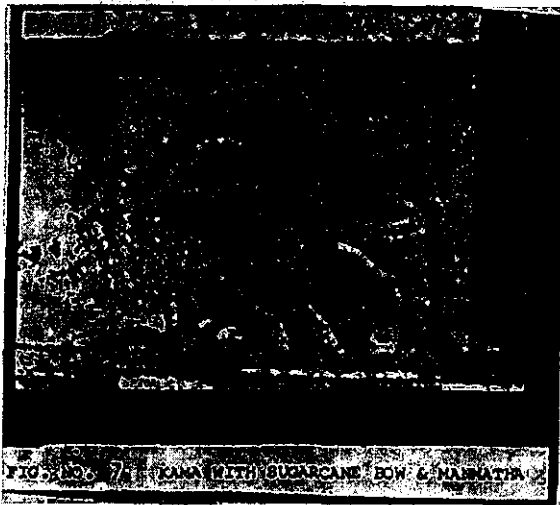


Fig No: 11. Ganesa





FIG. NO. 13 CHANDESVARA



FIG. NO. 14. LINGODHINAVA



FIG. NO. 15 BRAHMA



Fig No: 16 Brahma



FIG. NO. 17 DURGA



FIG. NO. 18 CHANDESVARA



Fig No: 19 Loose Sculptures

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHOLAS TO SRI ARUNACHALESWARAR TEMPLE AT TIRUVANNAMALAI: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A. Sakthivel*

The Cholas, renowned for temple building, constructed thousands of temples far and wide throughout their expanding empire. Continuing in the Pallava tradition, the Chola dynasty which rose to power under Vijayalaya in A.D. 850 established the foundation of temple structure as we see it today. Vast numbers of inscriptions found in the temple precincts describe how the Cholas showered attention to Sri Arunachaleswarar Temple at Tiruvannamalai.¹ The French Institute of Pondicherry has published the *Inscriptions of Tiruvannamalai* of which 180 inscriptions belong to the Chola period from the middle of the ninth century to the end of the twentieth century for a period of nearly four hundred years. This study mainly focuses on the contribution of the Cholas to Arunachaleswarar Temple at Tiruvannamalai.

The Chola Kings and their Donations

The Chola Kings who did yeoman service to the Temple of Tiruvannamalai were (1) Aditya I (A.D. 870-907), (2) Parantaka I (A.D. 907-955), (3) Aditya II (956-969), (4) Uttama Chola (A.D. 969-985), (5) Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014), (6) Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044), (7) Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1018-1054), (8) Veerarajendra (A.D. 1063-1069), (9) Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1166-1178), (10) Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1218), (11) Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1260), and (12) Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1279). Their donations were mainly the gifts of gold, jewellery, gold and silver utensils, lamps, sheep and goats, cows and bulls,

and lands to defray the expenses of conducting daily puja or worship or of special worship such as 'utsavas'; the lighting of lamps, the salary of servants, the feeding of the devotees and the poor. Of all the Chola Kings, Kulottunga III is the most outstanding in rendering service to the temple. P.R.Srinivasan, an eminent epigraphist, rightly points out, "the patronage of Kulottunga III to the temple being outstanding as revealed by forty nine records of his time, the largest number to be met with here for any Chola monarch. In fact this period may be said to be the golden period in the history of the temple."²

During early Chola period, in approximately A.D. 871-961, Aruna the sacred area of the Siva Mountain became known as Tiruvannamalai. Before the period the sacred area was known as Tiruvannar and Tiruvannadu. According to the available epigraphical evidence the god who was called Tiruvannattu Mahadevar during the time of Aditya I came to be called also as Tiruvannamalai Mahadevar after his time. The god's name was changed to Tiruvannamalai Alvar in about A.D. 961. The practice of calling the god as Mahadeva was given up from about the middle of the 10th century. Then the god came to be called as Thiruvannamalai Andar, Tiruvannamalai Alvar and Tiruvannamalai Udaiyar. The stone structure of the central shrine of the temple was constructed during the reign of Aditya I replacing the original structure built of brick, mortar and other perishable materials.

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Parantaka I (A.D. 907-955)

There are eighteen records, mostly fragmentary, representing the period from Aditya's time (A.D. 885) to the time of Rajaraja I (A.D. 998) and a majority of them belong to Parantaka I. During this period the place was called either as Tiruvannadu or Tiruvannamalai. Several records of this period relate to the gift of one *nundha vilakku* (perpetual lamp) to the temple. It is noteworthy that the donors of lamps include some distinguished persons like Kilanadigal, the queen of Cheramanar, Perundeviar, the queen of Perumanadigal and Tennavan Brahamahirajan.³

Aditya II (A.D. 956-969)

The two inscriptions (15, 16) belonging to the King Parakesarippanmar described as 'Virapandiyanthalaikonda' are attributed to Aditya II on the basis of the title. He was the son of Rajakesari Sudara Chola and became the heir-apparent, but died during the father's lifetime itself. They record each the gift of a lamp to the god Tiruvannamalai Andar.

Uttama Chola (A.D. 969-985)

One inscription copied in 1902 (17) may be assigned to the time of Uttama Chola. The epigraph registers a gift of a lamp by Perundeviyar, the senior queen of Perumanatikāl, evidently referring to the king. The god here was called Tiruvannamalai Alvar". It appears that during this period the god Siva of several places was called 'Alvar'.

Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014)

Twelve epigraphs belong to the period of Rajaraja I. One of the epigraphs registers a grant of gold for the repair of work the tank of the village of Puliyurnatu Sathir Vedimangalam in Tiruvannadu. The *nadu* called *Anna Nadu* seems to have come into currency only from now on.

Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044)

There are three complete records (30-32) and seven fragmentary epigraphs (33-39) which belong to the king Rajendra Chola I, the son and successor of Rajaraja I. Apparently the second prakaram was in existence in 1030 A.D. In all probability it was built earlier in his reign.

Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1218)

A rich fare of information is available about the life of the people in Tiruvannamalai and on the temple in the forty nine epigraphs of Kulottunga III which range from 1180 A.D. to 1213 A.D. Above all, they show the extraordinary interest that the king evinced in the temple, in all probability, the third prakaram with its tower now called Kili Gopuram was constructed in this king's time. From the epigraph dated 1180 A.D. we deduce that there was a shrine to the goddess called Tirukkamakkottam. In another epigraph dated 1188 A.D., by the Adigaman of Taghadur in Ganganadu (Eastern Mysore and Western Salem) is mentioned in the name of Hoysala Ballala II and that of his queen as Chola Mahadevi. The Adigaman presented the entire village of Malaiyanur to the Arunachala temple.⁴

A number of inscriptions register grants made for *nunta* (perpetual) lamps (86, 97, 99, 104, 108, 110, 113, 123, 131) to the god who is invariably called Tiruvannamalai Udaiya Nayanar. The inscription 98 records the gift of 51 *kalancu* of gold for making ornaments to adorn the god, while another (95) refers to the gift of 110 *kalancu* of gold for a necklace to be provided for the god. Two epigraphs (90 and 107) refer to three festivals. The inscription (S.I.I., viii, 147), however, mentions *Tirukarthikai tirunal*.

The inscription (86) is interesting in that it registers the setting up of an image of the goddess (Nacciya) in the Tirukkamakkottam (the goddess' shrine) and also gifting of gold for ornaments to the image and of lands to provide for food offering to the deity. There is an epigraph (89), dated A.D. 1181, which registers a gift of land in a village by the temple authorities to provide for worship and offering to a temple called Cempianmatevisvaramutaiyar and to the deity pillaiyar (probably ksetrapalap-pillaiyar). The temple should have been raised in honour of the queen Chmpianmatevi, the wife of Gandaradityachola, or by herself.

There was a severe famine during Kulottunga III's reign in parts of the Chola country particularly around Arunachala. A reference to the epigraph 110 shows that a lady by name Mangayarkarasi and her brother Nepathi-

ennayaram Filial gifted away their jewellery, accumulated wealth, paddy, cattle and lands towards the cost of feeding of the afflicted poor humanity. Mangayarkarasi constructed a large tank for irrigation and dug a well in the temple and constructed a mandapa in front of the central shrine for the use of the God and Goddess during festivals. They did some charitable works in the temple including the setting up of the images of Cuntaraperumal and his consorts, and building a stone *mandapa* named Magayarkarasi-mantapani to house them. Now it is called the *deepa dhanbana mandapam*. Her contributions exist even to this day. This event happened in A.D. 1202. This brother and sister did much public good during the period of famine. It is said that they constructed a dam across a river and dug a tank. Though the dam referred to still remains unknown, the tank is perhaps the one now called 'Samudram' which is about a couple of miles from the temple on the Chengam Road.⁵

Gilding of the Temple

According to the epigraph 128, Iraradevan Ponparappinan alias Vanakovaraiyan dated 1213 A.D. gilded the temple of Tiruvannamalai Udaya Nayanar. The prominent Bana chieftain was the ruler of Magadai-mandalam. It is often called Ponparapina Mahadevan in commemoration of his having gilded the roof of the temple of Tiruvannamalai.⁶ During Kulottunga III's time feudatory families like the Campuvarayas, the Kadavarayars, the Pirutivikankas, the Banas and the Malayamans became prominent in this region. The epigraphs show that certain members of these families gifted lands, lamps and jewellery, to the temple. During this period, many compacts of understanding between groups of chiefs of this area took place as reflected in such epigraphs as 100, 105, and 106. Reference to three festivals occur in 90 and to the *tirukkarthikai* festival in 124.

The Kadava kings were originally feudatories of the Cholas. They began to assert their independence during the reign of Rajaraja III. The Kadavarayas spent much time and great wealth in the sacred area of the Siva Linga Mountain. The inscriptions (over 36) give a very deep understanding of the esteem devotion of the Kadavarayas. These Kadavarayas were fervent

worshippers of Tiruvannamalai Udaya Nayanar and the goddess Unnamalai donating whole villages, wet and dry lands, cattle, perpetual lamps, clothes and splendid jewels of different kinds to the god of Tiruvannamalai Udaya Nayanar of Anna-nadu.

The First Use of the Term Tiruvannamalai

We deduce from the inscriptions of Aditya I that it was during his reign the term Tiruvannamalai was first used replacing the older one Tiruvannadu. The god of the temple bore the name of Tiruvannamalai Mahadevar, Tiruvannamali Andavar, or Tiruvannamalai Alvar. References to *sabhai* in the same epigraph (1, 12) indicate that there were brahmin settlements in those places. Mention is made of Kantalur-natu (5), Marunkurnatu (7), Pankala-natu (8), Cirrampuliyur-natu (180), Cinkapura-natu (20), and Merkovalur-natu (23). This indicates that the region around Tiruvannamalai was a flourishing one. It seems that the people of this region have sustained the temple.

References to *Tirukkarthikai Tirunal*

During the reign of Rajadhiraja I (40) there was a procession of the deity to the sea probably in the month of Vaikaci. The epigraph (41) registers an endowment of *pon* to meet the expenses of the annual *Karthikai* festival of the god *Alavar* (i.e. Nataraja) made by an officer of the King Arankanarayanan. The province in which Tiruvannamalai of Adaiyur-nadu (30) was situated was called Maturantaka-vala nadu (30-320). The epigraphs furnish some interesting particulars like references to donation of lamps (45,5S) provision made for *tirukkarthikai* festival (47) and referring to the god as Kannaramutapperumal to whom land was given as *tevadanam* (63).

The gifts of lands to the temple show that there was generation of wealth in the form of agricultural production in this region. Development of cattle wealth and tapping of the mineral resources of the region boosted the economy of the people. This is evidenced by the endowment of cows and bulls only for lamps and by the gilding of the temple with gold by a chief and by gifts of jewellery to the deities by a large number of people now rather than before. Thus Tiruvannamalai and its surrounding areas were in a

flourishing condition in this period is a consequence of which the importance, wealth size, and the rituals of the temple also increased.

Notwithstanding the political troubles, the region around Tiruvannamalai was prosperous and consequently the temple at the place was well cared for.

The contribution of the Colas to Sri Arunachaleswarar Temple at Tiruvannamalai covers a long period for 400 years from the middle of the ninth century to that of the thirteenth century. "The name Arunachaleswarar for the

temple is obviously a late Sanskritisation of the original name Tiruvannattu Mahadeva or Tiruvannamalai Alvar and nowhere in the inscriptions the name Arunachaleswarar found".⁷ The inscriptions clearly narrate almost all events that took place at various stages in the history of this vast temple complex. The inscriptions give us a complete history of the temple at Tiruvannamalai. Thus the inscriptions of Tiruvannamalai highlight the significant aspects of the temple building contributing to the political, socio-economic history of Tamil Nadu during the imperial rule of the Colas.

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INDUCTION OF UNIQUE RELIGIOUS FESTIVITIES IN THANJAVUR DURING NAYAK AND MARATHA PERIODS

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Introduction

Culture linked activities and functions are the core for the diversification parameter and for the pastime of any developed society. Any new and different functionalities pertaining to culture and ethics have their own observations, attractions and if possible followings in the descended locations. Therefore the phenomenon of migration which is woven with various filaments including the cultural aspects is bound to create an impact on both the societies of its origin and destination as well. Further, as culture defines the whole character and charisma of any society in general and castes and communities in particular, the impact of migration on the culture of the

settlers and locals gain an orient ground for study. The impact, a migration brings about in a reputed and established society is deemed to be a powerful and sustainable instrument in shaping and defining a future society. History reports on the social fabric of a society may be considered as complete only when the studies on cultural impacts are explored.

The impacts in the cultures, the migration in Thanjavur, has brought about some special importance. Thanjavur gained supremacy and became the place which was the most sought out place for dwelling, primarily due to its natural resources, soil nature and climate. These primary pulling factors made many rulers to descend on

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the soil of Thanjavur. Consequent to the alien alight, there developed a favourable environment for different cultures to flourish in this area. These factors ultimately led to transform Thanjavur region as a centre for the evolution of a pluralistic society.

This article contemplates on the cultural induction, with specific reference to festivities, adapted due to and after the Intra- and inter-migration of aliens into Thanjavur for various reasons. The period and the chemistry of these festivals have been exhaustively described in this presentation.

Festivals form a vital part of the court life. The Sanskrit meaning of festivals is 'the cause to go upwards, it indicates a spiritual enterprise detailed in the Vedas and later it signified joy and festivity.¹

New years

While the New Year day falls in April for Tamils, and for Telugu and Kannarese observed 'Ugadhi', their new year in March or April.²

Dasara

This is a grand festival for Maharashtrians and is observed chiefly by them.³ Before the invasion of foreign rulers into Thanjavur, the *Vijayadasami* festivals were observed by the local Tamil people for one day. Among the Tamils, it is a festival, celebrated in October, on the last day of *Dasara* festivals, to initiate wisdom in the young ones.⁴ But Maratha celebrated it for Ten days like the other places of North India. Even today the Maratha Prince and his relatives observe this celebration with a lot of fervor and enthusiasm.⁵ During the festival, Devi, the mother of the universe is worshipped in her triple aspects of power (Durga), wealth (Lakshmi) and wisdom (Saraswathi). One of the important effects of the Nayak rule in Thanjavur was the introduction of *Mahanavami* festival which later took the form of *Dasara* during the period of the Marathas.⁶ *Devi* is worshipped as *Durga* in the first three days, *Lakshmi* in the second three and as *Saraswathi* in the last three days. It is a season of great devotion combined with mirth and amusement.⁷ During the Maratha time; *Dasara* was celebrated with enthusiasm and fanfare. The wrestlers prove their competence in their field. In

1797, reports narrate as many as 96 groups of wrestlers getting 970 *Chakkarams* as gift from the rulers. Some Temple bodyguards also were reported to have received *Chakkaram*, as 30 young wrestlers getting 40 *Chakkarams* from the king. The wrestling took place in front of the ruler in the Palace.⁸ The main *prasada* for the *Ayudha pooja* is a set of *Sundals* made out of nine varieties of grains and pulses. But the *Sundal* foodstuff had migrated from Maharashtra regions. Even today we can witness in the Maratha food menu containing pulses as a main item. The wrestlers' main food was *Sundal*, especially after their daily exercises and gymnastic practices.⁹

The women folk and children amuse themselves with displays of dolls and carvings of wood, marble, clay, soapstone etc., during *Dasara* and the occasion was enlightened with music and dance. It served as an occasion to demonstrate the skill set of womenfolk in Carnatic music and *kummi* dance. It was the main principal festival in the Thanjavur region and had great socio-religious implications.¹⁰ Such activities were not witnessed in the villages and the Tamil communities of the town. *Ayudha pooja*¹¹ was also celebrated by the Maratha ruler and he made his visit to 'Silagona Garady' [Armory Storage] as an annual routine.¹² On the *Vijayadasami* day, Brahmins were fed in thousands, and presented with dolls and cash.¹³ In turn the Brahmins also used to honour the rulers with gifts. In 1768, Dabir Swamigal gifted a diamond Jewel to the ruler.¹⁴ The ninth day was known as *Saraswathi pooja* or *Ayudha pooja*, a day devoted to the worship of the goddess of wisdom and all weapons, instruments and tools were placed in the *pooja*. On the tenth day, the festivals close with a state procession of *Raja* with the bodyguards in the *Raja Veedhi* surrounding the Palace campus. Some valuable gifts were presented to the non-Brahmin officials also.¹⁵ But today, the *Dasara* is observed in a simple and serene manner for obvious reasons of the cost of living, way of life, burden of work and absence of monarchy rule. The people still celebrate this function in a way suited to their own convenience.

Sankaranthi

Sankaranthi, the festival of Maratha during the time of Tamil Pongal is considered as the day on which the sun passes from Sagittarius

to Capricorn. It falls almost invariably on the mid of January. This festival has got greater importance than other festivals.¹⁶ In 1829, Maratha ruler worshipped a *lingam* made up of butter. The celebration was totally of different style compared to the way Tamil Pongal was celebrated. *Sankaranthi* is common but the methodology of the *Pooja* differs. All worshiped the sun, but the Marathas worshipped in a different way. In the *Sakthi* pooja, new pots were filled with rice and pulses, ornamented and worshipped. They worshipped *lingam* made of butter and Parvathi of Jaggery and presented the same to Brahmins after worship.¹⁷ They also had *Navathania lingam* and worshipped with certain fruits.¹⁸ The *Sankaranthi* was celebrated even today by the North Indians and Marathas of Thanjavur.

Ramanavami

This is the birthday of Dasaratha Rama or Ramachandra, considered to be one of the incarnations of Vishnu, and is observed with much interest by Telugus and Marathas.¹⁹ It is being celebrated in the month of March - April even today. It was introduced to the Tamil population during the period of Nayaks.²⁰ The Maratha rulers and their people celebrated it with utmost devotion and pomp. They were in the habit of offering gifts to the mutts for performing the Ramanavami pooja.²¹ During the procession of Rama on the Ramanavami day, the princess used to donate one *Chakkaram* to Ramamurthy, who enacted the role of Lord Rama.²² In 1786, Mathura Srimathy Annapurani Bai, Bhavanibai and Parvathibai were reported to have received some kind of gift from the ruler. This practice was altogether alien to the Dravidian nation and was introduced into the country apparently by Marathas. It began on the first day of the month of *Chithrai* (April). Religious dance and plays depicting episodes from Rama's life were also organized.²³ These dances and plays were known as *Rama Leela*. The Nayak ruler, Ragunatha Nayak considered this day as an auspicious day and preferred that day for giving *dhanas* (donation) to religious and social institutions. Even today, a social establishment called '*Ramar madam*' situated on the southern banks of *Samanthankulam* adjoining the *East Raja Veedhi* near *Mamasahib Moolai* adapts the practice of

taking out the icon of Lord Rama in procession, on the Ramanavami day to the Durbar hall of the Palace. This practice is considered to be the royalty of one family of Thanjavur, which is believed to have migrated from Maharashtra region. A copper plate of Ragunatha Nayak informs that he on the eighteenth Panguni (March) during the Ramanavami day, donated 60 *velis* of land to the Bakthavasalaperumal temple.²⁴ Birthday of Ramachandra is observed with much interest also by Marathas, Brahmins, Telugus and Kannarese.²⁵ The Maratha rulers like their Nayak counterparts freely funded the mutts for celebrating festivals.²⁶ Today, Sourashtra and other North Indian people join these celebrations with enthusiasm in Tanjore Region.²⁷

Krishna Jayanthi

This is the birthday of Krishna, another incarnation of Vishnu, and falls on the last week of August. This is observed chiefly by the people of the Vaishnava sect, and more particularly of cow herds.²⁸ Today Krishna Jayanthi was celebrated not only by the foreign people living in Thanjavur region but also by the local people who followed Vaishnavism. This is the fasting day for Brahmins.

Gowri Pooja

Gowri festivals for women were celebrated on the New moon day in the month of September. Parvathi, another name of Gowri was the goddess of peculiar worship. It was also called *sumangali pooja*. The Maratha royal women introduced these festivals to the Thanjavur region. Today not only Marathas but also most of the Brahmins observed the Gowri festivals, the Maratha royal women, Barani Bai Sahib performed this pooja. She gave the articles such as turmeric, Kumkum, 100 Combs, 100 ear rings, 100 marriage badges, 100 Boxes, 15 *padi Kondakadalai*, flowers, *Abir Tanda* and fruits to hundred *sumangalis*.²⁹ Generally all the Maratha women performed this pooja in the name of Goddess Mahalakshmi.³⁰

Vaikunda Egadasi

Vaikunda Egadasi occurs in December and is a grand festival to Vaishnavites. On this day, it is considered that the gates of paradise are opened to all pious people and hence the name *Swarga* signifying paradise and *dwara*, the gate.

This is the fasting day for the people who observed it.³¹ The Vaishnavite people are celebrating the Vaikunda Ekadasi enthusiastically in every part of Thanjavur region and Srirangam Temple assumed significance for the observance of this festival. It was introduced to the Thanjavur region by the Nayak rulers.

Vinayakachaturthi

Vinayakachaturthi festival is dedicated to Vinayaka, called *Pillaiyar*, in Tamil, the elder son of the Lord Siva, who is worshipped by all classes of the Saiva sect.³² The Vinayakachaturthi is being celebrated since sixth century A.D. in Thanjavur region. In Thanjavur almost all the villages have a temple for Ganapathi.³³ But during the days of Maratha, the Vinayakachaturthi was celebrated very enthusiastically in a different fashion. In 1853, this festival was celebrated for 21 days, during which a drama was staged every day and some dancing girls performed dances in the dancing theatre.³⁴ Today the Vinayakachaturthi was celebrated as a primary Hindu festival and Ganapathi Idols were taken in procession in the streets and finally immersed deep into the sea or rivers which are available in their areas.

Holy

Holy was an important festival which was very familiar during the period of Nayaks and the Marathas in Thanjavur region. This function was not a Tamil function and was totally a foreign stock to Thanjavur region. It was celebrated on the full moon day in the Tamil month of *Panguni*.³⁵ During the Maratha days, the Holy was celebrated in the name of '*Kaman pandigai*' by the Tamil people, in 1769; Thanjavur witnessed a *Kaman pandigai* with enthusiasm.³⁶ Both Holy and *Kaman pandigai* have some concept in common. On the day of *sirangi pournima*, *Kulattiamam* in the morning and holy at night were observed during which the burning of *Dhoda Rakshasi* was performed. It was a two day festival of which *poojas* were performed on the first day and the *pooja* materials were offered to the flames in the next morning.³⁷ The feature of the festival was the splashing of coloured water on one another.³⁸ The North Indian people who are living here celebrate

this occasion very much in a similar fashion as the Maratha community celebrated the Holy.

Kula Dharma Pooja

Kula Dharma pooja was the occasional puja performed on specific days from *Panguni* to *Chithirai* in the Chandra Mouleeswara Temple. The *Abishegam* and *Neivedyam* were performed by Brahmins and then they used to leave after rituals. The *yejaman* ladies then had special pooja. Males had nothing to do with *kuladharm pooja*. Pooja is made to Goddess Gqwri by *Sumangalis* [married women] and it comes in the month in which Pilliyar chaturthi comes. Widows are forbidden to perform this pooja nor the unmarried girls.³⁹

Christmas

Thanjavur region being the center of ethnic stock, witnessed the celebrations of innumerable festivals of the Christian community.⁴⁰ After the coming of Europeans to Thanjavur region the Christmas and New Year celebrations have come to stay. The Maratha rulers were in the practice of giving presents to the English people on the first day of January. They also used to send presents to the Governor of Madras Province. The British resident of Thanjavur got five hundred Chakkaram *inam* from the Maratha ruler on the eve of first January.⁴¹ Today, not only Thanjavur but also every part of Tamil country is celebrating the New Year, like their own festival. It has come to stay permanently in the walk of life of people of Thanjavur as well as of Tamil Nadu. Only the village people are celebrating their Tamil New Year but in the towns, the people give prominence to the celebration of English New year.

Conclusion

The impact of migration thus provided an amazing and magnificent climate for enlightened way of life in this region. These festivities, though considered as the religious disciplines for the various sects of people who had migrated for one reason or the other, enabled peaceful and meaningful coexistence in the pluralistic society and the philosophy of 'Unity in Diversity'.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CULTURAL TOURISM IN THE COASTAL REGION OF NAGAPATTINAM DISTRICT

R. Sadhasivam*

Tourism is one of the largest industries of the developing countries. It plays a vital role in fostering good will among the people and socio-economic development of the country. As the fastest growing industry, it earns a large foreign exchange reserves. It is a smokeless industry with great employment potentials.¹ Today tourism is a global industry ² and it helps to realize national integration, international understanding and universal brotherhood. Every country in the world

views tourism as an important agent for the growth of its national economy.³ The mass movement of people annually from their home location to another country for a few days or weeks is a recent origin.⁴ Tourists can be divided in to domestic tourists and foreign tourists. This paper is an attempt to study the importance of cultural tourism in the coastal region of Nagapattinam District.

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Location and Background

Nagapattinam is situated about 334 km south of Chennai and 134 km east of Tiruchirappalli. It is surrounded by Tiruvarur, Thanjavur, Perambalur and Cuddalore districts. Nagapattinam district came into existence in the year 1991 bearing the same name with its head quarters. Its long stretch of beach runs along the Bay of Bengal for 188 kms. The coastal region of Nagapattinam district has lot of tourism potentials.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural Tourism means visiting the sites and areas of archaeological interest, historical buildings and monuments, places of historical significance, museums, modern culture, political and religious institutions. The people interested in cultural tourism are motivated to travel to study the cultural heritage of their own country and of other countries. It includes visits to ancient monuments, places of historical and religious importance.⁵ The varied historical monuments, oldest traditions, traditional arts, crafts, music of a nation promote cultural tourism.

The coastal area of Nagapattinam district has very good historical background. Poompuhar, an ancient historic town is also called as Kaveripoompattinam. The Cholas who held a place of esteem had this ancient town for their port capital. The Chola's port and a planned city, Poompuhar was known to Ptolemy and Pliny.⁶ It is stated in 'Manimekalai' that this great city was swallowed by the sea.⁷ According to Pattinappalai Puhar became an important harbour during the time of Karikala. Tarangambadi (Tranquebar) was once the Danish settlement and in 1620 a fort was built.⁸ Nagapattinam was an important port used for foreign trade. The Europeans had their settlements in this region. Nagapattinam was occupied by the Portuguese first and they were replaced by the Dutch. Finally the British occupied it.⁹ Once these coastal places were ports, capital and trading centres of the rulers and now become the attractive tourist places. In the coastal region of Nagapattinam districts, Tarangambadi, Nagapattinam, Nagore and Velankanni have been declared as Heritage tourist places.¹⁰

Poompuhar

Poompuhar is an important tourist place for cultural tourism. It is situated north of Nagapattinam. The Tamil Nadu government had taken steps to reproduce the glory of the submerged ancient town on the basis of historical evidences and literary references. In 1973, the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu gave crystal form to the lost town by reproducing it on the basis of literary evidences. A beautiful seven tiered building of great sculptural value has been built at Silappathikarà Art Gallery. The top most part has Kalasams of 8 feet high. The total height of the Art gallery is 50 feet.¹¹ Ilangimandram, Pavaimandram, Nedungalmandram and Kotrappandal found their existence and remain to attract visitors with their artistic splendour. The Magara Thorana Vayil at the entrance of the art gallery imparts an imposing and beautiful look to the whole structure. Poompuhar is a popular tourist spot and attracts more tourists during the time of Chitra pournami festival.

Tarangambadi

Tarangambadi Fort is another important tourist spot. The Danish Fort built in 1620 exists exhibitory Danish architecture. The fort is now under the control of Tamil Nadu Archaeological Department, houses an archaeological museum. Danish Governor Bungalow building got its name as it was used as the residence of the Governor. It is now under the control of Tamil Nadu Tourism Department.¹² Masilamani Nathar Koil built in 1305 A.D. by Maravarma Kulasekara Pandyan exhibits outstanding architectural niceties. The other important tourist attractive place is Zion's Church which was built in 1701.

Nagore

Nagore is situated north of Nagapattinam. It has the Dargah of saint Hazrat Meeran Sultan Syed Shahabul Hameed. Nearly five hundred years ago, a son was born in a devout Muslim family in a village in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh). He was named Abdul Khader with the lust for the grace of Allah. He wandered with his followers far and wide. He settled down in Nagore in a piece of land granted by a devotee of

this saintly preacher.¹³ He said "Islam preaches the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man". He asked his disciples to work among the people and spread the message of Prophet Mohammed. He passed away in 1558 at the age of 68 and in Nagore Dargah are the relics of this God-Man. The people of all castes and creeds are visiting the Nagore Dargah daily for worshipping the holy saint without any distinction. The holy saint came to Nagore on Thursday. So every Thursday a large congregation of worshippers visits the Dargah and makes their offerings to the Holy Saint.¹⁴ On 5th December a pot of sandal paste is brought in a decorated temple car from nearby Nagapattinam and is applied on the base of the tomb and this is known as 'Kandoori Festival'.¹⁵ It is attended by people of all faiths.

Nagapattinam

Nagapattinam has historical and cultural significance. There is a temple dedicated to God Nagaraja. Buddha Vihar was built at Nagapattinam by Chinese and is called Sudamani Vihar.

Velankanni

Velankanni is one of the most visited pilgrim centres in India. The renowned shrine Basilica of 'Our Lady of Health' of this centre draws pilgrims from all over the world. Not only Christians but also the people of other faiths come to this church to pray at the shrine of 'Our Lady of Health'. The Marian shrine which has acquired international reputé is popularly known as the 'Lourdes of the East'.¹⁶ This Roman Catholic Church has an extended Basilica which has two floors where one can find a statue of Jesus Christ. The Gothic style of architecture is unique feature of the Church.¹⁷ The Church itself is an imposing building with inspiring architecture. The environment around the shrine is maintained neat and tidy, radiating rays of hope and piety.

There is also a shrine of "Our Lady of Sorrow", where in the sorrowing mother is depicted carrying Infant Jesus in Her hand. The museum situated opposite to the Basilica has a very rich variety of exhibits. The precious offerings made by the devotees are on display here. Pilgrims mostly catholic Christians from all over India throng this holy place to fulfill their vows seeking holy blessings.¹⁸ Pilgrims from all over India and

other parts of the world flock to this place in hundreds and thousands between the 29th of August and 8th September, when the annual festival popularly known as the feast takes place.

Vedaranyam

Vedaranyam is situated south of Velankanni. Sri Vedaranyaswamy temple dedicated to Lord Shiva at Vedaranyam was renovated by the Chola rulers. Since both Appar and Sambandhar have worshipped the Lord here, the temple should have been in existence by 7th century A.D. Sri Vedaranyeswar and His consort Sri Vedanayaki Amman are the presiding deities of the temple. The temple has 90 stone inscriptions. The temple is fashioned like the Tiruvarur temple and has two prakaras and a tower. The Thirukalyana utsavam during the month of Chithirai is the most important one, which attracts a large congregation of devotees from the neighbouring villages, taluks and districts.

Facilities and basic amenities

Transport and Accommodation are very essential for tourism development and considered as the two basic needs of tourism. Transport facility must necessarily be an essential and an inseparable element.¹⁹ Bus facilities are available to places like Poompuhar and Tarangambadi from Nagapattinam, Mayiladuthurai, Sirkali and Chidambaram, Nagore, Nagapattinam and Velankanni are connected to all major towns and cities. The nearest railway station for Poompuhar and Tarangambadi is Mayiladuthurai. Nagore and Velankanni are well connected by train services from Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, Karaikudi and Mayiladuthurai. The conversion of metre -gauge into broad-gauge in the Thanjavur-Tiruvarur sector can give a great impetus for the tourists who visit Velankanni and Nagore. The nearest airport to reach the coastal area of Nagapattinam is at Tiruchirappalli. The accommodation facilities at Nagapattinam are Hotel Tamil Nadu, ATM lodge, Deen lodge, Maraikayar lodge. The hotels like, Quality Inn, Hotel Velankanni, Golden sand, Sea gate, Hotel Picnic, Hotel Prakash are at Velankanni. For the convenience of the visiting tourists, the Government of Tamil Nadu constructed toilet blocks at Nagore and Velankanni.

Tsunami's Impact

Tsunamis are usually caused by under water earthquakes. An unfamiliar and unknown disaster called 'tsunami' hit the coastal tourist places in Tamil Nadu on 26th December 2004. The Nagapattinam district alone accounts for 6,038 deaths. Poompuhar Tourist complex suffered extensive damage.²⁰ Pavaimandram and Ilangimandram were damaged. Tsunami damaged the Railway track between Nagapattinam and Nagore station. The famous pilgrimage centre of Velankanni in the coastal belt of Nagapattinam district witnessed the worst calamity in its history in the Tsunami. Several pilgrims have lost their near and dear one's in groups. Though the water did not enter the shrine, it gushed up to the bus stand and in undating several shops and houses. The economy of the pilgrimage town, largely dependent on a floating population was in shambles as the tourist inflow had been reduced to a trickle after the December 26th tsunami strike.

Conclusion

Tourism is an important aspect of human life and is widely acclaimed as a vital international industry. To attract more tourists to this area, wide

publicity is essential for fairs and festivals conducted in this region. In order to satisfy the budget tourists, the Government should take steps to reduce the tariff of the hotels. Tsunami warning system should be installed at Nagapattinam. The Government should take steps to build bio-walls by planting more trees and growing mangroves on the seashore. Improved sanitary conditions, availability of drinking water and electricity to the tourists in the hotels and better road conditions are the immediate needs of the tourists for comfortable stay and journey. Steps should be taken to complete the laying of East Coast road work and conversion of broad gauge railway line between Tiruvarur and Nagapattinam. The tourists are facing many problems. The auto-rickshaws and autos have no uniform fee chart. In fact, the tourists are cheated by auto drivers. Beggar menace and pollution are also problems faced by the tourists. This region has rich in tourism potentials and centres of recreation, religious and cultural activities. Velankanni, Nagore, Vedaranyam are attractive factors of tourists to this area. They make positive contribution to religious pluralism and National Integration.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE UNDER THE MARATHAS OF TANJORE

V. Shyamala*

Introduction

Sanskrit is the most ancient language. Ever since the Vedic times, has remained a symbol of our culture. It was the spoken language of the people. The impact of the Sanskrit Language on other languages had been immense and invaluable. Though Sanskrit is no longer a spoken every day language, its influence is still discernible. Even the most ancient texts in the Tamil like 'Tholkappiyam' and 'Nannool' were influenced by similar texts in Sanskrit. To put it in a nutshell, Sanskrit has become a part and parcel of all the languages in India.

The source materials for a detailed History of Sanskrit Literature are available only from the life histories of Sanskrit poets. As per the Sanskrit scholar Maddonell, the available history of Sanskrit literature dates back only from 1200 A.D. onwards. In South India, during Krishnadeva Raya's (of the Vijayanagara Empire) rule, many Sanskrit scholars contributed much towards the development of Sanskrit literature. After Krishnadeva Raya, Tanjore came under the rule of Nayaks and Marathas of Tanjore. The Maratha Kingdom was founded in 1676. During the Maratha rule, Tanjore was free from wars and hence the kings could concentrate fully on the development of art and literature. The scholars and Pundits under the patronage of the kings contributed much towards the treasure house of various fields of knowledge. They are all preserved carefully in the Saraswathy Mahal Library of Tanjore. The Maratha king Serfoji II donated all his personal precious collections of books to the Library and many rare Palm leaf manuscripts had been collected from North India and preserved in this Library.

During the Maratha rule, more than the other languages Sanskrit developed a great deal. Under the patronage of Sahaji II, Serfoji II Bhava sahib and Ekoji II, Sanskrit literature flourished in an astonishing way. Scholars and poets in their respective fields of specialization contributed much to the development of Sanskrit literature. During

the reign of Serfoji II certain branches of Sanskrit literature developed. During the reign of Sivaji the last, there were works on the conduct of Yagnas and Nomias.

Kavyas

There are many 'kavyas' attributed to the period of the Tanjore Maratha kings. 'Kavyas' can be classified under three ways: 1. Kavyas in Prose 2. Kavyas in Poetry 3. Kavyas in Prose and Poetry.

Padya and Campu kavyas are very common and popular during the Maratha period in Tanjore.

They can be divided into three categories as per the information we get from them. 1. Kavyas written with the kings as the heroes, 2. Kavyas based on the incidents, available in Ramayana and Mahabharata, 3. Kavyas dealing with the follies, foibles and shortcomings of the kings, the officers and the subjects.

Padya Kavyas

The poet laureates of each period wrote 'Kavyas' with their respective kings as the Heroes. Incidents of historic importance the unique greatness of each king, contribution each one made towards the promotion of art and architecture find expressions in them.

Some of these 'Kavyas' are available in the Saraswathy Mahal library of Tanjore.

Rajarama Charitham ¹

It was written by Kesava pandit. This piece glorified the rule of king Raja Raman, the distinguished son of Sivaji the Great. In five sargas, this Kavya records the heroic expeditions of the king, especially how he valorously fought against Aurangzeb, the great Mughal king.

Sahendra Vilasam ²

The Hero of this Kavya is king Sahaji II. In eight saragas, it treats of the marriage between Deepambal and king Venkoji, the founder king of

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the Maratha Empire in Tanjore. From this Kavya we are able to understand how the Maratha Empire was established and took firm roots in Tanjore. The poet describes the king's patronage of art and literature, wrestling and combats which were the characteristic features of the heroic youth of those days.

Kosala Bhosaleeyam ³

Seshakala Kavi had written Kosala Bhosaleyam. He was honoured by king Sahaji II. He performed 'Kanakabhishekam'⁴ for the poet. The poet was accommodated in 'Thiruvissai nailur' with a vast area of land as a gift.

Anandha Narayana Sastri alias 'pancharatna kavi' composed *Serfoji Charitam* ⁵ about Serfoji II. King's expedition against the Sethu kings is described here.

Prabanchamrutha Raja Ran Jana Rupakam explains about women's equal rights and there engagement in others services. *Dheepambha Mahatmiyam* is a part of this kavya. The queen mother and the mother of Serfoji I performed mass marriages of poor women. She gained gold in Rameshwaram from Thulabhara, with the help of which she helped the Brahmans and poets. They had several welfare schemes for women especially the destitute women.

Thulajaraja Gunavarnanam, Saharaja Sabha varnanam', Nakshatra Mala are some of the minor kavyas, which give valuable information regarding the Maratha kings.

Campu Kavyas

The just rule of the Maratha king Sahaji II, sincere care and concern for their subjects, the happy lives of the people find expressions in *Dharma vijaya Campu*.⁶ He made a gift of an entire village called Saharajapuram for the promotion of education in the kingdom. This village is known as 'Thiruvissal Nallur'.⁷ 45 well known poets lived here. The king patronized Sanskrit scholars, who contributed a great deal to the development and enrichment of Sanskrit Literature.

Kavyas Based on Epics and Puranas

Mukunda Vilasam written by Bhagavanda Raya, deals with the Leelas of Sri Krishna.

Raghava Charitham by Serfoji I, details the Ramayana in brief.

Other Campu Kavyas are: *Uttara Campu* of Bhagavanta Raya, *Thiripura Vijaya Campu*, *Kumarasambhava Campu*.

There were yet another class of Kavyas which were critical by nature treating of the follies and foibles of the kings and the officers.

Gangadhara Makhi was the Chief Minister of the Maratha king. He is known as 'Kankoji Pandit' in the Marathi language. His atrocities find mention in 'Kaga Satakam'.⁸ Makisha Satakam⁹ by Vancheeswarar has a similar theme. During the rule of Sahaji, the king started a separate wing in Thiruvavur for the treatment of cattle.

Kamalalaya Mahatmeeyam¹⁰ songs of the atrocities committed by the authorities in the cattle hospital and how they were reported to the king by the doctors.

Dramas

The Dramatists patronized by the Tanjore Maratha kings have written and staged various Dramas. Some of them have even been edited by the Dramatists explaining the texts for better and easier understanding.

During the period of Sahaji II (1689-1710 A.D.) art and literature, especially Sanskrit Literature flourished. As he was a poet and an art critic, himself many a play was produced and staged. He himself has authored a play called *Chandrasekara Vilasa*. In another play produced by him, *Panchbasha Vllasam*. Sri Krishna is the hero. The Lord converses with the Gopikas in Sanskrit, whereas they converse with Him in Tamil, Telugu, Marathi and Prakrit. Sanskrit is referred to as *Devatha Sarva Bauma* - The Divine personality - He speaks in Sanskrit. The other languages used by the Gopikas are the mother-tongue of various people. Hence perhaps the Dramatist makes them converse in all of them. Apart from this, the king has written various other plays in his mother-tongue-Marathi language.

Following is a list of Dramas written during Sahaji II's rule: *Janakiparinaya*, *Gandhimathi Parinayam*, *Raghavapyudhayam*, *Subhadra Parinayam*, *Sringara Manjari*, *Saharajeeyam*, *Banuprabhanda Prahayanam*, *Mohini Vilasa Kuravanchi*.

The following are Dramas written during the king Sarfoji's Rule: *Vidhya Parinayam*, *Sabapathy Vilasam*, *Neela Parinayam*, *Prathigna Raghavam*, *Ragavandam*, *Anangavijayabhanam*, *Rathimanmada Natakam*.

Dramas attributed to the reign of Tulaja king are *Navagraha Charitham*, *Kumara Vijayam*, *Madana Sanjeevana Banam*, *Ananda Sundari* and *Kala Nandakam*.

Apart from these 19 plays produced during the Maratha period, there were Bashyas for various Sanskrit plays - explanations of the texts. The *Mudrarakshasa Natakasaya* in Sanskritised Prakrit by Sarfoji II is also one of them. The above mentioned plays can be divided into 5 groups: Historical plays, Puranic or Epic plays, Allegorical plays, Operas, and Dance dramas.

Historical Plays

The play *Gandhimathi Parinayam* deals with certain expeditions of king Sahaji II, when attacked by the Madura soldiers. Under the able leadership of Bhavaji, the Maratha army defeated the enemy. Overwhelmed with joy, the elderly Sethupathy made a gift of land in the North of Palmpatru and south of Pattukottai to king Sahaji II. This battle might have taken place between 1700 and 1702 A.D. Though this battle is referred to in all the literary works attributed to this period, it finds a special reference in the *Gandhimathi Parinayam*.

Arts and Social Life

The plays of this period reveal the social life as well as the aesthetic sense of the people. *Anangavijaya Bhana* belonging to the period of Sarfoji I, throws light on the various habits and hobbies of the people. They were interested in bull fight, cock fight, wrestling, gambling and chess.

Music and dance flourished. Certain class of women had who dedicated their lives to the promotion of Art in its various aspects engaged themselves in teaching music and dance. We come to know from the plays that boys at an early age started having those arts mentioned above. The teachers were well-versed in Veena, Thala, Dance, Drama and Mrudangam.

Traditional arts also flourished. These were folk dancers, snake charmers, Jugglers and those who went about telling fortunes also found congenial atmosphere, for the development

of their individual talents. During festival days, irrespective of caste and community people made merry and indulged themselves in reviles. Mention is made even of the existence of torn boys who took pleasure in the eve teasing activities.

Opera

The only opera available is *Chandrasekara Vilasam* written by king Sahaji II. It is more or less autobiographical dealing mostly with his greatness and hospitality.

Dance Drama

Maha kavi Sabda rishi, the poet Laureate during Sahaji II's period had written a Dance drama called *Mohinivilasa Kuravanchi*. The characteristic feature of Tamil poetry-Vemba, Kalippa and Akaval were also introduced to Sanskrit poetry. This kuravanchi treats of a lady, who is in the love with king Sahaji. Many of the plays have not been printed even today. They still remain in their original palm leaf Manuscript.

Purnas

Ramayana and Mahabharatha are great well known epics. Many commentaries were written on Ramayana. In Maratha period Thruyambaka Raya Makhi wrote a commentary. It is called *Dharma Kutam*. It contains a gist of all the commentaries written on the Ramayana till the Maratha period and also certain new interpretation and explanations entirely his own. The *Dharmakutam* will be translated as Clarion call of Dharma. In his preface the author states that this work was undertaken at the request of the Queen Deepambal Kasi Kandam is a part of Kandapurana. It was written by Balakrishna at the request of king Sivaji himself.

Fine Arts

King Sahaji II made the seat of culture and he composed hundreds of PADAS in Telugu, Marathi and Sanskrit. Tulaja II alias Tukkoji brother of Sahaji II wrote books on music, medicine, mantras, astrology and dance. They are *Sangeeths Saramutham*, *Natya Vedagamam*, *Danyantre Vilasam*, *Danyantre Saranithi*, *Enakula Rajatrhejonithi*, *Vakyamrutham* and *Mantra Sastra Sangraham*.

He has detailed also the differences in *Sruthi*, various types of *Swaras* in different combinations. While discussing various musical instruments, he details the LAKSHNAS of a

veena. He himself had devised a veena and a set of a vainic Tune. He had named it TULAJA VEENA. The poet Laureate of the said king's court was Sadasiva Dikshita. He has composed a poem on the model of Jayadeva's *Geetha Govindam*. It is known as *Geetha Sundaram*. Another poet Laureate of the court of king Sahaji II has composed a minor epic called *Sahavilasa Geethaivi* with Serfoji II as its Hero. Another poet called Vasudeva kavi was well versed in Natya Sastra. He has composed *Padas* for dance in various languages. King Sahaji II has written a work, on the Love called *Sringara Manjari*. This is the only work available on this subject of Kamasastra. *Bojana Kuduhalam* by Ragunatha Pandit *Danvantri Vilasavi* and *Danvantri Saranithi* by king Sahaji II. There are works available in Marathi on elephants and horses known as respectively as *Gajasastra* and *Aswasastra*. The works are attributed to the period of king Sahaji II.

There were also Sanskrit works on Darsanas, Lexicon, Alankaras and Stotras composed in this period.

Darsanas

There are six classifications of Darsanas. They are: Nyaya, Mimamsa, Vedanta, Vyakarna, Sankyam and Yogam.

It is also known as *Darka Sastra*. It deals with analysis of all things matters in the world, leading towards the path of glory.

Lexicon

In Sahaji II period there were Prasas, Kriyaprasas, Vissha Pada Prologas on music

tarus and poetry. The king extended all possible help to the scholars and poets. Similarly, they took up the task of compiling a lexicon. Some of the Lexicons compiled are as follows: *Padmani Manjari*, *Sabda Ratna*, *Samanvayah Dhatukosah*.

Alankaras

There are hundreds of alankaras in literature. There were two works with commentaries on Alankara attributed to the period of king Sahaji II. Alankara Manjari and its commentary called Madura. The chief minister of Sahaji II was a famous poet. He was called Gangadhara Vajpayee. He has written as commentary called Rasika Ranjani. King Sarfoji's court poet Narasimha Kavi has written an Alankara called Gunaratnakaram dealing with the qualities and virtues of the king.

Stotras

King Tulaja II composed when he was sick Ayul Vridotkara Stotra and *Sankara Karuna Gayathri*. Ekoji II composed *Ganesa Kavasam* and *Sun Stotra*.

Conclusion

The Sanskrit literature of the Maratha period of Tanjore helps us to know all about the kings and the subjects about their interests. One gets a glimpse also into the social history of the period. The artists, the musicians, the painters, the sculptors and the scholars were held in great esteem and the kings took immense delight in patronizing of various Scholars. Research work must be undertaken to study the above Sanskrit works.

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MAYAKKOOTAR TEMPLE AT PERUNKULAM - A STUDY

S. Murugavel *

Perunkulam is situated twelve K.M. north east of Srivaikuntam in Thoothukudi District of Tamil Nadu. Inscriptions refer this place as Perunkulam alias Uthama -Pandya -nallur.¹ Mayakkoothar temple at Perunkulam is the '56th in the series of 108' sacred places dedicated to Lord Vishnu. Perunkulam is one of the *navathiruppathi*, dedicated to Lord Vishnu situated on the banks of river Thamiraparani.² Mayakkoothar temple has four inscriptions. The Presiding deity according to inscriptions is called Mayakkoothar and Ninraniliya - Mayakkoothar. And the image, in accordance with inscriptional reference is depicted alone in the standing pose. The earliest inscription is that of Jatavarman Kulasekhara proving its erection during his time.³ Renovations to the temple were carried out by Ariyanatha Mudaliar. Jatavarman Kulasekhara's inscriptions refer to a Buddhist monastery in this village.⁴

Mayakkoothar temple was built during the period of early Pandyas. Like other big temples of South India this temple was built at various times. The temple inscriptions furnish evidence for determining the age of structures.

Perunkulam temple is a vast and impressive complex of structures, enclosed by high and massive compound walls all around occupying a rectangular plot of land. The temple measures 350 feet east to west and 90 feet south to north roughly occupying an area of 94 cents and 256 square feet and the main entrance Gopuram is facing the eastern direction. Its height is sixty feet.

The earliest inscription belongs to the period of Jatavarman Kulasekara Pandya (1190-1217) (Tamil) in the 12th century is found on the North and West wall of the Mayakkoothar Temple, mentions the grant of land located in Uthama Pandya Nallur to the Mayakkoothar for a Special festival once every month

on the day of Maha Natchatra Natal star of Kuntomoli Singa Perumal Kurukularithirian of Seyanam alias Parakirama Pandyanallur. The Royal order made land free from taxes.⁵ Not only the temple epigraphs of this age but also some literary works refer to this temple. *Thiruvoimoli* is a 7th century literary work, which refers to Perunkulam and its temple. This is the first and earlier reference to the presiding deity Venkatavanam.⁶

Madura Kavi Alwar of 8th century composed *Kannir Srihampu* ⁷ praising the presiding deity of this temple. Thiviyakavi Pillai Perumal Iyenkar of 17th century composed *108 Thirupathi Anthathi* on Perunkulam in praise of the presiding deity of this temple.⁸

This temple is also referred in *Thamiraparani - Sthala Puranam* (Sanskrit). Perunkulam Manmiam and Jeganatha Kavirayar's *Pillai Thamiz* and U.V. Ananatha Krishna Iyengars *Thanipaa Manchari Oru Pattu*.⁹

For a long time the administration of Mayakkoothar Temple was under the control of Tuticorin circle Devasthanam committee Sri Mayakkoothar Temple is a notified temple of Government under the Hindu Religious and Charitable endowment Act of 1959 and it is administered by an executive officer appointed by the department along with the three honorary members known as Arankavalar Kulu.

Tamil Nadu Hindu Religious and charitable endowment Act 22 of 1959 continuous in force till date.

Renovation to the temple was carried out by Ariyanatha Muthaliar, now this temple is maintained by T.V.S. Company.

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THE IMPACT OF TAMIL CULTURE ON THE MUSLIM MARRIAGES

M.K. Akbar Basha*

Introduction

In Tamil Nadu, the majority of the population belongs to the Dravidian stock with a sprinkling of Brahmins, some Telugu, Kanada and Malayalam-speaking people and North Indian migrants. The chief occupation of the people was farming, animal husbandry and weaving. In bygone days the population comprised predominantly of Hindus.

The Early Muslims and Christians of Tamil Nadu were converts and migrants.¹ Even before the advent of Islam, Arabs were well known to Tamils. They provided horses to the kings and chieftains of the Mabar and other regions. The Arabs came to India to fetch home spices and pearls and brought from their country horses and dates. Even after the spread of Islam, they carried on their trade. Many got settled and married native women and raised families. With the passage of time they mostly settled in villages situated on the Sea-shore. The Turkish invaders of India did not venture beyond the Vindhya mountains. It was only the Delhi Sultanate soldiers who went up to Madurai during the fourteenth century. But their presence did not help in spreading Islam among the masses. It was the non-political contact of Arab merchants, the message of compassion propagated by Sufi Saints which influenced the Tamils more.²

The Muslims of Tamil Nadu who are living in different districts are of native stock, either converts to Islam, or descendants of foreign Muslim merchants who married the native women. The religious faith and practices have been inherited from the Muslim fathers, but social customs and culture were passed by the convert mothers whose roots were deeply embedded in the native Hindu culture. It was a kind of negotiation between the confluencing cultures and hence choices.

The South Indian Hindus have been the role model of true tolerance as practiced by Hinduism. In matters relating to religion, a Tamilian is very flexible by nature. Large Hindu attendance in the anniversaries of Muslim Saints (Urs) and in the church bear testimony to this assertion.³ As

regards to religious tenets, there exists much variance between Hinduism and Islam. The form of Hindu worship in general is idolatry whereas Islam disallows such form of worship, as a Muslim has to believe in an unseen God.

As such it becomes imperative that a Hindu may come into contact with a non-Hindu, but he does not accept the culture of the non-Hindu. He may share a part of his faith but not his culture. So it is the Hinduism which leaves its impact on the alien cultures if they come into contact with it.

In the Tamil districts, where the Muslims are a minority, it is mostly the Hindu culture and social customs and habits which form the core part of Islamic culture. Tamilians are god-fearing and religious-respecting people. They respect each other's faith and practices. When one pays due respect to anything, one is oblivious of the differences or shortcomings. So neither a Hindu hated a Muslim even when he converted to Islam, nor did a Muslim hate Hindu because of his religion.⁴

The present trend in historical research is to make micro - studies⁵ and thereby fill the gaps that are invisible at a first sight. The aim of this study falls under the same category. A study of the relation between Hindus and Muslims is aimed at this paper-entitled "The Impact of Tamil Culture on the Muslim Marriages". This paper tries to encompass the relation between the two major communities from the early times.

For the understanding of the social life and cultural aspects of the Muslims of Tamil Nadu 'Wa-a-We the Hindus the following books are of much help : *Social History of Tamils* by P. Subramanian, Susan Bayly's *Saints, Goddesses and kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900* (1989), *Rituals and Religion Among Muslims in India* by Imtiaz Ahmed; *Impact of Hindu Culture on Muslims* by Madani Mohesan Saeidi; *Qanun-e-Islam* by Jaffer Sheriff and translated by Herklot; *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* by Abbe Dubois.⁶

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B.L. Bhargava has presented in nutshell everything about Hinduism and its culture in his book *Vedic Religion and culture* as also T.M.P. Mahadevan in *Outline of Hinduism*. To present the characteristics of Islam the two books - Abdul Ala Maududi's *Towards understanding Islam*, and *Islam: The Straight path*, ed., Kenneth W. Morgan - were of much help. Prominently, the *Quran* itself explains all tenets and characteristics. In this context, *The Islam - An Introduction*, Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadawi's book lucidly presents all concepts.

To identify the points of intersection between Hindu and Muslim customs and the question why the adoption took place are addressed here. Thus, a comparative study with marriage as an aspect of research.

The Tamil Marriage Customs

The Hindu *Dharmasastras* enjoin that every Hindu has to pass through many *Samskarasi* (purificatory rites) to purify his body and mind from the moment of birth to death as his religious obligation. Among the *Samskaras*, a Hindu has to observe *Vivaha* (marriage)⁷ according to junctions provided by the Hindu law-givers. Since marriage was obligatory and sacred, certain rules and regulations of endogamy and exogamy were observed to regulate it. There were basic differences between the marriage of brahmanas and non-brahmanas, the brahmanas conducted their marriage in accordance with the *Grhya Sutras* while the non-brahmana marriage rites were a curious mixture of both indigenous and Vedic rites. Besides, every caste had its own peculiarities according to which marriages were conducted. It reflected their cultural traditions and social background. The marriage ceremonies commenced with *nitceiyartam* (betrothal function), when the parents and close relatives of the bridegroom who assembled at the bride's house to give presents to the bride like a *Sari*, some coconuts, plantains, turmeric, saffron, betel leaves with arecanut, flowers and *parisam* (dowry) according to the convention of a particular caste.⁸ On the eve of the marriage, newly decorated pots filled with sand and nine different seeds called *navadhanya*, flowers, a lamp, a *arasankal* (bamboo stick with mango leaves) would be kept on the marriage dais to sanctify the occasion as they were sacred to the Hindus.

Just before marriage, the couple had to take a ceremonial bath called *nalanku* to make them completely free from pollution of any sort so that they could undergo the ceremony with all purity and impeccability. With the invocation of the family deity, the couple with their wedding clothes were brought to the dais face to face where *Kankanam* was tied by the priest round their wrists. Then the ceremony called *Kannikatanam* giving away the bride to the bridegroom as a gift by the bride's father was performed.⁹ After the ceremony called *mangalastam* wishing the couple for long and happy union and prosperous life, the bridegroom tied *tali*¹⁰ round the neck of the bride signifying a tie between them. Then the husband holding his wife's hand, took her three times round the sacred fire (*Agni*) symbolising that he married her in the presence of the God of fire, *Agni*.

After the completion of all these Ceremonies, there was a procession called *meravana* when the couple were stopped at the door of every house to enable the lady of the house to perform *arati* to take away the bad effects of evil eyes.¹¹ Among the Tamilians the most proper alliance was between a man and the maternal uncle's daughter. Among the Tamilians mostly marriages were arranged by elders, though one was not discouraged to choose his life partner unless caste and creed were not bypassed. A Hindu marriage is dissoluble, even if unconsummated. Monogamy is the sanctioned custom.¹²

Regarding the totality of Hindu culture it is rightly said that it is admitted by one and all that Hindu faith as well as the Hindu culture is extremely resilient and flexible. It can and does absorb and assimilate new thought patterns and ideas. The most attractive aspect of this culture is that it can tolerantly absorb the opposites without any adverse result in belief. It is like a blotting paper that absorbs variant cultural ink.

Muslim Marriage Customs

A Muslim has to follow a rigid decree of do's and don'ts. To be a follower of Islam, subscribing and adhering to a specific set of beliefs are fundamental. Any deviation shall be considered sacrilegious and any enunciation questioning the veracity of even one of the tenets or precepts shall be termed a blasphemy. Yet Muslims have

succeeded in co-existing along with Hindus for more than twelve centuries. And in this process a cultural assimilation has been taking place.

Marriage in Islam¹³ is nothing but a contract between the bride and bridegroom with two witnesses. After a wedding the bridegroom is expected to host a feast. That is how it happens in most parts of the world, but not in India. Under the Hindu influence, the Muslims too consider marriage as something very sacred and solemn and not just a contract. Most of the Muslims conduct their marriage in the Hindu style. In a few cases horoscopes are matched. Even omen are consulted to know whether the union would be happy and beneficial. A Muslim marriage lasts for many days. The actual date of marriage was fixed by astrologers, Hindu or Muslim, though all the days are sacred according to Islamic injunctions. The *Marakkayars* and *Rowthars*, the two prominent Tamil speaking Muslims of Southern districts follow the custom of *jatakam*. Though the simple form of marriage devised by the Prophet is purely a civil contract needing no priest and requiring no ceremonial for its validity. Formal planting of what is called '*marriage post*' is common among the Muslim families of the Southern districts: The ceremonious erection of a special green *pandal*, inviting people by offering them '*Pansupari*' at their houses. Offering betel leaves, coconut and tying of *thali* are all common customs. Use of coloured water which is whirled around the heads of the newly married couple to drive off ill-omen and to avert evil-eye is common.¹⁴ The Muslim equivalent of *Thali* is *gtialsar* or black beads. The only difference is in Hindu custom, bridegroom will tie the *Thali* to bride; where as in Muslim Marriage, the elderly women tie it.¹⁵

Turmeric, betel leaves and arecanut and flowers play a very important part in marriages. The bride is bathed as much as the groom as a ritual for many days. Turmeric paste is applied to the bride and then she is washed. All the time she is dressed in yellow. Even the groom wears yellow dress for a couple of days prior to marriage. A bride is decked with flowers and so also a bridegroom. A flower-Veil called *Setira* is worn, especially by the groom. It is said to ward off evil eye. The bridegroom going to bride's house of marriage hall accompanied by music playing bands, either riding a horse or seated in a flower-decked

Car. The tying of *tali* with a scrupulous observances of great ceremony,¹⁶ the distribution of arecanuts and coconuts to the assembled guests,¹⁷ the use of coloured rice and coloured pots in certain ceremonies; the whirling three times of a basin containing water, turmeric, cusa grass and other seeds round the happy couple now and again to avert the evil eye¹⁸ of the spraying of the bride's and bridegroom's people with saffron water¹⁹ are also practiced.

The Muslim parents at the time of a daughter's marriage gave much in the form of jewels, ornaments and the like. Thus was laid the foundation for the obnoxious dowry system. Later alliances materialized only after ascertaining the quantity and the quality of the dowry. In Tamil Nadu, cash is demanded by groom called as *Jodah*, which actually means a pair of dress. The marriage rituals are continued upto fifth week of the wedding. During most of these rituals presents are made to the groom and feasts hosted to his close relations.²⁰

The Intersection

Climate, land, environment play a dominant role in shaping a culture. If people of one culture migrate to another place with a different culture, the former have to shed some of their habits and absorb many from the people living in the place where they settle. At the same time the later too when get exposed to the culture of the former accept many new customs and habits. So each gives something to the other. It was the same case in Tamil Nadu. When the Muslims with a different culture came to live with the Hindus, they inadvertently accepted many things new, and gave their neighbours, the Hindus, something from their cultural kitty.²¹ This constituted the influence process.

In Tamil Nadu with a few exceptions all Muslims were either children of the Muslim fathers who came and settled in Tamil Nadu, or the converts²² who mostly embraced Islam with their family members. As such invariably the mothers of the Muslim children were non-Muslims who are converted to Islam. Women are the true custodian of cultures and social practices. When they were converted to a new religion they piously followed all the cardinal rules of the new religion. But in matters relating to day-to-day life they had to draw

from their experiences and customs which they had followed before conversion. The Muslims also conducted their marriage in the Hindu style. The horoscope of the intended bride and bridegroom has been compared and their suitability ascertained with reference to their respective stars. Omens were also consulted whether unions would be happy or otherwise. Marriage date and time of '*mukurtham*' (*Nikkah*)²³ was fixed by astrologers. Among the minor rites connected with marriage in which traces of Hindu influences were distinctly visible, mention may be made for the ceremonious erection of a special green '*pandal*'.²⁴ It was a practice of Hindus was adopted by Muslims. As green colour symbolises prosperity and auspiciousness, these two values are acceptable to Muslims also.

Turmeric paste is applied to the bride and these she is washed (*Manjal Neeratudhal*). All the time she is dressed in Yellow. Though there is no religious sanctity, the custom was taken into because of the health nicety associated with it. Another custom of intersection is the display of a sacred copper pot *Kalasam* filled with magnetised water and engulfed with white thread; a coconut is placed on this pot. This is continuously being practiced in the *Rowthars* marriages in Tiruchirapalli locality.²⁵ The pot symbolises generation of wealth as well as human progeny.

The foot finger rings *Metti* (*challa*) made of silver is worn by the Muslim bride also. The finger imprinting of the sandal paste on the walls of the Marriage house indicates auspicious symbolism. The idea of *Murai Mapillai* or accompanying bridegroom, is borrowed by Muslims from Tamil culture. Then comes taking the bridegroom in the street in the form of a musical procession. The decoration of bride with *Mehendi*

(Henna paste) and worship of the house god (*Kuladaivam*) had its counterparts in Muslim marriage also. These aesthetics and spiritual aura is scented with the sprinkling of the rose water at the entrance of the marriage house thus inviting the guests with cordiality. The distributing of coconuts after the main ceremony is also an element of assimilation. Flowers are worn in garland and *Sehra* forms (the covering of the face) was emulated.²⁶

One interesting observation is that the practice of monogamy (single marriage) among Hindus influenced Muslims in a way that the Muslims are unwilling to go in for a second marriage, though Islam sanctifies a man to marry four wives, of course under some conditions.²⁷

Conclusion

The influence of the Tamil culture on the Muslim marriages in the Tamil country is multi-dimensional. The interactions between Hindu and Muslim lifestyles are being carried out at different times. The insight of merit and auspiciousness informed this interaction. Some select customs like Turmeric water bath, pot of magnetised water, fixing marriage moments etc., are borrowed and assimilated by the Muslims keeping in view of the health-giving qualities of these customs. Cultural interaction of Muslims and Hindus symbolises the symbiosis of accommodative techniques. The coming down of Islam into South India through Arab merchants in the Malabar Coast and Sufi saints into the already flourishing Hindu culture has an in-built element to interact. Thus cultures are not unilinear always; but rather interactive. The dependence of one individual on the another for survival is a time-test fact. That's why cultures are no exception for this logic in history.

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TAMIL NADU TOURISM - TRIUMPHS AND TRAVAILS

K.B. Rathⁱ *

India is a destination of 365 days. The government is recognizing tourism as an economic driver. Incredible India is no hype. India has become the land of million journeys. A quick rewind of events would show that the first Planning Commission in 1955 had ranked tourism in the 269th place¹ on the priority list even lower than development of lighthouses, after three decades of darkness, today we have recognized the potential of tourism as a revenue earner as well as employment. Enchanting Tamil Nadu slowly and steadily is attracting tourist flow. What are the strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats that Tamil Nadu faces? This paper delves into some of these aspects.

In India, direct employment from tourism contributes 4.59% of the total employment while indirect employment is 8.27% this translates into creation of nearly 7 million jobs over next 10 years; growth in tourism has a cascading effect on other sectors of the economy.²

It is predominantly domestic tourists who are fast changing tourism landscape the reasons are not far to seek. Three events have changed the scenario completely starting from 9/11 strikes, opening up of the Indian skies and the arrival of the young up-market Indian traveller with double income has boosted domestic tourism.

In fact after 9/11 when most bookings were cancelled by foreign tourists and Indian Tourism Industry was reeling under the impact it was domestic tourism which came to the rescue and set the cash bells ringing.

Tamil Nadu, of course is but a slice of Incredible India Starting from pilgrimage tourism, wild life tourism, educational tourism, rural tourism, health tourism, adventure tourism, beach tourism and eco-tourism, there is nothing that Tamil Nadu cannot offer. Tamil Nadu tourism projects are eco friendly. It has been the endeavour of the state to open up new destinations promote tribal areas and it plans to take tourists off the beaten track. New dimensions, are added to tourism in Tamil Nadu today. Golf Tourism is an add on to convention tourism and shopping an add on to exhibition tourism.

Today the younger generations are iconoclastic in their approach. They are global citizens who believe in plastic money and do not believe in saving up all their money for a rainy day. They are adventurous and want to try out new destinations smaller holidays with family, friends and some times in solitude. With the ever increasing BPOs IT companies it is these young yuppies who are the stars of the domestic tourism, which Tamil Nadu should take advantage of. As

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headlong eagerness to modernise.⁴ People already occupy 97% of their country, this problems should be solved there remaining 3% should be left for wildlife.⁵

The Ministry of tourism recommends all visitors to India to use hotels lodges and travel related services of organisations who have taken the environmental pledge.

Tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed natural areas with specific object of studying admiring enjoying scenery wild plants and animals as well as an existing cultural aspects formed in these areas is defined as eco tourism.

Modern Tourism Industry heavily depends on natural features and unique cultural aspects. Sustainable development of tourism aims at continuous maintenance of these along with equitable distribution of socio economic benefits of tourism to the resident population Global 90 conference on Environment Industry defined sustainable tourism as maragement of tourism resources in such a way that it fulfills economic social aesthetic needs while maintaining life support system.

Eco tourism is an enlightening nature travel experience that contributes to conservation of ecosystem while respecting environment. It implies that need for taking utmost care not to alter the integrity of eco systems while tapping economic benefits from the resources of the nation. Sustainable tourism, led by motives like spirit of enquiry, love of beauty, aims at quality tourism proper sewage disposal, internal combustion noises pollution over use of fragile archaeological sites can lead to damage.

The principal product of life cycle can be applied to tourism industry. If not nipped in the bud resources will be over used in attractive and ce extinction.⁶ According to Sir Crispin eco tourism requires a judicious balance between interest of host visitors and tourism industry.

Hermankhen describes the rapidly rising tourism as next only to atomic power in potential for environmental destruction.⁷

George Perkins Marsh writes in his book winds and storms and earth quake and seas

and seasons of the world have done so much to revolutionise the earth as man the power of an endless life since the day he came forth upon it and red dominated over it.

Mangroves are very specialised forest eco systems of tropical sub tropical regions bordering sheltered sea coasts and estuaries Pichavaram and Point Calimer are examples in Tamil Nadu of biosphere reserves. They are multipurpose protected areas for preservation of genetic diversity and integrity of plants, animals micro-organisms in representative ecosystems. There are seven such reserves in India, two in Tamil Nadu - Nilgiris and gulf of Mannar.⁸ There are four major coral reefs identified in the country and few at gulf of Mannar.

The Tsunami changed the attitude of villagers along the coast and they now help restore Pichavaram's Mangrooves bio-shields. Bio-shields are raised at MGR Thittu, Muzhukkuthurai and Mudasalodai as mangrove, non-mangrove plantations and sand dunes. At Madavamedu village in Nagapatinam, non-mangrove bioshields with multiple species of trees, sand dunes and tree fencing of residential areas were created.

Pichavaram and Muthupet receive fresh water during the northeast monsoon season from October to November. But the reduction in freshwater flow and closure of the estuary mouth during much of the year trace serious threats. The Forest Department is restoring the area and over 50 self help groups have implemented a number of income-generating activities with the help of the Forest Department, District Rural Development Agencies schedule banks and government agencies.

Five areas of ecology should be kept in mind. They are conservation of energy and water, solid waste management employee environmental education and an environment commitment.⁹

Realization of the policy objectives particularly in context of eco tourism should involve a selective approach, scientific planning, effective control and continuous monitoring. The following cardinal principles should be followed.

It should involve local community and lead to over all economic development of the area.

we have seen foreign tourist arrivals stay sluggish, domestic tourism is where the action is. An incredible 375 million Indians each year are discovering the country's myriad holiday destinations and fuelling an unprecedented boom, we have a huge catchment area of domestic tourism. So in Tamil Nadu we have to capture the essence of domestic tourism where there is greater depth.

On reflection, the profile of the domestic tourist will show that he is not a demanding customer, he does not ask for the skies but he is definitely a discerning individual, needless to say for him hygiene sanitation cleanliness are the watch word.

Eventually it is upto the individual states to push the tourism product. When Kerala went totally professional in terms of marketing as 'god's own country' can Tamil Nadu be left behind. To give Enchanting Tamil Nadu a competitive edge, there is more that can be done on the lines of Palace on Wheels. Tamil Nadu can also run a similar train which connects to major tourist spots in the state. It can be a combination of all these kinds of tourism - pilgrimage heritage, wild life beach, rural tourism it can also have certain sectors which cater only to certain type of tourism.

Another area is wine tourism which should slowly pickup as wine consumption is increasing in India. And Sula wine being the Indian brand that is being exported.

Mountains, beaches, rivers, wild life it may sound clinched you name it we have it in Tamil Nadu as the saying goes

What each state in India can individually offer all of that, at one stroke Tamil Nadu can offer to a tourist, if not even more.

Modern Tourism Industry heavily depends on natural features and unique cultural aspects.

United Environment programs industry and Environmental centre UNEP conducted a survey of environmental codes of conduct for tourism among countries. The survey showed that one resource on which tourism industry can thrive and grow is environment. Protecting environment is that important to the survival of tourism in many

regions of the world. It must be responsible travel that conserves natural environment and sustains well being of local people. It is the era of health and booming health care industry. Medical tourism has arrived in India. It is also taught Indian health care industry to become competitive and provide best not only to international but to local patients.

The question that confronts us is to be or not to be. Together with development goes hand in hand a cautious note to conserve the tourist spots. The biosphere that gives us life is wondrously rich the number of organisms composing it is astronomical one million trillion insects are believed to be alive on the planet at anyone time they are in turn beggared by bacteria billions of which may reside in a single pinch of soil so great is the diversity of life forms that we still have not taken its measure. During the past two centuries biologists have discovered and given formal names to some what more than 1.5 million species of plants animals and micro organisms yet number of species unknown to us, are more than 100 million.

Inspite of this immense complexity the biosphere is also very fragile. Although it appears robust it is actually a hollow shell around the planet so thin it cannot be seen edge wise from an orbiting space craft Half the world forests are gone its organisms are ill equipped to withstand mankind's relentless assault on habitats in which they live, the human species at more than six billion strong and heading towards 9 billion by next century has become a geophysical force more destructive than storms and droughts.³

Many of earth's coral reefs are literally fading away. Polluting damming introducing alien organism are causing whole sale extinction native aquatic species greenhouse warming edging climatic zones causing damage to fauna threatening the existence ecosystems including these of the arctic hitherto least disturbed parts of the world.

Experts believe at the present rate of environmental change half the world's species could be gone by the end of the century. Building fences is not always the answer people relying on the land must be protected. The dense rain forests are not safe they are a victim of India's su-

It should identify likely conflicts between resource use for tourism and livelihood of local inhabitants and attend to minimize such conflicts.

Type and scale of Tourism development should be compatible with environment and socio cultural characteristic of local community.

It should be planned as part of over all area development strategy guided by an integrated land use plan and associated with commensurate expansion of public services.

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THE CAR FESTIVAL OF LAZAR - WHERE RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION KNOWS NO BOUNDS

J. Cinthia*

Religious integration is an aspect which is slowly clearing away from the society, and the reason for it is still unknown. The dilemma whether the reason is materialistic attitudes or development of science and technology, in this fast moving world is the question of today. Even today there is a place where there is religious integration and unanimous celebration, indiscriminative of caste, creed or religion in a particular area where a car festival held annually brings people together. The church which celebrates this car festival is located in a significant spot in Chennai, or Madras as it was earlier called.

When the English first came to Madras there were numerous Roman Catholic Churches in Santhome.

The present location of the Lazarus Church or the Church of Nossa Senhora De Guia is amidst Santhome, Mylapore, Adyar and the Bay of Bengal on the other side.

The Vanniya Kula Kshatriya community of the locality that lived in and around the Church predominantly believed in the powers of St. Lazarus the patron saint of the church, and this belief was handed down the centuries through whose intercession, they obtained spiritual health and material wealth. The church/ chapel was mainly for and of the people of the Vanniya Kula Kshatriya community also known as the Naickers.

The people of the Naicker community to believe that Lazarus did exist, and he does intercede on our behalf to the Lord the God to shower on them health, wealth and peace among the community. This belief was given expression in their patron Saint, though the official Catholic Church has not canonized him as a Saint.

In the days of Christ, there were two Lazarus; the first was the brother of Martha and Mary who was raised from the grave by Our Lord after four days. He became Bishop and died a Martyr. And the second was Lazarus the beggar

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the one mentioned earlier. Here we are concerned about this poor Lazarus who is supposed to have appeared in 1568 as a beggar in the southwest corner of Mylapore in a thicket and talked to the people and frequented the nearby chapel. A Venetian, a merchant of gems and other merchandise in the year 1582, hands down this description. The devotees down the centuries have venerated this poor man Lazarus. Everywhere his wonderful work became so famous that his fame even reached as far as the shores of England.

The official church as a private revelation regards the claim that Lazarus the beggar did appear after Christ and helped in trials and tribulations.

Feasts of St. Lazarus

The spectacular feast of St. Lazarus is celebrated on the last Sunday of January every year. The feast of St. Lazarus was started as a thanksgiving feast. The celebration started with the flag hoisting ten days earlier to the Feast Sunday. A flag with the picture of Lazarus at one side and on the other side is the picture of Mother Mary beautifully painted. It is hoisted by the main celebrant of the Novena Mass (mostly a Bishop or a priest), and is followed by a solemn high mass. When the flag is hoisted the band is played. Each and every day till the feast day, Novena prayers are said and special masses are celebrated with significant themes for each day. The themes are explained elaborately by the celebrant in his homily (sermon) during the mass.

The feast of St. Lazarus is being celebrated over the centuries with pomp, extravaganza and extreme solemnity. The traditional cars and statues of saints bear eloquent testimony of the antiquity of the feast. Devotees from all over the city irrespective of caste and creed gather in an unending stream during the festival days to thank and pay homage to the major event of the parish. The present parishioners and devotees of St. Lazarus have placed on record their deep sense of gratitude to their forefathers who with solid faith and undiminished piety and enthusiasm have undertaken the grand celebrations of the feast through the past centuries.

An ancient and historical Christian monument developing out of the St. Lazarus'

chapel built by the Portuguese almost 400 years ago, the miraculous statue of St. Lazarus is still attracting many devotees since the old times.

Appaswamy Naicker who was the headman of the largely prevalent Naicker Community in the area, which was a sub-community of the Vanniya Kula Kshatriya community, originally began the feast. This headman and his family members have been taking up the responsibility of conducting the feast of Lazarus.

The car processions are the main attractions of the feast. The statues that are taken out on the decorate cars in processions through the car streets. Earlier the statues were kept in the residence of the headman and preserved in safe custody. They were used during the feast and brought back for preservation till the next feast. Later the statues were brought under the custody of the church.

It is said that until the advent of the European missionaries to India the residents of the locality were all Hindus. The ancestors of Appaswamy Naicker were the Hereditary Nattamis to the Kapalishwarar temple and during the Kapaiishwarar festival, the Mudhal Mariyadhai and Parivattam was offered to the Naicker headman and he used to donate the required materials for the special poojas. Later on with the insurgence of missionaries and consequent conversions, the ancestors of Appaswamy Naicker and his descendants converted to Christianity and became staunch and ardent followers of Christ. The conversion of the Naicker community from Hinduism to Christianity was due to their thirst for spirituality and nothing else.

Due to their ancestral relationship with the Kapalishwarar temple, the vehicles, which carry the cars on the streets, were borrowed from the temple by the trust for the celebration of the Lazarus feast. This habit has been a tradition for nearly 300 years and it continues till date.

The statues are placed in the cars that are extravagantly and beautifully decorated with flowers, festoons, etc. while four of the cars are decorated with fresh flowers of rose, jasmine and marigold; the others are decorated with festoons. These decorated cars are in procession once on

the eve of the feast and again in the morning and evening if the main feast day through the car streets. The names of the statues of the saints who are honoured are: 1. Natchathira Madha (Mary the Morning star), 2. Saint Lazarus, 3. Saint Anthony, 4. Saint Xavier, 5. Saint Arokianather, 6. Saint Sebastian, 7. Saint Santiago, 8. S. Arc Angel Michael and 9. Saint Joseph.

This car festival is held for two days and it involves people of different religions in the process of the main celebration. This is also the time when the people from different nationalities and also Indians especially the people of the area, who reside abroad come back to witness the pomp and show of this car festival.

The cars were precedentially carried on the shoulders of fishermen, and when they wanted to take rest during the procession, they kept it on a base called, "AyyahKal" which was a huge circular stone with a flat base. Later on

seeing the hardship undergone by the fishermen and on humanitarian basis, the conductors of the feast borrowed the carts from the Kaplishwarar temple (Hindu religious institution) and were used to carry the cars and the grand lunch (Biriyan) provided to the visitors of the Church is prepared by an Islamic catering group.

Apart from this there are different people such as the Florist, Decorator of the Cars, Electricians, the Band, Musicians, Peddlers, pavement shop keepers, etc. of different religions who work during the festival unpaid in order to express their gratitude to the celebrity saint.

This religious institution, the Church of Lazar has made it a point to bring about religious integrity in the celebration of its car festival and is still pursuing its journey in bringing people of different castes, religions and communities together there by Imowing no bound to religious integrity.

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PRACTICES OF SATI DURING THE MADURAI NAYAKS - A STUDY

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The word sati means "a virtuous woman" and the word was erroneously applied by early British officials and missionaries to sati's self-immolation. The history of the customs takes us back to the earliest cultures. Many ancient people buried or burnt a man's widows, horses and other cherished possessions with his corpse, in order that he might have all that he loved and needed in the other world.¹

According to the legend, Parvati, in the incarnation before that, in which she became the bride of Siva, had been born as Sati, the daughter of the sage Daksha, and had then also became the

wife of the great god. When his father quarreled with her divine lord she flung herself into the flames of his sacrificial fire, and the ashes of her yoni or body fell in various spots in India, which became the pithas or sacrificial shrines of her cult.²

The existence of Sati cult is shown by the existence of numerous satikals during this period. In sculpture, these cruel incidents are shown in a symbolic manner, e.g., the representation of Sun and Moon, linga or phallic emblem and the carving of an upright had thrusting out from a post or pillar. Such *satikals* or sati stones are found in different parts of South India.³ Apart from these

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satiks, there are some sculptural panels, which are related to sati practice. On the outer wall of the south *prakara* of the Varadaraja Perumal temple at Thadikkombu, are the sun and moon represented above the *linga* emblem. This representation is identified with the custom of Sati.⁴

The following is an interesting account of sati as performed in the Nayak period. The living cremation of sati was always, in theory voluntary, but if we are to judge from later analogy, social and family pressure may have made it virtually obligatory on some high-caste widows, especially those of the warrior class.⁵ The 15th century traveler Nicolo de Conti states that as many as three thousand of the wives and concubines of the kings of Nayak were pledged to be burnt with their lord on his death.⁶ Nuniz⁷ Barradas and Linschoten⁸ write that soon after the death of her husband the wife will commit sati. Proenza's letter of 1659 states that, the greatest obstacle to his (Tirumalai Nayak's) conversion came from his three hundred wives, the most distinguished of whom were burnt on his funeral pile, according to the barbarous custom of these people.⁹

Another letter of the same missionary, written in the same year, from Trichinopoly describes the case of an ordinary woman, "one knows the custom which exists in India of burning the wives with the corpse of their husband and one is astonished at the heroic courage which prompts these victims of Indian fanaticism, one will wonder less if one knows the part of the demon in these cruel ceremonies."¹⁰ Martin's letter of 1713

refers to the sati of about forty-seven wives of Kilavan Setupati, who died in 1710 and to the earlier case of Mangammal's daughter in law, "The queen of Trichinopoly (Muttammal), mother of the reigning prince, who was pregnant when her husband died about twenty years ago made the same resolution (to burn herself to death) as soon as a son would be born to her, and carried it out with a fitness which astonished the whole court. Her mother-in-law, Mangammal, could not accompany king Chokkanatha on his pyre for the same reason, but after the delivery, she hit upon an expedient to escape the flames, the pretext being that there was none but her to bring up the young prince and govern the kingdom during his minority."¹¹ She neglected the performance of Sati.

The performance of Sati is described in the Rukmangada Charitra written by Praudhakavi Malianarya. Accordingly it is advised that a wife should throw herself into the funeral pyre of her husband and should not live after his death and such a woman's greatness cannot be praised even by the gods.¹² Another Tamil folk literature Ramayyan Ammanai gives a detailed description of Sati.¹³ Even though the contemporary records rendered a detailed description of sati it represents a symbolic manner in the sculptures.

The death ceremony is one of many customs of the Hindus. It is represented in the painting panel of the Vasantha Mandapa at Alagarkoil near Madurai. This is most commonly prevalent in the day-to-day life of village people of Tamil Nadu. This painting panel reveals the localization of culture.

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2. *Ibid.*, p.314.
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4. *Ibid.*, p.38.
5. A.L. Basham, *Op.cit.*, p.189.
6. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p.84.
7. *Ibid.*, pp.391-92.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-40.
9. R. Sathianathaier, *Tamilaham in the 17th Century*, p. 181.
10. *Ibid.*, pp.181-82.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Rukmangada Charitra*, 4-92 and 96.
13. *Ramayyan Ammanai*, p.65.

chose Tiruttani hill to subside his anger and he made it as his abode. There he got his anger reduced and hence the hill, where his, anger subsided, is called as Thanigai Malai.⁶ (Place where his anger was subsided). Lord Muruga in his fifth abode, Tiruttani, reigns blessing to his devotees with his consorts Valli and Deivayanai. Valli is his Itcha Sakthi, (i.e. will power) and Deivayanai is his Kriya Sakthi (i.e. his power of action). Lord Muruga's marriage with his Kriya Sakthi took place at Thirupparankundram, likewise, he married his Itcha Sakthi at Tiruttani.⁷

The hill and the deity on it along with the shrine have become the theme of many devotional songs authored by saints, philosophers and poets. Saint Arunagirinathar, of the 15th century, Kachiappa Munivar, Muthuswamy Dikshathar, of the 18th century, Thirunavukkarasar, Pamban Kumara Gurudasa Swamigal, Vadalur Ramalinga Adigal, Kandhappaiya Desikar and Kachiappa Sivachariar are a few who sang in praise of the Lord Muruga here.⁸

The origin of the temple goes back to the pre-historic days. It is believed that it is at least four thousand years old. The rulers of Vijayanagar, Chandragiri and the Zamindars of Karvettinagar took a special interest in the temple and renovated it, whenever it got into a state of disrepair. It faces east and is square in shape with four prakarams. It covers an area of one acre. There are five gopurams. Devotees have to ascend a flight of 365 steps to reach the temple. It is significant that the number of steps is the same as the number of days in a year. In addition to the Lord Muruga in the temple, are installed his consorts Valli and Deivayanai and Sri Abathsahaya Vinayagar in separate garbagrahas; it was with the help of Lord Vinayagar that the Lord Muruga was able to win and marry Srivalli. The Moolavar 3½ high is known as Lord Muruga and Gnana Saktidarar. The Uthsavamoorthy 2½ high known as Sri Subrahmanyaswamy, has a separate Asthana mandapam and is seated in Rudraksha vimanam with Valli and Deivayanai.⁹ The temple's Sthalapuranam has been written both in Tamil and Sanskrit.

In "Skandapurana", it is narrated that Brahma retrieved his art of creation after a penance here. Indra, the king of Devas, obtained several

gifts from the Lord Muruga after worshipping Lord Subrahmanya here. There is a strong belief that, the devotees who worship Lord Subrahmanya here are granted all their desires, spiritual as well as worldly. It was here that Lord Subrahmanya promised his consort Valliammai whom he married here, that he would remain with her on this hill. It is also believed that Lord Siva, Lord Vishnu and Lord Brahma worshipped here. Likewise, Thirunandhithevar, Saints Agasthiya and Naradha and the Sapthakannigas have also worshipped this place.¹⁰

"Just as the Lotus is the best of all flowers, the Ganges of all rivers, and Kanchipuram of all cities of the world, the Thanikai Mountain is the supreme among all mountains". Here the Lord Muruga engages himself in the Leela of playing on the various musical instruments in order to bring down his rage. The Gandamathana Hills near, mount Kailas, the favourite resort of Lord Muruga is not so pleasing to him as the Thanikai. Indra is said to have created three divine ponds here, caused three different types of flowers to blossom there in three periods of the day, offered them to Lord Muruga regularly and thus attained his blessings by constant devotion. The flowers are said to be Nilorpala hence the names of the place such as Nilagiri, Nilotpalagiri, etc. Because of the association of Indra, the mountain is also named Indiragiri. The three divine ponds continue to be the theerthas of the place. Lord Muruga also details the blessings devolving on those who worship him here. Those who have a dip in the three theerthas and worship the Lord Muruga attain Moksha being at once relieved of their sins. They are blessed with all prosperity as long as they live and enjoy divine bliss after death.¹¹

An interesting feature of this temple is that within the precincts of the temple, on the north eastern corner of the northern prakara, the Nawab Vadya Mandapam or more popularly known as Nawab Mandapa could be found. It is in this mandapa that the Muslims, even today, play the musical instruments during pooja times. This is a good example of religious harmony, tolerance and Hindu, Muslim relationship. The legend is that a Nawab by name Kadar, who was seriously suffering with an ailment got cured when prayed the Lord Muruga here and as a gratitude, he

installed a Lingam and constructed the mandapa for playing instrumental music for God.¹²

There are nine holy waters or theerthams viz., Agasthiyar, Brahma, Kumaran, Rama, Indira, Vishnu, Shesha, Narada and Saptha Rishi. In the temple itself is located the Kailasa theertham. Nine separate Lingams could also be found here, and to the south of the hill are seven pools around which are built the temples of the Seven celebrated Virgins (Sapthakannigas) and Veerabadrswamy. Besides the three theerthas mentioned above, there is another big theertha at the foot of the hills called Saravana poigai.¹³ On the two sides of the Tiruttani Hill, we find two hills, one a little whitish and the other dark brown; hence their names are Pacharisi malai and Pinnakku malai.

The routine relating to daily poojas is as follows:

Morning pooja at before 9.00 a.m.,
Abishekam and Uchikala pooja at 10.30-11.00 a.m.,
Abishekam and Evening pooja at 7.00-7.30 p.m.
and Ardhajama Deeparadhanai (Camphor offering) at 11.00 p.m.

The above poojas are performed by the hereditary Saiva priests belonging to the Brahmin community. They are not paid any monthly salary, but are entitled to take the offerings of the devotees.¹⁴ The important annual festivals are: i. Floating festival celebrated for three days in the Tamil month of Adi from the Kirithigai day in the month. ii. The Thirupugazh Bajanai on the 31st December of every year. iii. Brahmothsavam in the Tamil month of Masi. iv. Skandasashti in the Tamil month of Ayyasi.

About three to four lakhs devotees visit the temple for Adi Kirithigai and Floating festival, while a very large crowd gathers for the others festivals.¹⁵

The Sashti and Krithiga days of every month are the most holy days of Lord Muruga. Thousands of people throng here on these days coming from Tamil Nadu, Andhra and other States. Of all Krithiga days, those of Tamil months Adi, Karthigai and Masi are the most holy ones. The mountain, as it is, very small in a size; the shrine above is easily accessible with steps leading to it. For the past few years quite a large number of devotees assemble here on December 31st and January 1st also to worship Lord Muruga in

connection with the New Year of the English Calender. Thus this is the only Hindu temple in Tamil Nadu where the English New Year is celebrated as a festival.¹⁶ On the Mahasivarathri day falling in the Tamil month of Masi, the 1008 sangabishekam takes place; the daily poojas are carried out according to the Agama injunctions and the structure of the temple also conforms to the same. The Brahmotsava and Sashti festival are quite famous. Most of them are celebrated on the hill. Only on a few occasions like the Floating festival Lord Muruga condescends to step down the hill.¹⁷

The temple was originally under the management of the Zamindars of Karvettinagar. It is now under the control of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Board, which has appointed an Executive Officer. There is a Board of five trustees. It is worthwhile for the devotees of peruse the Sthalapuranam which is available in the Devasthanam office.

There is also an old temple of Lord Siva besides the Lord Muruga shrine in this place. It is called Virattaneswarar temple. Aparajitha, the last Pallava King of 9th century A.D. raised this temple and is essentially of the Pallava style of architecture. Of course the Muruga temple situated above is much older than this but the structure of the former temple looks new for it was rebuilt only a few hundred years ago while the Siva temple was built nearly a thousand years ago.¹⁸ There are many Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit inscriptions found here of which the Tamil inscriptions are large in number. These belong to the periods of Aparajitha Pallava, Rajaraja Chola and Rajendra Chola a few of them belong to the period of the Vijayanagar rulers.¹⁹

The following social welfare activities have been carrying out by Tiruttani Sri Subrahmanyaswamy temple.

Library

The house, in which, S. Radhakrishnan, Former President of India was born, is handed over to Devasthanam. The Devasthanam of Sri Subrahmanyaswamy temple constructed a beautiful building and runs a Library. There are about 3,885 books in the Library.²⁰ Books of Sangam period, religious books, philosophical books of S. Radhakrishnan, Novels, Short Stories

and Essays in Telugu, Tamil, English, Sanskrit and Hindi of various authors are available in the Library.

Karunai Illam

Karunai Illam is the name given to the Orphanage being maintained by the Devasthanam. There are two separate orphanages for boys and girls where in 70 boys and 58 girls are accommodated respectively. Free accommodation, dress, food and education are provided to them by the Devasthanam.

Free Marriages

From the temple funds, marriage of poor couples are conducted at free of cost. In the year 1981 about 18 poor couples, in 1988 about 25 poor couples, again in 1997 about 81 poor couples and in 2006 about 100 poor couples got married.²¹

Donation to Government Arts College

To start a Government Arts College at Tiruttani, Sri Subrahmanyaswamy temple Devasthanam donated Rs. 5 lakhs to the Government and hence, the College was named after the Devasthanam as Arulmigu Subrahmanyaswamy Devasthanam Government

Arts College and the College is situated north of Tiruttani, on Tiruttani-Chennai Road at about 4 km. away from Tiruttani. Graduate and Post Graduate Courses are offered.²²

Siddha Hospital

In the year 1971 Devasthanam started Siddha Hospital at Tiruttani Hill Temple and at Sub Temples of Tiruttani for the benefit of devotees and general public. The hospital is functioning at the following places on the days noted against each.²³ Tiruttani Hill Temple (Every Monday, Friday and Sunday), Thiruvallangadu (Every Thursday), Maddur (Every Tuesday) and Karimbedu (Every Wednesday).

Temples are primarily responsible to promote the religious and the cultural life of the people. The Brahmothsavam and the Skandasashti festival attracts several millions of people to Tiruttani every year in the Tamil months of Masi and Aippasi respectively. The Tiruttani Sri Subrahmanyaswamy temple is rendering a remarkable service to the society. As a matter of fact this temple's glory and power of the deity attract large crowds of people.

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THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICES OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN TAMILNADU WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MADURAI DIOCESE

K. Appadurai *

The coming of the Christian missionaries and the establishment of the British Raj in India led to several changes of far - reaching consequences which profoundly affected almost all aspects of Indian life. The most momentous of all changes introduced by the missionaries was the new system of education which they championed. In the field of modern Indian education the Christian Missionaries were 'ideal pioneers' in many respects. In the absence of widespread government provision for education in the 18th and 19th century India, the initiative was taken by the Christian missions.

St. Thomas Started his mission on the Malabar coast at Kodungallur in 52 A.D. Pope Paul VI called St. Thomas "the Apostle of India".¹ The Apostle St. Thomas was accompanied by two other apostles namely St. Bartholomew and Judas Thaddeus.² With the coming of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century that the Roman Catholic Church got a footing in India.³ Vasco De Game the Portuguese captain discovered the sea route to India in 1498 and landed in the harbour of Calicut, a new chapter in the history of Christianity was opened.⁴

In this context here it is worthwhile to understand the formation of Madurai Diocese. The age of old city of Madurai can boast not only of historical 'Tamil Sangams' that caused the growth of Tamil Language and Literature but also of the presence and work of eminent men like Robert De Nobili and Beschi. These two great men together with preaching Christ to the masses also served the Tamil Language in a renowned manner.⁵ Robert De Nobili might learn Tamil. In order to lift the missionary activities he adapted the culture of the country. Thus the Madurai mission was born in 1606. He led a life of a sannyasi.⁶

The most valiant of the apostles of the Madurai mission in the second half of the seventeenth century was St. John De Britto.⁷ The Madurai mission reached its zenith under Beschi who served the mission from 1711 to 1742.⁸ He

applied the principles of adoption to the situation in Tamil Nadu.

Beschi Managed to contribute very much in an unparalleled manner to every branch of Tamil Literature. His works have enriched Tamil poetry, prose, grammar, lexicography and translation.⁹ He also mastered Tamil that his grammar is the foundation of all scientific study of the Language and his epic poem *Tembavani*, is regarded as a minor Tamil Classic.¹⁰ For his Tamil contribution, he has been called by scholars "Veeramamunivar" (the great bold ascetic).¹¹

Here it is highly useful to understand the educational services of Madurai Diocese. During the early years of the nineteenth century the Government of the East India Company followed a policy of indifference in the matter of education. The first efforts at imparting modern education were made by Christian missionaries and individual officers of the company. The missionaries opened schools and started printing presses. They printed many books. Though they aimed primarily at the spread of Christianity through their educational institutions they did much pioneering work in the spread of modern education.¹²

Modern missionary activity has undertaken intense activities in the educational and charitable fields. From the second half of the nineteenth century more and more schools and colleges were opened. These institutions have helped to raise the cultural level of the Catholics and contributed much to the education and social upliftment of the country. It has promoted good moral principles and the Christian vision of man among non - Christians.¹³ The Newly formed Madurai diocese, apart from the Roman Catholic churches starting and running number of Primary, Middle, High and Technical schools.

They are

1. St. Marys Primary School, Madurai. It was founded by Jesuit fathers during 1854 and it has successfully crossed a century.¹⁴

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2. Stanislaus Primary School was started in 1899.¹⁵
3. R.C Primary School, Virudhunagar was started in 1928.¹⁶
4. R.C. Middle School, East Gate Madurai was started in 1905.¹⁷
5. Sacred Heart Middle School, Srivilliputtur came into existence in 1915.¹⁸
6. R.C. Middle School, Virudhunagar was started as a primary school in 1938.¹⁹
7. St. Stanislaus High School, Sattur was started in 1979.²⁰
8. St. Mary's Higher Secondary School, Madurai in 1904.²¹
9. Sacred Heart Girls Higher Secondary School in 1933.²²
10. Layola Industrial Training Institute of Gnanolivupuram was founded in 1952.

The aims of these schools are:

1. To promote the growth of the students in all areas of life so that they can grow into full functioning.
2. To enable the children to grow in a deep and personal relationship with God.
3. To train the mind to analyze critically rather than to memories so that it may distinguish truth from error.
4. To strengthen the will that it may always seek and accomplish what is right.
5. To cultivate the heart that it may love every fellow being and all that is good and beautiful.
6. To develop Leadership and willingness to share responsibilities.

7. To circulate in the minds of the students a genuine love for the country and its people particularly the poor and the less privileged.
8. To help to create in the pupils irrespective of their individual beliefs, a deep and abiding love for their creator and through him for their fellow beings.

Thanks to the noble services rendered by the Roman Catholic Church in the field of education, Social, moral and intellectual upliftment of the Tamils irrespective of their caste and creed, was fact accompli. Special mention is to be made about the concerted effort taken by Rev. Peter Leaned in promoting primary education at rural areas and there by the efforts of Rev. Casimir Gnanathickam and Rev. Justin Diraviam in the promotion of secondary and High School education and college and technical education by Rev. Arokiasamy during their tenure of office as Bishops of Madurai diocese. The services of Jesuits in the diocese are remarkable.

Even though the Madurai diocese run good number of primary, secondary, High and Higher Secondary and Colleges their contribution to technical education which is mainly job oriented such as medical, engineering etc., is very limited. When inquired about this it was stated the finance is the main constrain which prevents them in entering such fields as there are more restrictions for the flow of funds from foreign agencies especially after independence. Further number of voluntary organisations has come up to establish such technical institutions—because of the availability of more funds and also their special emphasis and care to poor, Dalits, Backward classes as that in par with the institutions run by the church. These institutions are also rendering good services for the promotion and development of the Tamil Country.

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THEORY AND PRAXIS OF POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION IN TAMIL NADU – AN ASSESSMENT

M C. Raja*

In Tamil Nadu, an effective policy on positive discrimination goes back to 1921. It was not the present crop of political parties which proposed it first, but the British. The first standing order on positive discrimination,¹ was passed in the Madras Presidency in 1854. The District Collectors were told to divide the subordinate appointments in their districts among the principal castes. Madras Presidency comprised the whole of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, parts of Kerala and Karnataka and a small portion of Orissa.

The South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF), later popularly known as the Justice Party which came to power towards the end of 1920, passed a new order² in 1921, reserving government jobs for various caste-based social classes based on the 1854 order. The SILF which was formed in 1916 had the twin agenda in its first manifesto: Ensuring admission for "Sudras" and Scheduled Castes in schools and to start a newspaper (as it did the *Justice*).

According to the 1921 order, the major chunk of 44% jobs were reserved for non-Brahmins, 10% for Brahmins, 16% for Muslims, 16% for Anglo-Indians and Christians and 8% for the Scheduled Castes. In 1923, the SILF issued a

notification warning schools that funds would be cut off, if the SCs were not admitted. It also did away with the admission procedure in the medical college in those days which required knowledge of Sanskrit, which Brahmins.

By 1927 the government issued another G.O. which came to be called the "Communal G.O." to implement the 1921 order. The G.O. of the P. Subbarayan government initially paved the way for job positive discrimination only in the registry department. Later, department wise executive orders were passed. It was in 1947 that the Congress, which, came to power gave a separate positive discrimination for Backward Classes among the non-Brahmin Hindus, under pressure. According to this order, quota for Backward Classes was placed at 14% and SCs at 14%.

In 1957 the state formulated its own positive discrimination slab after the State's reorganization on linguistic basis. It left 59% seats for Open Competition, reserved 25% for Backward Classes and 16% for SCs. The DMK, which came to power in the 1967, raised the quota for Backward Classes to 31% in 1971. In 1980, the then MGR government after an election rout following his attempt to fix a creamy layer concept, rather increased the Backward Classes quota to 50%.

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The DMK, which returned to power, added 1% positive discrimination for STs (from 17 to 18) in 1988, taking the total positive discrimination tally to 69 per cent. The present break-up stands at; Open competition 31%, Backward Classes 30%, Most Backward Classes / Denotified Tribes 20%, Scheduled Castes 18%, and Scheduled Tribes 1%. When the first positive discrimination protest hit New Delhi in May (2007) a contrast was noticeable in Chennai. The city was quiet. The evident lack of interest in debating positive discrimination is not difficult to find. Tamil Nadu, which executes the highest positive discriminations in education and employment among states 69%, made the experiment a century and a half ago. Neighbouring states like Kerala has 35%) positive discrimination in education, Karnataka 50% and Andhra Pradesh 49%.

When Union Minister for Human Resources Development, Arjun Singh's Mandal-II is witnessing passionate protests in many parts of the country, Tamil Nadu once again maintained silence. Why because about 80% of the state's population is already under the positive discrimination umbrella. In 1980, much before the V.P. Singh government's Mandal move, the Tamil Nadu government had implemented 69% positive discrimination for Backward Classes in educational institutions and jobs.

P. Radhakrishnan, Professor of Sociology, Madras Institute of Development Studies, says it was the non-Brahmin movement in Madras Presidency during the 1910s and 1920s and the movement launched by the Backward Classes from the 1930s to the 1950s that gave a new caste idiom to South Indian politics.

In 1969 the Karunanidhi government appointed the first Tamil Nadu State Backward Classes Commission with A. N. Sattanathan as the chairman. The Commission found that the Most Backward Classes had a very small presence in the state services and professional colleges and recommended a separate educational and employment positive discrimination of 16% for the MBC and 17% for the BC.

The second Tamil Nadu State Backward Classes Commission came into existence on March 15, 1993, at the Supreme Court's instance to examine inclusion and exclusion from the list of

Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes. Statistics on admissions through open quota in professional education have revealed that the largest chunk is being taken by the backward classes.

Tamil Nadu Swims against the Tide

Professor Radhakrishnan says there is no connection between positive discrimination and admissions, particularly in the context of Tamil Nadu, because almost every group is included in the 69% category, except a few upper castes. 'No need for quota at postgraduate level'. "At least 80% of the population is included in the positive discrimination net. If you look at the data of the last five years, you will see that it is only the creamy layer of the Other Backward Classes that gets all the benefits," he argues.

D. Sundaram, retired Professor of Sociology, Madras University, who was also a member of the second Tamil Nadu State Backward Classes Commission admits that in Tamil Nadu 246 castes, are considered backward. The Sattanathan Commission (1970) recommended removal of the 'creamy layer'. The then D.M.K. government did not attempt to eliminate the creamy layer. The A.I.A.D.M.K. ministry headed by M.G. Ramachandran issued a GO in July 1979 prescribing an annual income lower than Rs.9,000 for Backward Classes as eligibility to get the benefits of positive discrimination. When his party was defeated in the 1980 Lok Sabha election, M.G.R. not only withdrew the order but increased the positive discrimination for the BCs from 31% to 50%. Under the chairmanship of J.A. Ambasankar, the second BC Commission recommended that economics and occupation should be identified as the criteria to identify the creamy layer. Professor Radhakrishnan observes that no state has so far implemented the SC directive to remove the creamy layer from the OBCs. Bodies like UNESCO have been advocating from 1946, Professor Radhakrishnan also sees universal education at the primary level by giving scholarships, etc. as the only solution.

Arundhatiars constitute one third of the total 1.25 crore population of SCs in the State, the community, with a large number of unemployed, is more vulnerable to atrocities. Adhi Thamilar Peravai (ATP), a social organization has urged the State Government to provide 6% separate positive

discrimination for Arundhathiars under the 18% positive discrimination for the Scheduled Castes. "We cannot compete with other sections that are educationally and economically advanced", the ATP says and is, to do justice to all categories on the AP model.

The ATP says, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Pattali Makkal Katchi and various social organizations have been supporting their demand. Dalit parties such as Viduthalai Chiruihaigal Katchi and Puthiya Thamilagam have not opposed the idea. While the entire country is reeling over the recent Supreme Court order on positive discrimination for OBCs and witnessing of yet another controversy following the Allahabad High Court judgment regarding minority status of

Muslims in Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu has announced separate positive discriminations for Muslims and Christians 3.5% each.

Conclusion

The overall experience with positive discrimination has been very positive, and that is why there is a wide-spread support for it in the state. The government health-care system in Tamil Nadu is better than most other states, and one reason has been the quality of doctors that the system produces, a factor attributed to positive discriminations. Many of them also opt to serve in rural areas. Not surprisingly, the Tamil Nadu chapter of the Indian Medical Association supports quotas for the OBCs.

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TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF DEVARAYA II, THE VIJAYANAGAR RULER

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In the history of Vijayanagara Empire the period of Devaraya II's rule is considered to be the golden age. Normally in the history of Vijayanagara Empire, the only name we think of is the king Krishnadevaraya.¹ All others are ignored or neglected in the shadow of his personality. Before him there was another dynasty that put foundation to this great empire.² The rulers Harihara II and Devaraya II of the Sangam dynasty with their efforts extended the Vijayanagar kingdom and made the people to live happily and with comfortable. After them the subsequent rulers continued to build the great empire.³

As many historians accepted, this dynasty was established in 1336 A.D by Sangam brothers Harihara, Kamppana, Bukka I, Marappa and Muddappa to protect the Hindu culture and the Hindu religion. Then it was ruled by rulers like Harihara II, Virupaksha, Bukka II, Devaraya I,

Ramachandra, Vijayaraya, Devaraya II, Prathapa Devaraya, Mallikarjuna, and Virupaksha II. Among these Sangam rulers Devaraya II was considered to be the greatest and made the Vijayanagara Empire to reach its zenith.⁴ As Abdur Razak expressed that Devaraya II is the greatest ruler of that period in India and Vijayanagara is one of the greatest cities of that period in the world.⁵ During the period of Devaraya II more than three hundred inscriptions, contemporary travelers' writings, literature, all say that he was a great, extraordinarily popular ruler, who promoted art and architecture and also made an attempt for religious tolerance for the first time he gave the opportunity to Muslim soldiers in his army. He assumed with many titles like *Maharajadhiraja*, *Rajaparamashvara*, *Virapratapa*, *Deva Raya Maharaya*, *Srimadrajadhiraja*, *Rajaparameshvara*, *Gajabentekara*, *Devaraya Maharaya*, *Darma Chariura*, *Sathkala Boja*, *Viveke Narayana*, *Sathya*

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*Harishchandra, Udayabalabaskara, Mahamandaleshvara, Veeraprathapa kumara devaraya maharaya*⁶ etc.

The study of Vijayanagara History had some difficulty in determining the period of the reign of Devaraya II, as sufficient material was not available then. Relying on the epigraphical evidence and foreign traveler's notes, Robert Sewell tried to fix the reign of Devaraya II between A.D 1419 to 1444⁷. C.Hayavadana Rao has fixed the reign of Devaraya II between A.D.1424 to 1446.⁸ The Shravana Belagola inscription A.D. 1446 gives us a precise account about the death of Devaraya II.⁹ From the available evidence Devaraya II, appears to be ruled between February 10, 1423 and ended on May 24, 1446.

T.V. Mahalingam has pointed out Devaraya II held sway over the whole of South India except the southern portion of west-coast and the extreme northwestern parts of Madras Presidency.¹⁰ Comprised of South India from the banks of *Tunga bhadra* and the *Krishna Rivers* to south as far Cape Comorin except the Malabar Coast in the west and Kalinga in the north-east. The Tamil country under Devaraya II consists of the region of North Arcot and Chingalpet districts known as *Padaividu rajay*. The regions of South Arcot and Salem districts known as the *Tiruvadi rajay* and *Rajagambhira rajay* consisting of the Pandya territory.¹¹ During the Devaraya II's reign, the sovereignty of Vijayanagara was extended through the Tamil country, except in the extreme south which was ruled by the Pandyas of Tenkasi.¹²

In the region of Devaraya II there are around three hundred inscriptions found in different part of his empire for different reasons like his expedition, victory donations to temples and communities. Among these inscriptions there are forty inscriptions in Tamil and it was found in different parts of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh datable between 1424 and 1446 A.D. All these inscriptions of Devaraya II were issued by his subordinates, commanders, viceroys, and officers for the contribution of donations for utsavas, donation to development of temples and to certain communities. Among these inscriptions the first ever inscription of Devaraya II found in Tamil is at *Tirumulaivayal* inscription at Sidapet taluk, Chingalpet District, in Tamil Nadu issued in 1424 September 30th and the

last inscription of Devaraya II found at *Puthal patu* at Chitur taluk, Chitur district, Andhra Pradesh. These inscriptions not only give information about the Devaraya's contribution, his donation but also name of certain taxes collected in local level, some measurements used by the local people etc.

The taxes were like *Sodimumgamparvai, Angashalaikal, Sampadam, Visheshaadayam, Arishikanam, Nallerudu, Narpanuvetti, Kattayam*. Taxes were collected for day to day celebration of Lord Vayurvanayinar and Maheswara. Donations given in the name of Prathapa Devaraya mentioned in the inscription of *Tirumulaivayal* of 1430 A.D.¹³ The inscription of *Thevur* 1426 A.D mentions a tax of *Mugamai* fixed to give as a donation to certain community of Pandarayadai, Erayellipatru, and Amaram and for their literary life.¹⁴ In the inscription of *Tiruparkadal* 1442 A.D mention is made of the tax of Shulavare a duel tax donated to Perumal Palekondur temple.¹⁵

Another interesting note of Devaraya's inscription is about the mentioning of certain measurements used by the local men like *Asamghadagandankol* probably this was used to measure irrigative lands. This was mentioned in the inscription of *Tirumulaivayal* of 1424 A.D, it says that donation of four thousand kuli land was given for the celebration of Tirutopu in the temple of Udainayinar which even included the irrigative lands of Periyeri tank.¹⁶ In another inscription of *Kalahasthi* dated 1435 October 10th, also say that officer Chikkarasa by measuring the land using the Devadana measure stick and donated hundred kuli land and constructed a well to the temple of *Kalahasthi*.¹⁷

Other inscriptions of Devaraya II in Tamil say about the donations for developments of temples and for the daily worship. As like the other Vijayanagara rulers Devaraya II was also a great devotee of Srirangam, in his time there are nine inscriptions issued for temple as well as for the local communities. The inscription of 1429A.D. says a village of *Hasthi Cholendra Mangalam* was given as donation to the temple for daily worship.¹⁸ Another inscription of 1430A.D. which explains Devarayas gift of donation to Lord Ranganatha starts with the date 1424 April 17th Monday one thousand gold *Kalanju* was given for lunch, dated 1425 December 30th Sunday establishment of

Daivapullavararu continued dated 1427 July 19th Saturday one thousand Kalanju was donated for the lord pita, dated 1427 October 15th Wednesday one thousand gold Kalanju was donated for standing golden lamp, dated 1428 November 3rd Wednesday for the golden plate one thousand gold kalanju was granted, 1430 January 24th Tuesday pearl ornaments were donated, 1430 February 24th Friday one thousand gold kalanju was given for golden plate. Like this, inscription carries seven different donations donated in different dates. The last donation issued was mentioned as 1430 February 24th Friday.¹⁹ Inscription of 1434 January 1st says that Villages like Tenkaray Rajagomberanadu and shithaluru was donated for daily offerings like Garland, ghee and sugar to Lord Sri Ranganatha and at the time of festival one elephant and 30 cows were also donated.²⁰ Another inscription of Srirangam dated 1435 December 31st says that in the presences of Chikka Wodeyar the brother of Devaraya II the village of Sendan palan Kannamgudi was donated to Lord Ranganatha for daily offerings.²¹

The next inscription dated 1430 A.D. says under the rule of Devaraya Maharayas officials like Bemmanna Nayaka, Rama Nayaka and Manika Ganganna Nayaka donated the village of Vadakilliyuru to the treasury of Lord Sriranganatha.²² The next inscription dated 1430 A.D. says that Lakkanna Wodeya donated a land worth of six hundred pratapa hana to Lord Sriranganatha.²³ Another inscription dated 1432 A.D. mentions village Vallavanallur worth of four hundred ponnu donated to Lord Sriranganarayana.²⁴ The next inscription dated 1445 A.D. mentions Periya Tiruteru Mantapam was made to Lord Sriranganatha by Tiruparai Vittanna.²⁵

As like Srirangam the Vijayanagara rulers were also the great devotees to Thirupati. Devaraya II continued his donation to the temple of lord Venkateshwara. Inscription dated 1430 says that Veera Prathapa Devaraya donated auspicious pepper water and turmeric water was donated to the Karthik festival.²⁶ Another Inscription dated 1433 A.D. says two thousand panna was donated to Lord Tiru Venakata and on the same day four thousand two hundred panna was also donated. Interesting point of this inscription is that names of the donors and the witness were also clearly mentioned.²⁷ Another inscription dated 1433 A.D.

says that a plot worth of seven hundred narpanam was donated to Lord Tim Venkatam, other side of the inscription a worth of plot was also donated.²⁸ Another inscription dated 1444 October 3rd issued in the name of Devaraya's son Mallanna Wodeyar says that an irrigative land was donated for the offerings to the lord in form of ghee, pepper, salt, curds and vegetables.²⁹

The inscription of *Tirumanikuli* dated 1435 March 2nd says that Devaraya's commander Lakkanna Danda Nayak donated a land in the remembrance of his Sea Expedition.³⁰ Another interesting inscription of Devaraya II is *Tiruvannamalai* inscription was issued in two languages, Kannada and Tamil, dated 1437 July 24th say that Amdi, Punnaiya Terayan, Kaling Rayan, Kalappalan, Kunthakaar, Pallathalji manai and Arunagirinathan donated seven villages to the temple.³¹ The Copper plate inscription of *Pirinmalai* says that donation was made to the temple for the daily puja. *Tiruvaruru* inscription dated 1440 September 12th says that a Gopura was constructed to the temple of Valmikanatha.³²

There are other inscriptions that give information of Devaraya II which mentions that he also extended his donations to certain communities. One of the inscriptions of *Srirangam* dated 1427 A.D. says that a land was donated to Shri Vaishnavas to perform the daily pujas.³⁷ In Tirupathi there are three inscriptions which carry one matter of donation was given to Twenty four Mahajans of Shri Vaishnava communities of Srinivasapura. Inscription dated 1433 November 22nd says that donation of two hundred was fixed for every year to the Mahajana of Shri Vaishnavas communities in Srinivasapura to perform the Vedic chanting. Also the tax on gold and grains were collected and it was enjoyed by that community.³⁴

There are certain interesting inscriptions of Devaraya II found in different parts of this region. The inscription of *Tirumalai* dated 1445 October 5th says that kings representative Thipparaisha Nayaka and the people of Padaiveedu took a decision to improve and the removal of silt from the four tanks by using the tender money from fisheries every year.³⁵ Another inscription of *Tirukallukundrum* dated 1432 August 3rd says that in the temple of Mundainaiyinar annual transaction was maintained by Sri Rudra Sri Maheswara

committee.³⁶ Another Interesting inscription is *Tirunendungalām* carries the different titles of Devaraya II like Sriman Mahamandaleshwara, Hariraya Vibhadan, Basheku Tappuvarayargandan,³⁷ etc.

Like this the Tamil inscriptions of Devaraya II found in different parts of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh gives a complete picture of

his rule in this region and his contribution through the donations to the temples, communities, etc... These inscriptions also provide the different aspects of local practices like festivals, offerings, taxes and beliefs. These inscriptions were issued by the officials and relatives of Devaraya II. Inscriptions also enlighten the personality of Devaraya II and his religious tolerance.

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INFLUENCE OF FAR-EAST ON CHOLAS' ART

K.M.Subramaniam* & J.Murugan**

The cultural contact of Tamil Nadu with other countries has a hoary past. There prevailed a close relationship between Tamil Nadu and the East Asian countries and the diplomatic, cultural and commercial contacts were the basis for this relationship. Conquering the neighbouring as well

as the far off countries and bringing their artefacts to the Tamil countries goes back to 2000 years.

The nexus between the East Asian countries and the Cholas were the causes for the uniqueness of temple architecture, sculpture and paintings in the respective countries. It was

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intensified during the reign of Rajendra Chola I. This is evident from his inscriptions as well as the artefact brought by him from other countries. The inscriptions of Rajendra Chola hail him as, Purva Desamum, Gangaiyum Kataramum Konta Ko Parakesari Varman.¹ Though he had won many countries in the wars, his conquest in the Ganges basin which includes Bihar, Bengal, etc. and the conquest of Kadaram (a place in the Malay Peninsula) are hailed in the literature of *Kalingathu Parani* by Jeyam Kondar² and *Moovar Ula* by Ottakkoothar.³

The conquest of Kadaram in the Malaysian peninsula is hailed as the greatest. He was happy to be hailed by the title "Kadaram Kondan". He named a village near Tiruvarur as "Kadaram Kondan".

The Meykeerti (Prasasti) of an inscription of Rajendra Chola I indicate the details of the treasure he brought to the Tamil country from those countries conquered by him.

It is evident from this inscription that Rajendra Chola conquered the places like Srivijayam, Mayirutinkam, Ilankasogam, Ilimpankam, Takkolam, Tamalingam, Ilamuri Desam, Kadaram etc. by his over seas expedition and brought three artefacts, i.e., *Viccirati toranam*, *Punai manippudavam* and *Kanamanikkatavam* which were in the palace gate of Sangirama Vijayottungavarma of Kadaram. These artefacts resemble the artifacts of Thoranavayil, Pattimandapam and Kotrappanthai brought by Karikala Chola some 2000 years ago. The Toranam (Ornamental top portion of a gate), Putavam (Door jams Ornamented with gems) and Kathavam (Decorated Doors with bells) brought by the naval forces from Kataram were perhaps installed in the Gangai konda cholapuram, the capital of Rajendra Chola I. Scholars hold the view that Maravarma Sundarapandya might have destroyed these valuables when the city of Gangaikonda Cholapuram was devastated by him in 1219 A.D.

The Cholas also evolved many creations and invented new structures following the architectural pattern of the Buddha viharas in the eastern nations similar to the artefacts they have brought from the conquered countries. The Cholas were very generous to grant permission to alien kings to raise new structure in their territory.

Choolamani Varman, king of Kadaram, constructed a vihara in the name of Rajaraja Perumpalli and endowed a village Anaimangalam for the maintenance of the same during the reign of Rajaraja I.⁵ The another king of Kadaram constructed a Vihara in the name of Rajendra Chola perumpalli during the reign of Kulottunga I.⁶ The Chola kings were familiar with the architectural tradition of China and other Eastern countries. Some of these features were adopted in the Chola architectural creations. This was possible due to the invasion of the Cholas over these regions.

If we closely observe the broad rectangular base culminating in a circular form at the top of Vimana of Gangai konda cholapuram, we can discern the structural similarity with the Buddha viharas and stupas similar to the style in Burma and other Eastern countries. The architectural beauty of the Stupas that were constructed by the king of Kadaram at Nagapattinam should have attracted the architects and sculptors of the Chola king.

We can also observe that the sculptures of the temple have the facial resemblance of the Eastern countries. Generally the Chola sculptures spot figures with prominent noses and wide eyes but the figure of the sculptures in the Gangai konda cholapuram follow the pattern of the Buddha sculptures of Eastern countries.

In the Thanjavur big temple, the Rajarajan Tiruvayil (the second gateway), and the southern gateway of the Vimana witness the puranam of Tirupuranthaka sculptured in two panels. Vishnu is seen in the Buddha avatar under the Bodhi tree both in the standing and sitting postures. This tradition of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu had already been there during the Pallavas. In the inscriptions of Rajasimha Pallava found in the Adivaraha Cave at Mahabalipuram, it has been mentioned that Buddha avatar is one of the ten avatars of Vishnu.⁷ It was during his rule; the Chinese have constructed Buddha Viharas with his permission at Nagapattinam. Rajaraja himself had arranged in the painting gallery for the paintings of the Buddha in a sitting posture. The form of the Buddha in the painting is in the same style of Eastern countries. Similar Buddha sculpture and a Bodhi tree are found in the Siva temple at Darasuram constructed by the Chola king Rajaraja II.⁸

One of the inscriptions of the Thanjavur Big Temple speaks of the fact that the Sri Vimana of Rajarajesvaram was roofed of gold.⁹ When Rajaraja I came to know of the Buddhist stupas in Arumanadu (present Myanmar) were covered by gold plates, he aspired to beautify the Thanjavur Big Temple with the gold plate covering in the same manner. There is another evidence that the inscriptions of Tiruvurur reveal that Rajendra Chola also gold-plated the Veethividanka shrine.¹⁰ These bear testimony to the influential impact of the East Asian countries.

Rajaraja Chola II (1146-1163 A.D.) constructed a Siva temple at Darasuram near Kumbakonam with the name Rajarajesvaram. It is now known as Iravatheesvarar temple. An inscription in the temple names the mukamandapa as Rajakambeeran Thirumandapam.¹¹ The present seat of sacrifice (*Balipectam*) belongs to the Chola period. Beneath the *balipectam* is a Simha *pectam* and this is a Cambodian sculptural piece. Only very recently when the *balipectam* was cleaned, the beautiful Simha *pectam* came to be noticed. This *pectam* has the four artistically carved icons of lions in the four corners with open mouth.¹²

The shape of these lions tallies with the shape of the lion sculptures of Angkor Wat at Cambodia. The ancestor of the Rajaraja Chola II i.e., Kulothunga Chola I (1070-1120 A.D.) had contact with Cambodia. A stone sculpture was gifted by the Cambodian king to the Kulothunga Chola I and it was placed at the Tillai (Chidambaram) Temple's Ethirambalam opposite to the Ambalam of Nataraja. This is revealed by an inscription of Kulothunga Chola I in the temple.¹³ But this stone sculpture is no longer there. It is likely that the Simha *pectam* in stone in the Darasuram temple is the selfsame artefact that was placed at the Tillai Temple by Kulothunga Chola. Similar displacements have been witnessed in the past. As the *balipectam* is incongruously placed on the Simha *pecta*, the theory of displacement holds good.

The "Golden rock" of Kyakhityo about 100 k.m. from Rangoon, (Myanmar) is a huge boulder covered completely by gold gauze and is balanced on the edge of a cliff. A stupa was erected over that boulder with golden covering. There is an egg shaped rock on the hill near Tiruvattopkki (Iyermalai) modern Kundangal in Karur district of Tamilnadu. Mahaveera's image along with the attendants with chamaras in their hands is sculptured on it. Another such rock is in the middle of the Pennar river at Tirukkoyalur in Tiruvannamalai district. One of the Rajaraja's inscriptions of Tirukkoyalur temple says that the Sangam poet Kapilar had self-immolated here and therefore the rock is named as "Kapilakal".¹⁴ A temple with the name Kapilesvaram has been built on the rock subsequently.

The comparison of these two temples shows that the architectural features in Tamilnadu resembles to those of the East Asian countries.

A Tamil traveller who had toured East Asian countries had presented a cup to the Tiruvurur temple in Tamil Nadu. The cup is placed before the Lord Thiyagaraja and holy ash is placed in it. The cup has the Siamese aspects of artefact.¹⁵ An inscription on the cup reveals that a Burmese lady had previously owned this cup. The Tamil traveller also inscribed his name while presenting it to the temple. This is a small example for the value accorded to the artifacts of other countries.

Hence, one could infer an idea from the above studies that the Tamil kings particularly Chola emperors had extensive contacts with the East Asian countries and they have made permanent impact of those in art and architecture in Tamil Nadu. The Far-East influence pertaining to its arts and architecture on Tamil Nadu is sharply visible to discerning eyes.

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NON-PERFORMING ARTS IN TAMIL NADU - A FOLKLORISTIC APPROACH

J. Muthukumar*

Non-performing arts occupies important place in the day to day life of the common people. Many of the Indian handicrafts have lost their utilitarian character, the only true distinction which can guarantee their long-term survival. The potter today cannot live off his craft, his wares. Vessels and pots of various shapes and sizes, cooking stoves, toys, are spurned for the more lasting metal and plastic products and even the poor man, emulating their rich, will choose the plastic toy over the earthen ware one. The only way indigenous arts and crafts have a chance of survival is, if their use becomes a fashion, if people are made aware of these products' goodness, not only in terms of being art, but also, and particularly, in terms of their utility. Especially those crafts are disappearing quickly which can be imitated easily and more economically with synthetic materials or by means of a machine.

Tamil Nadu is famous for its exquisite bronze statues dating from the time of the Chola-kings (9-14th century). Today a number of sthapatis are engaged in this traditional crafts of metal casting and their products have a market at home and abroad. The best known centre of metal casting is Swamimalai (Thanjavur Dist.). Other places are Madurai, Karaikudi and Chidambaram.

The craftsmen follow the traditional measures and iconography for each image as written in the silpa sastras. Larger pieces are only made when ordered, e.g. by a temple, a museum, a private person. A cheap way of producing metal

images is by means of a re-usable mould. Front and back are cast separately, then joined. Most of the small images sold in stores are of this type. They rarely show the beauty and elegance of the individually fashioned images.¹

Decorative Metal Ware

Another craft which enjoys a relatively good name and market is the "Tanjore art plate". According to G. Nataraja Achari the Tanjore art plate was born during the time of Raja Serfoji. Its history is one of failures and successes, but the craft has managed to secure a firm position among the various metal crafts of India. This success is due largely to the great efforts made by some members of the Acari community who worked hard to preserve and propagate this art. The artists today produce not only art plates showing subjects ranging from traditional Hindu lore to modern politics, but they also make boxes, vessels, paper weights, key chains, cups, hand-mirrors and so on. The larger, more costly pieces, are made to order.

The metal craftsmen belong to the Visvakarma community (named after Visvakarman, the divine architect and maker of the gods' weapons) which includes the five sections of carpenters, gold-smiths, iron-smiths, brass, copper and lead-smiths and masons. Much of the iron-smith's work today is done by or with the help of machines; however, one can still admire the old beautifully crafted nails, locks, boxes, grilles and other work of wrought iron.²

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Mahabalipuram is the most famous centre for stone carving. Craftsmen throughout Tamil Nadu work on stone, many to fashion such useful items as flat grinding stones and large mortars. Other artists carve the whole array of kitchen utensils from soap-stone, creating a miniature set of toys. "In the village of Madayur near Vellore, small-sized figures of human, animals, birds and reptiles in folk style are made".

Wood Work

The outstanding skills of the woodcarvers can still be seen on the large chariots in which the gods make their festive processional rounds. Unfortunately many of these masterpieces are left to rot, exposed to rains and dust while others are stolen by treasure hunters. Many a piece sliced off a chariot finds its way into a rich man's living room or a foreign museum; the same fate befalls of late the magnificent pillars, doors and door frames carved of teak wood and adorning the mansions of Chettinad. A number of village temples have preserved their wooden processional images. Some of these are old and of excellent workmanship. Sculptures of wood require care, protection some need restoration, this means expenses which the smaller village temples cannot bear.³

Madurai is famous for rosewood-carving. The tables are the most outstanding, the top covered with floral motifs or lovely parrots or panels with epic scenes. The most elegant are the legs carved in the shape of yali, a local motif obviously copied from the temple, or the elephant." Other places known for their woodcraft are Virudhunagar, Devakkottai, Karaikudi, Nagerkovil and Sucintiram.

In Ambasamudram (Tirunelveli dist.) miniature kitchen wares and utensils are fashioned from wood. Chairs, cradles and other items of furniture and even games, such as the Pallankuli, were beautifully carved. Together with the wood, ivory was used for the inlay work. A combination of shaping, carving and inlay work requiring great skills goes into the making of musical instruments, e.g. the vina.

Jewellery

Gold and silversmiths crafted jewellery for men and deities, and for deities exclusively, arm

and leg coverings, masks in repousse and crowns. Not much is probably left of the old jewellery, except perhaps pieces owned by deities. Brunei (1972) has photos of some excellent temple jewels from South India, e.g. a "tumpi patakkam", a "bee necklace", its basic gold design of bees and flowers being heavily ornamented with blue sapphires and rubies; gold earrings with sapphires, emeralds, rubies and pearls, dated 8th century and a "gold crown of Ambal with rubies, sapphires, emeralds," presented, to the temple by king Tirumalai Nayak. Although pearl-fishery was a lucrative business along the coast of ancient Tamil Nadu, there seems to be surprisingly little left of any pearl ornaments and in jewellery of today, pearls are very sparingly used. Old jewellery pieces show much attention to detail and variety in design. Today's jewellery shows a lack of craftsmanship and variety, the jewellers having to produce whatever is in fashion at the moment. Synthetic stones have replaced natural gems and gold plating solid gold ornaments".⁴

Necklaces consisted of beads of gold in various shapes strung together and interspersed with beads of coral or glass, or tayittu (small cylindrical caskets of gold or silver). The badge of the wedding necklace (tali) shows designs ranging from convex discs, drops, hearts to the popular quadrangle design with its round shape on top and an inverted "V" at the bottom, looking somewhat like a man and probably evolved from the phallic shape.

Nose rings, toe-rings, anklets and hair ornaments are part of the traditional jewellery, but here too the old designs are not in demand. "V"-shaped finger rings of gold, inset with gems, and solid silver anklets are rarely seen today in Tamil Nadu.

Pottery, Terra-Cotta

We find terra-cotta figures and horses throughout the Indian sub-continent, but the best known or best documented ones are perhaps those from Tamil Nadu and Gujarat. The oldest evidence of terra-cotta "art" seems to come from the Nilgiris: "of all the tribal people of India, the small group of the Toda, who live in the Nilgiris, the Blue Hills of South India, have left what -may be considered the most ancient relics (about first century A.D.).

Terra-cotta figurines, excavated there, are it would seem the work of their ancestors. Some of these figurines have tribal forms; others do not essentially differ in some respects from some of the terra-cottas found in Mohenjodaro. The exhibits Kramrisch mentions are in the British Museum, London, and are figures which were found in tombs or on funerary urns.

God is identified with the humble devotee who approaches god, as well as with the powerful hero-god whose lameness cannot reduce his courage. Other hero gods stand in the grove, some sit on a horse, some are flanked by their wives or lovers, as e.g. Maturai Viran. The bottle of toddy or arrack, which the hero likes, stands sculpted by the potter at the feet of the god. Goddesses with four or more arms carrying weapons and a child remind the devotee of the goddess' power over birth and fertility. Closer to the main god stands Karuppar, whose characteristics are his blue skin colour, his weapons (the arrival-a long, broad scythe, the club and a small knife tucked away at his hips) and his hair tied into a bun at the side of his head. A large moustache enhances his virile features. Karuppar has a number of forms; a very popular one in the Madurai area shows him riding a (brown) horse together with Aiyanar, who occupies the other (white) horse, and whose colour is white or rose. On Karuppar's forehead is the Vaishnava "V" symbol, on Aiyanar's forehead the Saiva band of horizontal stripes.⁵

Other deities also have their retinue of terra-cotta figures and horses. Horses, cows, snakes, dogs, cats, scorpions, small dolls, parts of the human body and larger human figures, ordered by the devotee from the potter and offered to the deity as a gift in gratitude for a cure, crowd around the shrine.

The potter, of course, not only makes sacred art. All types of vessels, storage pots, water pots, wedding pots (these are usually decorated with paint), cooking stoves, lamps, lamp covers, water troughs, and in more recent times, flower pots, are useful wares which the potter creates on his wheel or moulds with his fingers. Some pots are polished before they are fired. This is done first with mud (cemman) and then with beads (tanakkū vital). Women play an important part in the pottery process: they are the ones who tap the clay from

the sides of the pot into the round bottom, using a round stone on the inside of the pot and a wooden "spoon" at the outside. This work is done exclusively by women. It is these items of daily use which are fast losing customers. Deities, horses and other figures and figurines related to worship are in continuing demand, however, due to rising prices in general and a decline in the frequency of village festivals (because of disagreements between castes and rising expenses) their number too is decreasing. Most potters, if not all, have to supplement their income by doing other work.

A different type of pottery is the figures made for the "exhibition of dolls" (kolu) during the Navaratri festival in temples and at home. The larger figures exhibited in the temples are now often made of other materials such as paper mache, plaster of paris, but the small figurines representing people engaged in a variety of occupations (playing of music, celebrating a wedding, doing agricultural work, etc.) and deities are of clay painted.⁶

Textiles

The most famous textiles of Tamil Nadu are the silk saris from Kanchipuram. Typical of these heavy silk saris are their contrasting colours and the intricate designs woven in gold thread (carikai) into the body and border. To weave the solid border three shuttles are needed. "The two side shuttles carry colours for the border, which are of the same material and colour as the border warp and the centre shuttle carries the material and colour of the body of the saree." Mango, swan, peacock, elephant, horse, sun and moon are some of the traditional designs. Tiruppuvanam (Thanjavur district) also produces fine silk saris. These are often of a double weave and have the gopuram or temple tower design. Another kind of "silk" sari is the one woven in Cinnalappatti near Dindigul. Its fibre is from a tree (narpattu); it resembles silk and is much cheaper than silk; its colours are bright, e.g. orange and green, and it is often seen wrapped around a goddess.

Dhamija mentions a type of sari called "Kodalikaruppur", which apparently had been made for the Thanjavur royal family: The gold woven pattern was the core and was enclosed by intricate all-over patterns in maroon and black, worked in the kalamkari technique. This technique has recently been revived by the Weavers Service

Centre in Madras for the Vishvakarma exhibition. The woven pieces were as fine as the original pieces to be found only in museums.⁷

The traditional patterns still seem to be appreciated more by women from outside Tamil Nadu. A famous cotton sari is the cunkati. Its pattern is made by the tie and dye method, also called bandhani, and is said to have been introduced by the Saurashtra community of Madurai. It is believed that the Saurashtras had settled in Madurai by at least the time of Tirumalai Nayak and that their silk weaving was greatly appreciated by the local kings.

Kalamkari is a term applied to a design made by block printing, free hand drawing with a "pen" (kalam) and involving a complicated procedure of dying. Basically the "ink" consists of a solution won from the fermentation of iron pieces by means of palmyra sugar in water. Sri Kalahasti and Masulipatam in Andhra Pradesh are known kalamkari centres, the latter specializing in block printing. In the 17th century the Thanjavur area was a flourishing centre for kalamkari art. Temple cloths, canopies, decorations used on the large wooden chariots had been made in the kalamkari tradition. "The characteristic feature of the Tanjore region temple kalamkari is the very pleasing union achieved by balancing the areas of figurative work with those ornamented by decorative design".

A type of textile work which is still popular today in Tamil Nadu is appliqué work; it consists in decorating the basic piece of cloth with patches of coloured cloth and embroidery to create patterns, scenes and images: The devotees who welcome Kallalakar during Cittirai festival in Madurai and those who accompany the god on his journey and who represent the god's guardian, Karuppar, wear a costume sewn in appliqué work. Beads are sometimes incorporated in the appliqué design.⁸

Batik

"Theory is that this craft went from the Coromandel Coast to Southeast Asia which in turn developed its own designs and really came to be known to the world from Indonesia. In fact "batik" is a Javanese word meaning wax painting." The method consists in successively covering each area of the cloth which should not be dyed with melted

bees' wax and paraffin and immersing it in the cold dye bath. The "cracks" shown in the design stem from the wax which breaks as the cloth is handled. Tamil Nadu also produces carpets. Walajapet is the only place where the pile carpet industry has survived. It is nearly 200 years old and was once famed and flourishing but now produces mostly to cater to the low income groups abroad...". Gopalasamudram (Tirunelveli district), a place where a new type of carpet is produced using the "sum hemp fibre". Woven cotton and silk floor coverings from Bhavani (Coimbatore district) have a tradition which is at least a couple of centuries old, the patterns consist mostly of stripes. Other places which were or are known to produce carpets are Madras, Vellore, and Salem.

Dolls made of cloth are rarely seen today in Tamil Nadu. However, in the Tirunelveli district tailors make beautiful cloth dolls which the devotees offer to a god or goddess in fulfillment of a child-wish.

Mats

Two places in Tamil Nadu are famous for mat weaving : the Kollitam area (between Sirkali and Chidambaram) and Pattamadai (Tirunelveli district). The grass, *Cyperus corymbosus* (koraippul), comes mainly from the Karur area (Trichy district) where mats are also woven on machines. In Vattiyantanpettai near Thanjavur a few families still make a living weaving mats of intricate designs on handlooms. Preferred colours are blue, green and red. The patterns can vary from pictorial designs to geometrical symbols: squares, triangles, cones, zig-zag lines, lotus flowers, peacocks, lamps, designs called "banana flower" (valai pu), "cluster" or "bunch" (kottu), "tank" (kulam). Today synthetic colours are used, the grass boiled with the colour. The finished mat is polished with coconut milk. These mats tend to be thick and have very bright and gaudy colours and are not very convenient during the hot summer months.

Baskets

The leaves are cut into strips and some of them dyed by boiling them in colour. Now generally no natural colours are used. In the districts of Ramanathapuram and Madurai one can still see women carrying their merchandise in

beautifully woven square baskets of palmyra leaves with abstract designs of flowers, animals, birds and geometrical symbols. Apart from baskets, round and shovel-shaped winnows, hand-fans, handbags, shopping bags, glass and bottle-holders, trays and rattles for babies are some of the many items created from palmyra leaves.⁹

Mural Paintings

The effect of the bright light which whitewashes everything, people of South India added colour to their environment: they dyed and painted to enliven textiles, fibres, pottery, wood and stone. While the old murals of historical period are left to a silent demise, new large-scale paintings are appearing in the form of advertisements.

The ornamentation in the painting ; "With the use of golden leaves, gilded metal pieces, coloured stones, traditional jewellery pieces are reproduced on the bodies of these picture images, until they are completely covered with adornment. Other decorative and usable items, such as boxes, toys, are made of wood and painted. The colours are mainly bright red, green and yellow, the motifs flowers and animals. Here we should also remember that processional images and their vehicles, made of wood, were painted.

Painting Behind Glass

Painting behind glass is an art still much practised today and with very good results. There are at least two types of paintings behind glass, one in which gold and other in which only paint is used. A well-known motif of the former is Rama in the company of Laksmana and Hanuman. These types of paintings are found mainly in the Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts. In Thanjavur the other type of behind glass painting in which no other material is used popularly.

Thanjavur has another, little noticed, craft. Round jugs closed with a coconut-shaped top, representing the religious vessels filled with milk and carried in procession to a temple plates and frames are decorated with golden paper and inset with pieces of mirror. It should be added that mirror inlay is a typical feature of the Thanjavur area; Terra-cotta deities and horses are painted and decorated with pieces of mirror and the older wooden processional images and vehicles were similarly painted and embellished with mirror fragments.¹⁰

Kolam

The Tamil word "kolam" has many meanings; one of them only refers to the "ornamented figures drawn on the floor". The dots are then framed or caught in a continuous running line of loops in such a way that a symmetrical design emerges (a dot-kolam). In other kolams, especially those tending towards a pictorial design, the line, rather than evading the dots, runs from dot to dot, thus subsuming the dots in the pattern. Lately "design kolams" have gained popularity, as school-going young girls and working women cannot afford the time to place more intricate kolams : a flower, a bird, some other auspicious symbol decorates the house entrance, placed with or without the use of dots. The traditional medium was rice powder ; it has largely been replaced by white quartz powder.¹¹

Before the sun rises, Tamil women clean the area in front of the house, sprinkle it with water and decorate it with a kolam. The kolam in front of the entrance gate welcomes any visitors, proclaims auspiciousness and keeps away misfortune.

A secondary manifestation of kolam art are the design kolams done in coloured power. These kolams are popular during Ponkal (the thanks giving festival in January) and Navaratri (the festival of the nine nights dedicated to the goddesses in fall). While during Ponkal the favourite design is the pot with the overflowing milk, framed by sugar cane stalks, during navaratri women create in painstaking work lovely portraits of the goddesses on their living room floor using coloured kolam powder.

Easily available kolam books and stencils, which, when filled with kolam powder and rolled, create instant designs, help the kolam survive, even if perhaps in a reduced form. There still are women in Tamil Nadu who can create hundreds of different kolam designs, but how much of this knowledge is passed on to their daughters, is another question.

With regard to non-performing art traditions of Tamil Nadu, it is revealed that artists are used to the traditional and customary form of arts and crafts. They are not exempted from adoption of certain traditional and folk non-performing arts such as wood craft, weaving, cane work, jewellery, sculpture etc. They too expose the influences and impacts from other areas and also the local or native traditions.

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HEALTH IS WEALTH - A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE AYURVEDA SYSTEM WITH SIDDHA SYSTEM OF MEDICINE IN ANCIENT INDIA

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The system of Medicine and the science of medicine are of greater importance to mankind for his survival. It must have originated with the genesis of human beings and it developed in due course. Therefore the growth is a continuing process. The evolution and its progress owe to great saints like Agasthya. The purpose of this paper is to identify the ancient system of medicine and to emphasis the salient features of our ancestors.¹

Two ancient systems of medicines were very popular in India. They were Ayurveda and Siddha system of medicine. The Ayurveda is flourished in North India where as the Siddha system of medicine developed in South India. These two systems now prevail in every nook and corner of India. Some Sanskrit Literary works on science help us to know the system of Ayurveda where as some Tamil works reveal the Siddha system of medicine.²

Regarding the origin both the systems are attributed to Divine beings namely Lord Brahma the Lord of Creation and Lord Siva the Lord of Savior respectively. The origin of Ayurvedic system is attributed to Lord Brahma. First Lord Brahma taught the Ayurveda system to Saint Prajapathi. Saint Prajapathi taught the same to Aswanideva including the Punarvasu. The Saint Punarvasu taught the same to Agnivesa and others. Therefore

the Ayurveda texts are now available in Agnivesa Samhita. Later on the same was known by Charaka, Susruta and Dridabala.³ Where as the origin of Siddha system of medicine is attributed to Lord Siva. He taught the Siddha system to His consort Goddess Parvathi. Goddess Parvathi taught the same to Nandideva. Saint Nandideva to Saint Agasthya of Pothigai Hill. Thus the two system of medicine took its origin from Divine beings.

Besides, the basic aim of the medicinal system is prevention and cure of illness. In addition to cure diseases the Siddha system has a transcendental thought i.e., the immortality or deathlessness of the body. The Soul does not die like wise the Ayurveda also accept the body, mind and soul as the tripod on which the man stands. Thus the two systems are itself treated both the body and mind.⁴

In Ayurveda the medicinal materials largely consist of herbs and drugs of vegetable, whereas in the case of Siddha system metals and minerals have been used to greater extent than the herbs. Later on the Ayurveda system also adopted metals and minerals as medicines. Regarding the materials the Saint of Siddha system wanted to develop drugs made of metals and minerals because that would arrest the decay of the body.⁵ Therefore they chose the metals and minerals to arrest the decay of the cells. Apart from that the

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medicinal materials are available in all seasons and easily it can be preserved, where as the herbal materials like roots, leaves and barks to be collected only in the particular seasons. Apart from that the unpredictable climate is not safe to depend on the herbal drug materials.⁶

Besides these both systems used the combination of mercury and sulphur as drug materials. To emphasize its combination, the Saints believed there will be no creation unless the seed and egg unite.⁷

In the diagnosis procedure, both the systems depend on the eight entries of the body. Among these factors the Pulse reading is the most important one. The Siddha works must mean Nadi in two devices.⁸ One is pulse and other is nerve

system. The purpose of Nadi is reading to know the arteries. It helps us to understand the nature of the illness. These arteries are influenced by the nerves system of our body.

From the foregoing analysis both the medicinal systems emphasized prevention is better than cure and the values of our life. Both the systems are also accepted the same concept of drugs, man and universe. The discipline of life led by the individual cures a man. It also ensures the longevity of life and free from illness. Both the Aryans and Dravidians especially the Tamils had developed their own system of medicine in very high manner during the ancient period. Siddha system also advocated Meditation and Yoga for getting mental relief. In order to attain real wealth one should follow the Meditation and Yoga.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF TAMIL BALLADS IN FOLK PERFORMING ARTS - A STUDY

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Ballad is a kind of narrative folk song sung by one or group of singers before a gathering. These singers though normally professional need not necessarily be so. There are semi-professional and itinerant bards who travel the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu singing ballads to the accompaniment of percussion instruments. These bards are either illiterate or semi-literate, they have an uncanny ability to transform any prose narrative (story) they hear into a ballad. Of late women also have taken to the singing of these ballads. In the districts of Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram, Virudhunagar, Coimbatore, and surroundings, these bards double as fortune tellers and diviners. Though there is no

equivalent for the then ballad in the Tamil tradition, however there are terms which appear in the form of affixes to denote Ballad-like structures. For example Ammanai, Malai, Kummī, Tutu, Kuram, Cintu, Pataypor, Cantai, etc. The analytical construct now prevalent among folklore scholars is the term 'Kataippattu' literally meaning story-song. Brenda Beck observes "There is no distinct term in Tamil for either the ballad or the epic genre. In general they are merged under two general headings : Katai Pattu (Story Song) and Pattu Katai (Song Story). The limited literature in English that describes these Tamil materials translates the two phrases with the single term "Ballad." With regard to ballads one must be

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able to "distinguish between mode of origin and mode of transmission." They might be created by oral bards and latter written down by others which in turn are sung by latter Bards with omissions and commissions and this cycle goes on where the written and the oral continuously influence each other.¹

Actually, most Tamil folk stories or legends are musical compositions longer than the average English ballad. Tamil ballad tradition is normally denoted by the accompanying lead musical instrument or the performing caste in the local tradition. This may be a Villupattu (Bow Song), Utukkappattu (Handy drum), Lavani (a kind of narrative singing in the form of verbal duel), Makutattam or Kaniyankoothu (accompanied by two hand-held drums, the term Kaniyan refers to the caste).

We can deduce the following features of the ballad from varied indigenous sources. Narration of a story through song. Orally transmitted, it was lengthy and detailed in nature. Its style and language are easily understandable to the common man. Textual features differ greatly from that of classical poetry.

Villupattu

Villupattu is an ensample of Vil, Uttukai, Kutam, Kattai and Cymbals. The lead instrument is the Vil (Bow). The Bow is inverted during the performance. There are small bells attached to the string by striking in a rhythmic manner using foot long sticks called 'Vicukol'. The singing cadence is created. The Kutam is a clay pot on which one Paddle shaped striker is used. These strikers are normally made of palmyra branches. The other striker used on the kutam is called 'Cottikatlai'. The third instrument in the ensemble is the 'Uttukai'. This is an hour-glass shaped percussion instrument made out of brass or wood and leather covered both at the ends. This is played with one hand while the other holds the drum. Every Villupattu performance lasts for several hours at Kotai (gift) festivals organised at shrines dedicated to folk deities. This form is prevalent in the districts of Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli Tuticorin, Virudhunagar, in Southern Tamil Nadu. The tree modes are normally followed in the narration. 1. The singer recites from a palm leaf manuscript, verbatim, 2. One person

reads the lines from the palm leaf manuscripts and the singer repeats them verbatim. 3. The singer has a free hand in composing the given ballad. However the length of the ballad might vary depending on the time available to the singer at the time of the performance. A few stories normally performed in this genre are *Muttupattan Kathai*, *Vallarakkan Kathai*, *Cinnatampi Kathai*, *Piccaikkalan Kathai*, *Cutalaimatan Kathai*, *Tottukkari Kathai*, *Poolankontal Kathai*, *Esakkiamman Kathai*, *Cinnanainci Kathai*, *Palavecakkaran Kathai*, *Enamuttuppattian Kathai*² etc.

Kaniyan Koothu

The other major performance mode in the ballad tradition is the Kaniyan Koothu. This form combines both dance and music. A normal Koothu performance has six people, the lead singer called Annavi, the vocal accompanist, two instrumentalists on hand-held drums called 'uccam' (high pitch) and 'mantam' (bass), two men disguised as women with "calankai" (anklet) dance to the music. The performers of this genre belong to the Kaniyan caste. The story of *Cutalaimatacamy* is the predominant ballad prevalent in this mode of performance. However, there are a few other ballads performed rarely. This mode of performance is also named after the hand-held drums "makutam" and hence called 'makutattam'. Though the performing groups live mostly in the Tirunelveli, and Tuticorin districts of Tamil Nadu, they also perform in the Kanyakumari district.³

Utukkaipattu

Utukkaipattu prevalent in the districts of Coimbatore, Erode, Salem and Trichy. This form is called Utukkaipattu after the lead instrument which is hand-held unlike the makutam which is two headed. Three persons normally take part in the performance, one i.e. the lead singer playing the utukkai, the second i.e. the vocal accompanist playing the cymbals and the third a helper. Make-up and costumes might or might not be part of the performance. Religious themes form the main ballads in this genre. The story of *Annanmar Camy* (elder brothers story), Kathavarayan, Mariyamman, Maturaiviran, and Tecinkurajan are some of the often sung stories.⁴

Lavani

The word Lavani has its roots in the Marathi language, literally meaning 'Music Song', which in actuality are lyrics sung to the accompaniment of music. This genre in performance resembles a question-answer mode in the North Indian 'Quwali'. The singers can be from either the same sex or from the opposite sex. Groups and individuals participate in the performance. After one side presents its entire argument the other side responds. The normal instruments used are 'Tape' (A round shaped one-headed percussion instrument) and an 'Ektaa' (a one stringed instrument). These songs are normally sung during 'Kaman Pantikai' the Tamil Cupid festival.

Kummi

Kummi is a type of performance genre in which the participants move in a circular fashion and keep time clapping their hands and following the lead singer. This form normally talks about heroes and their deeds. *Kattabomman Kummi*, *Sivagangai Carithira Kummi* etc. are typical of this genre.

Cintu

This form takes its name from the true in which the ballad is recited, namely Cintu. This can be classified into two sub-genres. Suicide and murder still inspire folk poets to sing ballads known as Kolai Cintu mainly in Northern Tamil Nadu comprising South Arcot, North Arcot, Dharmapuri, Chingleput and Madras districts. Sensational murders and suicides evoke scores of ballads, their popularity depending on the universal chords of human sensibilities they touch. The ballads are printed, learned by heart and sung to the folks. These songs in folk musical forms are sung by professional folk-singers, beggars in bus stands and railway stations in towns and weekly fairs and markets in villages. *Govindan kolai Cintu* and *Mankammal katai* are examples of this genre.⁵

Classification

N. Vanamamalai categorises all Tamil ballads under three major heads, namely Mythical ballads, Historical ballads and Social ballads. "Tamil culture down the ages has had two simultaneous narrative traditions one written and the other oral.

These two traditions have always influenced and modified each other".

Mythical Ballads

A few Sanskrit myths have been adopted to local conditions. These adaptations have also been found in the form of ballads. Examples of this variety are *Vallarakkan Katai*, *Dakshan Varalaru*, *Parvati Kalyanam*. Events from the *Mahabharatha* dominate Mythical ballads in Tamil Nadu though there are ballads which have events from Ramayana as their subject. *Pandavar Vanavasam* (Exile of the Pandavas), *Krishnan-Tutu* (Krishna as emissary), *Karnamaharaja Cantai* (Battle of Krna), *Draupathai Kuram* (Draupathi as Gypsy). Apart from these the local bards have created and adopted local legends and incorporated them into Mahabharatha events. Examples of this can be found in *Pavalakoti Malai*, *Alli Arasani Malai*, *Pulantran Tutu*, *Pulantran Kalavu Malai*, *Abimannan Suntari Malai*, etc.⁶

Historical Ballads

These types of ballads narrate the exploits of historical figures. It is history seen through the eyes of the local folk. These narratives extoll the physical prowess of a particular king or chieftain. The exploits of the heroes are normally in the form of (1) refusal to pay tribute (2) refusal to surrender (3) revenge and (4) refusal to accept or give a bride etc. Vivid descriptions of battle fields and incidents normally not mentioned in recorded history, but which are true are a striking feature of this genre. However some of these 'truths' cannot be taken as authentic sources of history. These ballads deal with wars between (1). Battles between Kannada Kings and Pandiya Kings. (2). Battles between Nayakkar kings and Maravars of Ramanthapuram (3). Battles between British and the Poligars (4). Battle between the Nawab of Arcot and Desingu Raja of Gingee. (5). Battle between Nayak and Travancore chieftains. What was once vigorously popular has lost its popularity among the audience for various reasons and have now come to a complete standstill. Encroachment of popular media into traditional entertainment modes has affected the popularity of historical ballads, whereas the other kinds of ballads, namely ritual is still popular.⁷

A considerable number of Tamil ballads have tragic endings. Heroes of historical ballads

like *Thesingu Raja*, *Pulithevan*, *Kulacekara Pantian*, *Ravikuttipillai*, *Kattabomman*, *Umaithurai*, *Maruthupantiar* and *Kansahib* all fight and perish against superior political forces. As against these historical heroes Kathavarayan, Eanamuthupandian, Muthuppattan, Maduraiviran, Chinnathampi and *Gouthalamadan* are all killed for transgressing social norms. In Social ballads the spirit of the dead protagonist returns to avenge his / her death and to propitiate the spirit, the local folk deify and install it in a 'poodam' (a raised platform).⁸

An interesting feature to be noted here is the creation of Christian ballads, by missionaries and their wards. These were created mainly to keep the new converts within the fold, *Kitheriammal Ammanai*, *Sebasthiar Ammanai*, *Gnanasoundari Ammanai* and *Marugiruthal Ammanai* are some of these. A few of these passed on into the oral tradition.

A short summary of the popular ballads prevalent in Tamil Nadu.

Karnamaharajan Chantai

Karna on the way to the battle field wants to take leave of his wife Ponnuruvi, who refuses to see him initially and insults him. Karna then narrates that he is in reality the eldest son of Kunti and brother of Pandavas. Kunti abandons the child Karna as he is born before Kunti's marriage. Karna grows up as a charioteer's son. It is Dhuriyothana who gives Karna feels obliged to fight for Dhuriyothana. Ponnuruvi on hearing this tale apologises for her behaviour. Karna leaves for the battle field and fights with Arjuna. Krishna in the guise of a Brahmin receives all the 'punnya' done by Karna as a gift. Karna is now defenseless and Arjuna kills him. Every one comes to know the real identity of Karna. The war goes on and eventually the Pandava's win and Dharma ascends the throne.⁹

Annamar Cuvami Katai

Based on a war between the Vellala Gounder and Vettuva Gounder set in the Konku country of Tamil Nadu, this ballad flourishes in the unique form of Utukkai Pattu. This ballad is linked with the Mahabharatha, as many others are. This linking of local legends with the epics is a notable phenomenon in the Tamil ballad tradition. This

ballad is known in the Madurai area under the name Tonalagar Ennum Kallalagar.

Ramappayyan Ammanai

A ballad with a historical legendary figure as its hero is set in 16th century Madurai and surroundings. Its emphasis is on a war between the General Ramappayyan of Tirumalai Nayak's (King of Madurai) army and Vanni the son-in-law of Sethupathy Sadaikka Thevan, King of Ramanthapuram.

Raviutti Pillai Por

Another ballad set in the Nayak Kingdom speaks about the war between Ramappayyan, General of Tirumalai Nayak, and Ravikutti Pillai the General of King Marthandavarma of Travancore. Ravikutti pillai being killed by the treachery of the 'Ettu Vettu Pillaimar'; is the mainstay of the story.

Tampimar Katai

Ramavarma, King of Travancore, is loved by a Brahmin girl Abirami and marries her and changes her name to Kittinathan Ammai and through her begets three children, a girl and two boys. The King's successor wants to marry the princess but the brothers refuse. A quarrel ensues which is settled amicably. The King's successor angered by the loss of face avenges his humiliation by killing the brothers"¹⁰

Pulithevan Cintu

Set in early period of colonial India the narrative speaks about Pulithevan a Chieftain in the Tirunelveli area ruling over Nelkattum Sevel, Vasudevanallur. Kollamkudan, Uttrumalai, Thirukurunkudi regions and fought against British and the Muslim imperialism.

Kattabomman ballads

A number of ballads exists in this cycle with Kattabomman, a Poligar who fought against British Imperialism, as the protagonist. There are several versions for some of these ballads. 'Kattabomman Kummi'. Kattabomman Kuthu', 'Kattabomman Varalaru'. 'Kattabomman Kathaippatal', 'Panchalankurichi Kattabommu Katai- are some of these. Kattabomman refuses to pay tribute and taxes of the Britishers. This angers Col. Jackson, the British commander and he orders Kattabomman to meet him at Palaymkottai, but

leads him all over Tirunelveli upto Ramanthapuram. Kattabomman escapes a skirmish at Ramalingavilas palace. The British under Major Bannerman wage a war at Panchalankurichi and capture Kattabomman. In some of the ballads, significant roles are played by others like Umai Thurai, younger brother of Kattabomman, Vellaya Thevan the general of the Panchalankurichi army and Thanapathi Pillai depending on the dominant caste of the area where it is performed. Kattabomman is in the end hanged at Kayathar.¹¹

Social Ballads

An interesting ballad among the social ballads of Tamil Nadu is the Kovalan Katai, a variation of the classical Silappathikaram, in which Kannaki is presented as an incarnation of Kali who is born as a daughter of the Pandiyan king as a result of curse by a devotee of Kali killed by the king. The child is abandoned by the king as the astrologers predict doom to the kingdom. Kannaki is brought up elsewhere and marries Kovalan who abandons Kannaki for Madavi a courtesan. Kovalan returns to Kannaki when he realises his error and both of them come to Madurai where Kovalan is mistakenly killed by the king for being a thief. Kannaki in range burns the whole of Madurai and the king. The variation here is that Kannaki is being presented as Kali and Madavi as the courtesan and not as a virtuous woman as in Silappathikaram the classical epic. There are several versions of this ballad in print.

Nallathangal Katai

A narrative which centres around the concept of women inheriting property is quite popular in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu. Nallathangal is the wife of King of Kasi and returns to her native place as a result of drought which lasts for twelve years. This motif of a famine lasting for twelve years is quite common in Tamil ballads. Harrassed by her sister-in-law Muli Alankari, Nallathangal commits suicide after killing her seven children by throwing them into a well and jumping into it herself. Enraged by this, the elder brother Nalla Thampi kills his wife Muli Alankari and her relatives.

Vellaikkaran Katai

Set in colonial India this ballad is unusual in that it speaks about the deification of a white

Britisher. The very name of the Ballad "Vellaikkaran Katai" literally means White man's story. A white man living in the southern most tip of Tamil Nadu wants to build a ship. He goes to the forest, cuts down trees. The tree was located in the place dwelling of Chenkidaikkaran a devotee of Siva. Chenkidaikkaran waits for an opportunity and kills Vellaikkaran. Vellaikkaran returns as a spirit and seeks the blessings and pardon of Siva. Siva pardons him and the local folk deify him. One other interesting feature of this ballad is the cutting of the tree in which a spirit dwells.¹²

Kathavarayan Katai

Kathavarayan born into the so called Mowly' Paraiyah caste falls in love with Aryamala a Brahmin princess and elopes with her. Captured by the king, Kathavarayan is tortured by his own father under the King's orders. Kathavarayan is eventually staked to death.

Madurai Veera Swamy Katai

Set in the same tone as the Kathavarayan Katai, this ballad talks about Madurai Veeran a chakkliya (cobbler) who falls in love with the Nayak princess Bommi and abducts and marries her. He comes to Madurai and becomes a general in the army of Thirumalai Nayakar. At this juncture Veeran falls in love with Vellayammal a court dancer. This angers the king and he orders the execution of Veeran. Veeran is executed and both the women commit 'Sati'.

Muthupattan Kathai

Muthupattan, a Brahmin youth, makes a fortune under the king of Travancore. On the way back to his home town he falls in love with two chakkliya girls Bommakka and Thimmakka. He marries them after successfully completing the ordeals set by Valappakadai, father of the girls. These ordeals are more of an initiation rite in which Muthupattan is forced to give up his Brahmin identity by tonsuring his head, removing his sacred thread and becoming a cobbler in every way. He becomes eventually the husband of the girls and dies in a battle safeguarding the cattle of the cobblers at the hands of Vanniyas (cattle marauders), another common motif in Tamil ballads.¹³

One set of ballads to be noted among the Social ballads are those that prevail among the

fisher-folk of Kanyakumari district. Seen by the elders of the community, these ballads are mostly performed for entertainment.

The heroes and heroines of Tamil ballads are mostly from the lower state of society. In other words they are from the working class, whose relationship with the oppressive class within the feudal set up form the subject matter of these ballads. The oppressive classes / castes in order to perpetuate their hegemony, and to continue their dominance over the oppressed classes form social rules and norms. Every time there is a voice questioning this hegemony it is brutally put down by the oppressive classes and the life of the person who dared to question, ends tragically. On the other side, there are a few ballads in which the magic hero belongs to the upper classes. These heroes are the ones who rebelled against any threat

to their power and those who could not come to terms with the changes in the power structure. The Ballads of Ivar Rajakkal (Five Kings) and Kattabomman are typical of the second type where the hero is from the oppressive class.¹⁴

Most of these ballads till date are performed in the ritual context and are viewed with reverence by the local folk. It is this which enables the ballad to survive in spite of numerous threats from other modern media. An interesting factor is the adoption of modern day political heroes into the Ballad Pantheon. People like M.K. Gandhi, KamaraJ, Shastri, Nehru and Muthuramalinga Thevar all have become ballad heroes. The new type of ballad is largely a consequence of the patronage of institutions like the All India Radio, Television and political parties.

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THANJAVUR MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL LIBRARY - HISTORY AND HISTORICAL SOURCES

P. Perumal *

Thanjavur has been renowned as a great center of Art, Culture and Literature for more than ten centuries. Successive generations of the Cholas, Nayaks and Maratha rulers have contributed and enriched the cultural greatness.

Thanjavur is well known through out the world for its Brahadeswar Temple, magnificent Palace and the Sarasvati Mahal Library. The Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library is one among the few medieval libraries exist in the world. It is an

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embounded repository of culture and inexhaustible treasure house of knowledge built up by the successive dynasties of Nayaks and Marathas of Thanjavur. It contains very rare and valuable collection of manuscripts, books, maps and paintings on all aspects of Arts, Culture and Literature. The encyclopedia of Britannica in its survey of Libraries of World mentions this as "the most remarkable Library in India".

History of the Library

During the reign of Nayaks of Thanjavur (1535-1675), the Library was formed and developed in the name of Sarasvati Bhandar. The Maratha rulers who ruled Thanjavur (1676-1832) has patronized and developed the royal palace Library. Among the Maratha Kings, Raja Serfoji II (1798-1832) was an eminent scholar in many branches of learning. With great enthusiasm he took special steps for the enrichment of the Library.

Serfoji's Contribution to the Library

Raja Serfoji II was born on 24-9-1777 and had his education under the guidance of Danish missionary father Schwartz. He was a scholar in English, French, Germany, Sanskrit, Tamil and Marathi languages. He came to power in 1798, but only one-year only he ruled Tanjore. In 1799, he had a treaty with the British. According to the treaty the British appointed Collector for administration, he diverted his activities for the development of art and culture till his death in 8th March 1832.

In India most of the Palace Libraries were destroyed due to war. The famous King Tippu Sultan had a Library in his Palace. It was taken away by the British, after the war with Tippu in 1799. We can find some of those Library books in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta. Raja Serfoji collected the descriptive catalogue of that Tippu's Library prepared by Charles Stuwart of Cambridge University and preserved in the library. It seems that Raja Serfoji's decision of making accord with British administrators helped to preserve this treasure house of knowledge.

Serfoji enriched the collection of this Library through various literary activities. He himself was author of quite a number of works in Sanskrit and Marathi. These manuscripts are

preserved in this Library. He encouraged great Pandits in all branches of learning. The Pandits well versed in Dharmasastra were appointed as Judges in his courts of Justice, the Pandits compiled A legal vade macum entitled "Vyavahara Prakasa" from various smiriti texts for daily use in the conduct of administration and Justice.

Raja Serfoji made a pilgrimage to Banaras in 1820. He took 300 people along with him, which includes Pandits, copyists, artists and others. He employed Pandits to collect, buy and copy a vast number of works in Sanskrit from all the renowned centers of Sanskrit learning in the North and other areas. He commissioned his artist to draw the views of sixty-four bathing ghats of Banaras from East to West of the river Ganges in eight plates which is available in this Library.

The Maratha kings established Chattrams for catering and other physical needs of the pilgrims. Raja Serfoji started School attached to the most of the Chattrams under his control and imparted free education to village Children. For the use of little Children, Serfoji ordered that the English books like Aesop's fables to be translated into simple Indian languages. He started the first printing press in 1805 in Thanjavur with Devanagari Script called "Navavidya Kalasala Vamayantra" for producing copies of all great works in languages for wider use and circulation among public. The Journal entitled "Indian Antiquary" vol.1 published in 1872 mentions that the Serfoji's printing press was the earliest printing press, which was started for Devanagari script printing in whole south India. The Types and Blocks were prepared using soft stone and hard wood. Even today the library preserves some of the books printed in press.

Raja Serfoji was running an Institution in Thanjavur called Dhanvantri Mahal. He devoted himself for the progress of research in Ayurveda, Siddha, and Unani in the Dhanvantri Mahal. Recipes of medicinal preparations were recorded in Manuscript form in 18 volumes. These manuscripts are embodied in the series of words named Sarabendra Vaidyamuraigal. Besides basic research on many ailments, excellent work had been done on diseases like Cancer, Polio, Diabetes and Tuberculosis by this institution in Ayurvedic and Siddha field. The Library has published some in the series.

There was an Ophthalmic section in that Institution, which maintained the case history sheets for each patients with picture of the diseased eye, date of admission, types of treatment given and condition during discharge. The case history sheets reveal that free treatment was given to public and some amount was also given during discharge of the patients.

Raja Serfoji was a great composer and a musician and had left several musical compositions in Indian languages as well as in English. He collected nearly 150 musical notation books and more than thirty hand-written Indian musical notation copies are preserved in the library. Even now some of his compositions are performed in Maharastra.

View of a visitor

Thomas Robinson who accompanied Bishop Heber to meet Raja Serfoji on 30th March 1826 written in the book "the last days of Bishop Heber as, "The Bishop paid a private visit to the Rajah, who received us in his library, a noble room with three rows of pillars, and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Mahratta dynasty from Shahjee and Sivajee, ten bookcases containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek, and Latin Books, and two others of Maharatta and Sanskrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an airpump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine, which was for some years his favourite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings of flowers and natural history, with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance, particularly with the medicinal virtues of plants in his hortus siccus. When we took our leave his Minister showed us a noble statue of the Rajah by Flaxman. His stables contain several fine English horses; but that of which he is most justly proud, as the rarest curiosity of an Indian Court, is an English printing press, worked by native Christians, in which they struck off a sentence in Mahratta in the Bishop's presence in honour of his visit. The British has given high regard to the King Serfoji II. He was included as a Honorary member of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and

Ireland. In 1827 there were only four foreign dignitaries who were honorary members in the society, they are:

1. His Royal Highness the Duke Oeorleans
2. His majesty the King of Oudh
3. His Royal Highness Abbas mirza Prince Royal of Persia
4. His Highness the Rajah of Tanjore.

Raja Serfoji's multi-focal knowledge, and recognition and good relationship of the British administrators cause him to collect more books and manuscripts.

Administration

After the death of last Maratha queen, the Library was made as public Library in 1918 under the Charitable Endowment Act. After the visit of our former Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Government of India has constituted a three-member committee under the chairmanship of Dr. S.R. Ranganathan. The committee report was implemented with generous funds received from the Government of India. In 1983, the Library was declared as an Institution of National importance and made it as a Registered Society with ex-officio members of both Central and State Governments, nominated Scholars, Members from the Royal family and the Director of the Library. The Hon'ble Education Minister of the Government of Tamil Nadu is the Chairman. The Library receives funds from the Government of Tamil Nadu for the maintenance and from Government of India for the developmental activities.

Collections

This library has richest collection of manuscripts that truly reflective of the history and culture of India. In addition to this and over the passage of time, the library has also gained possession of manuscript collections formerly maintained by pandits and their patrons living in and around Thanjavur. The manuscripts are available both on palm leaf and paper. These are written in Sanskrit, Tamil, Marathi and Telugu and deal with a wide range of subjects. Apart from Manuscripts this library has rare books, paintings, drawings, artifacts etc.

Sanskrit Manuscript Collection

A majority of the manuscripts in the library numbering thirty nine thousand are in Sanskrit. These manuscripts are written in Grantham, Devanagari, Nandinagari, Tikalari and Telugu scripts. Some of the outstanding Sanskrit works, unique to this library deserve a special mention. Amongst these, some of the most valuable ones are rare lexicons, the grammar of a rare dialect called Bhandira Bhasha, a play written by King Krishnadevaraya titled Jambavatiparinaya, poetess Ramabhadramba's biographical poem on her patron King Raghunatha Nayak, a work on temple architecture and Viswakarmiyavastu Sastra on construction of houses respectively may also be found here. Two texts in this section which show the scholar's mastery of the language and grammar are Shabdartha Chintamani and the Kathatravi of Chidamabarakavi. In Shabdartha Chintamani, the poet uses several rare techniques of writing. Reading the stanza from left to right, we find ourselves reading Ramayana and reading the same stanza from right to left, we come across the story of Krishna. His other work Kathatj-ai narrates stories from Ramayana and Bhagavatam. This library has a large number of manuscripts on music and dance, ayurveda, medicine, architecture and manuscripts on Kshetramahatmyas, the puranic accounts of the sanctity and legends attached to great shines and sacred villages and towns found in the Cauvery delta.

Tamil Manuscripts

The Tamil Manuscript Section comprises of 2083 literary manuscripts and 1697 Medical manuscripts. All the manuscripts are in palm leaf form. Some of the rare works belonging to the Imperial Chola period are written in manpravala style. The medical manuscripts written by the Tamil scholars like Kottaiyur Sivakolundu Desikar were based on the process made in the Dhanvantri Mahal Hospital. *Sivarahasyam*, which was written during Serfoji II, is one of the oldest Tamil Manuscripts; Kumbakona-p-puranam, Sarabhendra Bhoopala Kuravanji are the notable manuscripts. The 18th century "Kambaramayanam" palm leaf manuscripts with 537 leaves and seven khandas is also a typical one. In "Thiruvaimozhi Vacaka Malai" the line drawing of Lord Ranganatha with his consorts is seen and this type of drawing on palm leaf is not available anywhere.

Marathi Manuscripts

The Marathi Paper Manuscripts collected during the reign of Marathas of Thanjavur i.e. from 1676 to 1855 A.D are preserved in this Library. They are all the works of the saint poets of Ramadasi and Dattatreya Mutts. Marathi Manuscripts from Pandits, Mutts and Scholars were received as donations and preserved. They are classified into many subjects like Philosophy, Literature, Drama, Music, Lexicon, Medicine, Science etc. The Marathi Manuscripts in palm leaf are written in Telugu script. They deal with Marathi dramas. The works composed by the poets of Thanjavur are unique to Marathi literature. Dasabodham by Bhaktha Ramadas, commentary on the Bhagavad gita by Amber Hussain, a Muslim Poet. Several manuscripts related to music, dance and drama are available in this library.

Telugu Manuscripts

The Telugu Manuscript section has 1043 Palm leaf manuscripts and 44 paper manuscripts. Padya Kavyas, Dvipada Kavyas, Satakas, Yakshaganas, Astrology, Medical etc., are found in this section. The works of Nannaiya, Tikkanna, Bodanna, Krishnadevaraya, Vijayaraghava Nayak are also available. There are the most valuable collection of manuscripts particularly relating to the Southern School of Telugu literature. These manuscripts are catalogued in two volumes. The Bhagavata mela tradition of dramas were first written in Telugu language and these are available more in palm leaf form.

Modi Documents

Modi is a type of script used for writing the Marathi court language during the Maratha rulers of Maharashtra as well as Thanjavur. They are all paper manuscripts. Letter correspondences, orders, daily accounts, diaries, petitions etc., were written only in Modi script. There were 1300 Bundles of Modi documents in the Library of Thanjavur.

Documents related to French-Maratha correspondence and Royal correspondences during 18th century are available in polished handmade papers with gold and silver spray works. There are the rare and important documents. Selected Modi documents are transcribed and translated for publication. These are the only indigenous source materials for the history of the Marathas of Thanjavur.

Reference Books

Along with manuscripts, the library also has rare printed books. The Book collection of this Library started by the King Serfoji II. He himself collected nearly 4500 books in English, French, Latin, Italian etc. from foreign countries. Later books were added to this Library since 1918 A.D., Now, the Reference Books section has more than 65,000 books in English, Tamil, Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi, Telugu and other Indian languages.

Raja Serfoji enriched this library by collecting not only manuscripts but also Books, illustrated Manuscripts, Drawings, Atlases and Maps, Lithographic engravings, etc.. Because of his multi-focal attraction he collected a large number of books in European languages. Now this Library has 3830 English books, 421 French books, 108 German books 35 Danish books and a few books in Dutch, Greek, Latin languages. Serfoji has autographed all the books in his collection. These books mostly printed in London, Edinburgh, Paris and the year of printing spanned from 1696 to 1830. These books dealt with all disciplines.

It has the richest collection on European languages and literatures. Medical Sciences, Chemistry, Astronomy Geography, Explorations and Voyages, English Almanacs, Periodicals, Encyclopaedias etc. This collection has some rare and first editions of highly valued books.

Some are Dr. Johnson's Dictionary (5th edition, 1784 A.D.) in two volumes, A Pictorial Bible of 1791, Antoine Laurent Lavoisier's Elements of Chemistry, first edition of Fourcroy's major work the General system of Chemical Knowledge in Eleven volumes, George Buffons 36 volumes of Natural History of the Earth (1749-1785). A catalogue for his book collection was also prepared in 1830. Under 27 Subject headings and the titles one arranged in alphabetically under each subjects.

Maps and Atlases

The Atlases and Maps collected by the Raja Serfoji are extraordinarily important, which are preserved in the library. These Maps dealt with ancient History, Geographical details, Sea routes, Political divisions and their boundaries. The Maps were made with the compilation of land survey. In the Maps printed in 18th and 19th century, we can see the name of India as "Hindoostan" or the Mogul Empire" Australia as New Holland, Japan as

Nippon etc. The Oldest printed book available in this Library is an Atlas, in which the maps were printed in the years 1692, 1693 and 1696.

An interesting and rare map of India of size 112x106 cms is available in the Library. The title and other details are "A Map of Hindoostan or the Moghul Empire" from the latest authority inscribed to Sir Joseph Banks Bart, president of Royal Society which was produced by Mr. J. Rennel, a pioneer in Map making on 1st January, 1788. In this map the coastal Tamil Nadu and some portions extended up to Ongole in Andhra Pradesh are referred as the region of Carnatic. Hence the music flourished in this area has been called as Carnatic Music. It is significant to note that this map indicates Adams Bridge, which connects India and Ceylon. Maclean in his Glossary of Madras Presidency Gazetteers (Vol.III page 5) mentioned that the bridge was used for foot traffic till 1480 A.D.

Later it was damaged by the breach. Some of the notable Atlas are Bengal Bihar Atlas, Geographical classica of Hermanmoll (1721) Atlas Coelestis (1742) and other old and rare maps of Arrow Smith, Robert Orme, Tracks and discoveries of Captain Cook, James Rennel, Baker, R. Wilkinson, C. Mackenzie are available in this Library.

Pictures and Drawings

Serfoji collected many pictorial books on the views of scenarios, towns, temples, country sides, fort and battle, rivers etc. Some of the notable pictorial books are costumes of various countries, view of Burma, view of Mysore, Himalayan views, Chinese punishments etc.

A notable and interesting pictorial book available in the Library is "Human Physiognomy pictures". It is a series of Lithographic drawings by Charles-Le-Brun, a noted French Artist, it is a illustrative drawing of relation between human face with beast and birds face. Another 48 pictures of Oriental scenarios of Hindoostan by Daniel brothers are also available in the Library.

Other collections

Besides books and manuscripts, this library possesses beautifully decorated Thanjavur style paintings on wood, canvas, glass and about five thousand folios of illustrated paper paintings such as Gaja sastra, Aswa Sastra, Mythological pictures, botanical specimen paintings, military

costumes, Chitra Ramayana etc. This Library has twenty rare atlases comprising five hundred maps and drawings. The library also has a rich collections of miniature manuscripts, miniature paintings and manuscripts of micrographic writings. One such manuscript is Shivaprapancharatna stotram. Each letter in this work is made up of the microscopic term 'shiva shiva'. It features is an excellent calligraphy.

Functions

The main functions of this library are preservation, cataloguing, publication and Service to Scholars.

Preservation

In ancient days, copying of the original manuscript was the only method for preserving the scripts and other brittle manuscripts. Due to the development of science and technology, preservation of original in the form of microfilm is introduced. Since 1979 the facility of microfilming the manuscripts and rare books has been adopted in the library.

Apart from this original manuscripts and books are preserved using traditional and modern conservation. The Palm leaves are periodically cleaned and smeared with Citronella oil (an extract of Citrus grass), which will give flexibility to leaves and it acts as repellent to insects. If the script of the manuscript is not legible to read, then the lamp soot mixed with Citronella oil will be used for making the letters clear. Teak wood reapers are fixed on both sides of the Palm leaf manuscripts to safeguard them from damages. Like that, paper manuscripts are protected with acid free hand made board after repairing and fumigating them. Insect repellents like Naphthalene balls and indigenously prepared insect repellent powder mixture i.e. Sweet flag, Pepper, Black cumin, Bark of Cinnamon, Cloves with Camphor are kept in the cupboard.

Manuscripts Catalogue

Even though the Library originated in 16th century, the earliest catalogue available in the Library belongs to Raja Serfoji's period. The Catalogue for Palm leaf manuscripts was prepared in Palm leaf form and that of paper manuscripts in Paper form. The Palm leaf manuscript catalogues are three bundles in Telugu Script. The Palm leaf manuscript catalogue preparation work was started in 1801. The paper manuscript catalogue was

prepared in 1807. It is an alphabetico-classified order. Now we can say that Serfoji's catalogue is the earliest catalogue available in India.

Later in 1840 and 1857, catalogues were prepared by the orders of Shivaji II and the then Thanjavur District Collector Mr. Forbes, in 1871, by the order of the Governor General, Dr. A. C. Bumell, prepared catalogue for Sanskrit manuscripts and published in two volumes in 1879 and 1880 printed at London.

From 1920 Descriptive catalogue preparation has been started and 60 volumes of catalogues were prepared for Manuscripts.

Publication

One of the aims of the Library is to publish the rare and unpublished manuscripts into printed book form. The Pandits of Sanskrit, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil are undertaking editing job for publication. Apart from them, Guest Editors are also appointed to undertake some specialized works. Expert in that field evaluates the edited manuscripts and then it will be taken for publication. So far this library has published 505 books from the manuscripts.

Library Museum

A small museum is situated in the Library building to expose the importance of the Library to the public. The artifacts of the museum have been classified as Ancient Rare Manuscripts, Illustrated Manuscripts, Old Books, Printed Copies of the Original-drawings, Atlases, Thanjavur style of paintings on paper, canvass, wood and glass and other antiquities. These materials will give an idea about the total collections of the Library to the public.

Conducting of Training Class

The Library is conducting training class on manuscriptology and editing other allied subjects in Grantha, Tamil, Marathi, Telugu and Modi languages. The Library is functioning six days a week from 10.00 A.M to 5.30 P.M., and remains closed on Wednesdays and Government holidays. The Library Museum is functioning all the days except on National holidays.

This Library's manuscripts and books are national wealth. It is the duty of one and all to preserve them for the use of future generation.

THE HISTORY OF HOLY COMFORTER'S CHURCH AT TANJORE

J.V. Santha Jaya Kumari*

Introduction

Protestant Lutheran Missionary enterprise in India was initiated by Frederick IV, the king of Denmark. He had a genuine desire that the Indians who lived in and around the Danish settlements of Tranquebar should know the Protestant Lutheran faith and also the teachings of Jesus Christ. Hence, he had tried his level best to find out dedicated missionaries in Denmark to be sent as pioneer missionaries to India. But in Denmark, no pastor was willing to go to India in general and Tamil Nadu particular. But, Dr. Lutkens, the court preacher helped King Frederick IV to select suitable young and dedicated missionaries to be sent to India. They were Barthalomeaus Ziegenbalg and Henrich Plutschau.

The first Lutheran mission in India is called 'The Danish-Halle mission' on account of the connection between Halle and Denmark. The mission was supported spiritually and financially by the members in Germany and Denmark and later also by the people of other European countries. Both the pioneer missionaries had arrived to Tranquebar on the 9th July 1707. The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran church celebrates this day every year as the "Mission Thanks giving day". The pioneer missionaries had laid the foundation of the protestant mission in India". After Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, many more missionaries came to Tranquebar and served for the cause of the spread of the Christian faith in and around Tranquebar and as a result of their labours, the protestant Lutheran faith began to spread in Tanjore also. The work of spreading Christianity in and around Tanjore was carried out by several other missionaries after Ziegenbalg.

The Emergence of the Holy Comforter's church

In the beginning, hut was used as prayer hall. In course of time the number of Christians increased rapidly in and around Tanjore. On June 20, 1864 the foundation stone for the new Lutheran

church was laid on the mission street at Manambachavadi. The church work was completed in 1870 and in the following year on the 26th April 1871, the new church was consecrated in the name of holy Comforter's church. This church was built in order to console the Lutheran people, hence, it is called the "Holy Comforter's church". Rev.Ouchterlony was the founder of the church and served as the pastor in the Holy Comforter's church upto 1880, and died in 1889.

The real credit of the effective propagation of the Protestant Christian faith in not Thanjavur goes to Rev. C.F. Schwartz. Christianity was not a new thing to Thanjavur, since the Catholic Christian faith was existing there long before the arrival of the Protestant missionaries from Sweden and Germany. Rev. C.F. Schwartz had been the most prominent missionary, who had a very good influence with the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore in general, and Tulajaji and Serfoji in particular. This particular influence enabled him to get concessions on valid grounds to obtain a place for building a separate place for conducting services and worship and thus got allotted the place Manambuchavady which is even today a predominant Christian area. During the formative years, the Christian missionaries had to face several trials and tribulation and they bore the cross very patiently for the glory of Lord Jesus Christ.

Growth of the Church

The Holy Comforter's church at Thanjavur was established in the year 1871. During that time the total strength of the congregation was only 1030, which includes the near by village congregations also. But later on, due to the effective evangelical role of the church, the congregation of the church grew rapidly. In 1940, the total strength of the congregation was 652, in 1951 it was 721, in 1960 it was 826, in 1970 it was 1076, in 1980 it was 1249 and in 1989 it was 1329.

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Organs of the Church and its Function

The church is not only a spiritual institution but also a charitable agency. The church is also a living institution which breathes through its multifarious activities. The churches of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran church [TELC] are noted for the systematic activities through specialised agencies like the conduct of the Sunday School, Church choir, Men and Women fellowships, the 'The Christava Ilaigai Iyyakkam [CII]', the junior ministry etc. The members of the church are made to involve themselves in the above mentioned works quite actively which brings about a close interaction with each other. The true Christian principles of service, devotion, dedication, tolerance and fellowship are being inculcated from among the members of the church through these activities.

At Thanjavur, the programme of conducting the Sunday school was introduced in the year 1959 in the Holy Comforter's church. It is conducted in the church and importing Christian morals and ethics on every Sunday. Thus, Sunday school has become an integral part of the church activity.

In the Christava Ilaigai Iyyakkam, the Christian youth of the church are get involved. The youth who are mostly in their adolescence age, are to be trained quite carefully even a slight distraction in their way of life can change the course of their future. They are to be very carefully trained in Christian principles so as to make them to emerge as very good members of church and society.

The women fellowship is another important organ of every church. The constitution of the women's fellowship is aimed at bringing above fellowship among the women folks of the church.

"Bethesda" is a house of mercy established for the mentally retarded and physically

handicapped women. It also serves as an orphanage for the women who are without care and support. The inmates of the home are mentally retarded people old women, and poor widows who live together here peacefully.

"Bethania" is another charitable home which trains the Deaconess Sisters. The home also gives vocational training to its inmates.

Nazareth is a home of mercy for the poor and orphan children who are below 5 years of age.

Holy Comforter's Church Choir

The Holy Comforter's Church Choir was started in 1960. Music plays a prominent role in the Lutheran churches. The choir plays a major role in the marriage time, ordinary services, festivals, conferences, retreats; special plays an important role in church services.

The early missionaries were not only founders of churches, but also pioneer in education and literary spheres. In Tanjore the girl's Christian Secondary School was founded, by Rev. Ouchterlony in 1856, later it was changed in to Higher Secondary School.

The Church and Finance

The chief sources of income for the church has been derived from its members by way of their contribution to the church fund, Harvest offerings and income from the Ministerial Acts. All earning members of the church, men and women shall contribute to the church fund at the rate of 6 paise per rupee of their basic salary. The Ministerial Acts written in the 166th rule of the church rule book explains that for the Baptism, the church members must bring their offerings. During the days of serving the Holy Communion, the members are expected to give their offering. The church fund was also raised by the marriage fees, fees for burials; undial kalayam collections, Lord's offerings, Sunday collections, Donations, Cottage prayer offerings, central treasury's subsidy.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS OF THE FISHERMEN OF RAMESHWARAM

T. Chandrasekaran*

Rameshwaram, a small island in the Gulf of Mannar, is a reputed pilgrim centre. It is connected to the mainland by road, rail and ship ways. As an active trading centre, it has link with many foreign countries such as Srilanka, Burma, China and England. Rameshwaram port is situated on the eastern side of Rameshwaram sea-shore, where import and export of goods and commodities take place through the Bay of Bengal which is open to both coastal and foreign traders.

In the early 15th century, the present territories of Ramanathapuram district comprising of the taluks such as Tiruvadanai, Paramakudi, Kamuthi, Mudukulathur, Ramanathapuram and Rameshwaram were included in the Pandyan kingdom. For a short period, the area of Rameshwaram was under the Chola kings. In 1520 A.D. the rulers of Vijayanagar took over this area under their control from the Pandyan dynasty for about two centuries. In the 17th century, the Marava chieftains Sethupathis who were lords under Pandyan kings reigned over this part.

In Tamil country most of the festivities were connected with astrological premises, be it either for personal or for social recreation and well being. Along these lines falls the celebration of festivals detailed here under based on the available epigraphical sources. An important aspect of the religious life of people is the celebration of different festivals in different times of the year.

The merry making and high-spirited fishermen of Rameshwaram are very fond of fairs and festivals. Festivals give happiness and make the life of the fishermen joyful. The fairs of Rameshwaram fishermen reveal their cultural ethos. However most of the fishermen of Rameshwaram live below the poverty line. Hence, they are not in a position to buy new dresses for each and every festival.

Punitha Susaiyappar Festival

In modern days the Susaiyappar festival is the most important festival celebrated by the fishermen of Rameshwaram. This temple is situated

near the port. On the day of the festival, all the boats are tied with rope and stationed in the sea-shore. On that day, no-one ventures into the sea for catching fishes. One boat is selected for Goddess Aannai Mariyal and that boat is decorated with flowers and colour papers. In the evening the idol of Annai Mariyal will be taken in the boat into the sea. By this, the fishermen believed that goddess Annai Mariyal will accord blessings to the fishermen. The members of the boat owners association take care of all the express connected with the festival.

Gangadevi Festival

This is a festival of the sea goddess. The Gangadevi festival is celebrated with pomp and gaiety in the month of *Avani* every year for a couple of days. Fishermen of Rameshwaram worship Gangadevi and perform a number of poojas. Every day, three Abhishekams are performed namely Palkappu (milk), Ilanerrkappu (tender coconut) and manchal Kappu (turmeric). As part of the festival Pongal or sweet rice is prepared and offered to the goddess. Fishermen pray for the safety and protection of their fellow men.

Folk song in praise of Gangadevi is sung by every member of the community.

Ammavasai Festival

Aadi Ammavasai is celebrated in the Tamil month of Aadi. It comes in the month of August. Rameshwaram fishermen consider this Ammavasai as the most important one in their life. Because on that day they give Thithi to their dead ones. The services of the Brahmin priests are used for this ritual.

Thiruvilaku Pooja

The Thiruvilakku pooja comes in the month of Aadi and Purattasi. This function is celebrated to remember god Siva. Hundreds of fishermen especially ladies participate in the festival. The procession will be followed by the lighting of 108 or 1008 Kuthuvilakku in the Siva temple.

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Mahasakthi Amman Festival

Olakkuda fishermen celebrate this Mahasakthi Amman festival. During this festival, they make the icon of the Sakthi Amman with soil. They grow a mulaipari. Special poojas are conducted in the temple for seven days.

Festivals occupy a prominent place in the life of the people. They are occasions of public rejoicing and merriment and they served to relieve the people from the humdrum and monotony of everyday life. They exhibit the involvement of the people in the relaxation and recreation activated

through festivals in all the months in general and during post harvesting time (Chittirai and Vaikasi) in particular. Festivals also paved the way for economic mobilization in the society besides nurturing a kind of amicable settlement of differences of opinion among fishermen.

Most of the festivals detailed here are celebrated even now, but they appear to have been more elaborate in the past and that on those occasions a large number of devotees seem to have fed and much money and materials seem to have been spent rather lavishly.

FOLK MUSIC OF TAMIL NADU

E. Amudha*

The folk music of Tamil Nadu has very ancient origins. It is the emotional off springs of the happy moments and activities of the village people. There are many folk songs sung by the people. Folk songs describe the life hopes and beliefs of the common people. Folk music is classified as Villupaattu, Harikatha, Laavani, Lullabies, Folk ballads and occupational songs.

Among the various types of folk music, Villupaattu is the most famous. It is used to convey social messages and environmental protection.

It has become an attracting art in many places. Harikatha is based on mythological stories and legends rendered in the carnatic style. Laavani is a

musical discussion set to verse, which originated in Maharashtra. Two teams take debate on selected theme or concept. Lullabies are sing by women while swinging the baby in the cradle. These songs vary according to the situation.

Ballads are sung by trained specialists consisting of song dance myth and tale. Occupational songs are an important aspects of rural life depicting the hard work and toil of the masses. Some folk songs may accompany dances and dramas but the vast majority have their own occasion and use, making them an unique part of the village life of Tamil Nadu. Folk music is the valuable source of history and need to be preserved for time.

ஆடுதுறை ஆபத்சகாயேசுவரர் ஆலய சிற்பக்கலை

எம். அபிராமி**

முன்னுரை

முற்காலச் சோழர் கோயில்களில் ஒன்றான ஆடுதுறை ஆபத்சகாயேசுவரர் கோயில் முற்காலச் சோழ மன்னனான உத்தமச் சோழனால் கட்டப்பட்டது. ஏறத்தாழ நான்கு நூற்றாண்டுக்கால சோழர் ஆட்சிக் காலத்தில் தமிழ்நாடு முழுவதும் சிறியதும், பெரியதுமாகக் கற்கோயில்கள் கட்டப்பட்டன. அக்காலத்தில் கற்றளியாக மாற்றப்பட்ட கோயில்களில் ஆடுதுறை ஆபத்சகாயேசுவரர் கோயிலும் ஒன்றாகும்.

ஊர் பெயர்க்காரணம்

ஆடுதுறை ஆபத்சகாயேசுவரர் கோயில் கும்பகோணத்திலிருந்து 14 கி.மீட்டர் தொலைவில் மயிலாடுதுறை செல்லும் வழியில் அமைந்துள்ளது. திரைமூர் நாட்டுத்திருத்தென்குரங்காடுதுறை என்பது இவ்வூரின் பெயராகும். காவிரியின் தென்கரையானது சோலைகள் நிறைந்த வளமான பூமியாக விளங்கியது. குரங்குகள் நிறைந்தாடுகின்ற சோலைகளைக் கொண்ட இவ்வூர் குரங்காடுதுறை என்று பெயர் பெற்றுள்ளது.

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** விரிவுரையாளர், வரலாற்றுத்துறை, அரசினர் மகளிர், கல்லூரி, கும்பகோணம்.

வடகுரங்காடுதுறையில், வாலியென்னும் வானரத் தலைவன் வணங்கினான் என்று நம்பப்படுகிறது. தென்கரையில் உள்ள குரங்காடுதுறை தற்போது ஆடுதுறை என்றே அழைக்கப்படுகின்றது.

சுவாமி பெயர்க்காரணம்

இதிகாசமாகிய இராமாயணத்தில் வரும் இராம பக்தன் சுகீவன், இவன் தென்குரங்காடுதுறையை அடைந்து சிவபெருமானை வழிபட்டு வரும் நாளில் பகைமை காரணமாக சுகீவனைத் தேடிக்கொண்டு வாலி வந்தான். வல்லமை படைத்த அந்த வாலிக்கு அஞ்சிய சுகீவன் ஆடுதுறை அறவச்சடை அந்தணனாகிய அரசனிடம் அடைக்கலம் புகுந்து நின்று தன்னைக் காப்பாற்றியருளுமாறு வேண்டிக் கொண்டான். அப்போது சிவபெருமான் சுகீவனை அன்னப்பறவையாகவும், அவன் தேவியைப் பாரிஜாத மரமாகவும் (பவன மல்லிகை மரம்) வேற்றருவஞ் செய்து காப்பாற்றியருளினான். சுகீவனுக்கு சகாயம் செய்தமையால் இறைவன் ஆபத்தகாயேசுவரர் என வழங்கப்படுகின்றார் என்று தென்குரங்காடுதுறை தல வரலாறு குறிப்பிடுகிறது.

படிமங்கள்

இறைஉருவங்கள் பொதுவாக அசையும் உருவங்கள் என்றும், அசையாத உருவங்கள் என்றும் பிரிக்கப்படும். அசையும் இறை உருவங்கள் உலோகத்தினால் செய்யப்பட்டு இருக்கும். இதில் இருவகை உண்டு. ஒன்று கௌதுகபேரம், இது அர்ச்சனைக்கு மட்டுமே உரியதாகும். மற்றொன்று உட்சன பேரமாகும். இவ்வகை திருமேனிகள் திருவிழாக்காலங்களில் ஊர்வலமாக எடுத்துச் செல்லப்படும்.

அசையாத தெய்வ உருவங்கள் மூலவிக்கிரகங்கள் என்றும், துருவபேரம் என்றும் அழைக்கப்படும். பெரும்பாலும் இவ்வுருவங்கள் கல்லினால் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கும். தெய்வ உருவங்கள் சித்திரம், சித்தார்த்தம் மற்றும் சித்ராபாசம் என்று மேலும் மூன்றாக பிரிக்கப்படும். சித்ரம் என்ற வகையில் உருவத்தின் எல்லாப் பாகமும் வெளிக்காட்டப்படும். இவ்வகையை முழு உருவச் சிற்பங்கள் என்று அழைப்பர். சித்தார்த்தத்தில் முழுகுதியும் தெரியாமல் முன்பகுதி மட்டுமே வெளிக்காட்டப்படும். இவ்வகையை புடைப்புச் சிற்பங்கள் என்று அழைப்பர். சித்ராபாசம் என்பது சுவரின் மீதோ துணியின் மீதோ வரையப்பட்ட தெய்வ உருவங்களைக் குறிக்குமென்பர்.¹ இக்கோயிலில் உள்ள சிற்பங்கள் பின்வருமாறு அமைந்துள்ளன.

சிவலிங்கம்

சிவ வடிவங்களில் மிகத் தொன்மையானது சிவலிங்கம். குணமும் குறியும் கடந்த பேரொளியாகிய இறைவனை ஒரு குறியின்கண் வைத்து வழிபடும் பொருட்டுத் திகழ்வது சிவலிங்கமாகும். சிவலிங்கம் மூன்று கூறுகளைக் கொண்டு காணப்படுகிறது. அடிப்பாகம் நாற்கோண வடிவமாய் நிலத்திற்குத் தலைவனான படைப்புக் கடவுளாய் பிரம்ம பாகத்தை உணர்த்துகிறது. மத்திய பாகம் எட்டுப்புடைப்புடைய எண்கோண வடிவாய் நீருக்கு அதிபதியான காத்தல் கடவுளாய் திருமாவின் பாகத்தை உணர்த்துகிறது. மேலுள்ள பாகம் நெருப்பிற்குத் தலைவனும், முத்தொழில்களுக்குத் தலைவனுமான சிவபாகத்தை உணர்த்துகிறது.² இங்கு உள்ள சிவலிங்கம் சுயம்புலிங்கம் என அழைக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆவுடையுடன் கூடிய லிங்கத்தின் உயரம் மூன்றரை அல்லது நான்கு அடியாக இருக்கலாம்.³

முகமண்டபத்தில் வாயில்கள் இருமருங்கிலும் வாயிற்காவலர்களின் சிற்பங்கள் வலது, இடது பக்கமாக காணப்படுகின்றன.

அகஸ்தியர்

தேவகோஷ்ட சிற்பங்களில் ஒன்றான அகஸ்தியர் தெற்குப் பக்கம் பார்த்தவாறு தலையில் ஜடாமகுடமும், நீண்ட தாடியும், பெருத்த வயிறும், இரு கைகளையும் கொண்டு வலது காலை தொங்கவிட்டு இடது காலை மடித்து பீடத்தின் மீது கிடத்தி அமர்ந்த நிலையில் காணப்படுகின்றார். மூடிய இரு விழிகளையும், நீண்ட இரு காதுகளையும் கொண்டு வலது கரத்தில் அக்ஷமாலையும், இடது கரத்தில் கமண்டலமும் கொண்டுள்ளார். ஆபரணங்கள் இல்லாமல் உத்திராட்ச மாலையைக் கழுத்தில் அணிந்து இடுப்பில் ஆடை கட்டியும் ஆழ்ந்த தியானத்தில் அமர்ந்திருப்பதுபோல் உள்ளது.

விநாயகர்

கோஷ்ட சிற்பமாக விநாயகர் காணப்படுகிறார். முற்காலச் சோழர் கலைப்படைப்பான இச்சிற்பம் ஒரு மாறுபட்ட வடிவமாகவும் கலைச் சிறப்பு பெற்றதாகவும் உள்ளது. தலையில் கரண்டமகுடமும், யானையின் முகமும், முறம் போன்ற இரு காதுகளையும், தும்பிக்கையும், பருத்த கரங்களையும், கால்களையும் பெரிய வயிறும் கொண்டு பத்ம பீடத்தில் அமர்ந்துள்ளார். நான்கு கரங்களைப் பெற்றுள்ளார். வலது கீழ்க்கரத்தில் ஓடித்த தந்தமும், இடது கீழ்க்கரத்தில் மோதகமும், வலது மேற்கரத்தில் அங்குசமும் இடது மேற்கரத்தில் பாசமும்

(பாசக்கயிறு) தாங்கியுள்ளார். ஆபரணங்களாக கண்டிகை, சரப்பளி தோள் மீது தோள் மாலையும் சகலவிதமான ஆபரணங்களையும் அணிந்து சற்று வித்தியாசமாக இரு கால்களையும் குத்திட்டு அமர்ந்த நிலையில் காணப்படுகிறார்.⁴

நடராஜர்

சிவன் துரிதமாகவும் அதே நேரத்தில் ஆனந்தத்திலும் ஆடும் வடிவம் ஆனந்த தாண்டவம். வேகமாக ஆடும்போது ஜடாமுடிகளும் வேகமாக சுழல்கின்றன. அவர் முயல்கள் என்கின்ற அபஸ்மார புருஷன் மீது ஆடுவதாக காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. வலது கால் ஊன்றியும் இடது கால் உடலுக்கு குறுக்கே பாய்வது போன்றும் சிற்பத்தில் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. முன் வலது கை அபயம், பின் வலதுகையில் உடுக்கை, முன் இடது கை தண்ட ஹஸ்தத்திலும் பின் இடது கை அக்னி பெற்றிருக்கிறது. சிவனின் ஜடா மகுடத்தில் நாகம், கபாலங்கள், பிறை நிலை மற்றும் ஊமத்தை பூ ஆகியவைகளால் அலங்கரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. விண்ணிலாக தெய்வங்களுள் கின்னரர், கிம்புருடர், ஆகியோர் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ளனர். பார்வதி அருகில் நடனம் ஆடுகின்றார்.

தக்கஷிணாமூர்த்தி

வேதங்களையும், ஆகமங்களையும், இசை மற்றும் யோகங்களையும் விரித்து உரைத்த தெய்வமாக தக்கஷிணாமூர்த்தி கருதப்படுகிறார். இவரை ஞானமூர்த்தி என்ற வியாக்கியானமூர்த்தி என்றும்

அழைப்பர்.⁵ யோகநிலையில் அமர்ந்திருப்பதனால் யோக தக்கஷிணாமூர்த்தி என்று அழைப்பர். கைகளில் வீணை மிருதங்கம் ஏந்தி வாசிப்பதனால் இவரை வீணாதர தக்கஷிணாமூர்த்தி என்றும் மிருதங்க தக்கஷிணாமூர்த்தி என்றும் அழைப்பர். இவர் தலையில் ஜடாபாரம் அணிந்தும் நாற்கரங்களைக் கொண்டு வலதுகால் தொங்கவிட்டும், இடது காலை வலது காலின் மீது கிடத்திய இராஜவீலாசனத்தில் அமர்ந்த நிலையில் உள்ளார். வலது காலின் கீழ் முயல்களின் சிற்பம் உள்ளது. வலது கீழ்க்கரம் அபய முத்திரையாகவும் இடது கீழ்க்கரத்தில் கபாலமும் வலது மேற்கரத்தில் கபாலமும் வலது மேற்கரத்தில் அக்ஷமாலையும் தீச்சுடரும் தாங்கியுள்ளார்.⁶ அனைத்து ஆடை ஆபரணங்களையும் அணிந்து காணப்படும் இச்சிற்பம் தற்காலச் சிற்பமாகும்.

மேற்கண்ட சிற்பங்கள் மட்டுமின்றி விங்கோத்பவர், பிரம்மா, பிக்ஷாடனமூர்த்தி, கங்காதர மூர்த்தி, மகிஷாசுரமர்த்தினி, சண்டிகேஸ்வரர், சுப்ரமணியர், தேவசேனை, வள்ளி, கஜலட்சுமி, பைரவர், குரியன், சனீஸ்வரன் சிற்பங்கள் அனைத்தும் கலையழகு பொருந்தியதாகவும், மிக நுட்பமான வேலைப்பாடுகளுடனும் மனதைக் கவரும் விதத்திலும் அமைந்துள்ளன.

இக்கோயில் செம்பியன் மாதேவியால் கற்றளியாக்கப்பட்டது என உத்தமச்சோழனின் பதினாறாம் ஆட்சியாண்டு கல்வெட்டு சான்று பகர்கின்றது. இருப்பினும் இதற்குமுன் இக்கோயில் செங்கற் கட்டுமானமாக இருந்திருக்கலாம்.

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திருவேதிக்குடிக் கல்வெட்டுகள் - ஓர் ஆய்வு

இரா. சிவானந்தம் *

முன்னுரை

தஞ்சை மாவட்டம், தஞ்சை வட்டத்தில் திருவேதிக்குடி என்ற இவ்வூர், தஞ்சாவூர்-திருவையாறு சாலையில் திருக்கண்டியூரிலிருந்து 3 கி.மீ தொலைவில் அமைந்துள்ளது. இவ்வூரில் உள்ள வேதபுரீஸ்வரர் என்ற சிவன் கோயிலில் மொத்தம் 13 கல்வெட்டுகள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இக்கல்வெட்டுகள் தமிழ்நாடு அரசுத் தொல்லியல் துறையின் 'தஞ்சாவூர் வட்டக்

கல்வெட்டுகள் தொகுதி-1' என்ற நூலில் வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ளன. இக்கோயிலில் உள்ள கல்வெட்டுகள் அனைத்தும் சோழர் காலத்தியவையாகும். இக்கல்வெட்டுகளில் மன்னரின் பெயர் குறிப்பிடப்படாமல் கோராஜகேசரி, கோபரசேகரி என்று மன்னர்களின் பட்டப் பெயர்களிலேயே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளன. இக்கல்வெட்டுகளின் எழுத்தமைதியைக் கொண்டு கி.பி.9-10 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சேர்ந்தது

* கல்வெட்டாய்வாளர், தொல்லியல் துறை, சென்னை-8.

எனலாம். இக்கல்வெட்டுகளில் முறையே முதலாம் ஆதித்தச் சோழன் (கி.பி. 871-907) மற்றும் முதலாம் இராஜராஜன் காலத்த வையாகும். இக்கோயிலில் காணப்படுகின்ற கல்வெட்டுகளில் காலத்தால் முந்தையது இராஜகேசரி முதலாம் ஆதித்தச் சோழனின் 19-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டுக் கல்வெட்டாகும்.¹ ஆகவே இக்கோயில் ஆதித்தச் சோழனின் 19-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டிற்கு முன்பாக அதாவது கி.பி. 890-ஆம் ஆண்டிற்கு முன்பாக கற்றளியாக எடுப்பித்திருக்கலாம் எனக் கருத வாய்ப்புள்ளது.

திருவேதிக்குடி என்று அழைக்கப்படுகின்ற இவ்வூர் கி.பி. 890-ஆம் ஆண்டிலிருந்து இன்று வரை திருவேதிக்குடி என்ற பெயரிலே அழைக்கப்பட்டு வருவது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதாகும். சதுர்வேதிமங்கலம், பிரமதேயம் போன்றவை பிராமணர்களுக்கு தானமாக வழங்கப்பட்ட ஊர் என்பது அறிந்ததே. அதுபோல் 'ஆர்க்காட்டு கூற்றத்து கீழ்பிரம்பில் தேவதானப் பிரமதேயம் திருவேதிக்குடி மகாதேவர்' என்ற கல்வெட்டுக் குறிப்பால்² இது பிராமணர்களுக்கு தானமாக வழங்கப்பட்ட ஊர் என்பதை அறிய முடிகிறது. ஆனால் ஆதித்தச் சோழனின் 19-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் (கி.பி. 890) தேவதான பிரமதேயம் என்றழைக்கப்பட்ட இவ்வூர் இதே மன்னனின் 25-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டு (கி.பி. 896) முதல் கிழாற் கூற்றத்தின் கீழ் பரகேசிபுரம் என்று சோழ மன்னர்களின் பட்டப்பெயரில் அழைக்கப்பட்டது.³ வேதங்களை கற்றறிந்த வேதியர் குடிகள் வாழ்ந்த பகுதியை வேதிக்குடி என்ற பெயரால் இவ்வூர் திருவேதிக்குடி மஹாதேவர்,⁴ திருக்கற்றளி மஹாதேவர்,⁵ பரகேசரிபுரத்து மஹாதேவர்⁶ ஆகிய பெயர்களால் சுட்டப்படுகின்றன.

இக்கோயில் கல்வெட்டுகளில் விளக்கெரிக்க எண்ணெய், நெய்யிற்காக பொன் மற்றும் நிலம் தானமாக அளித்துள்ள செய்தி காணப்படுகிறது. கோயிலுக்குத் தேவையான பரிகலன்கள் தானமாக அளித்ததில் இதனின் நிறையையும் சேர்த்தே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளனர். இராஜகேசரியின் மனைவி வானவன் மகாதேவியார் நேரடியாகக் கொடுத்த பொன், பரிகலன்கள் ஆகியவையும், முதலாம் இராஜராஜனின் நேரடி ஆணையின்படி நிவந்தங்கள் அளித்தது குறித்துக் கூறும் கல்வெட்டுகள் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க கல்வெட்டுகளாகும். இக்கோயிலை நிர்வகிக்கும் சபையார், கோயிலில் பணிபுரியும் 'திருக்கோயிலுடையார்' மற்றும் இந்நகரத்தை நிர்வகிக்கும் நகரத்தார் ஆகியோரிடம் தானமாக பொன், நிலம் அளித்ததைக் கல்வெட்டுகளால் அறியலாம்.

இத்திருக்கோயிலில் பணிபுரியும் பணியாளர்களிடம் பத்து கழஞ்சு பொன் வழங்கி இவற்றிலிருந்து வரும் பலிசை (வட்டி) யிலிருந்து இரவு பகல் ஒரு நந்தா விளக்கெரிக்க தினமும் உழக்கெண்ணெய்

அளிக்க வேண்டுமென கல்வெட்டொன்று தெரிவிக்கிறது.⁷ இதேபோன்று முதலாம் பராந்தகனின் 3-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் (கி.பி. 910) ப்ருதக பல்லவரசன் நந்தா விளக்கெரிக்க 30 கழஞ்சு பொன் அளித்துள்ளான்.⁸

இக்கோயிலுக்குத் தேவையான பல பரிகலன்கள் தானமாக அளிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவற்றில் செப்புத் தளிகை (செப்புக் கிண்ணம்), செப்புச் சட்டுவம் (செப்பு அகப்பை), செப்புக் கடாரம் (செப்பு கொப்பரை/கடாய்), சட்டி, கறிகால், சங்கு மூக்கு (சங்கு வைக்குமிடம்), கருடத் தூக்கு விளக்கு, தராத் தூக்கு விளக்கு (செம்பும் காரீயமும் சேர்ந்த கலவையால் செய்த தூக்கு விளக்கு), வெண்சாமரம், அட்டணிகை கால் (மடக்கும் கால்) ஆகிய பரிகலன்கள் தானமாகக் கோயிலுக்கு வழங்கப்பட்டதிலிருந்து அன்றைய பரிகலன்களை அறிய முடிகிறது.

தானமாக அளிக்கப்பட்ட வெண்சாமரத்தில் இக்கோயிலின் முகப்பு பொறிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது என்று கல்வெட்டொன்று தெரிவிக்கிறது.⁹ இப்பரிகலன்களில் நிறையைப் 'பலம்' என்ற அளவுகளால் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.¹⁰

கோயிலுக்கு தானமாக வழங்கப்படுகின்ற பரிகலன்கள், பொன் ஆகியவைகளின் பெயர்களுடன் அதனின் எடை விவரத்தினையும் கல்வெட்டுகள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. வெள்ளி, செப்பு போன்ற பொருட்கள் வழங்கப்பட்டதில் 'பலம்' என்ற நிறையாலும், பொன் 'கழஞ்சு' என்ற நிறையாலும் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளன. கல்வெட்டுகளில் நிறை என்று குறிப்பிடப்படும் இடங்களில் '+' என்ற நிறையின் குறியீடு இடப்பட்டுள்ளது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.¹¹

புடவை : இவ்வூர் கல்வெட்டுகளில் 'பாவாடைப் புடவை', 'மேற்கட்டிப் புடவை' என்ற சொற்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன.¹² இதில் 'புடவை' என்பது துணி என்ற பொருளிலே கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. பாவாடை என்பது ஆடையையும் மேற்கட்டிப் புடவை என்பது பந்தலுக்கு மேற்கட்டும் என்ற பொருளாகும். இதனை திருச்செந்துறை கல்வெட்டில் 'பூ மடைப்பள்ளிக்கட்டு மேற்கட்டிக்குப் புடவை' என்பதினால் உறுதி செய்யலாம். (தெ.இ.கல். தொகுதி-14 (16). மேலும் 'பாவாடை ஓரணைக்கு', 'பாவாடைக்கு ஈரணைக்கு', 'மேற்கட்டி புடவை ஈரணைக்கு' என்பதில் ஓரணை, ஈரணை என்பது முறையே ஓர் இணை, இரு இணை அதாவது ஒரு ஜோடி இரு ஜோடி என்பதைக் குறிக்கும்.

பிற பொருட்கள் : விளக்கெரிப்பதற்கு எண்ணெய், நெய், வெற்றிலை, வெறுங்காய் (பாக்கு), சந்தனம் ஆகியவை தானம் அளிக்கப்பட்டன. பொதுவாக எண்ணெய் என்பது எள் எண்ணெயினையும், மர எண்ணெய் என்பது

இலுப்பை எண்ணெயினையும் குறிக்கும். சந்தனம் நிசதி (தினம்) அரைபலம், ஓராட்டைக்கு (ஓராண்டுக்கு) சந்தனம் 180 பலம் என்ற கல்வெட்டுக் குறிப்பின் மூலம் ஆண்டுக்கு 360 நாட்களாக கணக்கிட்டுள்ளனர் எனலாம்.¹³

‘அரைசூரம் நிலத்தில் ஒரு கோல் அகலத்தால் தென் எல்லையிலிருந்து வடவெல்லையளவும் நீர்ப் பாயப் பெருவதாகும்.’¹⁴ மேலும் ‘இதன் கீழுது பரகேசரி வாய்க்கால்’¹⁵ ஒரு கோல் அகலத்தால் தெற்கு வடக்கு என்ற கல்வெட்டுச் சொற்றொடர்களின் மூலம் இவ்வூரில் இருந்த வாய்க்கால்களை அறியமுடிகிறது. பரகேசரி வாய்க்காலின் பெயர் இவ்வளது தந்தையான விஜயபாலன் ‘பரகேசரி’ என்ற பட்டம் பெற்றிருந்தால், இவ்வளது தந்தையான விஜயபாலனின் நினைவாக இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்கு பரகேசரி வாய்க்கால் என பெயரிட்டிருக்கலாம். முன்னர் கூறிய வாய்க்கால் தென் எல்லையிலிருந்து வடவெல்லையளவும் நீர் பாய்கின்றது. இவ்வாய்க்கால் ஒரு கோல் அகலமுடையது என்றும், பரகேசரி வாய்க்கால் இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்குக் கிழக்கு பகுதியில் அமைந்திருந்தது. பரகேசரி வாய்க்காலின் தென்வட பகுதியின் அகலம் ஒரு கோலாகவும் இவ்வாய்க்காலின் தெற்குப் பகுதி முடிவிலிருந்து கிழக்கெல்லை பகுதி வரை பாயும் வாய்க்காலின் அகலம் முக்கால் கோல் எனவும் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவ்வாய்க்கால்களின் அகலம் ஒரு கோல், இதனைப் போன்று 20 மடங்கு கோலாக கொண்டது ஒரு குழி எனவும் இதுபோன்று 2560 சதுர குழிக்கு நீர் பாயுகின்ற விவரமும் கல்வெட்டுத் தெரிவிக்கிறது. இதிலிருந்து வாய்க்கால்களின் அகலத்தையும் நீர் பாய்கின்ற நிலத்தின் அளவையும் அறியமுடிகிறது.

ஆதித்தச் சோழனின் 19-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் (கி.பி. 890) தேவதான பிரமதேயம் என்றழைக்கப்பட்ட இவ்வூர் இராஜகேசரியின் 25-ஆம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் (கி.பி. 896) பரகேசரிபுரம் என்ற பெயர்மாற்றம் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது.¹⁶ இதனை நிர்வகித்தவர்கள் ‘நகரத்தார்’ என கல்வெட்டுக் குறிக்கின்றது.¹⁷ இந்நகரத்தைச் சேர்ந்த வியாபாரி, இவ்வூர் இறைவனுக்கு 8 வாள்களும், 8 கடர்வாள்களையும் தானமளித்துள்ளான்.¹⁸

ஆதித்த சோழனின் மனைவி வானவன் மாதேவியார் இக்கோயிலுக்கு தானமாக 720 கழஞ்சு பொன், வெள்ளிப் பொருட்கள் மற்றும் செப்பு பரிகலன்களை தானமாக அளித்துள்ளார்.¹⁹ இச்செய்தியினை கருவறை கல் மேல் வெட்டுக என்றும் ஆணையிடப்பட்டது சிறப்புச் செய்தியாகும். மற்றொரு கல்வெட்டில் இவ்வரசி 140 ‘பலம்’ கொண்ட

‘அட்டணிகைகால்’ (மடக்கும் கால்) அளித்துள்ளார் என்ற செய்தியும் கிடைக்கின்றது.²⁰

முதலாம் இராஜராஜனின் நேரடி ஆணைக்கிணங்க, இக்கோயிலில் உள்ள இறை உருவங்களுக்கு இரவில் நாள்தோறும் உணவு வைக்கும் (ஸ்ரீ பலி எழுந்தருளும் போது) தேவைக்கு 30 விளக்குகளை எரிப்பதற்கான எண்ணெய்க்கும், இக்கோயிலை சுத்தம் செய்பவர்கள் (மெழுக்கடிகைமார்) நால்வருக்கும், மலர் பறித்து பூமாலையாக்கி தருபவர் (திருப்பள்ளிதாமம் பறித்துக் கொடுப்பவர்) இருவருக்கும், நந்தவனத்தை பராமரிப்பவர்கள் மூவருக்கும், ஸ்ரீ-பலியின் போது வழிபாட்டிற்கு திருஅமுது தயாரிப்பவர் (சாலைக் கடுவான்) ஒருவனுக்கும், ஸ்ரீபலியின் போது காளமுதுவார் நால்வர்கள் ஆகிய அனைவருக்கும் மன்னன் அளித்த நிவந்தங்களைக் கொண்டு வளத்தூர் நாட்டு அதிகாரியான (கார்யமாராய்கின்ற) மீனவன் ஸ்ரீபலி வழிபாட்டிற்கு உரிய ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்துள்ளான் என்ற செய்தியினைப் பற்றி முதலாம் இராஜராஜனின் ஐந்தாவது ஆட்சியாண்டு (கி.பி. 990) கல்வெட்டுத் தெரிவிக்கிறது.²¹ இக்கோயிலிலுள்ள மற்றொரு கல்வெட்டு ‘ஸ்ரீபலி’ என்பதை ‘திருப்பலி’ என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது.²²

முடிவுரை

திருவேதிக்குடிக் கல்வெட்டுகளை ஆய்வு செய்ததில் இவ்வூர் ஆதித்தச் சோழன் காலம் தொடங்கி இன்று வரை ‘திருவேதிக்குடி’ என்றே அழைக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இரண்டாவதாக முதலாம் ஆதித்தனின் மனைவி வானவன் மாதேவி, முதலாம் இராஜராஜன் ஆகியோர் நேரடி ஆணையிட்டு தானங்கள் மற்றும் நிவந்தங்கள் அளித்த சிறப்புப் பெற்றது இக்கோயிலாகும். மேலும் இரவு ஸ்ரீபலி சிறப்பாக நடைபெற்ற விவரத்தினையும் அறிய முடிகிறது. இக்கல்வெட்டிகளில் முக்கியச் செய்தியாக ஆதித்தச் சோழனின் 19-ஆவது ஆட்சியாண்டுக் கல்வெட்டில் தேவதான பிரமதேயம் திருவேதிக்குடி என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டு இதே மன்னனின் 25-ஆவது ஆட்சியாண்டில் தனது தந்தையின் பட்டப்பெயரான ‘பரகேசரி’ என்ற பெயரில் இவ்வூர் ‘பரகேசரிபுர நகரம்’ என்று பெயர் மாற்றம் பெற்று வணிகர்களுக்குரிய நகரமாக மாறியுள்ளது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதாகும். முற்காலச் சோழர் காலத்தில் பிரமதேயம் மற்றும் சதுர்வேதிமங்கலங்கள் பிராமணர்களுக்கு தானமாக வழங்கப்பட்டு வளர்ச்சி பெற்று வந்த நிலையில், இவ்வூர் வணிகர்களின் நகரமாக மாறியது ஆய்வுக்குரியதாகும்.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

TAMIL ETHNO-NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY: DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

T. Jayaraman*

Respected President, General Secretary, my Revered teacher Prof. R. Jagadeesan, Former Vice-Chancellor and Member - Advisory Committee of TNHC, Revered Prof. N.K. Narayanan, Member, TNHC, distinguished scholar, my teacher and Research guide Dr. V. Balambal, Former Professor, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Executive Committee Members of TNHC, the Sectional Presidents, distinguished scholars and delegates,

At the outset, I express my deep sense of gratitude to the Advisory Committee and the Executive Committee for conferring on me this honour of presiding over the Historiography Section of the Fourteenth Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. There can be no greater honour than this one, for, I am presiding over the Historiography Section of TNHC hosted by my Department, the Department of Indian History of the University of Madras, which was an intellectual hatchery for me some 29 years ago before I took flight as a seeker of knowledge. I am doubly happy because my mentors, Prof. P. Jagadeesan and Prof. V. Balambal, are present here listening to their ward warming up to a subject that has been sidelined so far by serious academicians.

Historiography is a newly developing science. The Historians of the day have addressed themselves to the changing trends in Historiography, worldwide and in India. Tamil historiography is barely a century old. On the basis of the ideological framework of their contributions, the historians may be identified as Indian Nationalist, Hindu Nationalist, Marxian, ethno-nationalist and Subaltern historians. The changing scenario in the Political life of this country, Colonialism and Indian Nationalism, contributed to historical writing and set trends in historiography. The Imperialists' intention of justifying the alien rule and imposing everlasting political hegemony,

ensuring endless economic exploitation of the Indian sub-continent, influenced the First Phase of Indian Historiography. Its prime purpose was justifying the Colonial rule over the Indian sub-continent, highlighting the European culture and condemning the oppressive social institutions prevailing in India. The British Imperialist Administrators wrote history with a real intention of discovering the past, only after Elphinston.

The Indian Nationalist historiography rose as a reaction to Colonialist historiography. Instead of imitating the Western way of life, the Indian intellectuals inclined towards revitalising and rejuvenating their indigenous cultural life and glorifying their past. The National pride, thus imbibed, led to a desire for political freedom. The spirit of Nationalism was the ideology behind the historical works of the first half of the nineteenth century. However, it should be noted that the Indian nationalism was essentially Hindu nationalism showing affinity to 'Aryan race' and revivalism of Sanskrit and finding a Utopia in the past. It aimed at vindication of Indianess against the European writings.

Romila Thapar writes: There was an unashamed glorification of the ancient Indian past. This was in part a reaction to the criticism of Mill and other writers and in part a necessary step in the building of national selfrespect.¹

This attitude continued from Jayaswal's discovery of Parliamentary Government in Ancient India to the discovery of horse in Indus seal. The valuable benefit was that the historical study was undertaken by many inspired by Indian nationalism. But some of these works contributed to communalism.

Both the European Historians and Indian Nationalists committed the same mistake of a failure to see the real India. The British administrators,

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close as they were to the higher rungs of the Indian society, came into contact only with Sanskrit sources. Having their seat of power at Calcutta or Delhi, they looked at India from the North. The Indian nationalist historians almost had ignored the South. This fact is endorsed by Prof. R. Champakalaxmi.² 'The inadequacy of the Indian historical writing without the southern regions forming a substantial part of works on general histories of India has long since been recognised'. This apart, regional history did not find favour with the Nationalists.

There was no historical writing in Tamil Nadu before the 18th century. The tradition of historiography of Tamil Nadu begins from Robert Orme (b. 1728), the official historiographer of the East India Company. The European scholars who introduced the tradition of historical writing here were European Indologists and Imperial administrators. For the early history of Tamil Nadu, the Indologists made contributions. After the Anglo-Mysore war of 1799, Lord Wellesley constituted three separate Surveys of the Mysore territories under Colin Mackenzie, Francis Buchanan and Benjamin Heyne. They made significant contributions to build a knowledge base about South India.³ Whyte Ellis, the Collector of Madras (1810), founder and senior member of the Board of Superintendence of the College of Fort St. George, became a reputed Tamil scholar, found out the manuscripts of Beschi's works and had them published. In 1816, Ellis contributed 'A Note to the Introduction to Campbell's *A Grammar of Teloogoo Language* (1816), and he had stated that the South Indian Languages are different from the Indo-European family of languages. Bishop Robert Caldwell (1819-1891), in his celebrated work, '*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1856), made it clear that Dravidian language family is different from other families. Robert Caldwell spoke of the high antiquity of the literary cultivation of Tamil, the Dravidian Languages as being independent of Sanskrit, the political and social relations of the primitive Dravidians to the Aryans and the Pre-Aryan inhabitants of Northern India and about how the Dravidians became *Sudras*.

This work supplied the seeds for the Tamil Revivalism and Dravidian Movement. When history-writing was attempted, there emerged the

ethno-national historiography of the Tamils. It was initially known as Dravidian historiography. The word 'Dravidian' was recognised only as the name of a family of languages and Dravidianism did not take roots in other South Indian states. It took the shape of Tamil Ethno-national historiography, after the Reorganisation of States and when the Identity politics became more pronounced.

II

Since the definition of a concept is an essential part of any systematic discipline, we need to define the term ethno-national historiography. When the ethno-national historiography is taken for analysis, its exact meaning and the boundaries must be well defined. It refers to all the historical works that have attempted to trace the origin and development of the social, economic, political and cultural institutions of the Tamils. The research centres around the premise that Tamils are a race, an ethnic group, a historically developed nation, an indigenous entity and a community of continued historical existence, possessing a national identity. It is a field of enquiry that sees the studies on Tamils as wholistic instead of considering it a part of the studies on the Indian nation and society. A historical work on the Tamils is considered Tamil ethno-national historiography when it strengthens the idea that Tamils are a people different from Aryans or Northerners and Tamil language is one that is independent of Sanskrit. Thus, Tamil Ethno-national historiography focuses on the ethnic domains of Tamil culture, Tamils language, Tamil political life, both ancient and modern, and their politics of Identity. It aims at reconstructing the Tamils' history by examining the points of Tamil ethno-national importance, which have been so far misunderstood, misconceived and misinterpreted. It is not in any way in conflict with scientific history.

The features of the Ethno-national historiography can be identified as follows:

1. It challenges the Indian Nationalists' interpretation of history and treating Tamil culture as a part of Indian culture or considering only the Nationalistic history as wholistic and Tamils' history a part within. It emerges as an alternative discourse to the Nationalists historiography.

2. It protests against the dominance of Sanskrit, Aryan and North India.
3. It places the Identity of the Tamils at the centre of research.
4. It aims at Reconstruction of Tamils' history tracing the genesis and development of all institutions of all the spheres of the Tamils.
5. It is emerging as an Integrated History. Many of the Tamil ethno-national intellectuals and historians have understood the deficiency in the historical writing and combine the findings in various branches like archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, etc.
6. It is no more elite oriented, but has become people oriented. Recent works on Tamil studies are Marxian in analysis and ideology.
7. Like Nationalist historiography, Ethno-nationalists' works also exhibit the traits of committed history and so there is the possibility of elements of subjectivity.
8. Along with the appearance of many objective and scientifically tempered ethno-national historical works which constitute a higher stream, Tamil Romanticism, a minor one, is also making fresh inroads. The Tamil Romanticists also write history based on evidences and source materials, but they have a sympathy for the values of the past and look at the past with admiration. Subjective elements creep into this kind of historiography.

The history of emergence of the ethno-national historiography is also to be analysed. When historical writing was attempted in India, it was north-Indian oriented or centred around Vedic culture, Sanskrit, Brahmin and the Gangetic Valley. Both the Imperial administrators and the Nationalists ignored South India while writing history. The Indian Nationalists adopted the theory of Aryan race and it led to the communal trend on the one hand and the need to write the indigenous history of the Tamils, on the other, to set the things right and also as a mark of intellectual justification.

When Bishop Robert Caldwell published his celebrated work, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of*

Languages (1856), the first detailed attempt at a philological study of the South Indian languages, it became a potent weapon in the hands of those who wanted to prove the purity and antiquity of Tamil and its superiority.

Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai was the first to point out that the South had been neglected in historical writing. He said: 'The scientific historian of India ought to begin his study with the basin of Krishna, of the Kaveri and of the Vaigai than with the Gangetic plan as has been now long, too long the fashion.' Following him, V. A. Smith pointed out in his *Early History of India* (1912) that it was time to pay due regard to the non-Aryan element in writing history.

Then began the writing on ethno-national historiography. The Tamil ethno-national historical writings came into being in four phase successively. In the First phase, the English education combined with Tamil Revivalism and inspired the South Indian historians who contributed to ethno-national historiography. But they were not motivated by ethno-nationalism. Their aim was corrective and filling the vast lacunae in the South Indian History. The contributions of M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar, V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar and T.R.Sesha Iyengar are of this paradigm. These works were the first historical works contributing to ethno-national studies. But more works appeared from the beginning of the twentieth century, showing linguistic and ethnic fervour.

The first work on Tamils' history was *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago* published in 1904 by V. Kanakasabai Piliyai. It ascribed a Mongolian origin to the Tamils and so it was unacceptable to many historians. But it was the first historical work on the social life of the Sangam Tamils. The significance of the work is that it identified the First Century AD as the Sangam age. His work cannot be considered as a trend setting one.

During the beginning of the twentieth century, following Robert Caldwell, philological researches were undertaken by many Tamil scholars. An early philologist, Makaral Karthikeya Mudaliar wrote *'Mozhi Nool'* (Philology) in 1913. Of the three parts of the work, Exordium, Grammar

and Derivation, the first part contains his arguments in favour of the hoary antiquity of the Tamil language and its priority to Sanskrit.⁵ M.S.Purnalingam Pillai has given the Introduction to this work and in this, Purnalingam pillai calls the author a 'precedent-breaker and original researcher. Makaral Karthikeya Mudaliar exhibits ethno-national fervour in the '*Payiraviyal*' of this work. He explains how Tamil philological study would equip one with the necessary tool to do research on other languages. He contends that ancient northern state of Guru was only a Tamil country and Pravahana Jaiwali of Panchala was a Tamil ruler. He argues that Tamil is very ancient and Sanskrit is comparatively a recent one.⁶

Makaral Karthikeya Mudaliar's study based on philological findings appeared in 1913. It was he that spoke for the first time that Tamils were indigenous to Tamilagam and they migrated to other parts only from Tamilagam. He also called Tamil language a naturally born language. His work anticipated the works of P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar, Sesha Iyengar and V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, whose works were based on archaeological findings. M.S.Pumalingam's 'Introduction' may be taken to be an evidence to show how much these historians were inspired and influenced by him to go ahead in the ethno-national direction. In this regard, Makaral Karthikeya Mudaliar may be considered the trend-setter and it will not be wrong to consider that the historians who immediately succeeded him elaborately did it in historical writing.

In the first phase, the historians established a paradigm for the ethno-national approach. They denied a foreign origin to the Tamils, while others considered the Tamils as immigrants, and contended that the Tamils spread to North and North-West only from Tamilagam and the Iron Age began in South India much earlier to the coming of the Aryans.

P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar is considered a trend-setter, for he had the spirit of scientific temper and exhibited it in his historical writings. Besides being scientific in approach, he extensively used the archaeological sources for his studies. He was a nationalist, but considered Tamils an indigenous entity and the Tamils had spread over entire India. He viewed that 'people speaking dialects allied to

Tamil once inhabited the whole of India and not these people must necessarily have come into India from outside the country.⁷ On the basis of artefacts and relics discovered in South India, he contended that there was a regular evolution of culture from the lowest paleolithic age to the latest age of metals and it might be taken as fairly certain that the Tamils were indigenous to South India.⁸ He ridiculed the theory of the Tamils' foreign origin, stating 'some writers conduct the ancient Dravidians with the self-confidence of a Cook's guide through the North-Western or North-eastern mountain passes of India and drop them with a readymade foreign culture on the banks of the Kaveri or Vaigai.⁹ He denied here the view of V.Kanakasabai who in his work '*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904), had attributed a Mongolian origin to the Tamils. He argued that he could prove that the Iron Age began in Tamil country when the Tamil had not come into any kind of contact with Sanskrit, the linguistic vehicle of Vedic Culture.¹⁰

T.R. Seslia Iyengar made his contributions in a similar line. He viewed: 'Among most writers on this subject, it has been the fashion to give to the Indo-Aryans the credit for all that was best in Ancient Indian Culture.¹¹ He viewed that the Indian civilization resulted from the mixture of Dravidian and Aryan. He endorsed the theory that 'the Dravidians were living in South India from the remotest antiquity.¹² It is quite possible that Dravidian traders might have carried their culture from South India to the Mediterranean area.¹³

He criticised Dr. Chatterji who says 'The Dravidians look like being a Mediterranean people coming out of Crete and passing through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Then they came into Sindh, when they spread into the interior of India. Sesha Iyengar raised the question: Why should this have been so? Could not an exactly reverse process have taken place?¹⁴

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar is the third one contributing to the ethno-national paradigm. He stressed that 'South India must have pre-paleolithic people who were the aboriginals and sons of the soil'.¹⁵ Dr. E. Maclean had viewed that 'the ethnic and other affinities between South India and the Mediterranean basin must be due to the fact that Southern India was once the passage ground by

which the ancient progenitors of northern and Mediterranean nations proceeded to the difficult parts of the globe' and this view gets endorsed by Ramachandra Dikshitar.¹⁶ He made bold assertions on the basis of the then available archaeological and linguistic evidences.

A significant early ethno-nationalist historiographer was M.S. Pumalingam Pillai. He was different from the other three, because the ideological basis of his works was Tamil ethno-nationalism. He did not share the Indian outlook as others did. The basic concepts of the Tamils' origin in Tamilagam and their spread to other parts of the world found emphasised in his work (1927). He said: 'The Tamils or Tamilar were the sons of Tamilagam itself. They were indigenous. When one deluge after another overcame Tamilaham, when the Tamils dispersed in different directions to save their lives... the Tamil emigrants passed over the jungles and sandy deserts and found their homes in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt and in European countries...'¹⁷

The discovery and publication of Tamil literary works stimulated the ethno-national writings. C. W. Damodaram Pillai of Jaffna was the first to take effort to bring out valuable Sangam Works. *Tolkappiyam Sollathikaram* (1868) and *Viracoliyam* (1881), the two major works in Tamil grammar and many other Tamil works were brought out by him. U. Ve. Saminathaier spent his life time in recovering the Sangam works and printing them. They gave a new impetus to historical research.

In the second phase, a new host of historians started contributing to Tamil historiography in the 1940's. These historians extensively used literary and epigraphical sources. Some historians used copious inscriptions as primary sources in their study and evolved some theoretical framework. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Prof. R. Sathianathaier belong to this school of historical writing. Another class of historians used the epigraphical and literary sources to strengthen their ideological framework of Tamil history. Na. Si. Kandthaiya Pillai, Mayilai Seeni Venkatasamy Nattar and Ka. Appadurai belong to this school. The historical works of these scholars were purely ethno-national in its content and ideological framework.

This marked the second phase in the development of Tamil ethno-national historiography. In the second phase, the Tamil ethno-national historians had set a goal before them. They had identified anti-Tamilian endeavours that manifested in the purposeful act of sidelining the Tamil history, giving prominence to Sanskrit, North India and Aryan race and denying anything that would strengthen Tamils' antiquity and identity.

The Jaffna based historian, Na. Si. Kanthaiya Pillai in his work *Tamilagam* (1934) writes: 'It has become a very natural one to the intellectuals of the day to attribute the Tamils' language, religion and culture to the Aryans. This wrong concept has been indelibly imprinted in the hearts of many, like a nail pinned to a living tree. Only the culture of Tamil Nadu spread to other countries; it is the truth that cannot be hidden.'¹⁸ In his work *Tamil Indhia* (1945) he has extensively used the valuable historical and research works published till that time. Geological, archaeological, anthropological and philological studies have been used in this work. The Lemurian theory and the spread of the Tamils to other parts of the world, the coming of the Aryans to South India after the period of *Mantras* and the Pre-Aryan culture are discussed in his work. The subject matter and treatment make this work an ethno-national one. In his work, *Indhu Samaya Varalaru* (1960), he makes it clear that the Hinduism was not the religion of the Tamils and he traces the history of the Tamils' opposition to Vedic religion through the ages. This work is an attempt of the historian to find out the roots of Tamil cultural institutions.

Mayilai Seeni Venkatasamy was one of the historians who contributed to Ethno-national historiography in a greater extent. He was generally known as '*Araichi Perarignar*' meaning great intellectual known for research. He spent fifty years in research activities and wrote 30 works including historical works and 40 valuable articles on history. He wrote four of the ten articles in the book *Tamilnattu Varalaru (Sanga Kalam -Arasiyal)*, published by the Government of Tamilnadu. He was a member in the Committee of Experts constituted for writing the History of Tamil Nadu (1971-1974 & 1975-1979). Seeni Venkatasamy was the first researcher to look at history in the light of

anthropological and sociological studies and was objective and bold enough to speak out the truth.

He states: 'The Researchers should present the findings of their research, whatever be it they, without likes and dislikes, on the basis of evidences. Even if the findings happen to be against their convictions, they should state only the truth, unbiased.'¹⁹ Natana Kasinathan, archaeologist, assesses his personality as a historian: 'If any historian or literary scholar speaks slighting Tamil language, Tamil people or Tamil Nadu, he would rise high and humble him with his eloquent arguments.'²⁰ His contribution to History is greater. His works *Kalappirar Atchiyil Tamilagam* and *Bouthamum Tamilum* are popular works.

Another major contributor to Tamil ethno-national historiography is Ka. Appadurai (1907-1989), who was popularly known as *Panmolippulavar* as he knew 18 languages and was wellversed in 5 languages. Ka. Appadurai has written 200 works and all of them are contributions to Tamil language, Tamil culture and Tamil historiography. His work *Kumarikkandam* or *Kadalkonda Thennadu* (1941) is a work based on the Theory of Lemuria. His scholarship was duly recognised by the University of Madras by making him a member in the Committee under Dr. A. C. Chettiar for compiling 'English - Tamil Dictionary'. He was a member of the Committee for writing the History of Tamil Nadu, constituted by the Government of Tamil Nadu (1970). His writings are contributions to Tamil nationalism. He was praised as *Tiravida Iyakkattin Gnanasiniyan* (The theoretician of the Dravidian Movement). He was a strong advocate to the theory of Tamils' origin in the lost Lemuria. He viewed that Sanskrit originated only from Tamil. His work, *Tennattupporkkalankal* (1971) is considered to be the best of his works. But it suffers from serious defects like improper documentation and omitting foot-notes.

Right from 1940's Pure Tamilists made their contributions in this regard. The Tamil Ethno-national historiography has been greatly enriched by philologist historian Devaneyappanar. His elaborate linguistic study helped him to contribute to Tamil history. The Pure Tamil Movement founded by Maraimalai Adikal developed into a greater movement. Maraimalai Adikal wrote *Tamilar*

Matham (1941) on Tamil religion and stated that there were only Tamils and other Dravidians inhabiting the whole of India before the coming of the Aryans. But his other works on history lacked historicity.

Pavanar wrote more than 35 works, based on his philological researches. In these works he had attempted to corroborate three premises - The human race had its origin in the submerged landmass Kumarikkandam; the first language of the world was Tamil; and the mother of all Dravidian languages and the source of origin of Sanskrit (Ariyam) was Tamil. His important contributions to Tamil historiography are *Oppian Mozhinool* (1934), *Tiravidattai* (1944), *Palantamilatchi* (1952), *Mutalthaimozhi* (1953) *Pandai Tamil Nagarikamum Panpadum* (1966), *Tamil Varalaru* (1967), *Vadamoli Varalaru* (1967) and *Tamilar Varalaru* (1972). The ethno-national Tamil historiography was enriched, following his example, by his followers like Elankumaran, Thirumurugan and Thamizhamallan, great Tamil scholars.

In the third phase, established historians made their contribution to ethno-national historiography. Dr. K.K. Pillay, a reputed historian of Tamil Nadu, did not subscribe to ethno-nationalism, but his contributions have ideas that support ethno-nationalism. *A Social History of Tamils* (1975) and *Tamilaka Varalaru:- Makkalum Panpadum* (1972) are his most important works. K.K. Pillay views that the Tamils have developed a separate culture and it has spread over several countries, and he strongly feels that the North-Indian historians like R.G. Bhandarkar have ignored Tamil Nadu deliberately while writing history. K.K. Pillay accepts the theory of sea engulfing Pahruli River and Kumari continent and thereby recognises the antiquity of Tamil people. Considering *Tirukkural* to have been written in a later period on the ground that there are found words of Sanskrit origin, is also not acceptable to him.²¹ He refutes the arguments of K.N. Sivaraja Pillai that *Tolkappium* belongs to a later period as it makes a mention of all the three Tamil rulers, the Chera, Chola and Pandya. He argues that stating the three rulers are mentioned in Hathikumba inscription itself (second Century B.C) and so *Tolkappium* cannot be assigned a later date. Thus, he corroborates the arguments in favour of Tamil antiquity and thereby strengthens the hands of

ethno-national historians. He may not share the ethno-national ideology, but it is fairly certain that his works contribute to ethno-national historiography.

Dr. K. Rajayyan's works contribute to ethno-national historiography. He calls Tamil Nadu the homeland of the Tamils and in the remote past Dravidians lived in India throughout²² and though the Tamils met with several calamities, disorders and foreign invasions the people cherished their own cultural identity to the present day.²³ According to him, the Aryans introduced to the Dravidians their Brahminical religion, Sanskrit language and caste system. He views that several ethnic groups moved into Tamilakam and the interaction that followed these developments affected Tamil identity considerably.²⁴

However, he did not fall in line with ethno-national historians in all respects. He did not accept the existence of three Sangams and called it a mere myth.²⁵ He considers the expeditions of Sri Rama to the land of Ravana as the attempt of the Aryan power to conquer the Tamils.

When the North Indian historians and Hindutvites call the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 the First War of Independence, K. Rajayyan calls the struggle organised by the Poligars against the English as the first war of independence in his work *South Indian Rebellion (1800-1801) the First War of Independence* (1971). He stakes the claim of the Tamils to the credit of having first begun the war of Independence. The Second edition of this work is 'dedicated to the cause of equal rights for which the Tamils of Lanka struggle on'. Thus, his works have an ethno-national ideological framework.

A host of devoted historians made contributions during this period. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar was known for his reformatory spirit and a love for Tamil language and Tamil nation. *Pirrkala Choicer Varalaru* (1949), *Pandiyar Varalaru*, *Muthar Kulottunga Cholan*, *Tamililakkiya Varalaru (Irunda Kalam)*, *Tamililakkiya Varalaru (13,14 & 15 centuries)* and *Kaveripoompattinam* were his works known for authenticity that filled the gaps in the history of Tamil Nadu. Sadasiva Pandarathar views that our Tamil Nadu was peerless under the rule of the Chera, Chola, Pandiyas, before it was subjected

under the alien rule.²⁶ He laments over the lack of patriotism towards the motherland, Tamil Nadu. His was a greater contribution to Tamil Historiography, though there are no direct advocacies to ethno-nationalism.

Another notable contributor is K. Nambi Arooran who paid attention to the early decades of the 20th century, regarding Dravidian ideology formation. He has dealt with the beginning of the Tamil Renaissance, the origin of Dravidian Movement and Dravidian Nationalism. His work, *The Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism 1905-1944* (1980) helped further researches on ethno-national line.

V.T. Chellam, besides several works on the History of Tamil Nadu, published *Tamilakam: Varalarum Panpadum* in 1995. He discusses with evidences the relationship between ancient Tamil country and the Indus culture and proves that the Indus Culture was a Tamil culture. He places arguments to prove the existence of the three Sangams during the Sangam Age. He vividly describes the Poligar wars and South Indian Rebellion (1800-1801) against the English and strengthens the view of Prof. Rajayyan and credits Tamil Nadu to have risen first against the alien rule. The Tamil national ideology lies on lurch in his work.

Prof. N. Subrahmanian's contribution to Tamil historiography is greater and significant. His *Sangam Polity* (1966), *Social and Cultural History of Tamilnad (-1336 AD)* (1973) and *Social and Cultural History of Tamilnadu (1336-1984)* 1991 are valuable contributions. But his works could not be set within ethno-national framework.

III

In the fourth phase which began in the recent past, Tamil historiography has branched out into many on the basis of perspectives. Generally, Marxian historians in India are Marxian in approach and ideologically Indian nationalistic. But Marxian approach and Tamil Nationalistic framework are found simultaneously in some historical works. Na. Vanamamalai (1966) has studied the Tamil literature and history in the Marxian perspective. In his work, *Tamilar Varalarum Panpadum* (1966), he has lamented over sidelining the great Tamil culture, Tamil literature and the Tamil race that produced

them: He insists that the Tamil history be written in the Marxian approach with the tool of dialectical materialism. As Vanamamalai considers Tamils 'a people' with ancient glory and culture which must be protected, it may be stated that he is analytical in Marxian perspective and ethno-national in spirit.

Right from 1980's more valuable works came from Marxists, who made a move towards ethno-nationalism. A prominent contributor is Guna of Bangalore, a Marxist intellect and Tamil activist. His studies are based on materialistic conception of History. His work *Tamiliya Poduvudaimai* (1985) studies the history of Tamil national question. *Mannurimai* (2000), which speaks how Tamils lost their right to independent kingdom, is an extensive study using all the recent epigraphical findings and historical works. It criticises the Dravidian politics, studies how the Tamil society was recast on *Varna* basis under the Pallavas and places arguments against the Aryan - Dravidian theory. *Valluvapparpariyam* (2006), the second volume of *Mannurimai*, throws light on how the Tamil Maraiyir declined to the status of outcastes and lost their landholdings. His work, *Chakkaravala Kottam* (2005) traces the scientific advancement in the ancient Tamilagam. Guna states in this work that *Chakkaravala Kottam*, the graveyard in the ancient port city of Poompuhar had a planetarium, which he tries to corroborate with literary sources. Guna has attempted to retrieve the history of the science of ancient Tamils. His work *Valluvathin Veelchi* (1996) discusses the Tamils' *anuviam* or atomic science.

Another contribution in the Marxist perspective came from Ko. Kesavan, who in his work, *Tamil: Moli, Inam, Nadu* (1998) studied the Tamil society, caste and religion during the Pallava and Chola periods. He defined 'Tamilar' and the role of the Tamil language as the symbol of identity of the Tamils. He recognises Tamils as a nation in this work.²⁷

A number of historians and Tamil scholars are now contributing in ethno-national perspective. Prof. Ko. Thangavelu's *Thainila Varalaru* (2002) and *Tamilaga Samuka Panpattu Varalaru* (2002) are significant works in Tamil national perspective. His works have been written in chaste Tamil and evidently aim at preserving Tamil national identity.

Ka.Pa. Aravanan, former Vice-Chancellor of Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, is a major contributor to ethno-national historiography. His *Tamilar Prantakam* (2003), *Tamilarin Tayakam* (1987), *Tamil Makkal Varalaru* (2005) *Tamil Samuka Varalaru* (1994) and several other works are of Tamil national perspective. He extensively uses epigraphical, anthropological, archaeological and literary evidences in his works which are ideologically Tamil nationalistic.

IV

An Integrated approach is adopted in the recent period in the ethno-national historiography. The Inter-disciplinary approach adopted by the historians helps write a more authentic history. The findings of the researches in various fields relevant to ethno-national history are properly used to ensure authenticity.

Greater progress has been achieved in the related research fields. The Philological study which began during the period of Ellis, the Collector of Madras and Bishop Robert Caldwell, further flourished under Pavanar, The Linguistic study with Tamil Ethno-national ideological understanding is carried out now by Aruli, who is compiling Etymological Dictionary in the Tamil University of Tanjore. He has brought out several volumes, the fruits of his longtime linguistic study, which bear testimony to Tamil linguistic and cultural heritage. He has brought to light that many technical and scientific terms in several world languages are originally Tamil words. His research reveals that Sanskrit is much indebted to Tamil.

Sattur Sekaran, an acknowledged Tamil linguist and author of 200 books on linguistics and allied subjects, considers Sanskrit a dialect of Tamil.²⁸ He views that the Theory of Kumarikkandam was engulfed by the sea to be true. He calculates that the first migration of Tamils to other parts of the world took place 40,000 years ago and the second wave of migration some 25,000 years ago.²⁹ But his theory is not well founded. Sekaran differs from other linguists, as he believes that there was no race called Aryan and states that the Aryans were only men of higher qualities.³⁰

Efforts are already on to retrieve the Tamil philosophical tradition. Ka.Nedunchezian of Tamil University, Thanjavur, has made considerable

contribution in this field. *Tamilar Iyankiyal: Tolkappium and Saraha Samhita* (Tamil) (2000), *Asivikam Ennum Tamilar Anuviyam, Tamilarin Adaiyalankal* (2006), *Sangakala Tamilar Samayam* (2006) are his works tracing the Tamil philosophy. *Tamilarin Tattuva Marabu* (2004) of Arunan, the Marxist writer, is another work in that direction.

Dalit Historical writing is also pursued in the ethno-national perspective. Captain S.Kaliaperumal has published his work, *Tamilar Unmai Varalaru* (2004), which is a Dalit history in the Tamil ethno-national perspective.

Thus, the ethno-national historiography has, now, widened its scope and domains. As history is a narrative of human activities, every activity or branch of knowledge of the ancient Tamils is now unearthed which go to strengthen Tamil historiography.

V

The weaknesses of the ethno-national historiography may also be analysed. The search for national identity even leads to deficiency of historical propriety. This is because not all the ethno-national works so far published can claim to be scientific or authentic. Some Tamil nationalist writers find everything good in the Tamilagam of the ancient past. For example, the glorification of the Sangam age is to be tempered with scientific enquiries which are found lacking in the writings of a few non-academics who attempt historical writing. There has also developed a Tamil Romanticist school of Tamil historical writing. Some writers of Tamil history, imbued with a sense of tradition of Tamils' greatness, view the past with sympathy and admiration. This is prone to subjectivity and so suffers from deficiency of historicity. There is also the danger of making write-ups to please the political leaders or writing history to suit their political ends. This is to be discredited and it is not ethno-national historiography.

Is it justifiable to write Tamil history in the Ethno-national perspective? -is a question that deserves some consideration. Romila Thaper writes: It was unwise and unhistorical to generalise about the entire Indian sub-continent on the basis of the history of the Ganges heartland.³¹ It is untenable to assume a common pattern for the entire Indian sub-continent as a geographical entity with one cultural

identity. Societies have had their separate traditions, existence and so history of their own. So, every ethnic nation in the Indian subcontinent must be studied. That alone can be a proper and objective study.

Considering the ethno-national diversities in India, one can understand that India, as per any scientific definition, is a state and not a nation. An analysis of Indian situation made by A.M. Diakov underscores this point. He says: 'By virtue of the fact that India has for two hundred years been a colony of England in the eyes of the outside world, India appears as something unified and its entire population as one people... The presence in India of a powerful national liberating movement, in which all the peoples living in India participate in this or that degree still further strengthens this illusion of a national unity of the entire Indian people. It is more or less broadly known that in India there is a number of castes, but few know that in India there is a number of large peoples, each of which is no less numerous than the English, the French, or the Italians; that these people are distinguished by their individual culture, language, literature, have their own mores and customs, their national character, have passed a long road of historical development. The Colonial position of India which made its peoples slaves of English imperialism has depersonalized it in the eyes of the outside world'.³²

Prof. Irfan Habib opines that India should not be regarded as a nation and it is only a state, with several emerging nationalities.³³ Any 'nation', with a sovereign state or without it, is a product of history and a historical reality. It will be always in search of its past to protect its identity. Historians cannot wink at such historical moves happening around them and naturally such historical moves get reflected in the writings of these historians.

Such studies are also undertaken by academics and non-academics. A lawyer by profession, Ku. Sa. Ananthan records the struggle of the nationalities including the Tamils in his work, *Indhiyavil Desiya Inanakalum Tamil Desiyamum* (1997). B.S. Chandrababu makes an ethnographical approach in his work, *Land and people of Tamilnadu in Ethnographical Study* (1998). The Emerging Ethnographic school of Thought is enriched by Tamil activists and political leaders

also.³⁴ The doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Madras by T. Jayaraman, 'The Question of Tamil National Identity: A Study in Historical and Political Perspective (1938-1991)' (1997) studies the efforts of the Tamils through the ages for preserving their ethnic identity.

Identity formation and cultural construct have taken place all over the Indian sub-continent. The search for identity is a natural phenomenon that touches every sphere of activity of a people. So, ethno-national historiography also gets a new impetus. As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned ethno-national historical writing has been going on right from the first quarter of the twentieth century and it has gained more attention now, after the rise of the Tamil identity politics. It is a welcome development as the horizon of Tamil historiography gets widened.

It is not a discrediting one to mention that the Indian nationalist historians always throw an eye of suspicion on the 'Regional histories'. R. Champakalaxmi, historian, says: 'The danger, however, lies in the pendulum swinging to the other extreme, in which regional histories are given a disproportionately large share of importance arising out of regional and linguistic chauvinism, leading to distortions in history i.e., isolated studies whereas the general trends in Indian historical writing and comparative research in non-Indian contexts, which have relevance to the study of local, regional and national histories, are completely ignored'.³⁵

Her opinion may be taken to reflect the views of Nationalist historians in general. The historian's concern that 'regional histories are given a disproportionately large share of importance arising out of regional and linguistic Chauvinism' shows her commitment to Indian national building. The word linguistic chauvinism is also a misnomer for, imposition of Hindi on every 'People' is nationalism in India and the prayers of those Peoples for continuing the use of their mother tongue is linguistic chauvinism. Nationalist historiography is an acknowledged subjectivity, which is as much a crime as 'Regionalism'. Nationalist historiography is a committed historiography, prone to subjectivity and bias. Distortions of history are to be condemned and carefully averted at all levels, so that historical research could be made meaningful.

To conclude, the Tamil Ethno-national historiography is not a genre of history. It recognises the Tamils as 'a People', makes a systematic study to unearth their past and thereby helps preserve the Tamils' identity at present. The Tamils' religion, Tamil philosophical tradition, Tamil medicine, Tamils' engineering and town planning, Tamils' science and technology, Tamil materialism, ancient Tamils' ideas on atom, etc. - are the new areas the ethno-nationalists are presently working on. A highly critical attitude combined with systematic efforts and scientific approach will make ethno-national historiography more authentic and enable it to gain acceptability among the historians as the right perspective to study any 'People'.

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DRAVIDIAN PROVENANCE OF THE LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT OF THE INDUS VALLEY SEALS: AN UPDATE

P. Ramanathan

The Indus or Harappan civilisation covered a large area, approximately: a quarter the size of pre-1947 India, bigger than the ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian empires of the third millennium B.C. It covered 5 lakhs square miles. The population of the area about 2000 B.C. has been estimated by Possehl (1999) to be 5 lakhs and by Parpola to be 10 Lakhs (*Frontline*: 24.11.2000) 1500 sites have been discovered, but only about 20 excavated, the most famous being Harappa and Mohenjodaro. A brief four-page announcement was made by Sir John Marshall in the *Illustrated London News* dt. 20.9.1924, and his magisterial excavation report *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation* published only in 1931. Among the many population figures guessed for the two major cities, the figures of 40,000 for Mohenjodaro and 25000 for Harappa are typical (Habib; Mohenjodaro - 85000: Harappa - 65000). The period of the Indus Civilisation according to Archaeologists is from 3200 B.C. to 1900 B.C. (Possehl: 2000-1) - the Early Harappan phase was from 3200 to 2600 B.C; the transition period 2600-2500 B.C; and the Mature Harappan period from 2500 to 1900 B.C. Excavations at Mehrgarh etc. have shown that from about 7000 B.C. Harappans had direct ancestors in the area who had a Neolithic or food-producing economy.

Even before the existence of the Indus Valley civilisation became known after 1924, scholars had pointed out that before the intrusion of Indo-Aryan speakers into India about 1700 BC there should have been a pan-Indian Dravidian civilisation of a high order, which constitutes even now the staple of the Indian civilisation and culture. Among them were J.F. Hevitt (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; 1888), Savarirayan, P. Sundaram Pillai, M.S. Puranlingam Pillai, Maraimalai Adigal and P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar. According to Maraimalai Adigal V.J. Tambipillai and O. Szemeyi the words "Veda" and "Arya" are themselves derived from Tamil/non Indo European

roots. (The origin of the word, "Arya" in *Tamilian Antiquary* II-2; 1914 and Szemeyi 1978).

The past eight decades of work on the civilisation by the best intellects in the fields of Archaeology, Ancient history, Oriental studies, Linguistics, Anthropology etc. has produced many hundreds of books, monographs, and Research Papers (List in Dandekar, 1987; Possehl, 1999). Most main line academics and scholars endorse the hypothesis of the proto-Dravidian affiliation of the Indus civilisation. In the past fifty years, issues like the place and time of origin of anatomically Modern Humans. (the species to which all the 640 crore people in the world belong;) the history of their spread/the possible time of origin of the Mother Tongue of man have entered the domain of Hard Science (Christiansen, 2003; Cavalli-Sforza, 1994; Flemming 2004, Levin, 2005; Oppenheimer, 2003; Sykes, 1999 and Sahoo, 2006).

The following are theories of Linguists studying the relations between Macrofamilies of languages, like.

Greenberg (2000 as mentioned in Bhadriraju Krishnamurthy: THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES, 2003): Dravidian could be a sister of Eurasiatic and not its daughter. ("Eurasiatic" a Superfamily more or less similar to "Nostratic" consists of Indo-European, Ural Altaic etc families of languages) Colin P. Masica (2000) "It may be a question of a very ancient common sub-stratum in South Asia, pre-Dravidian going back even to the original peopling of the world".

Stephan H. Levitt (2007); Scholars of the Australian aborigines see the Australian Aboriginal languages as being connected with Dravidian. The evidence for this is remarkable. There is also evidence of connection between Australian Aborigines and Dravidians in the kinship system and in the use of the boomerang. The Australian aborigines were cut off from the rest of civilization by the rising of the oceans since about 6000 B.C.

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Scholars of the Australian aborigines calculate them to have entered Australia from South India about 40,000 years ago. Thus, Dravidians in India go back this far, at least. By this argument, Dravidian moves from South to North India, and into Iran and further, and Uralic, Altaic and Indo-European, etc break off from a main Dravidian stock. It has not yet been set in stone whether Dravidian is a parent, or whether the Dravidian, as we know it is an elder sister-of Indo-European'

Ramanathan, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006) has in the light of paras 3-4 above showed that the present flawed model of descend of "Dravidian speakers into India from the Middle East circa 3000 B.C." ought to be replaced by the Model of "Dravidian Ascent," i.e ascent of proto-Dravidian/proto-Tamil speakers earlier than 10000 years ago from South India northwards, ultimately leading to the evolution of Indo-European, Ural-Altaic etc families of languages; seeding in the process the evolution of the Indus Valley, Sumerian, Elam etc civilisations (as endorsed to various extents earlier by H.R. Hall, Heras, P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar, Mariamalai Adigal, U.R.Ehrenfels, Xavier S.ThaniNayagam, Dovaneya Pavanar, C.D.Thirunavukkarasu, Bridget and Raymond Allchin and K.K.Pillai) Of course very much earlier than 10000 B.C. proto-Australian Aboriginal speakers would have hived off Dravidian speakers from South India Almost all scholars at international level are now agreed that the Indus civilisation was Dravidian and that the script of the 3000 plus Indus seals should be in a Dravidian language.

Deciphering The Indus Script

About 2500 Indus inscriptions are known, mostly on seals (e.g. 20 mmx 30 mm), and some on copper, tablets and other artifacts. According to B and R Allchin "there can be little doubt that the Harappan seals were at least as one of their functions necessary elements in their mechanism of trade" with Sumeria and West Asia. Sumerian records mention trade with Dilmun (= Bahrain/? Western India?). Makan (Oman?/Sindh?) and Meluhha. Meluhha is generally identified with Sind

Gujarat area. Pali/Prakrit *Milakka* is taken as derived from *Meluhha* (Gadd, Leeman, Thapar and Sen). In *Studia Orientalia* (46: 1975) Asko and Simo Parpola surmise that Meluhha is perhaps derived from proto-Dravidian toponym *Tamilaham* which might well have been applied to the Indus area in the 3rd Millennium B.C. Some seals and tablets could have been used also as amulets, votive tablets, and identity marks. Even though the seal texts are mostly accompanied by finely carved pictures, usually of real animals like bulls and elephants, as well as more chimerical creatures, the texts do not seem to refer to them. In many, seals  is shown before an unicorn.

I. Mahadevan surmises that this was a Soma filter, the Soma cult having been taken over by Aryans in the Vedic period, from the Indus Valley culture. He identifies this shape in the copper tablet discovered by Alakkudi Sitaraman at Karur, also. The number of signs on each seal range from one to about ten, the 'average being just five. The longest inscription has 26 signs. In his 1977 Concordance, Mahadevan has recorded.' the following frequency statistics (with a corpus of 2906 texts and 13372 sign occurrences)... 67 signs account for over 80% of the sign occurrences and Mahadevan thinks that attempts to decipher the script must start with these signs.

In his *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation* (1931) Sir John Marshall explained at length the Dravidian provenance of the Indus Harappan civilization. The first major decipherment attempt on the Indus script was made by G.R. Hunter in 1934. He found that the language of the script could not be Indo-Aryan, but could only be a language like Dravidian with mostly monosyllabic words. In his *"Studies on proto - Indo Mediterranean culture"* (1953) Father Heras marshalled a wide range of facts to prove the Dravidian provenance of the Harappan culture as well as the language of the Indus script. Most later decipherers (including Parpola) have drawn inspiration from Heras' work including his idea of homophones (on the Rebus principle) worked out on the premise that the language is proto-Dravidian. Heras was correct in holding that the language was Dravidian, but his actual readings are odd and unacceptable, mainly because he read the

Frequency range	Number of signs	Total sign occurrences	Percent (of Total occurrences)
1000 or more	3 1	1395	10.43
999 - 500	Q 1	649	4.85
499 - 100	31	6344	47.44
99 - 50	34	2381	17.81
49 - 50	86	1833	13.71
9 - 2	152	658	4.92
only once	112	112	0.84
	457	13372	100.00

signs as entirely logographic (one sign = one word). Later decipherers like Parpola sound more convincing because they adopt the logo - syllabic principle.

In the light of the proto - Dravidian provenance of the Indus" civilisation set out above, decipherments of the Indus script from the Dravidian angle are alone likely to succeed. Kamil Zvelebil (1990). Ch 6: "Dravidian and Harappan" pp (84-98) sets out the solid reasons for the following conclusion

"Although it is a priori possible that the Harappan language belonged to an Unknown family which had disappeared without leaving any trace, the most probable candidate is and remains some form of Dravidian" (emphasis supplied).

Asko Parpola asserts in *Frontline* (Chennai) Nov 24, 2000 (pp 124-125):

In my (1994) book. I have presented numerous facts suggesting that Harappans mainly spoken Dravidian language. [Reviewing Parpola's book in *Antiquity* (June 1995: pp 393 - 395) Michael D.Coe endorsed the universal. consensus that Dravidian is still the most plausible hypothesis."

Macrohistories make averments like the following, only on the basis of decades of sound scholarship

"We assume from various sherds of evidence that they were proto-Dravidian, possibly using a language that was a grandfather of modern Tamil" Stanley Wolpert (*An Introduction to India*; of California Press. 1991)

"It now seems atleast likely that they are part of a language akin to the Dravidian tongues still used in southern India" J.M. Roberts (*History Of The World*; Pelican, 1992).

All decipherers (no matter whether they have read it as Dravidian, or Vedic or some other language) are entitled to our respect as they have often devoted years (sometimes decades) of arduous work. Some specimens of decipherments as Dravidian (by Father Heras, Asko Parpola, Walter Fairservis, C.A. Winters, Poorna Chandra Jeeva, Dr. R. Madhivanan and B.Z. Szalek) are given in Annexure. Heras (1953) was of the view that Sumerian writing itself should have evolved from the Indus writing system. Sadly none of even the Dravidian decipherments are acceptable on the basis of rigorous scholarship and Mahadevan, the doyen of Indus Script scholars has explained this lucidly at the Indian History Congress at Bhopal in 2001.

But this does not contradict the broad conclusion that the Indus script when ultimately deciphered is most likely to be proto-Dravidian. Robinson (2001) suggests that further efforts in

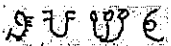
decipherment be made as a collaborative effort among scholars with deep knowledge of ancient writing systems, Indus Valley and Indian Archaeology, South Asian antiquarianism ancient and modern, and the relevant languages.

Though it has not yet found general acceptance, the eminent Tamilologist, Madhivanan's 1995 decipherment deserves some detailed mention because it has been made keeping in view the phonemic, morphological and syntactic rules of old Tamil as set out in Tholkappiyam (dated generally to 5th Century B.C. (by some even earlier). It confirms the view of most scholars (Wheeler, G.R.Hunter, Kosambi, Coe, Wolpert) that the seal inscriptions are likely to contain only personal names and perhaps titles. It confirms yet another surmise of Coe-viz that the texts do not refer to creatures on the seals. The 2000 year old Tamil agam texts Pattinappalai etc refer to the practice of ancient Tamil merchants affixing seals on their merchandise. 'Mathivanan has read the seal inscriptions as syllabic representations of names of merchants, chiefs, priests and gods. Cattan, Macattan, Canan, Vangan, Nattattan, Nandan, Oman, Evvi, Anangan, Oliyan, Ceyan, Avvan, Ayyan, Ko-Avvan, Yanan, Pannan, Avunan, Kattan etc. are some of the proper names deciphered. To Madhivanan, the ubiquitous fish sign is a phonetic glyph with the value "ca". He has:

not read it as a rebus with the meaning "fish". The name on the 10 foot long name board at Dholavira (Gujarat), more than 5000 years old has been read by Madhivanan as "Nadan pannian) nan mannavan". Madhivanan's decipherment is buttressed by the recent bi-script metal seal discovered by Indrapala with the word "Tivu Ko" according to Madhivanan in Tamil in Indus script and also in southern Brahmi script; and cave Thiruvarammalai Road: inscriptions an Indus Valley-like script like those at Keezhavalai on the Vilupuram.

Mahadevan and Gurumurthy have also identified Indus-like symbols on ancient pots found in Tamil Nadu Mahadevan (2007) establishes the extraordinary resemblance between 5 symbols on an inscribed terracotta dish (1 century B.C.) from Sular and certain Indus Script signs on a Harappan tablet and points out that such resemblance is possible only if the South Indian

Megalithic script is related to the Indus script, and adds: "The common sequences on both may indicate that the languages of the two inscriptions are related to each other.

In his 2006 article in IJDL Mahadevan discusses "the discovery of a century in Feb, 2006 of an Indus Text of four signs  in read by Mahadevan as muruk (u) - an - ? - (?) Engraved on a Neolithic polished stone celt (circa 2000-1000 BC) found at Sembian Kandigai near Mayiladuthurai. In his view, this confirms that the Neolithic people shared the language family of the Harappan group which can only be Dravidian and This discovery provides the first archaeological evidence that the Neolithic people of the Tamil country spoke a Dravidian language. Further in his 2006 article in Journal of Tamil Studies, Mahadevan has identified Certain like symbols in Indus seal inscriptions referring to crops and shares thereof. His Summary of that paper is The Indus script possessed a set of terms referring to crop and share of the agricultural produce. Five hierarchical levels of levies on the produce have been identified, namely those to God, State, City, land-wonder and the, tenant-farmer, The Most significant information is the discovery that the Harappan rate of land revenue was one- eight share of the produce, which prevailed until at least the early historical period.

Whereas almost all experts in Indus script (including Mahadevan) consider that the seal IMPRESSIONS ought to be read from Right to Left, Madhivanan read the impressions from Left to Right. For justification. Of this stand see his "Direction of writing in Indus script seal impressions; "Right to Left" dogma and a plea for reconsideration" *International Journal Of Dravidian Linguistics* (XXXI - 1 : Jan 2002). In his *Indus Script Among Dravidian Speakers* (1995) Madhivanan further hypothesises that originally a syllabic script (similar to Indus) should have been used for Tamil and that from such a script the Tamil Sangam poets should have evolved an alphabetic script by about 1800 - 1700 B.C. According to him the Tamil script should have evolved only in this manner; and from the Tamil, the Brahmi script should have evolved with

addition of Varga letters for all-India adoption later on. T.N. Subramanian in his Pandai Tamil Eluthukal, had also expressed similar views. Poornachandra jeeva(2004) who reads from right to Left also thinks that Indus script is the mother of not only Damili and Brahmi, but also the Phoenician script.'

Let us conclude with the following words of Andrew Robinson (2001). "Collaboration seems to be the name of the game here since no one scholar can hope to command sufficient knowledge of ancient writing systems, Indus Valley and Indian Archaeology, South Asian civilizations, ancient and modern, and the relevant languages".

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RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS AT ANDIPATTI, TIRUVANNAMALAI DISTRICT

N. Onnamarannan*

The Historical Background

Archaeological findings and antiquities are the primary and reliable sources for forming or reconstructing the history of a nation or a part of it. Andipatti is an important historical site, which dates back 1st century B.C. to 12th century A.D. It is situated about 15 kms from Chengam of Tiruvannamalai district, in between Latitude 12°13'N and Longitude 78°10'E. Chengam itself was a glorious city during the time of the Sangam Age (300 B.C. - A.D 300) because it was the ancient capital city of the chieftain called Nannan of Sangam Age. *Malaipadu Kadam*, one of the Ten Idylls (*Pattuppattu*) and poet Perunkousiganar glorify the name and fame of the King Nannan.¹

Many archaeological findings such as black and red ware potteries of Sangam age and brick structural remains of the same period were frequently mentioned by many archaeologists of Tamil Nadu at various times in their excavation and exploration work around Chengam. K.Sridharan, Registering Officer (Retd) of Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology made an attempt to find out the Ramayana Paintings in a temple at Chengam. He found out a stone emblem, which depicts the Pandya fish emblem of 12th Century A.D. Above all nearly 50 hero stones of *Nadukal* (*Virakkal*) were noticed by the state Archaeology department in and around Chengam area.² It threw a new light on the history of the Pallavas and on ancient tradition and culture of the Tamilagam.

In the year 1967, 143 lead coins belonging to the 2nd Century A.D were found at Andipatti.³ On their obverse side the name of a local chieftain 'Centhan Athinan Ethiran' was engraved. The reverse side of the coins were found with wave lines. The script and language was in Tamil-Brahmi. The Andipatti Tamil-Brahmi coins were the first and foremost Tamil-Brahmi coins excavated in Tamil Nadu.⁴

The Latest Excavations

The state department of Archaeology conducted an excavation at Andipatti during the year 2004-2005. The excavation was carried out at a place locally called Boothikkadu, which is a vast mound of nearly 50 acres of ancient settlement.⁵ This mound lies near a stream called Kuttaru. The excavation gave us more than 600 antiquities.

We can classify the antiquities of Andipatti under the following categories: Potteries, Terracotta objects, Iron objects, Neolithic celt, Bone objects, Bangles, Beads, Gold objects etc.

Potteries

The remarkable potteries exposed at Andipatti were Arretine and Routletted ware pieces in the trenches numbered 3, 4, 6 and 9.⁶ They are very helpful to calculate the age of mound for the comparison with the already determined excavations like Arikamedu and Alangulam etc. They were found at the lowest levels of the trenches in layer no. 2 and 3.

The excavators also noticed the fine variety of black and red wares and red slipped wares. All these potteries belonged to the Sangam age.

In addition to these potteries, the find includes coarse red wares of later period (6th-12th centuries). Few of the coarse red wares bear beautiful zig-zag pattern of lines on them. Another interesting pottery of Andipatti is a perforated bowl which was noticed at the depth of 50cm and it had 72 holes. The bowl might have been used for the purpose of cooking and preparation of food. From the above potteries, we can derive the conclusion that there were two periods of cultural sequence that prevailed (One between 1st B.C.E. to 5th C.E and the second between 6th C.E to 12th C.E) in Ancient Tamilagam.⁷

The other excavated articles were three potsherds with Tamil-Brahmi script.⁸ So far we

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have got the potteries with Brahmi Script potteries at the excavations of Alagarai, Tirukkampuliyur, Arikamedu, Alagankulam, Karur, Korkai, Uraiur, Kodumanal, Mangudi and other sites. Andipatti potteries are also to be counted one among such findings.

Inscribed pottery no:1 was unearthed from the trench no:4, at the depth of 85 cms. It is a red slipped ware. The following three letters are engraved on it "...aa th tha..."

Inscribed pottery no:2 is a coarse red ware. Only two letters were engraved on it. They are "Ku Ma". It was also found from the same trench no:9 at the depth of 35 cm.

The third one has been exposed from the trench no:11 dug out from a depth of 40 cms. It is a red slipped ware. It is interpreted by scholars as follows: "Inga nathila".

Next to the inscribed potteries, we have potteries with graffiti marked potteries also from the excavation. Some of the notable graffiti of Andipatti were a dagger like graffiti, on a red slipped ware and then a leaf motif mark on a pottery. Third one is a dramura like graffiti mark.⁹

Terracotta Objects

Terracotta objects belonging to Neolithic Age had been found in Tamil Nadu.¹⁰ Notable among them were Panaiya Kulam of Dharmapuri district, Poluvaampatti of Coimbatore district, Senthamangalam of Villupuram district, Padaiveedu of Tiruvannamalai district, Alagankulam of Ramanathapuram district. A total number of 194 terracotta objects were excavated from Andipatti. Notable among them were three figurines of Mother Goddess.¹¹ All of them were beautifully decorated with hairdos, necklaces and ear ornaments. In addition to these, pieces of human body were also unearthed. All of them have significance of their own. In addition to human figures, a considerable number of animals and birds and terracotta figurines were also found. They are: a beautiful procession of elephants, a separate head of an elephant, a figure of a parrot and a small figure of a mouse and head of a bull or cow.

The most notable terracotta antique at Andipatti is a Terracotta Bull,¹² which measures about 35 cm in height and 28 cm in length. It is the

first of such an antiquity in Tamil Nadu. The scholars are of the opinion that it might have been used as secondary burial.

Nearly about 50 terracotta spindlewhorls were unearthed by the archaeologists at Andipatti excavation site. The presence of these spindles reveals the fact that the ancient people of Andipatti were well versed in weaving and they fulfilled their clothing requirements by weaving cloth for their own need.

Terracotta ear lobes with beautiful lining and decorations were also unearthed from Andipatti. They are similar to those which were unearthed at Perur, Poluvaampatti, Padaiveedu and Senthamangalam.

Five gamesmen otherwise referred to as chess coins and fifteen hop scotches have been found. They are all made up of coarse red ware potteries and they give a message that men, women as well as children of Andipatti spent their time on amusements and games.

Grooved tiles and terracotta coin mould comprised another group of notable terracotta objects. All of them were noticed around the depth of 140 cms at layer no:3 of the excavation.¹³ They were found along with Roman and black and red ware potteries. From these identifications, we can determine the age of people who used them. Besides, a number of terracotta beads of various sizes were also excavated.

Iron Objects

A large number of iron objects were collected from here. They are spear heads, daggers, chisels etc.¹⁴ They might have been used for hunting and agricultural purposes. A large number of iron slags in heaps and bounds were noticed by the archaeologists who are of the opinion that the material reveals the existence of Iron smelting industry in and around Andipatti. A dagger with a graffiti mark etched on a pottery is considered one of the significant aspects of the artifacts.

Neolithic Celts

Apart from the above mentioned antiquities, two Neolithic celts were collected which proves that in one way or other, the Megalithic people were also used the Neolithic implements.

Semi-precious beads of carnelian, paste, stone-beads, deer-horns, bangle pieces of both glass and shells, bone arrow heads were among the excavated material. These things manifest the interest of the people of Andipatti living in those bygone age in dressing, hunting, wearing various ornaments and the like.

For the first time in Tamil Nadu, nineteen gold pieces were collected from the excavation in a small coarse red ware pottery.¹⁵ Three of them had on their faces well designed motifs. Others to identify the quantity of gold.

Conclusion

The recent archaeological findings at Andipatti are very much useful to know the social and cultural history of the Tamils as they throw light on the following aspects:

- I. Once Andipatti flourished as a centre for weaving. The evidence of spindles found at Andipatti site gives us an idea that weavers worked to make cloth for local consumption. Gold and iron were smelted to make ornaments

and implements. The weapons in the hands of the hero (warrior) depicted in the *Virakal* image match the observation.

- II. The people gave importance to the religious practices which centered on the worship of Mother Goddess.
- III. Both internal and overseas trade resulted in the near-sufficient economic life of the people of Andipatti. Trade contacts with North India and the distant Rome are illustrative examples.
- IV. The terracotta figurines attest to the idea of a harmonic living of man with environment. In other words, *ecology* of ancient Andipatti could be envisioned by the figurines unearthed here.
- V. The people living then in Andipatti were much interested in hobbies and amusements.

On the whole, a good standard of life was maintained. The French social anthropologist, Dumont has observed, "Territory cannot be separated from its social life", the same applies to Andipatti site, which enjoyed a civilized social life.

Notes & References

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2. R. Nagasamy, *Chengam Nadukarkal*, State Department of Archaeology, Madras : 1972.
3. *Dinamalar*, 10 December, 2004.
4. *Ibid*.
5. Interview with M. Kalaivanan (Excavator of the site, Andipatti), Curator, Department of Archaeology, Arcot on 9-11-2006.
6. T.S. Sridhar (ed.), *Tamilaga Excavations - Andipatti (2004-2005)*, (Tamil), Department of Archaeology, Chennai: Government of Tamil Nadu, 2005, p.30
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14. *Dinamani*, Chennai, 14-5-2005.
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TELUGU LITERARY SOURCES AND HISTORY OF TAMIL NADU

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The Telugu literary works and the inscriptional records that are found in Tamil country provide essential and important source material for the study of history of South India in general and history of Tamil Nadu in particular.

The Pullur, Tandantottam and Pattimangalam plates of Nandivarma II Pallavamalla (731-796) refer to the brahmanas of Andhira origin. The dynasties which maintained close contacts between Tamil and Andhra regions were Pallavas, Cholas, Eastern Chalukyas, Chalukya-Cholas, Kakatiyas, Vijayanagara rulers, Nayaks of Tanjavur, Madurai and Senji have left their records. Some of these dynasties have issued both Telugu and Tamil records simultaneously. About 220 inscriptions and copper-plates either in Telugu or Sanskrit with Telugu characters, Telugu in Nagari characters, Telugu in Grantha characters and Telugu in Tamil characters that are found in different parts of Tamil Nadu have been reported in the Annual reports on Indian Epigraphy, South Indian Inscriptions and Epigraphia Indica. These inscriptions are located in the following districts and number of inscriptions reported is given in the brackets: Chingleput (65), Coimbatore (5), Cuddalore (1), Dhaimapuri (8), Madurai (14), North Arcot (30), Pudukkottai (3), Madras (2), Ramanathapuram (1), Salem (3), South Arcot (10), Tiruchirapalli (60), Tanjavur (15) and Timmelveli (4). These records throw significant light on various aspects of Telugus in Tamil country.

The Telugu element was deeply penetrated into the Tamil country during the Vijayanagar rulers. There are several Telugu literary sources for the study of history of South India during this period. The Nayaks of Madurai, Tanjavur and Gingee patronized the Telugu poets and their works offer sufficient information on the history of these rulers. The literary works of this period are well known and exhaustively studied.

There are some less known Telugu literary works of the 18th century, which supply sufficient and corroborative material for the study of history of the chiefs of Pudukkottai, Turaiyur and Ramnad.

Telugu Literary Sources and the Kings of Pudukkottai

The kings of Pudukkottai, Raghunatharaya Tondaiman (1686-1730 A.D.), Vijaya Raghunatha (1730-1769 A.D.), Raya Raghunatha (1769-1789 A.D.), Vijaya Raghunatha I (1789-1807 A.D.), Vijaya Raghunatha II (1807-1825 A.D.), Raghunatha Tondaiman (1825-1839 A.D.), and Ramachandra (1839-1886 A.D.) played a significant role in the development of Telugu literature. They gave patronage to the Nudurupati family of Telugu poets. These poets (Uddanda Kavi Sitaramayya, Sambasiva Kavi and others) belong to Nudumpadu in Narasapur Taluk of the West Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh and migrated to the southern country in the time of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madurai.

Two poets of the family Nudurupati¹ Venkanna and his son Sambasiva Kavi have completely given the political history of the state from the earliest rule of Vijayanagar times to the days of the Company's rule by their two works, *Tondaiman Vamsavali* and *Tondaiman Vamsa Pratapa Malika*. The Pudukkottai Manual refers to the earlier work and not to the later one. It is strange that some of the details given in the above works are not found in the Manual. It may be noted that both the works were printed in 1914 and 1917 respectively. The Manual of Pudukkottai was published in 1921. Venkata has written the history till Raya Raghunatha and Sambasiva continued the theme with elaborate details. If the two works were edited thoroughly on historical lines with notes, they would certainly bring to light more facts, which are unknown to modern students of South Indian History.

Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman (1769-89) is one of the well-known Rajakavis in Telugu literature. Two of his works *Paryatiparinayamu* and *Kavijanojjivani* clearly testify that he is a Telugu poet of the first rank. This work also gives some glimpses of history of Tondaimans.

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Nudurupati Family of Poets

The first member of the family who bore the title of Uddanda Kavi is Sitamayya. He is the father of Venkanna and is much honoured by Timmala Tondaiman, father of Raya Raghunatha, as stated in *Tondaiman Vamsavali*. But no work of this poet has come to light so far. A few *Chatu* verses (poems) are only available.

Vengana or Venkana Kavi was the author of Telugu Lexicon *Andhra Bhasharnavam*, *Raghunathayamu*, *Parvati Kalyanam*, *Mallupuranamu*, *Brihannayika Dandakamu*, and *Tondaiman Vamsavali*, which gives complete history of the Tondaimans till Raya Raghunatha (1769-1789) and this is continued by his son Sambasiva Kavi till Raghunatha Tondaiman, from 1825-1839.

Sambasiva Kavi was the author of *Bilhaniyam*, *Chandraanana dandakamu* and *Todaman Vamsa Pratapa Malika*. He was patronized by Raghunatha Tondaiman (1825-1839).

Chidambara Vidvatkavi wrote another *Chandraanana dandakamu* in praise of Ramachandra Tondaiman who ruled from 1844-86. His grandson Lakshmayya was living in a village near Pudukkottai in 1914.

Seshayya was one of the court poets of Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman (1730-1769). He wrote the *Vijaya Raghunatha Satakamu* in praise of his patron.

Surya Sekhara Kavi wrote a *Sataka* and many a stray verses on Raghunatha Tondaiman (1769-89).

Mannarayya translated *Rasamanjari* of Bhanukavi into Telugu and dedicated to Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman who ruled Pudukkotta from 1787-1807. In the introductory verses, he mentioned about this ruler.

Navanappa wrote *Khadga Lakshana Siromani* at instance of Raya Raghunatha, Tirumala and Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaimans.

Telugu Literary Sources and the Reddi Chieftains of Turaiyur

Turaiyur (Tiruchirapalli district) was a small principality under the Reddis. This is situated north of Kollidam and was known as Tirthagiri. The

Tamil name of this place is Turaiyur. During the rule of Krishnadevaraya, Turaiyur became the target for high way robbers, and in order to crush them, Krishnadevaraya has sent two of his commanders Anna Reddi and Sura Reddi. These two brothers were great warriors. They completely routed out the robbers and maintained peace in that region. Krishnadevaraya was much pleased with them, and granted Turaiyur as a *jagir* for their services. Their family ruled this principality for two centuries. The two brothers Anna Reddi and Sura Reddi improved the locality and built a small fort. Anna Reddy handed over the estate to his brother Sura Reddy as he had no children. Sura Reddy's descendents ruled the principality for nearly three centuries from 1547 to 1830. At the request of Col. Mackenzie, Vijaya Venkatachala Reddy prepared a history of the Turaiyur Samasthanam in Telugu. The same was translated into English by Mackenzie's officers.²

Linga Reddy (1632-1667) constructed Vriddhachalesvara temple at Venganuru as his wife Yerrambika is a devotee of god Vriddhachalesvara and the god appeared in her dream and made her to construct a temple for him at Venganur (in Vengalam taluk). On that occasion, Revuri Anantayya, a celebrated Telugu poet wrote a poetical work called *Vriddhachalainahatmyamu* and dedicated it to Linga Reddy.³ Nallapa Reddy (1632-1667) who succeeded Linga Reddy, is a poet in Telugu, and he translated the whole of *Skandapurana* into Telugu. Venkatachala Reddy (1708-1740) is a contemporary of Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha of Madurai. Kundurti Venkatachalakavi, the court poet of Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha translated the Sanskrit *Kartika Mahatmyamu* into Telugu and dedicated it to Venkatachala Reddy of Turaiyur.⁴ The introductory verses of all these works provide us information about these Reddi chiefs.

Talamala is situated in Namakkal Taluk of Tiruchirapalli district in Tamil Nadu. The original name is Talamalai, a hill overlooking the Cauvery. Papi Reddy (1582-97) of Turaiyur occupied this place and built a Fort, and gave it to his second son Ramachandra Reddy. Ramachandra Reddy was born in 1652 and ruled Talamalai till 1718. His court poet was Visvesvara Kavi, who wrote Krishna Vilasamu and was dedicated to Ramachandra

Reddy, which gives some historical glimpses of this chief.

Telugu Literary Sources and the Setupatis of Ramnad

Along with Telugu Nayaks, the Setupatis of Ramnad had their share in the patronage of Telugu. Vijaya Raghunatha Setupati (1709-1720) evinced a keen interest in dramas and dramatic

performances. He constructed a theatre at Ramnad, in which Telugu dramas are enacted. *Bommalanatakamu* was written at instance of Raghunatha Setupati and it was enacted before him. Vadakunatha Setupati, the brother of Vijaya Raghunatha was also a patron of Telugu. Birudu Kuppal to whom Telugu *Malhipuranam* is dedicated was honoured by Vadakunatha. The poets praised him for his liberal donations.

Notes & References

1. Late K. Veeresalingam Pantulu in his work on lives of poets, Part III, p67 has given the family name of the above poet wrongly as Koti Venkataraya by an incorrect reading in the colophon of the work. Koti Vamsa in Andhra Bhasharavam, which the author used, is the Vamsa-epithet for this patron and not for himself and the mistake still continues in the printed editions.
2. Mackenzie's Collections - 17-6-10 section 5, account on Turaiyur Samsasthanam
3. N. Venlita Rao, *Dakshinadesiyandhravangmayamu*, University of Madras, 1954, p.377.
4. The manuscript copy is available with the A.S.P. Research Institute, Kakinada.

வரலாற்று நோக்கில் தொல்காப்பியம்

மா. கந்தசாமி*

தமிழ்மொழியில் நமக்குக் கிடைக்கின்ற நூல்களுள் மிகப் பழமையான நூல், முதன்மையான நூல் என்று கொள்ளத்தக்கது தொல்காப்பியமாகும். இது இலக்கிய வளம் நிறைந்த இலக்கண நூல். எழுத்து, சொல் என்று மொழிக்கு இலக்கணம் தருவதோடு, பொருளுக்கான இலக்கணமென்று, தமிழரின் வாழ்வும், நாகரிகமும், பண்பாடும் சிறப்பு நிலையில் காட்டப்படுவதோடு, உலகப் பொது நிலையில் மனித இன வளர்ச்சி பற்றிய விளக்கம் தருகிறது. தொல்காப்பியம் 27 இயல்களாக 1610 நூற்பாக்களைக் கொண்டது.¹

ஒரு மொழியின் இலக்கணம் தனி நபரால் எழுதப்பட்டாலும் அதன் பல்வேறு முடிவுகளையும், பல மொழிவல்லுநர்களின் கூட்டு முயற்சியால் உறுதி செய்யப்பட்டு ஒருங்கிணைப்புடன்தான் எழுதப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். இதனைத் தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பாக்கள் பெரும்பான்மையானவற்றின் முடிவில் - என்ப, மொழிப, என்மனார் புலவர் என்றெல்லாம் எழுதப்பட்டிருப்பதினின்றி உணரலாம். தொல்காப்பியத்தைப் போலவே அதற்கும் முந்தையதாக ஒரு இலக்கண நூல் இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும். அதன் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட பல படிகளும், தமிழகத்தின் இரு பெரும் கடல் சீற்றப் பேரழிவுகளினால் இல்லாது போயிற்று. அறிந்து போன தென்கோடித் தமிழகத்துக்கு அருகிலமைந்த அதங்கோட்டிலுள்ள ஓர் பேராசான் தொன்மையான இலக்கண மரபுகளைக் காத்து, தான் கற்றிருந்த அதன் வழி இயம்பியதே (தொல் + காப்பு + இயம்)

தொல்காப்பியமாகும். “பனம்பாரனார்” எழுதிய அதன் சிறப்புப்பாயிரத்தில் ஆசிரியரின் பெயரை “ஐந்திரம் நிறைந்த தொல்காப்பியன் எனத் தன் பெயர் தோற்றி,” அதாவது நுண்மை, உறுதி நிறைந்த தொல்காப்பியன் எனப் புனைப் பெயர் கொண்டு என்று தருகிறார். தொல்காப்பியத்தை “நிலம் தருதிருவில் பாண்டியனின்” அவையில் பாடிப் புகழ் நிறுத்தியதாகவும் அச்சிறப்புப்பாயிரம் தெரிவிக்கிறது.

வரலாற்றுச் செய்திகளை எழுதும்போது, சரியான காலம் காட்டி எழுதினால் தான், யாவரும் உணர்ந்து ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளும் நிலை அமையும்.

காலம் உணர்தல்

“மூவர் தன்பொழில்”² என்றும் “மேலோர் மூவர்க்கும்”³ என்றும் தொல்காப்பியத்தில் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. தமிழகம் மூவர்க்கு உரிய நாடாகவும், அம்மூவரும் தலைக் குடிமகன்களாகவும் பாவித்துக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. மூவர் யார் யாரென்று தெளிவு படுத்தப்படவில்லை. முதன்முதலில் மூவராகத் தமிழகத்தைப் பிரித்து வேண்டுமென்று முடிவான, துவக்கக் காலத்தில் தொல்காப்பியம் தோன்றியிருக்கிறது. தமிழகத்தை முழுமையாகத் தனியாகவே ஆண்டுவந்த பண்டைய மன்னன் பாண்டியனே. தனியானாக ஆண்டு வந்ததோடு தமிழ்மொழியையும் புலவர்களவை கூட்டி நன்கு பேணி வளர்த்து வந்தவனாவான்.

* முதலிலை மேலோர் (ஓய்வு), பாரத மிகுமின் நிறுவனம், திருச்சி, 723, திருவள்ளூர் அவென்யு, பிச்சாண்டாரகோவில், திருச்சி-621 216.

நாட்டைச் சிறு கூறுகளாக்கி நல்ல தொடர்புடன் ஆளுவதற்காக, தமிழகத்தை மூன்று நாடுகளாக்கித் தன் உடன் பிறப்புகள் இருவரையும் வேந்தர்களாக்கி “மூவர் தண் பொழில்” ஆக்கியிருக்கிறான். வேறு வேளிகள் எவரையாவது வேந்தர்களாகப் புகுத்தியிருந்தால் எப்பொழுதும், போராட்டங்களும், குடிமக்களிடமிருந்து ஏற்புடைய கிட்டாமலும்தானே அமையும்.

இவ்வாறு மூவராக ஆளப்பெற்ற காலத்தில் அவர்களுக்குள் ஓர் கூட்டிணைவு ஒப்பந்தம் ஏற்பட்டு மூவேந்தர்களாகவே தொடர்ந்து 1300 ஆண்டுகள் ஒருவர் நாட்டை ஒருவர் கவராமலேயே, அவர்களைச் சார்ந்த வேளிர் (சிறந்த)களும் நிலையாக இருக்குமாறு ஒரே நிலையுடன் ஒப்பந்தம் மாறாமல் ஆண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள்.⁴

இதனைக் கவிங்கதேசத்திலிருந்து பத்திசைப் பயணமாக வந்த மன்னன் காரவேலன் தமிழகத்துப் பல வேந்தர், வேளிர்களிடம் பரிசிலாகப் பெற்ற யானைகளுக்காகப் புவனேசுவரத்தின் அருகில் செயற்கையாக அமைத்த குகை போன்ற யானைத் தொழுவத்தில், கூரையை அடுத்து கல்வெட்டில் பதித்து வைத்திருக்கிறான். அவன் தமிழகம் வந்த சமயம் கருவூர் சந்தை நகரத்தில் தான் சந்தித்த “அந்துவனி” டம் கேட்டறிந்து கல்வெட்டில் பதிவு பண்ணியதாகத் தெரிகிறது.

காரவேலன் தமிழகம் வந்துற்ற கி.மு. 165 ஆம் ஆண்டிலிருந்து 1300 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னதாக மூவேந்தர் கூட்டிணைவு ஒப்பந்தம் கி.மு. 1465 இல் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது (மூவேந்தர் கோட்பாடு). இதையடுத்து சில ஆண்டுகளுக்குள்ளாக “தொல்காப்பியம்” எழுதி முடிக்கப் பெற்றிருக்க வேண்டும். அதனை கி.மு. 1460 என்று உறுதியுடன் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளலாம். கல்வெட்டுச் செய்தியின்னது துலக்கி அறிவதால் மிகவும் ஏற்புடையதாகிறது.

அகம்-புறம்

அகத்திணையியல், புறத்திணையியல் என்பவை பொருளதிகாரத்தில் முதலமைந்த இரு இயல்களாகும். இவையிரண்டும் இணையாகவும், இழைத்துணர்ந்து எழுதப்பட்டது போலும், இயற்கையாம் முதற் பொருள்களாகிய நிலம், பொழுது⁵ என்பனவற்றின் அடிப்படையினின்று தொடுத்து எழுதப்பட்டதாகவும் அமைகிறது. குறிஞ்சி, முல்லை, பாலை, மருதம், நெய்தலென்று⁶ நிலத்தின் இயற்கைக் கூறுகளின் பகுப்பு சார்ந்து எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

அகத்திணைக்குரிய முக்கிய உரிப்பொருளாகிய “பிரிதல்-அதன் நிமித்தம்” என்பதையே, அகத்திணையியலில், தலைவன்-தலைவிக்கு இடையில் எல்லாக் காலங்களிலும் நிகழக்கூடியவனவைகளைப் பெரிதும் தொகுத்துத் தரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அகம் சார்ந்த வேறு இரு இயல்களான

களவியல், கற்பியல் என்பவைகளில் தலைவன், தலைவியின் இணைவுக்கு முந்திய காதல் தொடர்புகள் குறித்து களவியலிலும், இணைவுக்குப் பிந்திய இல்லற வாழ்வினைக் குறித்து கற்பியலிலும் இலக்கணம் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது. இம்மூன்றும் தலைவன்-தலைவி இரு பாலரின் கடமைகளையும், மனவோட்டங்களையும் சமுதாயப் பார்வை செலுத்தி, நெறிகளைக் கற்பித்து எடுத்து இயம்புகிறது.

புறத்திணையில் நாட்டின் பொதுவாழ்வு இயங்கும் முறைபாடு தெரிவிக்கிறது. இது காதலும்பா கல்வெட்டின் படி மூவேந்தர்கள், வேளிர்கள் இவர்களிடையேயுள்ள கூட்டிணைவு ஒப்பந்தம் எப்போதும் மூவேந்தர்களையுடைய ஆளுகையே நிலைத்திருக்க வேண்டும் என்பதற்கான (மூவேந்தர் கோட்பாடு) மறைமுகமான கட்டுப்பாட்டு சட்டதிட்டங்களாகப் பதிவு செய்திருப்பது போல் உணர்கிறேன். இது 1300 ஆண்டுகள் எந்தவிதச் சச்சரவிலும், வீரம் காட்டுவதைத் தவிர்த்து, ஒருவர் நாடு மற்றவர் கவராமலேயே இருப்பதற்கு வியத்தகு வகையில் உதவி வந்திருக்கிறது. இந்த நீண்ட கால நிகழ்வு (கி.மு. 1465-கி.மு. 165) உலக வரலாற்றிலேயே ஓர் மாபெரும் அதிசயமாகும்.

இந்த அகமும் புறமும் பின்னர் வந்த எல்லா இலக்கிய நூல்களிலும் வகைப்படுத்தி எல்லாரும் அறிவோம்.

பார்ப்பார்நிலை

தொல்காப்பியத்தில் பார்ப்பார்களை ஓர் தனி இனக்குழு போல் பாவித்துத் தரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இவர்கள் சிறப்புப் பகுப்பு நானிலங்களில்லாது அவைகள் தேய உருவாகிய பாலை நிலத்தினது புறத்திணையாகிய வாகைத் திணையில் ஏழ்வகையினரோடு பேசப்படுகிறார்கள்⁷. ஆகவே மக்கள் அதிகமுள்ள நகரங்களில்தான் வசித்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

இவர்கள் நேரடி மக்கள் தொடர்பு செயல்பாடுகளான, காதலரின் வேட்கை நிலை எடுத்துரைப்பது, தலைவிக்குத் தலைவன் உள்ளக் குறிப்பு பகர்தல், தேர், பசு போன்றவைகளுக்கு நிமித்தம் கூறல், சிக்கனத்துக்கான வழி சொல்லுதல் போன்றவைகளில் ஈடுபடுகிறார்கள்.⁸ இதனால் தமிழகம் வந்த இவர்கள் எளிதிலும், விரைவிலுமாகத் தங்கி நிலைபெற்று விட்டார்கள். தொல்காப்பியம் எழுதப்பட்ட காலத்திற்கு இரண்டு, மூன்று தலைமுறைகளுக்கு முன்னதாக இவர்கள் இங்கு பரவியிருக்கலாம்.

ஓதல், ஓதுவித்தல், வேட்டல், வேட்டித்தல், ஈதல், ஏற்றல் என்ற அறுவகைச் செயல்பாட்டில்⁹ பழக்கப்படுத்தப் பட்டவர்களாகையால் நல்லநாவன்மையும், உரையாடலின் தன் வசப்படுத்தும் திறன், எடுத்தியம்புதலின் நயம் இயற்கையாகவே அமையப் பெற்று, நன்கு அறிந்தவர்களின் கூற்றுக்கு நிகராக, இவர்கள் கூற்றையும்

யாவரும் கேட்டு ஏற்கும் நிலையிருந்தது¹⁰. இவர்கள் உடல் வருந்த எந்தத் தொழிலிலும் ஈடுபடாது, மக்களை ஈர்க்கும் நளின வேலைகளிலேயே ஈடுபாடு காட்டினர்.

வாகைத்திணையில் அதன் பாகுபாடு குறித்து வகைப்படுத்தி எழுதிய நூற்பாவில் “பார்ப்பனர் பக்கமும்” என்று முதல் படுத்தி காப்பிய ஆசிரியர் எழுதியுள்ளார். இது “அரசர் பக்கமும்” என்பதனையும் விஞ்சுமாறு அமைந்துள்ளது¹¹.

“மேலோர் முறைமை நால்வருக்கும் உரித்து”¹² என்பதன்படி அரசனின் கட்டளைக்கு உட்பட்டவர்கள் : 1. காவல் பிரிவு அரசியலாளர்கள், 2. வாணிபம், வேளாண்மையிலுள்ள தலை மக்கள், 3. தொழிலில் வல்ல வினைவல்லோர், 4. எழுபிடி வேலை செய்யும் அடித்தொழிலாளர்கள் நால்வர் பாலும் உள்ளது. பார்ப்பார்கள் இந்நால் வகையிலும் அமையாது மேல் நிலை பெற்றுக் கொள்கிறார்கள்.

அந்தணர் நிலை

துறவு பூண்ட அறவோர்கள் அந்தணராவார்கள்¹³. பார்ப்பாரை வழிநடத்தும் தலைவர்களும் துறவு பூண்ட அறவோர்களையும், கற்றவர்களையும் அமைந்தனர். அரசர்களின் நிலைக்கு அடுத்து உயர்நிலையில் அந்தணர்கள் என்ற வகையில் தங்களை நிலை நிறுத்திக் கொண்டனர்.

இவர்களைப் புலமைமிக்கோர் “நெடுந்தகை”, “செம்மல்” என்றெல்லாம் அரசரைக் கூறும் புகழ்ச் சொற்களை உபயோகித்துப் பேசுதல் கூடாது என்று தொல்காப்பியம்¹⁴ சட்டம் அமைத்துள்ளது. அந்தணர்கள் உபயோகிக்கப் பொருள்கள் அனைத்தும் அரசர்க்கும் உரித்தே¹⁵, அந்தணர்க்கு அரசு வரைவு இன்றே¹⁶ என்று கடுமையாக ஆணையிடுகிறது.

கற்பியலில் தலைமகன் கூற்றாகப் பலவும் சொல்லும் போது, அந்தணர்கள், சான்றோர்கள் மாட்டு எவ்வாறு நடந்து கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அந்தணர்க்குத் தரும் தகுதியும், சிறப்பும் இதில் புலப்படுகிறது¹⁷.

அந்தணர்களும், பார்ப்பார்களும் அரசரின் கட்டுப்பாட்டுக்கு விஞ்சியவாறு மேல்நிலை பெற்றுக் கொள்வதாலும், நான்மறை ஒதுவதொன்றே முதன்மை வேலையாகக் கொண்டமையாலும், அவர்களின் தனிப்பட்ட அமைப்பினாலும், பிறவி வழி உயர்ந்த சாதி என்பதற்கு நன்கு வித்திட்டுவிட்டார்கள்.

அரசியல்

பழந்தமிழகத்தை கி.மு. 1465லிருந்து மூன்று வேந்தர்கள் ஆண்டு வந்தனர். தமிழகத்தின் எல்லையை சிறப்புப்பாயிரம் பாடிய “பனம் பாரனார்” வடவேங்கடம், தென்குமரி ஆகிடைத் தமிழ் கூறும் நல் உலகத்து

என்கிறார். “முந்நீர் வழக்கம்”¹⁸ என்று தொல்காப்பியம் கூறுவதால் மூன்று பக்கம் கடல் சூழ்ந்த இடம் என்று உணரற்பாலது. மேலோர்களாகிய மூவேந்தர்களைப் பின்னர் வந்த இலக்கியங்கள் மூலமாகச் சேரர், சோழர், பாண்டியர் என்று அறிகிறோம். மூவரில் ஒருவருக்கொருவர் பகைமை பாராட்டிப் போர் புரியும் போது, அடையாளத்துக்காக “பனங்குறுத்து”, “ஆத்திமாலை”, வேப்பமர்லை அணிந்து வருவர்.¹⁹ நாட்டுச் சின்னங்கள் அப்போது அமைக்கப்படவில்லை.

நால்வகைப் படையும் தனக்கென ஒரு கொடியும், வெண் கொற்றக் குடையும், முரசும், குதிரையும், யானையும், தேரும், தனக்கென ஒரு மாலையும், தலையில் அணியும் முடியும், பிறவும் செங்கோல் அரசர்க்கு உரியவை²⁰.

சிறப்புமிக்க தெய்வ வழிபாட்டு விழாக்கள் நன்கு நடைபெறவும், முல்லை முதல் எல்லா நிலங்களிலும் பிழைபடச் செயல்கள் நடவாமை வேண்டியும், நாட்டின் நல்ல பல செயல்பாடுகள் சரிவர முடியவும், வேந்தன் தகுந்த மக்களைப் பிரித்து காவல் பணிக்கு அனுப்புகிறான்²¹.

வேந்தன் ஏவுவதற்கு காவல்பிரிவு அரசியலாளர்கள் முதலான நால்வகையோரும் உட்பட்டவர்களே²². செய்தொழில் முறையான இந்நால்வகை காட்டப்படுகிறது.

வேந்தர்கள் மக்களுக்கும், நாட்டிற்கும் ஓர் பெரிய காவலர் போலவே பணியாற்றுகிறார்கள். தமிழக மன்னர்களுக்குள் ஏதேனும் பிணக்கு நேர்ந்தால், முறைப்படி ஆதிரை கவர்தல் செய்கிறார்கள். நோயின்றி கொண்டு வந்தவைகளைப் பங்கு வைத்தல், தானமாகக் கொடுத்தல் போன்றன நிகழ்கிறது²³. அடுத்து நடக்கும் சண்டைகளில் மிகுந்த வீரம் காட்டப்படுகிறது. மன்னர்களில் ஒருவரோ, இருவருமோ வீழ்ந்துபடும் வரை சண்டை நடக்கிறது.

கிடைக்கும் செல்வம் பங்கிடப்படுவதால், பெருஞ்செல்வம் அரசனுக்குச் சேராது போகிறது. செல்வப் பெருமக்கள் / அடிமைகள் என்ற பெரும்பிரிவு தமிழகத்தில் கிடையாது. வீரத்தின் விளைவாலான வெற்றியே கொண்டாடப் பெறுகிறது. ஒருவர் நாட்டை மற்றவர் கவர்ந்து கொள்வதில்லை. எப்போதுமே மூவர் தண்பொழில் நிலவுகிறது.

புறத்திணையியலில் பல்வேறு திணைவழி நடைபெறும் பெரும்போர்களில் வீரமுடன் எதிர்கொள்ளும் சண்டைகளின் மற்ச் செயல்களைப் பற்றித்தான் கூறப்படுகிறது²⁴. அதன் கண் எங்கும் அரசுச் சூழ்ச்சி முறைகள் என்று கிஞ்சித்தேனும் இல்லை.

தானை, யானை, குதிரை என மூவகைப் படையாயினும் மன்னர்கள் பெரும்படையை எப்போதும் கைவசம் வைத்திருப்பதில்லை. முரசறைந்து பட்ட திரட்டிக்

கொள்கிறார்கள். எனினும் மறவர்களுக்குப் போர்ப் பயிற்சி தொடர்ந்து ஆங்காங்கே இருந்து வந்திருக்க வேண்டும். மன்னர்களுக்கு காவல் பொறுப்பு ஒன்றுதான் மேலோங்கி நிற்கிறது. போர் நிகழ்ச்சிகளில் வீரம் ஒன்றுதான் பேசப்படுகிறது. ஒரு மன்னர் உயிர் துறக்கும் வரை போர் நிகழ்வதும், வீர நடுகல் ஒன்றுதான் பெருமை சேர்ப்பதாகவும் அமைகிறது. ஆடம்பர மேதுமில்லா மன்னர்களை, ஆளுங்காலத்தைக் குறித்து வைத்து வரிசைப்படுத்தி ஆவணப்படுத்தியதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. புலவர்களால் சிறப்புடன் பாடப் பெற்ற சில போர் நிகழ்ச்சிகளில் மட்டும் மன்னர்களைப் பற்றிய சில தகவல்கள் கிடைக்கப்பெறும்.

வேளிர்கள் (குறு நில மன்னர்கள்) தமிழகத்தில் பன்னிருவர் உண்டு²⁵. வேந்தர்கள், தானைத் தலைவர்கள் போன்று இவர்களும் ஏவல்கள் விடுப்பவர்களே. இவர்கள் வேந்தர்களின் நாடு சார்ந்து, வேந்தர்களுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்களே. வேளிர்களுக்கு வில், வேல், வீரக்கழல், தலைக்கண்ணி, தார், ஆரம், தேர், வாள் இவை உரியவை²⁶. வேளிர்கள் அளவுக்கு செல்வமுடையோராயிருந்தாலும் - வணிகர், வேளாளர் போன்றோருக்கு மேற்கூறியவை கிடையாது²⁷.

வாணிபம்

பண்டைத் தமிழகத்தில் வேளாண்மை ஒங்கியிருந்தது. “வருவிசைப் புனைலைக் கற்சிறை போல”²⁸ என்று வருவதால் அணைக்கட்டி நீர்ப்பாசனம் இருந்திருக்கிறது. எண்வகைக் கூலங்களை விளைவித்திருக்கிறார்கள்²⁹. (நவ தானியங்கள் 9 அதுபோல இல்லை) இவைகளைக் கொள்முதல் செய்து விற்பனை செய்வது வணிகர் தொழிலாகும். வணிகர்களும், அரசர்களைப் போன்று படைக்கலன் வைத்திருந்தார்கள். வணிகர்களுக்கு அவர்தம் பொருட்களை கொள்ளையரிடமிருந்து காக்க படைக்கலன் அவசியப்படுகிறது³⁰. முந்நீர் வழக்கம் இருந்தது³¹ என்பதால் கடல்வழி வாணிபமும் தழைத்திருந்தது.

தெய்வங்களும், தொழுகையும்

முல்லையில் மாயோன்/திருமால் வழிபடு தெய்வமாகவும், குறிஞ்சியில் வெறியாடலின் (காந்தன்) சிறப்பினை அறிந்த வேலோன் (சேயோன்) தெய்வமாகவும், மருதத்தில் இந்திரனும், இமையா வானோர்களும்³² வணக்கத்திற்கு உரியவராகவும், நெய்தலில் வருணன் வழிபடு தெய்வமாகவும் காட்டப்படுகிறது³³.

போர் நடக்கும்போது கொற்றவைக்கு பரவுக்கடன் கொடுப்பது மற்றும் ஒவ்வொரு நிலைக்கும் ஏற்ப பிள்ளையாட்டு, கல்கோள் நீர்ப்படுத்தல், வீரக்கல் நடுதல் போன்ற பல சடங்குகள் தெரிவிக்கப்படுகிறது³⁴.

“வழிபடு தெய்வம் உணைக் காக்கட்டும்; நீயும் பழி தீர் செல்வத்துடன் வழிவழி சிறந்து வாழ்க” எனும் புறநிலை வாழ்த்தின்படி³⁵ வழிபடு தெய்வங்கள் நான்கு திணைசார் மக்களிடத்தும் அவர்தம் இயற்கைச் சூழ்நிலைக் கேற்ப அவர்களாகவே பாவித்துக் கொண்டவனவாக உள்ளன. மதம் என்ற முறையில் அவை அமையவில்லை. நெடுங்காலத்திற்குப் பின் சமண, பௌத்த மதங்கள் மதங்கள் தோன்றிய பின்னர் ஆரிய வழி வந்தோர் இத்தெய்வங்களையும் இந்து சமயத்தில் உறவு முறைப் பிணைப்பு கொடுத்தும், புராணக் கதைகள் கற்பித்து இணைத்தும் முறைப்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள்.

மெய்ப்பாட்டு உணர்ச்சி நிலைகள்

பலவுந்தோன்றினாலும், உய்த்துணராமலேயே, பெரிதும் தோன்றுவதை மெய்ப்பட முடிப்பது மெய்ப்பாடாகும். இவை நகை, அழகை, இளிவு, மருட்கை, அச்சம், பெருமிதம், வெகுளி, உவகை என்ற எண் வகையில் தவறாமல் முடியும். இவ்வெட்டு மெய்ப்பாட்டு உணர்ச்சி நிலைகளையும், திணைகள் வழி அவைகளின் வெளிப்பாட்டினையும் தொல்காப்பியம் தனி இயலாகவே தருகிறது³⁶.

அந்தத் தொன்மைக் காலத்திலேயே உடல் நிகழ்வு நூலாக, நான்கு வரையறுத்து எழுதிப் படைத்திருப்பது வியப்பிற்குரியது. எவ்வாறெல்லாம் இச்சுவைகள் நிகழ்வுறுகின்றன என்பதற்கு வேறு எங்கும் விளக்கம் காண இயலாது. சமநிலை என்று உணர்வில்லா நிலையாக இல்லாததொன்றைப் புகுத்தி பின்னர் “நவரசம்” என்று ஆரியமாக்கிவிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நாட்டிய நிகழ்ச்சிகளில் மெய்ப்பாடுகளெட்டு என்று தொல்காப்பியத்திற்குப் பெருமை சேர்க்க வேண்டும்.

பெண்டிர் வாழ்வியல்

பெண்ணைக் கொடுப்பதற்குரிய மரபினை உடையோர் கொடுக்க வதுவைச் சடங்குகளுடன் ஆண்மகன் கொள்வது கற்பு மணமாகும். கொடுப்போரின்றியும், களவொழுக்கத்தில் இணைந்து உடன்போகிய காலத்தும் மணம் உண்டு. கற்பு மணத்தில் மூவேந்தர்களுக்கும் உரிய வதுவைச் சடங்குகள் பின்பு மக்களுக்கும் ஆயிற்று; பொய்கூறல், பிழைபட நடத்தல் போன்றவை தோன்றிய பின்னர் தலைமையானோர் வதுவை ஏற்படுத்தினர்³⁷.

பெண்களுக்கு நல்ல உரிமைப்பேறு இருந்தது. ஆகவே விருப்பத்திற்கேற்ற காதல் திருமணம் நிறைந்திருந்தது. தந்தை, தமையன் போன்றோர் குறிப்பால் தலைவியின் ஒழுக்கலாறுகளை உணர்வர்³⁸. எனினும் அவர்கள் எந்நேரமும் வேந்தன் விழைவுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்கள். தாயார், வளர்ப்புத் தாயார், தோழி, தலைவன் அவனது பாங்கன் போன்றோரின் கூற்றே ஒழுக்கலாறில் பேசப்படுகிறது. தந்தையின் குறுக்கீடு எங்கும் உள்ளதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. தலைவன், தலைவி

இவர்களின் மனவோட்டங்களையும், உரிய கடமைகளையும், முறையான சமுதாயப் பாதையில் நெறிகளெல்லாம் தொல்காப்பியம் தெரிவிக்கிறது.

ஆடவர்க்குப் பெருமையும், வலிமையும் இயல்பு என்பது போல் பெண்டிர்க்கு அச்சம், நாணம், மடம் என்னும் பண்புகள் எக்காலத்தும் உரியவை³⁹. எனினும் பெண்டிர்களின் விஞ்சிய செயல்பாடுகள் இரண்டு திரும்பவும் நிகழா வண்ணம் இரு கட்டுப்பாட்டுச் சட்டங்கள் உள்ளன.

1. “முந்நீர் வழக்கம் மகடேவோடு இல்லை”⁴⁰ தொல்காப்பியம் தோன்றியபோதே, கி.மு. 1460 க்கு முன்னரே மூன்று திசைக் கடல்களிலும் வேற்று நாடுகளில் வாணிபம் நோக்கித் தமிழர்கள் கடல்பயணம் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். கடல் சென்று மீன்று பிடித்தல், வேற்று நாட்டைந்து வாணிபம் செய்தல் போன்றன பெண்கள் பால் கிடையாது.

கடல் வாணிபப் பயணத்தின் போது யவனர்கள் தங்கள் நாட்டுப் பெண்டிர்களை உடன் கொணர்ந்து தமிழ்வேந்தர்க்குப் பரிசில் பொருள் போல் பாவித்தளித்து, அப்பெண்கள் வேந்தர்க்குப் பாதுகாவல் பணியிலமர்ந்திருந்தமையைச் சங்க இலக்கியங்கள் கூறும்⁴¹.

கொற்கைத்துறை வந்த யவன வணிகர்களை, பசுமை நிறைந்த நமது குடியினர் வாழும் ஆங்குத் தங்க வைக்காது அடுத்து ஒரு காதம் வடக்கே மணல் தேரியாயிருந்த தூதுகுடியில் அமர்த்தி மதுரை வரை சென்று வாணிபம் செய்ய ஏதுவாய் அங்கிருந்து நேர் வழித்தடம் அமையப் பெற்றுள்ளதை நாம் உணர்கிறோம். (தாலமியின் குறிப்பு).

2. எத்திணை மருங்கினும் மகருஉ மடல்மேல் பொற்புடை நெறிமை இன்மையான⁴²”

- எவ்வகை நிலத்திலும் பெண்டிர் “பனை, தெங்கு, ஈந்து, கமுகு, தாழை” போன்ற கிளைகள் பாவாத புல்வகை மரங்களின் மடலில் ஏறப் பணிகள் ஏதும் செய்வதில்லை; பெண்கள் வெளிப்பட மடல் ஏறுதல் சிறப்புடைய ஒழுக்கமாக இல்லாததால் என்பதை அந்நூற்பா நன்கு உணர்த்தும்.

மடலேறும் தொழில் ஒரு பெரிய, அவசியமான தொழிலாக அக்காலத்தில் அமைந்தமையால் இந்நடைமுறையை விதித்து எழுதப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும்.

பனையோலை இலக்கு கொண்டு இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சிக்கே ஆதாரம் பெறுவது போல, இம்மரங்களைப் பேணுவதிலிருந்து பலப்பல மிக அவசியப் பொருள்களைப் பெறலாம். நன்செய் விவசாயத் தொழிலுக்கு அடுத்து இதன் பயன்பாடு உள்ளதெனலாம். சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் பல இடங்களில் விருந்து படைக்கும் போது, உணவு உண்டின் “கள்” அருந்துவது

தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.⁴³ மக்கள் மத்தியில் இவ்விதப் பழக்க வழக்கங்கள் அத்தொன்மைக் காலத்தில் மடல் ஏறும் தொழிலின் விளைவாகவே அமைந்திருக்கிறது.

கற்பு நெறி

“உயிரினும் சிறந்தன்று நானே; நாணினும் செயிர்தீர் காட்சிக் கற்புச் சிறந்தன்று எனத் தொல்லோர் கிளவி...”⁴⁴

- பெண்களுக்கு கற்பு மிக மிகச் சிறந்தது; “தொல்லோர் கிளவி” என்பதன் மூலம் தொல்காப்பியத்திற்கும் தொன்மையாக அது கடைப்பிடிக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இது அடிமை நிலை காட்டுவதன்று. பெண்கள் கற்பு கடைப்பிடிக்காது போனால், தலைவனோடு சேர்ந்து அமைந்த பாங்கான குடும்பம் உருவாக வழியில்லாது போய்விடும்.

தலைவன் தான் மணங்கொண்ட மனைவியோடு மட்டுமல்லாது, காமக் கிழத்தியருடனும், பொது மகளிரோடும் தொடர்புடன் வாழ்வது பலவகையானும் தெரிவிக்கப்படுகிறது. இவ்வித நிகழ்வுகளுக்கு அடிப்படை ஆதாரம், ஆண்பாலர், பெண்பாலரிடையே ஆண்களின் எண்ணிக்கை மிகக் குறைந்து அமைவதே. பல மறப்போர்களில் ஆண்கள் பெருமளவு மடிந்து விடுகின்றனர். சிறுவனைக் கூட போருக்கனுப்பி தாய் அவன் போர்க்களத்தில் புறமுதுகிட்டான் எனக் கேட்டு வருந்துவதற்கிறோம்⁴⁵. கடல் வாணிபத்திற்குச் செல்லும் ஆண்கள் காலம் பல ஓடியும் திரும்பாத நிலையில் பெண்கள் தவறி நடக்க வழிவகுத்து விடுகிறது. இந்நிலைமை தலைவியின் கூற்றின்படி⁴⁶ காமக்கிழத்தி தன் குழந்தையைத் தழுவி விளையாடிய காலத்தும், தன் புதல்வனுக்கு அணிகலன்களை அணிந்து அனுப்பிய பொது மகளிரை நினைத்தபோதும் என்றெல்லாம் இருப்பதிலிருந்து இயற்கை இயல்புபோலானதை உணர்கிறோம்.

கல்வி

வேண்டியது கற்க மூவாண்டுகள் வரை ஆகிறது⁴⁷. கல்வி வேண்டுவோர் ஆசான் இருக்குமிடம் பிரிந்து சென்று கற்று வரல் வேண்டும்⁴⁸. சமுதாயத்தில் உயர்ந்தோர், வணிகர் போன்றோர் கல்வி கற்கச் செல்லுகின்றனர்⁴⁹. தூது செல்வதற்கு மன்னர்கள் கல்விகற்ற உயர்ந்தோரைப் பயன்படுத்தினர். மொழிக் கல்வியும், எண் கணிதக் கல்வியும் அதிலடங்கும்.

எழுத்ததிகாரத்தில் எண்ணுப் பெயர்கள் பலவும் பலவகையில் புணர்ச்சி முறைமை கூறுவதற்கும், முகத்தலளவை, பொருட்களின் எண்ணிக்கை வகைத்தான முறைக்குமான ஐம்பத்தெட்டு நூற்பாக்கள் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது. செய்யுள் தொடுக்கும் தொடை வகைகள், கணினி இல்லா அக்காலத்தில் தெளிவாகக் கணித்து 13699 என்று⁵⁰ தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. எண்

கணிதமும் நல்ல வளர்ச்சியை எட்டியிருந்ததனை இவைகளிலிருந்து உணரலாம். புலமை மிக்கோர் உயர்விலும் மிக்தோராக இருந்தனர்.

தமிழ் மொழியும், வடமொழியும்

தமிழ் எழுத்துக்களில் மூன்று நொடி எடுத்துக் கொள்ளும் ஓர் எழுத்து இல்லை⁵¹. தமிழில் உந்தியிலிருந்து காற்றுத் தோன்றி மேலே வந்து தலை, கழுத்து, நெஞ்சு இவற்றில் நின்று பல், உதடு, நாக்கு, மூக்கு, அண்ணம் ஆகிய எட்டு உறுப்புகளிலும் தொடர்புற்று எல்லா எழுத்துக்களும் தோன்றும்⁵².

வடமொழியிலோ அவ்வாறு கேட்குமாறு வரும் எழுத்துக்களுக்கு உள் உறுப்புகளில் தங்கிச் சுழன்று எழும் ஒசைக் காற்றுக்கு நீட்டித்த அளவு கூறுவது அம்மொழி மறைக்கு உள்ளது⁵³.

வடமொழியில் நான்மறையைப் பற்றி மட்டும் தான் பேசப்படுகிறது. நான் மறையைத் தொடர்ச்சியாக அந்தணர்களால் ஒதுவித்தலும், பார்ப்பார்கள் பலர் கூட்டாக ஒதல் என்ற முறைப்படியும் நிலைத்திருக்கச் செய்து வரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தமிழிலக்கியங்களில்லாமல் புலவர்கள் “நான்மறை”யைச் சிறப்பான அடைமொழியில் தான் எடுத்துச் சொல்லியுள்ளனர். எனினும் நான் மறையை அதன் எழுத்தறிவோடு கற்று அதன் உள்ளார்ந்த கருத்துக்களை மொழி பெயர்த்து தொகுத்து யாரும் தமிழில் சங்ககால இறுதி வரையுமே எழுதிப் படைக்கவில்லை. வட மொழியை “மறைமொழிகிளந்த மந்திர்தான”⁵⁴ “மறை மொழிதானே மந்திரம்”⁵⁵ என்று மந்திர மொழியாகக் காட்டியும், வேட்டல் மொழியாகவும் பயன்காட்டப்படுகிறது.

இவற்றையெல்லாம் பார்க்குமிடத்து, அப்போது, வடமொழிக்கு ஒலி எழுத்துக்கள் மட்டும் தான் இருந்தனவோ என்று எண்ணத் தோன்றுகிறது. அன்றியும் பார்ப்பார் மட்டும் மனப்பாடம் செய்து கொண்டு புகழ்ச்சி கூறி அம்மொழிக்கு மறை மொழி என்றும், மந்திர மொழி என்றும் பெருமையை சேர்த்துக் கொண்டனரோ?

தொல்காப்பியர் காலத்திலிருந்து தமிழைக் கற்று பார்ப்பார்கள் பலர், பெரும் புலவர் நிலைமை எய்தியிருக்கிறார்கள்.

தமிழ் மொழியில் நால்வகை நூலாக்கலில், மொழி பெயர்த்துயாத்தலும் ஒன்றாக இருந்தும்⁵⁶ நான்மறை ஏன் தமிழாக்கம் செய்யப் பெறாது இருந்தது? வட சொற்களும் யாப்பு வழிப்பட்டது⁵⁷. பல வடமொழிச் சொற்களின் ஒலிகளைத் தமிழ் முறைப்படி திருத்தி தமிழில் இணைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதை நாம் உணரலாம்.

நலிந்தோர் பகிர்ந்து அனுபவிக்கும் சூழல்

எல்லாப் போர் நிகழ்வுகளுக்கும், முதன் முயற்சி “வெட்சித் திணை” ஆதிரை கவர்தல் மூலம் பகைவர்களின் பக்ககூட்டத்தை நோயில்லாமல் கவர்ந்து வந்து பங்கு வைத்துக் கொடையாகக் கொடுக்கும் நிலையுள்ளது⁵⁸.

பாடாண் திணைக் கொற்றவள்ளையின் திணைகளில் 1. பிறருக்குக் கொடுப்போரை உயர்த்திக் கூறி, கொடாதவர்களைப் பழித்துக் கூறும் செயல்பாடும்; 2. அடுத்து நேரே சென்று அவன் இயல்பினைப் புகழ்ந்து வாழ்த்துதல் என்பதுவும் (கொடை வலியுறுத்தல்) உள்ளது⁵⁹.

கூத்தர், பாணர், பொருநர், விறலி போன்ற இரவலரும் பரிசில் பெற்று வந்தபோது, வழியில் வருகின்றோர்க்குப் பெற்ற பெருவளத்தைக் கூறி பெறார்க்குச் சென்று பெறுக என்ற “ஆற்றுப்படுத்தப்” பட்டு, கொடையுள்ளம் கொண்டோரிடமிருந்து பரிசில் பெற்று வருவது ஒரு முறைப்பாடாகக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது⁶⁰.

செல்வங்களில் தலைச் செல்வம் பசுக்களே, கபிலை நிறம் பொருந்திய பசுவை வேள்வி செய்வதன் மூலம் தன்னிடம் கொண்டவரச் செய்து கண்ணியமாகப் பெற்றுகொள்வது பார்ப்பார் செயல்பாடாக அமைகிறது⁶¹.

முடிவுரை

மிகமிகத் தொன்மையான காலத்தில் (கி.மு. 1460) தமிழுக்கும், தமிழகத்துக்குமாக, அப்போதைக்கிருந்த பண்படுத்தப் பெற்ற நிலைகளை உணர்ந்து, பிற்காலத்துக்கு வழிகாட்டியாக இவ்வினக்கண நூல் எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இதன்கண் உறுதிப்பட வரையறையோடு சொல்லப்படுவதெல்லாம் தமிழகம் சார்ந்த முடிவுகளே! வேறு எங்கிருந்தும் பெற்ற தரவுகளல்ல.

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**THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES WERE ALSO PRESENTED
IN VARIOUS SECTIONS**

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2. **L.YUVARAJ**, Reader in History, Presidency College, Chennai.
Traces of Tanning industry in the Sangam Age
3. **ARPUTHA SELVI**, Lecturer in History, Loyola College, Chennai-600 034.
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4. **V.P. BALAJI**, M.Phil. Research Scholar, Department of History, Presidency College, Chennai.
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5. **P. KANAGAVALLI**, M.Phil. Research Scholar, Dept. of History, A.V.V.M. Sri Pushpam College, Poondi-613 503.
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7. **G. DEVARAJ**, TNHC Life Member, G.G.H.S. School, Anaicut, Vellore Dt.,-632101
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விரூப்புரம் மாவட்டம் மேல்மலையனூர் அருள்மிகு அங்காளம்மன் திருக்கோயில்-ஓர் ஆய்வு

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2. **M. BABYRANI**, Lecturer, V.V.V. College for Women, Virudhunagar.
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3. **K. VEERAMANI**, A.S.O., Dept. of Microbiology, University of Madras, Chennai-600113
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4. **G. JAYANTHIMALA**, NB 6, Chennai Port Trust Office Qrs, Kamaraj Salai, Chennai-600009
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7. **B. SURESH KANNAN**, Ph.D. Research Scholar, M.K. University, Madurai
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8. **P. MAHESWARI**, M.Phil. Research Scholar, Quaid-e-millath College.
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9. **K. VATCHALA**
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ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY

1. **T. MILTON**, HOD, Hotel and Catering Management,
Asan Memorial College of Arts and Science, Chennai-600100
Cultural Tourism in Mahabalipuram
2. **R. ABBAS**, Lecturer-cum-Liaison officer, Annamalai University study center, Madurai-1
Monuments of Kanchipuram and its Relevance to Tourism Promotion
3. **S. SRIDEVI**, Ph.D, Research Scholar, Department of History, Presidency College, Chennai
Folk Toys of Tamil Nadu
4. **R. SUBA**, M.Phil, Research Scholar, Dept. of History, A.V.V.M. Sri Pushpam College,
Poondi-613 503
Pudukkottai Museum - A Study

5. **N. TAMILSELVI**, M.Phil, Research Scholar, Dept. of History, A.V.V.M. Sri Pushpam College, Poondi – 613 503.
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6. **D. DHANARAJ**, M.Phil. Research Scholar, Dept. of History, A.V.V.M. Sri Pushpam College, Poondi – 613 503.
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7. **P. KRISHNAMURTHI**, M.Phil. Research Scholar, Dept. of History, A.V.V.M. Sri Pushpam College, Poondi – 613 503.
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