

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS

Second Conference - 26th & 27th August 1995

Annamalai University, Annamalainagar

Editor
DR. T. EDMUNDS.

Tamil Nadu History Congress
SEPTEMBER - 1996

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS

Second Conference - 26th & 27th August 1995

Annamalai University, Annamalainagar

Editor
DR. T. EDMUNDS.

Tamil Nadu History Congress

SEPTEMBER - 1996

© TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS

First Published in September 1996

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

Published by
Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan
General Secretary
Tamil Nadu History Congress

Printed at
C.P.R. ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION CENTRE
MADRAS-18.

Editorial Board

Editor- Dr. T. Edmunds

Sub Editor - Dr. T.E. Mohan

CONTENTS

1. Preface - Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan	8
2. Editors Note	9
3. Executive Committee Members & Section Presidents	10
4. General Secretary's Report	11
5. Endowment Lecture Mr. R. Thirumalai	15
6. General Presidents Address Dr. N. Subramanian	29
7. Sectional Meetings Papers Presented	

I. POLITICAL & ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

1. Mr. N. Balasundaran Address of the Sectional President	41
2. Dr. K. Seshadri Sir Charles Trevelyan, A Model Governor of Madras	55
3. Dr. C. Balakrishnan Nationalism and British Industrial Policy in the Madras Presidency	59
4. Dr. N. Rajendran Pondicherry: A Political Base for Nationalist Movement in Tamil Nadu, 1908-1917	65
5. Dr. A.J. Thinakaran The Beginning of the end of the Second Pandian Empire	70
6. Pulavar S. Rasu Solamannar Marabinar Yar (Tamil)	76

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

1. Dr. G. Thangavelu Address of the Sectional President	83
2. N. Athiyaman Town Planning In Ancient Tamil Nadu	97
3. P. Shanmugam Sankarapandiyar : Economic Activities of a Mercantile Community	103

4.	A. Justin Wilson Brahman Peasant Relation In Medieval Tamil Nadu	107
5.	Dr. S. Jeyaseela Stephen Livro Da Receita E Depesa Do Feitor Do Coromandel, Manuel Da Gama : Portuguese Source on The Port- Economy of the Tamil Coast in A.D. 1526 - 1527	115
6.	Dr.M.K. Mangalamurugesen Contribution of A. Vaidyanatha Iyer to Temple Entry Movement in Tamil Nadu	125
7.	Dr. T.E. Mohan Historical Traces of a Dalit Association and Its Functioning in Tamil Nadu	130

III. ART & CULTURAL HISTORY

1.	Dr. Nanditha Krishna Address of the Sectional President	141
2.	Dr. Salem S. Jayalakshmi Music in Cankam Period	146
3.	Dr. P. D. Balaji Head Offering in Ancient Tamilagam	153
4.	Dr. Srinivasa Desikan Horned Dvarapalas From Kaveripakkam	158
5.	Dr. C.K. Sivaprakasam Pancharanya Temples in Tanjavur Region (A study in the co-cultural system)	163
6.	Dr. B. Narasingaraja Naidu Contribution of Govinda Diksita and His Family to Culture at Thanjavur	167
7.	Akila Pazhuvur Poopalagai (Tamil)	169
8.	R. Saravanan Tamilaga Kadavularum Maruthuvamum (Tamil)	173
9.	Venidevi Ki.Pi. 300 - 600 Kalvi (Tamil)	179

IV HISTORIOGRAPHY

1.	Dr. P. Rajaraman Address of the Sectional President	187
----	--	-----

2.	Dr. G. Chandrika Regional History and Focus on Tamil Nadu: Pattern and Issues	205
3.	Dr. T. Edmunds The Charismatic Movements in Tamil Nadu: Some Aspects of Historiography: The Emerging trends in India as compared with the same Movements and Historiographical writings in the United States of America.	211
4.	Dr. R. Kalaikovan Kala Aaivum Kalai Kalvium (Tamil)	214

THE FOLLOWING PAPERS WERE ALSO READ

I POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

1. Prof. B.Ramanathan
The part played by Thiagi Theerthagiri Mudaliar, in the Freedom Movement in Salem District
2. S. Ganeshram
Some Aspect of the Study of Communalism in Post-Colonial India
3. Balamurugan
Mudalam Rasarasarin Atchiyandu Nirnayaum - A.D. 985-10147 to A.D. 1017
4. Dr. Aranga Ponnusami
Senthankudi Palayapattu Varalaru
5. Dr. A. Chandrasekaran
Speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal and their reaction in Tamil Nadu
6. Dr. S.Padmanaban
Kumari Mannil Moovendarkal (Tamil)
7. V. Lalitha
Ayya Sastri - A Tamilian Chief Justice of Maratha State in 18th century
8. M.V.R. Krishna Raju
The services of late Mantena Venkata Raju (1904-68) as a Freedom fighter and Socialist

II SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

1. Dr. S. Anuradha
The condition of society from 700 A.D. to 1800 A.D. - As gleaned from the sources of the Sirkazhi temple.
2. Dr. V. karuppaiyan
The Social History of the Vallanttu Chettiars in Pudukottai District

3. R. Segar
Socio-Economic conditions as gleaned from Devikapuram Inscriptions.
4. Dr. A. Subramanian
Route of Migration of Saliyars in Southern Tamil Nadu.
5. K.Manamalar
Land, Land Tenures and Land Grants under the Maratha of Thanjavur
6. Dr. R. Natarajan
An Overview of the French Commercial Economy in Pondicherry in the first half of the 18th century.
7. V. Thirumurugan
A Study of the Impact of French Settlement of Indian Society with Special Reference to Pondicherry
8. P. Sabapathy
Marriage customs and Ceremonies of a Marava Community of the Ramnad Country
9. M.C. Raja
Factors in Urbanisation in Thanjavur District (Circa A.D. 1750-1813)
10. K.Appadurai
History of the Christian Missions in Thirunelveli District from 1820-1896 - A Study
11. C. Shymala
Contribution of Self-Respect Movement for the Development of Women.
12. Dr. C.Thamilchelvi
RAJAJI - Champion of the Social Justice and Human Rights.
13. Selvi. S. Mageswari
Social Justice and Communal Reservation in Tamilnadu Since 1922.
14. A. Thennarasu
Equality and Preferential Treatment of Backward Classes and Weaker Sections - A Constitutional Approach
15. P. Chandrasekaran
Wealthy Individuals In Tirunelveli Area
During the Medieval Pandya Times of Tamil Nadu.
16. J. Raja Mohamad
Porto Novo in Coromandel - South East Asian Trade and It's Muslim Maritime Community
17. Dr. A. Ramachandran
Tamil Muslims Role in Maritime SouthEast Asia
18. Dr. N. Alagappan
Crimes and punishments in the Medieval Tamil Country.
19. Dr. A. Suryakumari & Dr. V. Yasodadevi
Forceful eminent Women Personalities in South India in Medieval Period.

III ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY

1. M. Mathialagan
A New Note on Bramahatya Image Found at Tiruvidaimarudur Temple.
2. Dr. R. Alalasundaram
Sambandar's Devaram; A Study of its Uniqueness
3. Dr.B. Sheela & Dr. S. Govindaraju
A New Note on Gajasamharamurti Image
Found at Vazhuvur
4. P. Rajan
The Impact of Tamil Literature on
Metal Casting with special reference to
Villendiya Velan Image.
5. Dr. T. Chandrakumar
Visvarupa Vishnu: Fusion of Trinity Concept
6. Dr. P.M..Lalitha
Contribution of Vijayaraghava Nayaka to
Telugu Literare and Culture
7. Dr. C. Paramarthalingam
The Sanmargha Movement of St. Ramalinga
8. Dr. A. Velusamy
Thanithuvam Kattum Idabavagana Moorthy
9. P.M. Lalitha
Contribution of Vijayaraghava Nayaka to Telugu Literature and Culture.

IV HISTORIOGRAPHY

1. Prof. V.T. Chellan
Contents of Tamil Nadu Social History - problems and prospects
2. M. Nalini
Kalai Panpattu Varalattrukku
Sila Puthiya Sedhigal

8. LIST OF PATRON DONORS AND LIFE MEMBERS

222

PREFACE

We place on record our deep sense of gratitude and profound thanks to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for having sanctioned financial assistance to the publication of the proceedings of the Second Annual Session of our Congress, held at Annamalainagar, during August 1995. We also express our heart-felt thanks to Dr. Nanditha Krishna, Director of The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, for having arranged for the printing of the proceedings. But for her enthusiastic support, the proceedings would not have seen the light of the day. Our sincere thanks are due to the printers, who have done the printing work excellently well at a short notice. We are indeed very grateful to Dr. T.Edmunds and T.E. Mohan of the Editorial Board for having taken up the onerous responsibility of Editorship of the proceedings. We are also deeply thankful to Mr. R. Krishramoorthy Editor of Dinamalar, Dr. K.V. Raman and Dr. Chitra Viji for their kind co-operation and active support to us in the various stages of the publication of the above proceedings.

Dr. K.R. HANUMANTHAN
(General Secretary)

Editor's Note

The Second Session of Tamil Nadu History Congress was held at Annamalai University during 27-28 August 1995. Scholars from Tamil Nadu and from the neighbouring states attended and read papers. More than sixty research papers were presented in the conference. Due to constraint of "space and expenses involved" the Editorial Board, after deep thought, was able to print Twenty Six articles only in this volume.

The Editorial Board thanks profusely every scholar who has presented a paper in this Second Annual Conference. We crave for the indulgence of those whose papers could not be published. My special thanks are due to Dr. T.E. Mohan, Sr. Lecturer in History, Annamalai University, for his editorial assistance.

I register my thanks to Dr. K.R.Hanumanthan, General Secretary, Tamil Nadu History Congress and the members of the Executive Council, TNHC, for having given me the opportunity to serve in the Editorial Committee.

Madras
26 August 1996

T.Edmunds
Editor.

Executive Committee Members And Section Presidents

Patron Mr. R. Venkataraman
(Former President of India)

President Dr. S.V. Chitti Babu

Vice Presidents 1. Dr. K.V. Raman
2. Mr. P.A. Daiva Sigamani

General Secretary Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan

Joint Secretaries 1. Dr. P. Shanmugam
2. Prof. B. Ramanathan

Treasurer Dr. G.J. Sudhakar

Members :

1. Dr. P. Jagadeesan, Madras
2. Dr. A. Subbiyan,, Annamalai Nagar
3. Dr. S. Manickam, Madurai
4. Dr. K. Sadasivam, Tirunelveli
5. Dr. A. Suryakumari, Kodaikanal
6. Dr. P. Subramanian, Thanjavur
7. Dr. Asha Mohan, Pondicherry
8. Dr. K.L. Karuppusamy, Coimbatore
9. Dr. T. Edmunds, Poraiyar
10. Mr. N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam

Editor : T. Edmunds

Section Presidents: 1994

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Prof.S.N.Balasundaram | Political and Administrative History |
| 2. G. Thangavelu | Social and Economic History |
| 3. Dr. Nanditha Krishna | Art and Cultural History |
| 4. Dr. P.Rajaram | Historiography |

General Secretary's Report

Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan
General Secretary

Beloved and respected Dr.S.V. Chittibabu, the dynamic and charismatic President of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, Dr.M.G.Muthukumarasamy, the Vice-Chanceallor of the Annamalai University, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee for this Conference, Dr.P.L. Sabaratnam, the Registrar of this University, Dr.N. Subramanian, the well known Octogenerian historian of Tamil Nadu, Prof.N.Balasundaram, the president of the political and Administrative section and a seasoned senior scholar in both History and politics, Dr.G. Thangavelu, a senior Social historian of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Nanditha Krishnan who is deeply involved in the cultural and environmental studies of Tamil Nadu. Dr. P.Rajaram, an eminent historian, specially interested in the historiography of Tamil Nadu, Mr. R.Tirumalai a specialist in the Economic History of Medieval Tamil Nadu, Members of the Executive Committee, Fellow Delegates, Research scholars, distinguished guests, service minded students, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I have great pleasure in welcoming you all to the 2nd session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. The Congress conceived at Rajapalayam in 1990, born at Coimbatore in January 1993, Christened at Madras in August 1993 and formally inaugurated in December 1993 by Mr. R.Venkataraman the former president of India and felicitated by Dr. Navalar Nedunchezian Hon'ble Minister for Finance, is now a two year old baby. It requires the warm support and co-operation from all of you for its further growth.

Our Congress is a purely academic body devoted to the study and Research in History is general, (Political Social and cultural) and that of Tamil Nadu in particular. Membership in it, is open to all those who are interested in historical studies, irrespective of their basic discipline, occupation and residence. I am glad to tell you that membership in the Congress has crossed the number of 600, of whom 120 are Life members and six are donors. The members are not only from Tamil Nadu but also from Kerala, Andhra, Karnataka, Maharastra, U.P. Bihar and New Delhi. Ours is a national organisation wedded to the ideal of the Tamil sangam poets "யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்" (All places are our native places and all persons are our relatives) Under the broad perspective of world history we want to study and promote national and regional histories.

The first annual session of the Congress was indeed a grand success. It was attended by more than 300 members, of whom there were members from Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka states and

New Delhi. More than 60 research papers were read of which only 34 could be published owing to constraints of space. The session was held at the University of Madras on 10th & 11th Sep 1994. Dr.S.V.Chittibabu, Vice-Chairman of the State Council for Higher Education as well as the Executive president of the Tamil Nadu History Congress presided over the function during the morning session on 10th Sept. 1995. Dr.P.Jagadeesan, local Secretary and Head of the Dept. of Indian History, University of Madras welcomed the gathering, Dr.K.R.Hanumanthan the General Secretary presented the annual Report. Dr.Navalur V.R.Nedunchezian, Hon'ble Minister for Finance inaugurated the conference and delivered the inaugural address. Dr.S.V.Chittibabu delivered the Presidential address. Dr.Avvai Natarajan Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University, Prof.K.Rajaratnam, Director of the Centre for Research on New International Economic Order, Mr.R.Krishnamoorthy, Editor, Dinamalar and president of the Tamil Nadu Numismatic Society, Mr.V.V.Nathan Convenor of the Madras University Syndicate, Dr.Muthukumaran former Vice Chancellor of Bharathidasan University and Thiru.M.Nandagopal Managing Director of Mohan Breweries and Distillers Ltd. Madras, offered felicitations. Dr.C.Venkatesan former Dy.Director of Collegiate Education proposed a vote of thanks, with that the morning session came to a close.

During the afternoon the sectional meetings were held. The political and Administrative History section was held in Prof. Krishnasamy Iyengar Hall. As Dr.K.Rajayyan, the Section President could not attend the conference owing to indisposition. Dr.S.Manickam was requested to chair the section and conduct the proceedings. He readily accepted the request and conducted the sectional meeting. Myself and the Executive Committee express our heart-felt thanks to him for his timely help. The Social and Economic History section was held at Prof.K.A.Nilakanta Sastri Hall. Dr.C.E.Ramachandran presided over the section and delivered his presidential address extempore. Dr.K.V.Raman presided over the cultural history section at Prof.K.K. Pillai hall and delivered his Presidential Address. During the evening there was a cultural programme jointly organised by students and staff members of the International institute of Tamil studies. Women's Christian College, Loyola College and Ethiraj College. The Congress is much indebted to them for their excellent performance.

The Second day (11th Sept.) was utilised for the sectional meetings. During the noon the Executive Committee meeting of the Congress was held.

The General body meeting was held in the evening under the chairmanship of Dr.S.V.Chittibabu. He delivered an inspiring lecture on how to teach history interestingly. The General Secretary traced the origin and growth of the Congress and the trials and tribulations he had to undergo

in nurturing the infant organisation. He thanked the local Secretary and the donors for making the Annual Session a grand success.

The following resolutions were passed by the General Body.

1. Resolved that the authorities concerned shall be requested to introduce History as one of the main subjects of study in the schools and colleges.
2. Resolved that the Universities which have no separate P.G. Depts. of history shall be requested to open such departments in them.
3. Resolved that History, especially the History of Tamil Nadu, shall be made a compulsory subject of study even for science, Engineering & Medical Courses.
4. Resolved that History of Madras or the local history of the city where a university is situated be included as one of the optional subjects prescribed in the M.A.Syllabus.

The Registrar of the University of Madras Dr.P.Govindarajulu delivered the Valedictory Address which harped upon the importance of the study of medical history and such other socio economic topics. Mr. Daivasigamani, Vice President welcomed him and the gathering. Dr.P.Jagadeesan the local secretary replied to the sentiments expressed by the General President and General Secretary of the Congress towards him. He thanked all the donors who gave liberal donations and his students, and research scholars who helped him in organising the first session sucessfully well. The meeting came to an end after the General Secretary proposed a vote of thanks.

On 29.4.95 an Executive Committee meeting of the Congress was held at Madras, under the Chairmanship of Dr.S.V.Chittibabu, where in it was decided to have the 2nd annual session at Annamalai University Annamalai Nagar in August 1995. Dr.A.Subbian, Professor and Head of the Dept of History Annamalai University agreed to be its Local Secretary. Dr.N.G.Muthukumarasamy Vice Chancellor of Annamalai University was elected as the chairman of the Reception Committee. The general president and sectional presidents of the present session were also elected. Sub Committees were appointed to collect source materials for writing a Comprehensive History of Tamil Nadu, Preparing a Profile of Freedom fighters in Tamil Nadu, Directory of Thesis and a list of historians of Tamil Nadu. Subscription rates were raised as follows Rs.40/- for ordinary annual membership, Rs.400/- for life Membership. Rs.750/- for Institutional membership and Rs.1000/- for donors. It was also decided to organise a publication fund, and to have a seminar on "Improvement of the qualtiy of research is History" in collaboration with Tamil Nadu Archives.

On 9.8.95 another meeting of the office bearers of the association and the Local Secretary was held under the Chairmanship of Dr.S.V.Chittibabu to chalk out the programme of the 2nd session. It was pointed out that an election for members of the Executive Committee not necessary as they have been already elected for three years in 1993 upto 1996.

The Congress wishes to place on record its deep sense of gratitude and profound thanks to Dr.N.Mahalingam for having come forward to publish the research papers submitted in the first session, at his own cost.

ENDOWMENT LECTURE

(Sponsored by the Government Arts College Coimbatore)

RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF TAMIL NADU ITS CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

R.Thirumalai

I am deeply sensible of the great honour conferred on me by the Tamil Nadu History Congress inviting me to deliver this Endowment lecture. Coming as it does from an august body of Scholars and life long dedicated academicians, I cannot aspire for a greater recognition of the research. I have been doing for over half a century. The sphere of that work has been to harness scarce data strewn in the South Indian epigraphs to a study of the social and, economic conditions of Tamil Nadu from the 9th to the 15th Century. I have formulated them in regional and micro studies and have evolved general conclusions therefrom -but glued to the fidelity to the text, and its nuances. I have been able to cover Tamil Nadu in this manner from Kanyakumari to the Pennar (South) in my publications.¹

My studies have been based on the unpublished epigraphs collected and made available to me by the kind courtesy of the Government Epigraphist, and the Director, Epigraphy of the Archaeological Survey of India. They have exposed me to the content of the epigraphs, and uncovered the areas in which investigations can lead to definitive results.

Studies conducted, so far, by scholars, have been indicative and suggestive. I must recall the renowned epigraphists like Venkayya and K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer who have given valuable suggestions and inferences which were in the nature of hypothesis. They garnered the data, on selective topics or specific aspects the epigraphs threw up.

It was in the thirties that some attention was paid to bring out comprehensive collation of data on the facets of economic conditions rendered possible by the texts of epigraphs published, though they were, inadequate and continue to be. The most eminent example of this type of research is "The Economic conditions in Southern India" (AD 1000-1500) by Dr. A. Appadurai.

A number of studies on "Administration and Social Life" followed.² The most outstanding and stimulating studies which open up a vista of investigation are contained in the Chapters XIX to XXIII of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri's -"The Colas" Volume II part.³ This has the merit of a "Status Study", trying to collate the available data from the epigraphs. More significantly, every one of those five Chapters was a pointer to the studies still required and the gaps in knowledge that had to be filled. It has been my endeavour to concentrate on these gaps and fill them up to the extent my studies can.

At this stage, I am impelled to clarify my title to this lecture - "Restructuring the economic history". First, we have to acknowledge the work done on specific aspects yield data to weave a pattern. They serve as stage-studies. They underwrite the transformations that had taken place from an earlier era to a later. They also locate site or area-specific economic features which taking a series of studies together can bring out the variations among them both in space and in time. In all these aspects they serve as scaffolds for the restructuring of economic history. I would not go so far as to state a structure of economic history has already emerged. From what I have stated all that we have are the supporting frame-work, but the whole of the essential parts for a structure has still to be evolved. I am clear we have to re-do the work once again even afresh in order to alter or improve or renew the conclusions that earlier studies have come to. That attempt has to be to identify continuity or the lack of it in the economic activity of the community and the transformation in the economic fabric over a period, over a long period indeed, and the compelling circumstances that led to changes.

I may quote Fernand Braudell:

- By structure, observers of social questions mean an organisation, a coherent and fairly series of relationships between relations and social masses. For us historians the structure is of course a construct, an architecture but over and above that it is a reality which time uses and abuses over long periods. Some structures because of their long life, become stable elements for an infinite number of generations, they get in the way in history, hinder its flow, and in hindering it shape it. Others wear themselves out more quickly. But all of them provide both support and hindrance."⁴

In the light of the status-sum-up I have made, we have to identify the structure, raise it first and then restructure it. I shall illustrate this process presently with reference to my own studies and research.

It will be purposeful at this stage to set out the content of the economic history, particularly of Tamil Nadu. "Economic History" in the conventional sense, covers the spheres of production,

consumption and distribution of commodities or products, the factors involved therein and trade. The relationship between the State and the Community is covered by public finance. This is the general concept.

But qualifications are necessary and I hasten to spell them out. Restructuring the economic history is conditioned by the sources we have for the task- Tamil literature as such, offers but slender gleanings. The anxiety of the small farmer is well brought out by the Kuruntogai Simile "like a farmer with a single plough rushing to his field on the first on set of the drizzle."⁵ to refer to a lover rushing to meet his love from whom he was long separated. The scarce water resource and moisture in (rainfed) land is also well expressed. Such literary references are a measure of intensity of feeling. But in an economic history there has to be quantitative as well as qualitative volume and weightage in evidence.

We have, hence, to turn to the inscriptions for dependable evidence of value. They are spread overtime and dating them, we might be able to fix the period. The location of the inscription makes the evidence site-specific. They also give a wide variety of details on relevant aspects.

The content of the economic history of Tamil Nadu, is conditioned by the data that the epigraphs reveal. They may be segmental but they are yet adequate enabling us to give a satisfying account of the subject.

I now deal with "The Content" which we can unravel. First, many of the epigraphs are records of land-grants, and land-development, including reclamation. Land and land-development, then, constitute the most natural and significant core of this content. It virtually, covers the whole gamut of agrarian conditions, including tenures and subtenures. The entire medieval agrarian history was one of creation of intermediaries with segments of land-enjoyment or land produce granted to them. This opens up a fascinating vista for investigation. The enjoyment - not ownership - of land was the content of land-grants, But there were several - to classify, at least three tiers of enjoyment; the beneficiary the occupant, and the cultivating tenant. This last in its turn had several categories, pure wage earners, resident-cultivators, cultivators from without, and the Pallavas and Parayars - the Scheduled Classes as we now term them - including bonded labour. Every one of them had his share of the produce and enjoyment. And yet the State had its land-dues in tact even on land granted to the beneficiaries⁶

Land-development included reclamation of land. To compensate for the capital outlay made by the beneficiaries increment - remission in the produce due (as in a Cowle in the latter-day Zamindaries) was granted, by a rate of land dues was reached (Nirai-irai) over a period of 3 or 4 years. In the case of gardens the period was determined by the years them take to yield.

Reclamation of land was particularly called for in two extreme cases - in the Cauvery fed lands to the South (in Tiruchirapalli Taluk) where floods eroded the lands and filled them with sand.⁸

The patient activity to them for wet cultivation, or where that was not feasible, turning the land to fruits or flower garden or horticulture was spread over a century from the 10th and to the 11th century in the upper Cauvery belt. (in Tiruchirapalli Taluk).

The other extreme, of drought, and failure of monsoon had led to fields being obliterated and turned, into shrub jungle. Tanks were abandoned, and the bunds became obliterated. This too required painstaking community action to reclaim the lands. It was often recurring. The economic, history of the uplands of Ramanathapuram and Pudukkottai can bring out intensive activity of this from the 10th to the 14th Century".⁹

Land-dues obligations were varied. They were Pluralistic in character A variety of forms and the manner in which they were fixed reflecting the tenurial, and subtenurial characteristics of land-holding were evidenced. A study of these demands in cash and kind over a period reveal several hardening features - the conversion of services in kind into cash, increase in quantum; fresh levies and cumulatively the burden had, demanding relief.

Plenty of evidence is available for reconstructing the modes of relief afforded. This relief had two acts - the first the relief afforded by the King and his men to the occupants. The other was the relief by the occupants to the cultivating and non occupancy tenants.¹⁰

(For an account of such reliefs please see 'my Land Grants and Agrarian Reaction - Madras University)

The available data can help in restructuring the agrarian history of Tamil Nadu, and impregnate with full details, and complexities, of land-enjoyment and occupancies and the land-dues obligations.

Production, especially of agro-based products, Cotton, Cloth, for example, paddy pounding and dehusking oil, bouvine products, like milk, ghee and curds was extensively carried on. It is striking that there were even in the 9th century, five or six varieties of cloth suited for the different uses.¹¹ The oil gunnies were charged a royalty to the King. The yield of milk-cattle was low. The State of live-stock breed, and their yield were static for nearly six centuries from the ninth to the fifteenth century. A good account of the economic activity which were even primary or secondary, in some, can be reconstructed¹⁷.

The early Pandya inscriptions as well as the inscription of the Imperial Cholas give very interesting details of the pnces in terms of paddy or Kasu which help formulate comparative or relative

values of commodities. Commodities of local production are often priced in terms of paddy. Articles from without Camphor, akil, pepper or spices, sandal cardamom are often priced in cash. The voluntary levies of trading or merchant-organisations like Nanadesis or Annurruvar on such spices as cardamom and cloth also help by their scale, to fix the relative values of these items. The price-levels of every day provisions like spices, salt and condiments can also be gleaned from the 15th Century options of the Truvadi Chie occurring in Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli districts.

These data help also to distinguish the prevalent prices in different locations and at different periods. I have made an interesting case-study of the prices of commodities in the different dates of the same reign of Varaguna II but in two different locations, - Ambasamudram and Tiruchchendur.¹³ The relative values of the different commodities in use is also revealed by these data.

The inscriptions yield data on the wages of the temple servants, of gardeners, and the stone-masons and artisans. The activity of the community is centered around the temple; and the wages of the various categories of temple servants are a true index of the wage levels for similar classes of workers.

There are other aspects of economic report such as the exchange rates and the interest rates.

In regard to exchange rates, although a variety of coinage are noticed, the values they denote are far from being certain or clear. The Kasu - akkam relationship, the kasu-dramam nexus are noticed often. The latter appears to have varied depending on the meni, or exchange-worth of the dramam which had fluctuated from say 16 or 24 meni to 5 meni. The numismatic studies have not gone apace to establish the definitive values of the currency. Secondly, the kasu itself had been applied to a coin of totally different values. Indeed, kasu which was in the 9th and 10th century equal to a Kalanju of gold appears to have changed, to be debased and devalued. In the 13th century a kasu in copper appears to have been introduced in reign of Kullotunga III in the Chola domain and in the reign of Mar. Sundara I in the Pandyan Kingdom. Was this the effect of gold due to the recurring warfare between the two Kings? Appadurai had reasons to omit all prices expressed in terms of Kasu as its value was uncertain.

The interest rates also show wide fluctuations from over 25 or 30% to 10% and a category called -Dharmapolisai" (interest for charitable endowments) had been in vogue.

Trade and the swing of balance of payments can also be surveyed during the 9th to 13th century".¹³ Here we have to depend on the accounts of foreign travellers and the Chinese sources to discern the trends. Internal evidence fails us.

I might also refer to a source which is promising for demographic studies, and birth and death rates of a later period - The Parish records in the Bishopric of Cochin and the missionary records stored in Tiruchirappalli, Mysore and Delhi by the Jesuit missionaries. To these should be added the original records of missionaries and Catholic fathers in Goa and in Portugal which are well-preserved. This is an area which can yield materials for scientific studies on demographic trends, in which scholars will presuppose a knowledge of the language, the Portuguese or even Latin in which the documents are written.

This brief recounting of the content of the economic history that can be restructured is truly representative not only of the source material but also the activity of the community during the period. It is in substance an aged plan history of Tamil Nadu. But urban centres were noticeable in and around the capitals. We have some detailed information on the pre-industrial occupational activity of the artisans, handicrafts and Jewellers, and goldsmiths in Thanjavur in the time of Rajaraja I from the Temple inscriptions.¹⁶ The wages and activity of the stone-masons or carpenters could be gleaned from the Pandyan inscriptions. Together, the coverage would be coextensive with the human and community activity which was in demand and productive as reflected in the source material available for us.

Methodology:

No a priori methodology will fit in with the scientific investigation of the economic factors at work. An a priori method starts with a presumption, a theory and then it seeks to pick out data that suits it. It does not bring out the conclusions to which the evidence leads.

I am a student of the a posteriori School. I am subscribing to it also by conviction. The historiography of Professor Nilakanta Sastri was characteristically time-specific and anchored topographically. It gives heavy weightage for the internal evidence of the epigraphs. It seeks corroborative proof. It shuns presumptions and opinion not backed by data.

I quote:

"History is severely scientific as well as genuinely artistic. The historian has to make sure of facts by investigation and close analysis and then by the light of imagination and the living touch of sympathy to make clear the significance of these facts to himself and to his generation. The pursuit of facts as it may appear is an arduous task- It is essentially not only that each fact is correctly discovered and set forth. But that no relevant fact is overlooked. The historian must be content to go where his facts lead him with detachment.¹⁷

It is pertinent to illustrate my point with reference to the typical a priori approach, say, the Marxist theory. For one thing it is now accepted by the Marxist themselves that the knowledge of Indian Historical facts available to Marx were inherently limited.¹⁸ His own brilliant theoretical projections or predictions were rooted in his appreciation of the contemporary situation.

I would therefore commend the adoption of a painstaking collection of data from the direct study of the texts of the inscriptions. This is most rewarding. It brings to light several hidden facts that help interpret the archaic terminology of the inscription. From a case reference in a Tiruppattur inscription (Ramnad district) we get to know the adhoc levies (Viniyogam) distributed among the which the collective him to a along the street.

It is important to get to know the idiom. The contemporaneous prose exegesis of the Divya Prabhandam (The Idu of the Vaishnavite) helps. It preserves the Meaning of Jivana sesham "is the property left for subsistence and for maintenance." Santana chapam" is the succession or lineage of the heads of institutions like a matha. I have derived greate benefit from the illumination usage in these commentaries. The explanation by the ancient commentators (Perasiriyar Naccinarkiniyar and others) on Tamil classics are also of equal value. one has deep knowledge of the language, the icography, and the import of the terms used, the interpretation of the text will go awry.

Even lingering terms in the eastwhile native States or zaminidaries help. In the Chola inscriptions there appears to be no reference to crowned. But in the Pandyan inscriptions there are numerous references to "Kandulavu" in locations close to principal centres like Tirunelveli, Madurai and Tirupparankundram. "Kandu Krishi" a term in the erstwhile Travancore State even in living memory gives the clue to the tenure of these lands which are the royal do~ - crown lands. Marc Bloch's technique of tracing from the adult the characteristics of the embryo will have application.

I index the use of a term as it occurs in the texts I can lay hands on. The usages are varied, and the contextual or circumstantial evidence helps unravel the nuances of the term used. I then, get the meaning of the term taking care to see that the contextual content in one does not contradict that in another occurrence. This harmonisation is the more dependable when the number of occurrences is the larger¹⁹. But contradictions, to be fair, should not be brushed aside.

It is important that in indexing data, we concentrate subject-wise, taking up one aspect or subject. This will lead to all the relevant evidence being mustered together, and unfold factors which corroborate or conflict and contradict It is quite possible that an initial hypothesis may get

controverted by a subsequent datum."The Grand Perhapes" of Bishop Brougham is a live phenomenon in the reasoning of historiography. One need not be dismayed by it. The relief one can secure is through the unremitting pursuit of the problem and collection of further data to solve it. Many an initial conundrum can be dissolved, or resolved in the stratum of evidence, the larger such evidence is in its volume.

In this context, I may refer to the utility of the mechanical aids like computerisation. This is a valuable aid. But mechanical aids should be applied carefully and selectively. There are areas where the computer analysis can give a clinching response. The issue has to be straight and as far as possible, monotype, the data self-contained. No vitiation should be allowed, by feeding data having geographical compactness, and the time-spread determined. We can be realistic. At the same time the data fed should be typical and authentic and sufficiently wide. For eg. the proportion of land revenue - remissions among the totality of landgrants to what extent it was fractional. The voluntary community levies by the trading classes; and their parity or variation; the prices of commodities at chronological intervals; the relative or inter se value of the commodities, the cash to paddy nexus; the interest rates charged on deposits or endowments in terms of cash and paddy these are all issues on which computer compilation and analysis can be of great help. They are feasible, they will lead to meaningful results. But conclusions that all Brahmadeyas had individual holdings of land and all Urs had common holdings are intrinsically inconsistent with facts. A statistical method applied to such issues suffers both from sampling and nonsampling errors.²⁰

The methodology of the Annals School of France is by far the most comprehensive, circumspect and satisfying. It is a combination of all the different scientific technological, statistical and computerised data analysis. But it uses them as tools and the human mind with all its intellectual, analytical and even intuitive understanding and power are brought to bear upon the data processing. Nuances are not ignored while broad generalisation are evolved. Detail is not lost in the totality of the historical evidence. Individual is not lost in the history of the society nor the society is sacrificed for the individual Above all the travails of the human mind and its economic motivation are interpreted in conjunction with its other impulses and reflexes. It enables economic life to be interpreted whole-somely and in whole. The force of the "Longue duree" is clearly in evidence.

The truth is life is complex, and the human mind even curioser. The task of the historian is to divine from the known facts what could have been the whole and take a leap into the unknown

lecture. I now turn to the final part of my keeping the content, and the methodology outlined in view what do we expect from the restructured economic history, I have projected.

I should first deal with a significant characteristic of economic history - "continuity and change in historical understanding." In fact the medieval economic structure had both continuity and change - the former in a glaring manner, and the latter in a subtle but sure way. These apparently conflicting forces, one static and the other dynamic, make for a slow propulsion; sometimes so slow that one hardly notices. But its major contribution together is to emphasise the force of "longue duree" of the long duration of the process of life.

There is movement, nevertheless, but it is so slow that one hardly notices the propulsion, the motion in it. Fernand Braudell wrote:

In a seeming paradox, the main problem lies in discussing *longue duree* in the sphere in which historical research has first achieved its most stable successes that is, the economic sphere. All the cycles and inter cycles and structural crisis tend to mark the regularities, the permanence of particular systems that some have gone so far as to call civilisation - that is to say, all the old habits of thinking and acting, the set patterns which do not break down easily and which however illogical are a long time dying "..."

This means, a history capable of traversing even greater distances, a history to be measured in centuries this time from the historians of the long, even of the very long time space of the "longue duree". It is opposed to the history of events. The history of this school have a lively distrust of the traditional history, the history of the event. This break with the short time span worked in favour of economic and social history, and against the interests of political history. To quote Braudell again:

"A day, a year once seemed gauges. Time, after all, was made up of an accumulation of days. But - price curve, a demographic progression, the movement of wages, the variation in interest rates, the study of productivity, a rigorous analysis of money supply all demand much wider term of reference."²¹

This is the grammar of historiography of the Annals School to which I am greatly attracted. Its tools are myriad, quantitative history, computerised analysis of data, comparative studies of economic condition and data especially on the main element of the economy, agrarian conditions. It is very exciting to apply these methods and bring out the 'continuity and change' in the historical evolution of the economic history of Tamil Nadu.

I have already outlined the segments of the economic history on which the source material yields data. In and through them all seven significant trends stand out. I now proceed to deal with them.

First, the hold of the community and its organised formation, the Ur, the Nagara and the Sabha or Mahasabha over the ages and the loosening of their functional efficacy after the 14th century. These very community organisations were fostering individual holdings and enjoyment.

The density of occupancy holdings should have varied from tract to tract. In the Chola heartland it appears to be intense even in the 9th and 10th centuries. High Royal personages, like Sembian Madevi and the queens of Rajaraja I, and Kundavai his sister had to purchase lands in public auction for endowments. In the Pandyan Kingdom even a century or two later, virgin lands at the foot were available for reclamation and individual occupation. It is reasonable to presume that the ever extending occupancy by individuals was more widely prevalent in the 13th or 14th centuries than it was four centuries earlier. The main characteristic of the period was the increase and extension of the occupancy in land. But that did not mean collective or communal holdings were not existing. Indeed, they did. But various forces like the burden of land dues, rigid enforcement of the collective obligations to discharge them, had all led to the disposal of arable land held in common and their conversion into individual holdings. The stage, however, was not reached when this cut into the available of the pasture or land for common use. The full transformation - by enclosing community land for private use- had to wait till the 19th century.

Alongside the extension of occupancy was another significant trend the extension of irrigation, by use of surface water and even subsurface water in areas where the former was scarce. Here again two contrary forces were at work - conserving the right to water use already created or established and new ones being authorised by the community not repugnant to the former.

In both, extension of occupancy and of irrigation, the community had to @te, and it did to safe guard its mterests. Here, then were two trends fused - the commumty interests backed by custom, and enforceable by it and in recalcitrant cam by the King and the pronounced seam of personal holding and individual enjoyments sanctioned by the community and safeguarded by it within the regulated framework of the tenure.

The burden of land obligations had its own effect on the community. The barriers of nontransferable tentiures of land had to bend and be broken. Brahmadeyas and devadana lands were prohibited from sale by an edict of Rajaraja I. By the time of Rajaraja III these very holders had no means

to clear the land dues except to sell those lands. Services in kind had been replaced by cash levies and these had to be reversed. Individual holdings charged to a graded system of land levies (varisai) based on crop grown had become rigid lumpsum amounts for the township and the nadu (Niccayippu). Concessions had to be shown in terms of percentage, 20% and even 40% of the determined lumpsum. Significant changes these, both, in the Chola and the Pandyan Kingdoms.

The prices of commodities had revealed but little change. But compared of the time before and after the Imperial Cholas there was a rise in the price of paddy in the time of Rajaraja and his son. It did not regain the levels of the pre-Rajaraja and his son. It did not regain the levels of the pre-Rajaraja times till the latter half of the reign of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola. A hardening of prices could also be noticed in the time of Mar. Sundara I and Mar. Kulasekhara I.

Wages were mostly for sustenance. Labour was rendered cheap by the force of custom and tenurial obligations and bonded labour. There was less of change noticeable. Even so, the cash deposit from the interest of which the clothing had to be supplied for the labourers had fluctuated.

The prices of commodities too were generally of an even tenor though internal fluctuations were noticeable even within a narrow belt.

The agricultural technology, the breed of the livestock and cattle were all stay put. The yield of the milk cows was poor. "A cow would not even yield milk even normally" is cliché or dialectical maxim which had force. The actual recorded yield of milk cows was far less. This continued to be so for the whole period from the 9th to the 14th century. Hence, the fixed rate of sheep, cow, buffalo endowments for supply of ghee for temple lamps.

It will be interesting to undertake further studies on the demographic characteristics and status at least in select townships with concentration of population. The death rate could have been higher, what with the heavy cholesterol food and dietary habits among the upper classes.

These inferences are not conjectural. They are based on firm facts extracted from epigraphical evidence. That evidence also covers changes in holdings, transactions of sale and purchase, and properties devolving as Stridhana and their shares by their husbands acting for their wives where the former came from afar. An inscription from Kovilur of A.D. 1381 even lays down a regulation for dowry among Brahmins that it should not exceed 8 kalanju of gold, and 8 kalanju of silver.

I have necessarily dealt with that part of economic history in which I can claim specification. The threads can be taken further.

In the three centuries from the 15th onwards after intermediary, the Nayakkatanam had been introduced. Rentiers had been engaged. Land levies were more and more in cash, arbd in a lump sum. The villages, and even an aggregate of villages or Nadus had taken collective responsibility. Direct cultivation (Amani), and military fields (An~ of land holdings were in vogue. The economic conditions of the agrarian community had slid down further.

A significant change in agriculture was silently occunin& the @er impetus given to dry cultivation. More and more of dry lands were occupied, and varied grains were grown. Not that this was unknown earlier, but it was more extensively taken to. Diversity in cropping practices was a significant feature noticed. Settlements and colonies also sprang up in the uplands.

Alongside, artisans, weavers, and those engaged in handicrafts, and industries like natural dyes, were producing more. Money economy, and money lending for procuring raw material were coming into vogue towards the dose of the period.

The economic structure noticed in the early British times was not a sudden creation on the spur of the moment. It was in the making even already.

We have plenty of data in the records of the early British administration, in the District Collectorate records, and the Transactions of the Board of Revenue, on both - on agriculture, on pre-industrial modes of production. The records throw a flood of light on the agricultural practices, modalities of cultivation, and harvesting determination of land asessment, and collection of dues, indeed on many aspects of the farming system. These had preserved several ancient practices for long in vogue in Tamil Nadu.

The documentation helps not only as a direct evidence on the latter-day economic trends, but even enlightens us on the modes and practices of far earlier times.

In industry too the "put-out" system, the modes of production following demand, at once catering to and catered by fashion, in foreign markets, the capital advances made, the middlemen proliferating the hand made products in metal and wood - these are were-chronicled and utilised by specialist scholars like S. Arasaratnam.²² Their findings are readily available to be woven into the economic history of Tamil Nadu.

I have said enough to bring out the variety of information of economic import available in our sources, especially epigraphy. The task of restructuring the economic history needs discipline, strict adherence to the texts, and interpreting them with understanding and fidelity, and collating them to afford a firm basis for drawing inferences. In doing so, the short span of time runs against the possibilities of spotting out change. We need to adjust our perspective our vision, to a critical perception of change over the long period - the *longue duree*.

The task is as arduous as it is inviting. I trust I have kindled the curiosity of young scholars to take up this investigation. I have not merely pointed out the promising areas, but have presented a methodology. In my experience, and in my view, it substantially meets the requirements for the study

Thank you

Foot Notes

1. 1. Rahendra Vinnagar-Tamil Nadu Dept. of Archaeology.
2. Studies in Pudukottai Townships.Tamil Nadu Dept. of Archaeology.
3. Land grants and agrarian reactions in the Cola and Pandya times - University of Madras, Archaeological Series.
4. "The collected papers" - Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology.
5. "The Pandyan Townships" (Under publication by the University of Madras in its archaeological series).
6. "Studies in South India Historiography and epigraphical research' (Under publication by the Annamalai University).
2. For eg. Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas - Dr.C.Minakshi. "Administration and Social Life under the Viharnagar". Dr.T.V.Mahalingam.
3. 1937 Edition - University of Madras.
4. "History and the Social Sciences" - in French, Studies in History I p.76 (Ed. Maurice Aymard and Harbans Mukhia' (Orient Longmans)
5. "Iram patta Sevvipai paimpunat oreulavampola" (Kuruntogai:V131) Also "Mavirampogutenry Vidal kondoda" (Thanippadal) (UVS Edition p. 334-335)
6. For a detailed account please see my "Tenures and sub-tenures" Chapter in Pudukkottai Studies and "Land-grants and agrarian reactions".
7. Please see my chapter "on Land dues" in my forthcoming "Pandyan Townships"
8. Please see my "Collected Papers - pp, 1-26; 177-211

9. Please see my "Pudukkottai Studies" and the Pandyan Townships part II" under publication.
10. For an account of such reliefs please see "my Land Grants and Agrarian Reaction's - Madras University.
11. See for eg. the Tiruchendur inscriptions of Varaguna II-SII XIV 16A; Ep. Indica Vol. XXI p.101
12. I have done this in my "Pandyan Townships"
13. Ibid
14. "Economic conditions" - p.761.
15. Please see my paper "Trade and patterns of commerce in medieval South India (circa 700 to AD 1300) "The collected papaers" - pp.307-330.
16. I have utilised the data in my paper "Economic conditions in Tanjavur in Rajaraja's time" - to be published by IGMI
17. The "Study of South Indian history" - Inaugural lecture (Madras University Journal - p. 16) 1929
18. For eg. Dr.Kosambi's - An Introduction to the Study of Indian History - Chapter I
Also based on my personal converston with Prof. Hiren Kuckerjee
Confer. Braudell "Marxism is peopled with models. Sartre would rebel against the rigidity, schematic nature, the insufficiency of the model, in the name of the particular and the individual. I would rebel with him (with certain slight difference in emphasis) not against the model though, but against the use which has been made of it, the use which it has been felt proper to make" - Thses models have been frozen in all their simplicity by being given the status of Laws, of a pre ordained and automatic explanation valid in all places and to any society" -opcit p. 98.
19. Please see my interpretation of the tem "Karpura vilal" - (Pudukkottai Studies pp.(214-234)
20. Please see " Allur and Isanamangalam Revisited - (Teh Collected papers" pp.177-211)
21. Opcit- French studies -1 (pp. 69-100)
22. 1. "Indian commercial Groups and European Traders" (1600-1800) (II National Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia.
2. Indian Merchants and their Trade methods- (International Conference of Economic Hlstory Munich (1965)
3. "Weavers, Mechants and Company 1700-1900" (I.E.S.H. Revised - Vol. XVII-No.3.

PRESEDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

Prof. N.Subramanian

Dr.S.V.Chitti Babu, the President of the Congress, Dr.M.G.Muthukumaraswamy, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr.K.R.Hanumanthan, the General Secretary, Mr.Thirumalai, Section Presidents, Fellow Delegates and Ladies and Gentlemen.

I feel it an honour to have been asked by the Tamilnadu History Congress to preside over its annual conference being held here today; and, I am before you now to share with you some of the thoughts which passed through my mind when I agreed to address you. It is a great good fortune for me that we meet now under the auspices of this university; for to me it is really a home-coming to the alma mater which nourished me in my teens. Sixty years after that youthful experience I come back and speak in the strain which inspired the English poet to view the 'distant prospect of Eton'. Gratitude mingles with pride and pleasure when I recall the days I spent as a student in this university, benefiting as much by the generosity of its Founder as by the instruction of the great dons who made this institution truly famous.

Friends! More than two centuries have passed since Robert Orme wrote his History of the Military transactions of the British nation in Indostan from 1745; and nearly a century has gone by since the first earnest attempts by our own academics to reconstruct the past history of the Tamil Country; and surely it is time for us now not only to take stock but also to do some sincere introspection. Some such exercise will soon reveal that we have yet lessons to learn, arts to practise and superstitions to shed.

To begin with let me say it is incumbent on us to fight a monstrous superstition which has taken possession of the administrators of Public education. The impertinent insinuation that the study of history requires less intelligence than the study of the Physical Sciences must be countered by re-establishing the Baconian dictum that 'Histories make men wise'. What mankind urgently wants now is 'wisdom'. But then if this is to be achieved our present historiographical tradition requires complete reorientation.

Great changes are occurring in the fortunes of historiography which has emerged as a discipline in its own right; and it looks as if we have not yet caught up with the latest trends in that art. The new idea is to prefer universal histories to national histories, an idea which has motivated

the production of the monumental 'Cultural History of Mankind' by the U N E S C O. Though there are depredators of this doctrine of holism, it is certain that its advantages far outweigh its defects. While it is true that regional history and even local and parochial history is necessary for a complete gathering of relevant information, in the later half of the present century the realisation is growing that national and regional histories, can have no longer any place in the projects of senior historians, who must turn their attention to universal history. I am sure you are familiar with Professor Barracclough's statement in his HISTORY IN A CHANGING WORLD that it is only a history that is universal in spirit - history that looks to humanity in all lands and ages - that can serve our purposes. History will gain in relevance, because it will be nearer to the conditions of modern life in which the world is one and the fortunes of everyone are linked to the fortunes of all others. "This is not to deprecate the writing of national or other regional histories, but is only to insist that even those histories must be written as part of universal history so that correct perspective and proper judgement will not be missed. Absolutely local history tends to exaggerate parochial phenomena to universal levels. Mole hills look like mountains, ponds seem to be oceans and mice begin to resemble elephants. All history must be comprehensive, if it also to be comprehensible; for all values of history are ultimately and even immediately only relative and comparative; for when we say India is a large country it should be understood as large relatively to Denmark and Nepal and so on but small relatively to Canada, Australia or China. Similarly for antiquities and achievements. To avoid lopsided, partial and biased notions comprehensive history is necessary. In any case national and regional histories, if and when written, must not be allowed to cloud proper estimation or encourage unwarranted enthusiasms.

The most dangerous Circe, which tempts immature historians is sentimental bias of one kind or another indicating faint trace of narcissist tendencies.

Following my observation that universal history has to be the basic criterion of historical studies, it follows that in the curricula in our study of the institutions greater emphasis has to be laid on the study of the institutions and events of countries outside India than is the case now and we should consider halting continued intellectual inbreeding with national and regional histories getting a major share of our academic attention. Persons motivated by extra-academic considerations make the academic bed on which teachers and pupils are obliged to lie as uneasy partners. Poor understanding of international issues automatically follows, lack of emphasis on the study of the histories of powers mainly responsible for making the modern world what it is. The world today is towards coming together for the welfare of all mankind rather than drifting apart and insisting on regional interests. The direction in which the European Economic Community is moving, i.e., to secure a common currency, is a pointer to the universalist modern trend. Students

of history must have not only information knowledge but also directed towards that end. Universal humanist values will be the only values which will have any meaning or influence in the future.

As a measure of what academics can do to instil a sense of universalism in the minds of pupils and rid their minds of parochial ideas. I suggest that a study of the constitutional histories of the traditionally democratic countries be made compulsory alongside some legal studies relating to constitutional and international law. This will make the student think more in terms of the intellectual discipline of jurisprudence than sentimental political ideologies; a shift that will provide the necessary balance to the scholarly diet of the student. For a scholar, a judicial mind is a surer asset than political prejudices.

Even as universal history is the only valid and properly proportioned history so in humanist studies as in the sciences too, there is no longer any unidisciplinary study but we have only multi and inter-disciplinary study; hence no study is entirely autonomous. We are getting back to the Greek concept of philosophy standing for all knowledge. The infinity, thought of by the General Theory of Relativity and the absolute monism of the metaphysician and the high reaches of mathematics and modern logic tend to reach the same point. It is no longer proper to speak of History, Economics, Politics, Sociology, Literature and Law, etc., as independent disciplines. Today, inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary approach to branches of knowledge has become indispensable, and of them history is a senior matron whose comprehensive vision includes all neighbouring disciplines. All historical research has to be inter-disciplinary hereafter, as human life is multi-faceted.

Among historians the unwary and the weak are subject to the baneful influence of two forces, one internal and the other external. The internal is one's own prejudice, bias, subjectivity of various kinds. Some of them are inherited, some acquired and some others injected through bad education. But against all these he must be proof, if he is at all to handle the very tough assignment, viz. historical research.

Bias can be involuntary, inherent in one, unsuspected even by oneself. That must be corrected by conscious effort. But willed bias is unpardonable. Some of its consequences are misinterpretation of the past and abuse of the past for present benefits, political or otherwise; these are heresies not to be tolerated by lovers of truth. The historian, like any other normal mortal, is endowed with two eyes so that he can keep one eye on validity and the other on truth and constantly try to keep the distinction between the two clear. The historian necessarily guesses the happenings during the dim epochs in the past history, like the pre-Sangam or Kalabhra periods; but the

guessing must be cautious and not adventurist. It is necessary to remember that all source of historical information are not equally reliable and it would be most advisable to depend as little as possible on astronomical data for in many cases the data can turn out to be spurious or invented. Since we know that our source of information can be tainted by ancient vested interests and should be accepted only on satisfactory corroboration, criticism of source material has to be extremely rigorous.

But even if one can conquer one's subjectivity as far as one can, it is necessary to remember that one functions after all in a social, political, economic environment exactly of one's own creation directly or indirectly. True history can be written only in an atmosphere of full freedom. Unbiased history will be inhibited by an atmosphere of despotism; and subordination of academic values by political interests. When the environment is hostile to and discourages truthful history, the historian must downtools and bide his time rather than agree to write false history to save his skin or fill his pocket.

Of all the forces which seduce a historian from his path of academic rectitude, the temptation to yield to cheap nationalist, chauvinist impulses is the most dangerous. Territorial patriotism, chauvinism, nationalism, linguistic and religious fanaticism; these are usually the highest bidders in the auction to part with academic conscience. All romantic attitudes to history must be severely eschewed. Alongside this essential consideration, there is another point which deserves the utmost attention of the seeker after truth. The historian has to function as a judge in his dealings with historical material - the events, persons and institution which are mentioned by the sources. The data may relate to the history of the distant past or the recent past or may even be contemporary ones. As a judge he shall not only be impartial but treat all those who appear before him as equal to one another and equally subject to the severity of his scrutiny and equally answerable to the calls of justice. No one is exempt from this. In short, in history there are no sacred cows at whose altar it burns incense, by sacrificing truth (as it appears to the historian) and the dictates of honest conscience; nor does history know whipping boys who are born to be whipped for all the faults of these sacred cows. These are traditions unknown to objective and scientific history. It is clearly unacceptable that certain persons, institutions and events should be beyond historical criticism. The laws of libel and defamation do not apply to those who have earned a place in history - praise or blame coming from historians must be treated as part of an unavoidable academic function which if silenced will amount to stifling the conscience of mankind, and preventing the future from having free access to the truth about its past. If the right of the historian to speak his mind without fear or favour is questioned, the intellectual freedom of the country will be in peril; and that freedom is more important than any other

freedom; and the opportunity to agree is not as important as the freedom to disagree. It is the function of the academic community to resist with all its moral might any attempt to invade the vast and unquestioned territory of that freedom. If and when a person attains a place in history, he or she does so subject to his or her agreeing to be assessed by historians as their critical judgement bids; and no hold barred. The privilege of being considered a historically important person has to pay this price. When sacred cows are treated as merely a certain order of cattle, as they should be, the mediocre lack nerve suspects irreverence and crosses himself. If God Almighty plays a role in the affair of Man - as it seems He frequently does - even He will be subject to the ruthless criticism of the Historian. A famous Tamil poet of the Sange Age, Madurai Kanakkayanar Mahanar Nakkiranar, of whom the Tamils can be truly proud, had already set an example in this regard, as students of Tamil literature know. Those who lack the moral courage to realise this must keep off this rather demanding discipline.

Many of these difficulties can be obviated if the historian takes care of his methodology. The historical investigative enterprise begins with the assumptions that it is the duty of the historian to move towards truth irrespective of possible obstacles and difficulties of various kinds and also that he must equip himself with the tools needed for the research for truth. These tools and their functions are collectively called 'historical methodology'. A seeker after truth must not only be knowledgeable and courageous but also just and reasonable. He shall not allow fallacies to enter any of his arguments. Every sentence must be tested to see if it logically flows from its preceding sentence. Historians are capable of many kinds of fallacies, e.g. fallacies in inquiry, fallacies in explanation, and fallacies in argument. Even students of elementary logic know that the fallacies of *Post hoc ergo propter hoc*, *argumentum verecundum* and *petitio principii* must be carefully avoided if conclusions must be valid. Hasty generalisations and false analogies are tempting pitfalls from which one ought to guard oneself. No student of history can too often consult the valuable book on historical fallacies by Fischer. More than all these it is incumbent on a historical researcher to remember always Ockam's injunction that 'assumptions introduced to explain a thing must not be multiplied beyond necessity'. This extremely wise advice given by the great English Schoolman means also that we must not draw more conclusions from given premises than the premises strictly warrant. Today you will find even Ph.D. theses in history groaning under the weight of unwarranted conclusions drawn from limited premises. This is a great obstacle to truth. Serious and stiff training in logical methods is an absolute necessity for those who wish to do research in history.

The senior historian is an architect and his skills have to be specialist skills and his craftsmanship comprehensive; so he needs vision and perception. The historian who is usually called 'a prophet

in reverse' has also to be somewhat a prophet in the forward direction. We know on the strength of Karl Popper's wisdom that prophecy is no part of a historian's function. But he can at least function as a signal that warns those who heed, of possible disaster; for considerable experience of the past, revealing human nature, more or less in its entirety, gives the historian enough wisdom to imagine error and warn mankind against it. This will occur at the highest levels of historical understanding. Tedious details are really of no moment to him; they waste his time. They must be left to junior craftsmen, the casual labourers in the field.

It is not enough for a historian that data should be collected and put together somehow, and communicated anyhow without reference to the elegance of the language in which it is communicated. History must be not only a source of useful information but also be an opportunity for pleasure and delight and upliftment of the spirit. Historians are next of kin to men of letters. They depend very much on each other and the art of the one must embellish the fact of the other. This is what is well understood by great writers in various disciplines; See how G.M. Trevelyan the historian, Lord Keynes the economist, the Huxleys the biologists, Russell the Philosopher and so on contributed as much to literature as to their particular disciplines.

Corrupt winds blow which tempt weak souls to forget hard virtues and opt for easy gains. Education should aim at equipping the adventurer in search of truth with the spiritual tools needed to resist these winds and assist his or her intellectual freedom. No one knows better than the historian how his freedom of thought and expression has been threatened and his endeavours thwarted by evil forces from time to time, but it is also somewhat inconveniently far off. The gallows and the stake stand witnesses to how freedom of thought and expression was suppressed brutally by vested interests when Savonarola and Huss were persecuted. The sordid story began in fact as far back as Socrates, the Athenian himself, twenty four centuries ago. Profitable patriotism can easily lure one to sell truth for a transient mess for political pottage. But that must not deflect the historian from his duty. He must avoid the criminal defects of suppressio veri and suggestio falsi; and he must have the courage to say with Niebuhr, the great German historian: "In laying down the pen, we must be able to say in the sight of God I have not knowingly nor without earnest investigation written anything which is not true". The search should be for the objective reality in the realm of facts and truth in the world of values. But it may be added that fearlessness does not mean rudeness or dogmatism or intolerance, but only professional integrity which is not negotiable under any circumstances.

Thus it is 'with courage and faith' - which happens to be the motto of this university - that the historian should undertake his profession and practise his craft, i.e., with faith in his values and the courage required to persist in it.

A few minutes ago I spoke about our having to learn lessons, practise arts and shed superstitions. I shall now mention and analyse the nature of one superstition which knowingly or otherwise very much influences by distorting the historian's judgement. There is a widespread belief that there is such a thing as 'charisma' which inheres in certain persons and influences all those who contact them. It is defined by the lexicon as 'a special quality that gives an individual, influence or authority over large numbers of people'. In scientific fact there is no such thing as 'charisma'. Max Weber who was in a hurry and was fast formulating a number of social ideas in shorthand form popularised this word though it meant an inability to account for 'the special quality in persons who influence large crowds'. But let me explain the phenomenon. A influences and is followed with admiration and approval by B,C,D and E. Interested persons and ignorant ones ascribe the phenomenon to 'charisma'. But one or more of the following must be the real reason for B,C,D and E, following A. 1. A may be in a position to distribute illicit benefits to B, C, D and E and neither the giver nor the taker (as in the case of bribes) will admit it, but some others who may be paid agents of A or unthinking newspaper men or political party colleagues writing biographies may attribute to 'charisma'. 2. A may be in a position to threaten B,C,D and E with evil of one kind or another and out of fear the latter may follow A. 3. B,C,D and E being dense would naturally lack the ability discover A's subterfuges or feet of clay and follow A merely because many others are also doing so. We know what kind of charisma it was that made Schuschnig buckle under Adolf Hitler. Knowledgeable historians who will not be lured by romantic notions can find out there are discoverable reasons is able to attract and control so many. Disciples follow saints, the poor follow the rich, robber chiefs hold in lease whole gangs of thieves, and fools follow the knaves; all do so for their own particular reasons; but there is no inexplicable halo around anyone. These are only interests, mentioned or not; they are all explicable. It is the historian's job to discover them and put each man in his due place in history.

In democratic societies which are open societies, one does not come across this phenomenon; no one talks about it either. in closed societies unrevealed advantages and threats are clouded by the romantic word 'charisma' and intellectually lazy people accept the explanation. the 'no man is a hero to his valet' is a truer statement than Carlyle's impressive array of heroes.

Rewriting of Indian History or the history of any region of the subcontinent has been talked about more as a matter of prestige than one of academic necessity. It has also been practised though with indifferent results. Rewriting can only mean adding newly discovered material and trying newly emerging critical methods; more than this what is needed, and has been woefully deficient all along in our historiography, is the attention to critical as well as credible estimates

of individuals and institutions. There is no need to be defensive in dealing with local institutions and traditions. The historian shall have no vested interest anywhere anytime, native or foreign, past or present.

There are two things a historian has to do; 1. to understand the past. While doing it he should sympathetically study the past, i.e. try to understand it in its own terms and avoid completely the fallacy of historicism, e.g. try to know why the past behaved as it did and why its achievements were what they were. But morally judging it, the historian's own scale of moral values must necessarily be the yardstick. This is what a good judge must do. For example we understand slavery, feudalism, the caste system, colonialism, nationalism, etc. on the basis of their contemporary inevitability, but judge them all by our own values marked by universal humanism, liberty and egalite.

Twenty years ago, i.e. in 1975, presiding over Section I of the Indian History Congress in Aligarh, I said 'much of our talk about the need to write the social history of ancient India remains at a high altitude of ardent wish'. After twenty years I find no need to change that statement. It is still true, and we are defaulting on it. What is true of all India is true of Tamilnadu also. Except for the Sangam Age, the Social history of the Tamils has not been sufficiently and satisfactorily written; these qualifying adverbs are needed because social history is either fully - written - i.e. written after critically utilising all the available evidence - or not written at all. For the period after the 6th century A.D. we have abundant epigraphic evidence all of which has not been published, though discovered and noticed. The unpublished inscriptions belonging to a period of a thousand years from the 6th to the 16th century are so many that non-utilisation of that material leaves our present knowledge of the social history of that period very deficient. From A.D. 1700 onwards we have a plethora of archival material, all of which has not yet been properly docketed, categorised and used for historical purposes. When such thorough and exhaustive use of the epigraphic as well as archival material has been made, then it will be time for the historians to begin writing the social history of the concerned periods. Of all the centuries still remaining insufficiently lighted, the 18th is the most important. The Dubash's Diary and native ballads are no substitute for a total utilisation of all available materials, not the least of which are the East India Company papers - the English as well as the French - and the Christian Missionary Papers. True and complete knowledge - especially the socio-economic part of it - of the history of the Cholas i.e. that century alone can fit one to understand the succeeding two centuries.

Apart from social history which includes economic and religious histories and the intellectual history of the many centuries under study, a comprehensive history of Tamilnadu from pre-historic times to the present day has not yet been thought of. I am not unaware of the short

histories of Tamilnadu now in use by students of history in colleges and universities; but I am thinking of an exhaustive multi-volume history keeping in mind the examples of the Cambridge History of India and the Oxford History of England and it has to be an inter-disciplinary project. Such a project can be executed only by a large committee of scholars on which a few competent Economists and Sociologists also must sit and I hope some academic authority will so think of such a project.

There is but one thing to which I wish to draw your attention. The honest and truly learned historian, like the good and conscientious teacher, is labouring under almost irresistible handicaps of which the distortion of history by certain vested interests is but one. There are forces which daily misrepresent history through almost every available medium - print as well as electronic; the influence of these forces is equalled only by their ignorance. These forces have to be resisted by the scientific and non-aligned historian who must hold the fort till better times dawn.

My advice to the aspiring historians of Tamilnad is to follow the sage advice of Voltaire, the great Frenchman : 'Cultivate your garden' - taking care to put up a fence strong enough to keep out external forces and throwing out mercilessly the weeds from within and raise a scholarly historiographical crop worthy of the land and its people.

Now it is time for me to draw to a close. I began prospect my address with a reference to Gray's 'Ode to a distant prospect of Eton'; I am afraid I may have to end by harping back to the same poem, especially its last two lines and warn honest practitioners of the art of history that in a world where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise'; but let us take heart. It is certain that history will overcome all the travails and emerge victorious as the 'open book' of the Fate of Man.

The voice of the passing out generation has now finished speaking to the coming up generation; and only time will show what the latter chooses to make the message.

Friends, I began this address by thanking you for asking me to speak. Now I end by thanking you for your patience to listen.

Thank you.

SECTION 1

**POLITICAL AND
ADMINISTRATIVE
HISTORY**

POLITICAL & ADMINSTRATIVE HISTORY

SECTION

THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIA'S PAST - PIONEERING EFFORTS OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS

Prof. S.N. Balasundaran

I

I thank very much the President, Dr.S.V.Chittibabu, the General Secretary, Dr.K.R.Hanumantah, and the members of the Executive committee of the Tamilnadu History Congress for having chosen me the President of the Polotical and Administration Section of the Second Annual Conference. I deem it a rare honour in the evening of my life that I should be recognised as a member of the historian's fraternity.

II

The theme of my lecture relates to the pionering work of writing trustworthy Indian History in the nineteenth century by the British and European scholars, especially the civilians turned historians. The focus would be on the civil servants of the East India Company and of the succeeding Government of India under the Crown, who laid the foundations of Indian historiography. The pioneers, like James Prinsep who in 1837 deciphered the Brahmi script and brought to light the edicts of Asoka and Sir Alexander Cunningham who, as the first Director of Archaeology in 1862, laid the foundations of Indian Archaeology, were engaged in the discovery of India's past with the zeal and dynamic energy of committed men; they were like the first settlers on an unexplored land, and tirelessly working on the virgin soil, raised the first crop of historical knowledge.

The period from Jones to Cunningham may be called the "heroic age" in the historiography of India, comparable to the heroic age of Homer in the history of Greece and that of the Mahabharatha in the history of India. During this period great, valiant and curious Titans struggled hard with a view to discovering ancient Indian history and culture and bring to the Knowledge of a non-Sanskritic world the scared and secular literary worlds and the historical records in stone, copper and clay of the closed and self-evolving civilization of the ancient Hindus. Jones, Wilkins, Prinsep and Cunningham are undoubtedly the heroes who would continue to dominate the thinking of the ancient Indian historian. Among their many colleagues they shone like polestars. But

there were many whom we, following Shelley, may call "the illustrious obscure" who do not attract the notice of the historian. In 1797 Col. Colin Machenzie "visited and later excavated the setup site of Amaravati and compiled a mass of unpublished notes and drawings, which are still of great potential interest".¹ During his tours in Southern India, Buchanan recorded and illustrated a number of monuments. His record as well as his illustration of Gommatesvara of Sravana Belgola was perhaps the first.² In 1826, Masson visited the great mound of Harappa for the first time.³ The heroic period witnessed both astonishing feats of achievements and downfalls for the heroes being mortal were liable to error. James Prinsep deciphered the Brahmi script unaided after struggling with unmitigated labour for seven years; and Cunningham, though gratefully remembered as the creator of archaeology in India, was not beyond censure from his contemporaries, like Fergusson. His work at Sanchi invited criticism. F.R. Allchin observes, "He (Cunningham) tells us that at stupa 2 at Sanchi within two hours of commencing work he had discovered the relics. Incidentally, he completed the destruction which Johnson had begun in 1822."⁴

Prinsep's deciphering the Brahmi script was a great tour de force and its great value lay not only in the fact that it led to the discovery of Asokan inscriptions but in the fact that later inscriptions scattered in different parts of India could be read because the Indian alphabets developed from Brahmi in regular, evolutionary stages. The historian of Ancient India should be grateful to the Assay Master at the Calcutta Mint, since for seven long years he struggled alone with unremitting toil and finally unravelled the mystery that had baffled the ingenuity of all the Indologists since Sir William Jones. The historical significance of Prinsep's decipherment soon came to be grasped; for almost all inscriptions before circa 450 A.D. were written in the Brahmi script which prevailed throughout India except in the Northwest Punjab where the inscriptions were found to be written in the **Kharosthi** script.

The establishment of the Department of Archaeology and the appointment of Sir Alexander Cunningham as the first Director of Archaeology in 1862 led to the systematic collection of inscriptions and they became available to the historian with the publication of **Ephigraphia Indica** in 1892. The appointment of Dr. E. Hultzsch as the Government Epigraphist was an important landmark. Being a south Indian specialist, Dr. Hultzsch spent all his energy in collecting and deciphering south Indian inscriptions. With the help of inscriptions, he constructed an outline of the history and chronology of the southern medieval dynasties such as those of the Pallavas, the publication of the **Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy** in 1888 and that of the **South Indian Inscriptions** in 1890.

Thanks to the effort of Prinsep, inscriptions were available to the historian and he could now write the history of Ancient India with confidence and certainty for they constituted the main source of political history. The earliest historical works, such as Sir R.G. Bhandarkar's *The Early History of the Deccan* (1884), were based on inscriptions and they could still be read with profit. The historian cannot ignore the valuable service rendered by the numismatists for the study of coins have helped him to write the history of Ancient India. The history of Indo-Greeks has been written on the evidence of their coins bearing legends in Greek and **Brahmi**. However, when the whole picture is taken into consideration the historian of Ancient India relies mainly on inscriptions for writing the political history of ancient India.

One specific example illustrates the value of inscriptions to the historian. For a very long time the exact birth-place of the Gautama Buddha was not known for none could locate **Lumbinivana** where his mother gave birth to him on her way from **Kapilavastu** to her father's house. In spite of some clue provided by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Huan-Tsang, Cunningham could not locate the place. In 1896, Dr. Fuhrer found a stone pillar in the village of Padeira in the Nepalese Tarai in Bhagwanpur tahsil of Batoul district. When he was excavating round the pillar, Fuhrer discovered a record engraved on it. This was the famous **Rummindei** inscription of Asoka telling the posterity that the Mauryan Emperor visited the Lumbini village, the birth place of the Buddha, offered worship and freed of the village from all taxation.

It became clear to the pioneers that the inscriptions constituted the backbone of Ancient Indian History for they provided the contemporary record the historian valued most. They helped the historian to fix the dates of events approximately. The inscriptions constituted the **terra firma** of facts, they constituted the main source for writing the political history of Ancient India; they confirmed or denied literary evidence, and they were supplemented by numismatic evidence.⁵

III

The appointment of General Sir Alexander Cunningham as the first director of Archaeology in 1862 by Lord Canning constituted the next forward movement in the valiant efforts of the alien rulers to discover the rich heritage of India's past. The duties of the new Director were defined as being "to make an accurate description of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it traceable and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them."⁶ In 1871, Cunningham's post was elevated to that of Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India and his duty was "to superintend a complete search over the whole country and a systematic record and description of all architectural and other remains that are remarkable alike for their antiquity or their beauty, or their historic interest."⁷ The twenty-three volumes

of Cunningham's exhasutive Report prove the ability of this pioneer and contain the results of the survey of the central and northern parts of India. In the critical estimate of Sir John Marshall, Cunningham was truly a great pioneer, with an almost uncanny instinct for arriving at the truth, even when, as sometimes happened, his reasoning was at fault.⁸

On the retirement of Cunningham in 1885, Dr. James Burgess who had been holding charge of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies as Archaeological surveyor succeeded him. His method of approach was different from that of his predecessor; he did not attempt at conducting a comprehensive and connected survey nor in his reports, did he aim at exhaustiveness, like Cunningham, for they ran "in a different groove and on another plane of scholarship." "A specialist in his tastes," Sir John Marshall observes, "Dr. Burgess concentrated his abilities on special classes of monuments or on special tracts of country whose peculiar interest attracted him. **The Buddhist Caves of western India (NIS IV)** and **The Antiquities of the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts (NTS III)** exemplify this trait."⁹ The output to Dr. Burgess was outstanding : out of thirty - two volumes published between 1874 and 1902 Burgess himself wrote thirteen.

The pioneering role of Cunningham as the discoverer of India's past occupies a place of distinctive importance in Ancient Indian History; historians of Ancient India give him pride of place as the "creator of the Indian Archaeological Survey." The work of the late thirties, **revealing India's Past**, edited by Sir John Cumming emphasizes the creative aspect of his work as the foundation layer in the field of archaeology. His output is immense. Following Prof. Allchin, we may classify his works into three groups. The first group "includes the first volume of the **CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM**, the Inscriptions of Asoka (Calcutta, 1877), the **COINS OF INDIA** (London, 1891) and the **BOOK OF INDIAN ERAS** (Calcutta, 1883)."¹⁰ The results of his field-work carried out during extensive tours constitute the second group. They are "the volumes of the Archaeological Survey Reports in one of which was published for the first time a typical seal from Harappa."¹¹ One practical outcome of his tours was the publication of "the pioneer work **ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA** (London, 1871), which made available to historians the geographical frame work of Buddhist India."¹² The third group comprises "his reports on the detailed study of three great sites; Sanchi (The Bhilsa Topes, London 1854), Bharhut (London, 1879), and Bodh Gaya (Maha Bodhi, London 1892). The Bharhut report shows archaeological photography at a level it has rarely since attained in India."¹³

By virtue of his many-sided activities, Cunningham left his distinctive and deep impress upon the later Indian arhaeologists. But he did not spring suddenly out of an archaeological void as Minerva sprang from the head of zeus. He did not begin on a tabula rasa; from his predecessors

whom he rated "the closet or scholastic archeaologists" he inherited a legacy, though it was discursive and unsystematic study of ancient monuments; he held the view that archaeological researches before Prinsep had been mainly literary, for field archaeology was non-existent. Allchin takes a sympathetic view of the efforts of Cunningham's predecessors. He observes, "we shall see that the archaeology of Indian Civilization arose during the early period (up to 1850) and reached a definite pattern by 1850. This pattern was embodied by Cunningham into the Archaeological Survey."¹⁴ Summarizing the achievements of the early period upto 1850, Allchin remarks, "They lie mainly in the fields of numismatics, epigraphy, and the recording of monumental sites. Such excavations as took place were almost solely aimed at revealing structure or extracting the relics from the heart of stupas. Such were those of Ventura or Masson. The whole period is dominated by the enthusiasm of Prinsep, who inspired the collection of those materials upon which Indian archaeology was to rest."¹⁵

Since its early days, Indian historiography has heavily relied on archaeology and has been guided by the dictum, stated by Sir G.M. Trevelyan in his essay. *Clio, A. Muse*, that "the spade corrects the pen." For the facts revealed by archaeological excavations support literary evidence and fill in the lacunae in our understanding of the past, especially the ancient period of Indian history. It was after the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation by Sir John Marshall that we could understand the significance and meaning of such Rigvedic terms "anasas", "Sisnadevas" and "amitravachcha" that Aryans used to describe their enemies who lived in *purs*. Similarly, excavations at Arikamedu support the Sangam literary evidence regarding the sea-trade between the early Tamils and the Romans (yavanas).¹⁶

IV

From the days of the ancient Hellenes, India exercised the imagination of the Europeans as a wonderland of gold-digging ants and naked *rishis* living in forests, the fabulous wealth of the land aroused their commercial greed and the wisdom of Indian philosophers, attracted their intellect and influenced the Greek Philosophers like Plato. In the heydays of the Roman Empire, the west had only learnt of India's material wealth, if we were to go by the account of Pliny; but of its spiritual treasures contained in Sanskrit it had the remotest idea. A knowledge of Sanskrit was the key to the unlocking of the treasure-house of ancient Hindu civilization. But the study on that classical Indian language remained a closed book to the Europeans until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. When the British established their dominion in Bengal in the eighteenth century, the scholars and linguists among the Company's servants, like Sir William Jones and Charles Wilkins, became interested in the culture of the country and wanted to know its past.

The first step towards the study of Sanskrit was taken in 1776 when Governor-General Warren Hastings made the momentous decision that the Hindus should be governed according to their sastric laws in their private affairs. He appointed a commission of learned pundits to compile a code of ordinances. It was soon discovered that no Englishman familiar with the Sanskrit language could be found who would translate the original text of the compilation into English.¹⁷

The earliest of British Indologists, Sir William Jones (1746-1794) and Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), were the twilight on the horizon preceding the flash of the historical dawn. Indological studies began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the founder was Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. The study of India's past history followed suit in the nineteenth century after Prinsep had achieved the astonishing feat of reading the Brahmi script in 1837 and Cunningham began laying the foundations of Indian Archaeology on his appointment as the Director of Archaeology in 1862. In 1784, Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in co-operation with Charles Wilkins and a group of friends and became its first President. The Society soon became the nerve-centre of Indological activities.

The early Indologists formed the core of an expanding band of the Company's civil servants who were, engaged in the discovery of India's hoary cultural heritage; their task was to throw open the preserved works of a closed world of India's cultural past to a wider non-Sanskritic audience. They were not primarily historians, or archaeologists, or epigraphists, or numismatists; their chief interests was cultural and linguistic and it centered round the study of the Sanskrit language and of the literary and religious works in it. However, this early study of Indian culture began in an historical vacuum, for neither the Company's servants who were the initiators of Indological studies nor the Sanskrit scholars who were Brahmans and who taught them sacred and secular lore of Ancient India possessed the knowledge of Indian history.

The early Indologists and their successors turned their energies to translate the literary, religious and legal works into English. The first Sanskrit work to be translated into English was the Bhagavad Gita and the translation was done by Charles Wilkins;¹⁸ It was published in 1785 at the expenses of the Company through the efforts of Warren Hastings. The work reflecting Wilkin's scholarship created a stir in the world of European letters. "All hailed its appearance as the dawn of that brilliant light, which has subsequently shone with so much lustre in the productions of Sir William Jones, Mr. Colebrooks, Professor Wilson, etc. and which has dispelled the darkness in which the pedantry of Greek and Hebrew scholars have involved the etymology of the languages of Europe and Asia."¹⁹ After his return to England Wilkins published the **Hitopadesa** in 1787. Jones translated Kalidasa's **Abhijnanasakuntala** and published

it in 1790. He followed it with the translation of **Gita Govinda**. Jone's Institutes of Hindoo Law published posthumously in 1794 was a translation of the **Manusmiriti**.²⁰ Kalidasa's **Kumarasambhava** was translated and published by R.T.H.Griffiths in 1789.

The efforts of the founders of Indology were carried on by their successors such as Henry Colebrooke (1765-1835) and Horace Hayman Wilson (1789-1860) in the nineteenth century with redoubled vigour. The sacred, legal and literary works having an historical bearing were translated and published. A few illustrative examples would suffice. They were H.H.Wilson's **Vishnu Purana** (London, 1864-1870), R.T.H.Griffith's **The Hymns of the Rigveda** (Benaras, 1896-1897), J.Jolly's **The Institutes of Vishnu** (Oxford, 1880), **G.Buehler's The Laws of Manu** (Oxford, 1886), G.Buehler's **Billhana's Vikramankadevacarita** (Bombay, 1875) E.B.Cowell and F.W.Thomas's **Bana's Harshacarita** (London, 1897) and M.A.Stein's **Kalhana's Rajatarangini** (London, 1900).²¹

V

When the civil servants in the employ of the East India Company and other European scholars did their pioneering work in discovering the past of India out of curiosity and interest in the cultures of a politically subject but intellectually gifted people, the writing of the history of India conceived as a geographical and political entity began as an intellectual discipline in the western sense, namely, as a methodical study of past events. A tradition of Indian historiography was built up on the foundations laid by the patient, steady and constructive work of Prinsep, Cunningham, J.Fleet, W.Elliot, G.Hultzsch, G.Buehler, J.Burgess and J.Fergusson. This task was not only a pioneering but an uphill one. To the contributions of the civilians and many other British archaeologists, epigraphists and numismatists, the Western Indologists from Germany and France added. In the beginning, the main thrust was on the collection of facts and their collation with the various sources such as inscriptions, coins, indigenous literary works and accounts of foreigners with a view to verifying their authenticity.

The Englishmen, like James Mill, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Vincent A.Smith²² were the earliest historians to write a connected account of the history of India and they were non-Indian who brought to bear on the task a historical consciousness that was western in spirit, secular in outlook and humanistic and temporal in attitude. They primarily thought that history was a record of men living in societies which had undergone changes; and they attached great importance to human and material conditions that helped or hindered the development of man's social life. In short, they looked at India's past from a temporal and humanistic point of view.²³ Such an historical outlook, a new perception of the changing past, was not exhibited by the traditional

intellectuals of the Hindu society, the sanskrit scholars, from whom the British Indologists learnt the **vedas**, the **puranas**, the **itihassa** and the **dharmasastras**. The pandits, the custodians and transmitters of knowledge in the Hindu society, knew both the sacred and secular lore in Sanskrit and handed down to later generation of what they had learnt with textual exegesis. Of historical perception in the western sense which their eager, melechchha (alien) pupils possessed they had been hardly aware. They could brilliantly expound the Vedas in the light of Sayana's commentaries but could not subject the Rigveda to a critical historical perception, since their traditional system of education did not endow them with the virtue of historical consciousness. They could scarcely conceive of the Rigveda as a temporal historical document containing an account of the "Battle of Ten Kings" and giving a picture of the social, economic and political life of the ancient Aryans in the land of the sapta Sindhu; for they venerated sacred texts of the Aryans as sruti.

My argument may be contested on the ground that the indigenous tradition of historiography has been ignored. For example, Bana's **Harshacarita** which gives much valuable historical information till Harsha's rise to power is a fine example of that genus. **Gaudavadha** (The slaying of the King of Bengal), written by the eighth century poet Vakpati, describes the exploits of King Yasovarman of Kanyakubja who in the early eighth century founded an ephemeral empire, Bilhana's **Vikramankadevacarita** records the exploits of the kalyani Chalukya King Vikramaditya (1076 A.D. 1126 A.D) in war and love in great detail. Finally, Kalhana's **Rajatarangini** written in the twelfth century A.D, gives us the history of Kashmir in ample details.

My answer to the contention is that except Kalhana's **Rajatarangini** which is valuable for the history of Kashmir from the seventh century A.D. onwards, none of the other works can meet the rigorous criteria of sober historiography. They are either historical romances or panegyric biographies of kings by the courtiers. However, Prof.A.L.Basham estimates Bana ²⁴ sympathetically and favourably as a historian. "For all the floweriness of his style Bana's outlook has more in common with the 20th century than has that of any other early Indian writer."²⁵ The point to be borne in mind is that the ancient Hindus and their descendants who lived under the Muslim and the British rule had no comprehension of the history of their own country, because they lacked a sense of history as a temporal phenomenon, even though their kings and emperors had left innumerable inscriptions, and copper-plate grants recording their deeds. As they regarded the Vedas as high and sacred authority from ancient times, the object of their study of the Vedic literature was for the purpose of ritual and liturgy. The notion that Rigveda contained information of historical importance was as remote from their mind as the earth is

from the sun. The most charitable way of looking at this lack of understanding of the historical value of their sacred literature on the part of the Hindus is that they have so absorbed the past in the daily routine of their life, especially their religious life, that they need not bother about it from a temporal point of view. In other words, the past has been bound up so much with their present that it has ceased to exist as a distinct, comprehensible phenomenon. Whether we view the attitude of the Hindus towards History either with sympathy or with an unsparing critical perception, the fact stares in the face that the abundant historical evidence of ancient India remained undiscovered and undeciphered and awaited the arduous efforts of the civil servants of Company and the Western scholars who applied to the task of piecing together India's past the historical standards they had been familiar with.

The first generation of the historians of India were mainly the British civil servants and other Western scholars and they painstakingly laid the ground work of historical scholarship with professional competence and technical virtuosity; on this base the future historians both British and Indian, raised the fine edifice of Indian History. Beginning on what was virtually a tabula rasa, they had before them the achievements of the Indologists to inspire them in their stupendous task. Two great turning points in Indian historiography made possible the writing of the political history of ancient India; they were the decipherment of long-dead scripts of ancient India, like Brahmi, and the establishment of the department of Archaeological Survey in 1862. The indefatigable labour of the civil servants of the Company and later, of the Government of India in surveying temples, caves and inscriptions and in collecting early coins proved fruitful indeed. By the end of the nineteenth century, the source material for the writing of the political history of ancient India based on archaeological finds, inscriptions, coins, literary evidence and accounts of foreigners, like the Greeks and the Chinese, became abundant.²⁶

The political history of ancient India related chiefly to the narration of important political events that occurred in the Indo-Gangetic plains known as Aryavarta. In the words of Vincent A. Smith, the northern plains were "the seat of principal empires and the scene of events most interesting to the outer world".²⁷ He wrote in an era to direct his attention primarily to the north." He wrote in an era when Indian historical writing was in its vigorous youthhood, when he and his successors devoted much of their scholarship and attention to the records of North India and when the South Indian historiography beginning with S.K. Aiyangar and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri was in the womb of the future. Smith asserted confidently, "...the northern record is far less imperfect than that of the peninsula. Very little is known definitely concerning the southern kingdom before A.D. 600, whereas the history of Hindostan may be carried back twelve centuries earlier. The extreme deficiency of really ancient records concerning the peninsula leaves an immense gap in the history of India which cannot be filled."²⁸

The writing of Indian history from an all-India point of view by the historians springing from the civil service reflected on the intellectual plane the new political situation created by the British imperial rule over the Indian sub-continent; it indicated the achievement of political union of India with the establishment of the British sovereignty over the whole country, after the British had shattered the power of the Marathas under Lord Hastings and that of the Sikhs under Lord Dalhousie; and it unintentionally expressed a nascent, Western idea, the idea of India as a nation, since such an idea was far from the ken of the Western-minded chroniclers of India. This new political sentiment was avidly absorbed by the rising, English-educated middle-class that found its voice in the Indian National Congress; but it was stoutly and persistently denied by the colonial bureaucracy. The transformation of the idea of India as a mere geographical expression into the reality of India as a political entity first found its intellectual expression in the historical works of the civil service historians and Western Orientalists; such a transformation was the fall-out of the administrative and political union of India under British rule. This imperialist legacy of the administrative and political union of India we have been struggling hard to preserve since we became free.⁽³²⁾

In spite of our claim to have an indigenous tradition of historiography, the writing of Indian History began as a scientific enterprise in the nineteenth century by non-Indian scholars who brought to bear on the task the rigorous standards they had been familiar with in their intellectual environment. Such historians happened to belong to the ruling bureaucracy was an accident of History. The strange fact remains that our country's history was first given to us by the members of the ruling elite. It is indeed an irony of History that India did not produce a Thucydides or a Livius. The succeeding generation of Indian historians, like Sir R.G., and D.R., Bhandarkar, Jadu Nath Sarkar and S.K. Aiyanga took up the challenge and earned niches in the temple of Indian History.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| A.J. ARBERRY | : The library of the India Office London,
The India Office (1938) |
| A.J. ARBERRY | : Asiatic Jones, London (1946) |
| A.L. BASHAM | : The Wonder That Was India Calcutta,
Rupa, (1989) |
| SIR JOHN CUMMING (Ed.) | : Revealing India's Past London. The India
Society (1939) |
| G.P. GOOCH | : History and Historians In the Nineteenth
Century |

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| C.H. PHILIPS (Ed) | : Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, London, Oxford University Press, (1962) |
| A.A. MACDONNELL | : India's Past, Oxford, (1927) |
| R.C.MAJUMDAR | : Historiography In Modern India Bombay, Asia Publishing House, (1970) |
| K.A.NILANKANTA SASTRI | : Sources of Indian History With Special Reference To South India, New York, Asia Publishing House, (1964) |
| E.J. RAPSON | : Ancient India, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1916) |
| ROMILA THAPAR | : A History of India Vol.I (From the discovery of India to 1526) New Delhi, Penguin, (1990) |
| A.L.ROUSE | : The use of History, London, Hodder and Stoughton (1946) |
| VINCENT A.SMITH | : The Oxford History of India (2nd edn. rev.by S.M.Edwards) Oxford, Oxford University Press (1922). |
| G.YAZDAN (Ed.) | : The Early History of the Deccan (Parts I-VI), London, Oxford University Press, (1960). |

Foot Notes

1. C.H.Philips (Ed.) *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London, Oxford University Press, 1962 p.244. (F.R.Allchin, *Ideas of History in Indian Archaeological Writing*, pp.241-259).
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.* p.245.
4. *ibid.* pp.247-248.
5. *The Brahmi inscriptions in Tamilnadu has long remained a puzzle. Mr.Iravatham Mahadevan, solved it by clearly explaining that the Brahmi script of these in accordance with the Tamil phonetic system. In a path finding paper that he read at the Second International Conference of Tamil studies held at Madras in 1968, he pointed out that the Tamil - Brahmi cave inscriptions found in different parts of Tamilnadu such as Pukalur and Mangulam were the most ancient historical records of the Tamil people and that provided by them threw light on the ancient history of Tamilnadu gleaned from the Sangam works. The two rock Tamil - Brahmi inscriptions near Pukalur which on palaeographical growth Mr.Mahadevan dates*

C.200 A.D. contain the names of three generations of Chera kings of the Irumporai dynasty. Mr.Mahadevan identifies these three Chera kings with the three monarchs mentioned in the seventh, eighth and ninth decades of the Sangam classic. Pathirrup-pattu. Emphasizing the historical significance of the Pukalur Tamil - Brahmi inscriptions in supplementing and confirming the literary evidence, Mr.Mahadevan observes poignantly: "The importance of Pukalur Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions as the connecting link between tamil literature and history can hardly be exaggerated. The Pukalur inscriptions dated with the help of the Arikamedu graffitti will henceforth serve as the sheet-anchor of the Sangam chronology. The Pukalur period is in fact the classical Tamil Sangam Age of Auvaiyaar, Kapilar and Paranar, Athikamaan and Paari, and a host."

6. Sir John Cumming (Ed.) *Revealing India's Past*, London, The India Society, (1939)a. P.1.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *ibid.* p.2 (Sir John Marshall, *The Story of the Archaeological Department in India* (a) 1862-1902; Before Lord Curzon, pp.1-13).
9. John Cumming (Ed.) *op.cit.* p6.
10. C.H.Philips *Op. Cit.* P.247.
11. C.H.Philips *Op. Cit.* P.247
12. *ibid.*
13. *ibid.*
14. *ibid.* p.243.
15. C.H.Philips (Ed.) *op.cit.* p.245. (For detailed information refer to F.R.Allchin's article) A few examples are mentioned. Maurice's *Indian Antiquities* (London, 1794) was "Perhaps the first attempts to use the evidence of archaeological studies for general historical purposes" Bird recorded the west Indian cave inscriptions and published his *Historical Researches* (Bombay, 1847), J.Fergusson's *The Rock-Cut Temples of India* (London, 1845) was an early work on the caves. A magistrate of Bangalore by name Ram Raz wrote the earliest archaeological work by an Indian, *The Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus* (London, 1834) H.H.Wilson wrote a study of his coins.
16. The historian's effort at extracting facts from the puranic accounts acquires credibility only when convincing proof in the form of finds, supports events mentioned by

the Pauranika, R.C.Majumdar gives one such illustration of a Puranic fact supported by archaeological evidence.

The archaeological excavations, carried out at the old city of Hastinapur (In Meerut District, Uttar Pradesh) in 1950-1952, surprisingly confirm a fact mentioned by the PURANAS. The PURANAS say that the capital city of KURU Kings of the MAHABHARATHA, which stood on the banks of the Ganga, was swept away by the floods of the Ganga and that the ruling monarch, the sixth descendant of Parikshit (the grandson of Arjuna) shifted his capital to Kausambii. The puranic account was long regarded as a legend by historians. Since no reliable testimony could be adduced in support of it. But the potteries discovered during the excavations at the site in 1950-52, revealed that some time between 1100 B.C. and 800 B.C., the human settlement at Hastinapur came to an end, because the heavy floods of the Ganga had swept away most of it. (R.C.Majumdar, Historiography in Modern India, Bombay, Asia publishing House. (1970) p.35 (The Heras Memorial Lectures).

17. A.J.Arberry, *The Library of the India Office, London, India Office, 1938. p. 8.* (".....the original Text, delivered in the Hindoo Language, was faithfully translated by the Interpreters into the Persian Idiom." Quoted from *A Code of Gentoo Laws* (London, 1776), P.5. In *ibid.*
18. Refer to A.J.Arberry, *op. Cit.*, pp.13-24 for a short sketch of Wilkin's life and his activities in England after he has left the service of the Company. In 1800, Wilkins was appointed by the Court of Directors as the first Librarian of the Library of East Indian Company on the recommendation of Warren Hastings.
19. *Asiatic Journal, Vo.XX, New Series (1836), p.166, quoted in A.J.Arberry, op.cit., p.14.*
20. "Being shown by Wilkins a version of the Institutes of Manu which the latter was preparing, and of which about one-third had already been completed, Jones suggested that he hand over the venture to himself, and to this Wilkins, with remarkable self abnegation... readily consented." (A.J.Arberry, *op.cit.* p.15).
21. *I have concentrated on a few Sanskrit works. Extending their scope, the Indologists translated the Buddhist and Jones' works written in Pali and Ardha-magadhi respectively.*
22. James Mill, *The History of British India, London (1818).*
23. *Born and educated in the nineteenth century, the foreign writers on ancient Indian History accepted the principles of historiography prevailing in that century. The*

primary emphasis was on political history since the writing of history centred on the conflicts of power between the States. Such an historical outlook which neglected social and economic changes was described by Marx as "Bourgeois". The earliest works on ancient Indian history were political, i.e. they were concerned with the activities of the ruling dynasties since the sources were mainly ephigraphic. The British writers on Indian History persisted in the tradition and it flowered in the Cambridge History of India (Five Volumes, 1922-1937). However, there were rare exceptions like W.H. Moreland (Ref. G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*. London Longmans (1961) especially chapters XVII, XVIII and XIX, and A.L. Rouse, *The use of History*, London, Hodder and Stoughton (1946) pp. 58-66 for a succinct summary).

24. The following critical observation of Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri on Bilhana as a historian substantiates my statement, "In Bilhana's narrative of the civil war between the brother (Somesvara and Vikramaditya) there is little indication of any exact chronology. The poet implies that Vikramaditya's attack on Kulottunga, the alliance Kulottunga made with Somesvara in order to compel him to fight on two fronts, and the final engagement which decided the issue, all followed quickly after Kulottunga's accession to the Chola throne. This account is clearly against the evidence of contemporary inscriptions both of Somesvara and Kulottunga." (Ref: K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chalukyas of Kalyani* in G. Yazdani (Ed.) *The Early History of the Deccan, Parts I-VI*, London Oxford University Press, (1960), p. 353) However, Prof. Sastri recognizes the fact that Bilhana, "in the midst of much exaggeration and public embellishment, sometimes gives valuable clues to the history of the long reign of Vikramaditya VI". (ibid. p. 317).
25. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, Calcutta, Rupa (1989), p. 449.
26. For example, J. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, relating to the Gupta period was published in 1888 at Calcutta. W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* was published at London in 1886 and was reprinted by Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi, India in 1970. For a list of source books on Ancient Indian History published in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth, refer to E.J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, Cambridge, 1916, pp. 176-180 (Short Bibliography).
27. Vincent A. Smith *Oxford History of India*, 2nd edn. rev. by S.M. Edwardes, (Oxford, 1922), p. iii (intro.).
28. Vincent A. Smith *op.cit.*, pp. vii-viii (intro.).

SIR CHARLES TRAVELYAN, A MODEL GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

*Dr. K.Seshadri, Prof and Head, Dept of History
Directorate of Distance Education,
Annamalai University,*

Sir Charles Trevelyan was Governor of Madras for hardly fourteen months. But he left an indelible impression on the administration entrusted to his care. Every important department of administration received his utmost attention for improvement and development.

Born in a cultured family of Clergymen on 2nd April, 1807 and educated at Charter House and at Haileybury, he entered the English East India Company's Bengal Civil Service as a writer in 1826. From that humble position he rose to important positions thereby exhibiting his high abilities, a strict sense of duty and a great proficiency in Indian languages.

In 1827 he became assistant to Charles (afterwards) Lord Metcalfe, the Commissioner of Delhi.¹ During 1828-29 when he was only twenty-one years old, he exhibited his high sense of duty, honesty and fearlessness by publicly exposing the bribery and corruption of his own superior Sir Edward Colebrooks, the new Commissioner of Delhi.²

"He was almost everywhere accused and very generally out."³ But with a firmness and fearlessness he got Colebrook dismissed from service and he earned the approbation and appreciation of Lord William Bentinck the then Governor-General and his Council.⁴

From this time Lord William Bentinck marked him, "as a man likely to rise to the very top of the service." True to the above statement he was soon appointed guardian to the youthful Raja of Bharatpur. As guardian he evinced much interest in improving the condition of the people.⁵ He was then appointed Under Secretary to the Foreign Department of the Government of India at Calcutta. His report which was praised by Lord Macaulay the great English Parliamentarian led to the final abolition of the transit duties. It also earned him the special thanks of Lord William Bentinck and Council.

In 1834 he married Hannah Moore the sister of Macaulay at Calcutta and became one of Macaulay's most trusted friends. His eagerness and persistence made the government decide in 1835 in favour of the Promulgation of European Literature and Science among the people

of India. In 1836 he became Secretary to the Board of Revenue and in 1838 he left India for England.⁶ He returned to Madras on 28th March 1857 after serving in England in different capacities and he succeeded Lord Harris as Governor consequent on his resignation in 1858. Unlike him he held frequent darbars thereby creating an 'atmosphere of cordiality, politeness and freedom.' He had a fine sense of duty as well as of civic amenities.

It was largely owing to the pressure exerted by Trivelyan that the High Court came to be established so early as 1862. It was however in Revenue administration that he carried out immediately reforms which earned him name and fame. He converted thousands of inams scattered over the Province into secure, saleable and valuable properties and thereby directly provided the agricultural wealth of the Country. He fixed a uniform water rate of three rupees per acre for a single crop. He reorganised the Revenue establishments. He abolished the "olungu" system, the basis of which was a standard grain. He relieved the Revenue Department from the duty of executing public works. It was relieved from police duties, as well as from all work connected with inam titles. He reduced the number of taluks from 243 to 158. He defined clearly the duties and appreciably revised the salaries of most of them.⁷

It was he who pulled down the century old Black town rampart and converted the Esplanade beyond the Cooum Canal into What is not known as the People's Park. He cleared the Government House of shrubs and woods. It was he who conceived the idea of establishing a broad-based Municipal Corporation for the City. He envisaged a Municipal Constitution of Madras similar to the Municipal Constitution of London.⁸

He strove his best to supply water and improve sanitation by encouraging the establishment of a broad-based Municipal Corporation. He also tried to reform the judicial administration in the Province by combining the two systems of Courts then existing the Queen's and the Company's Courts namely the Supreme Court and the Sadr Diwani and Feujdari Adalat into a High Court. He strongly stressed the need for securing a special professional training for the judges of the High Court both European and Indian.⁹

The reorganisation of the Police Department drew his utmost attention and earned him name and fame. He made it a Civil force but kept it under strict discipline and training. He trained it on the model of the British County constabulary and he brought it into close relationship with the village police. This reorganisation proved a blessing to the country and it is a tribute to his genius that its "underlying ideas have remained the same till date."¹⁰ The Military Department also drew his immediate attention. After concurring with Sir Patrick Grant, the then Commander-in-Chief of Madras, he reduced the strength of the 52 regiments of Indian Infantry from 1000 to 700.

His Military reforms show that he believed in a "small well disciplined and well cared for military force." Next he reorganised the Public Works Department. He was very particular that everyone in the department should be in a position to converse with the people in their own mother tongue. He ordered the Director of Public Instruction to liberalise the rules under the grants-in-aid system. He wanted to throw open the doors of English education to all men irrespective of caste, colour, creed and nationality.¹¹

He was for gradual education of women.¹² He also attached great importance to education in Indian languages in the Madrased(the Muslim School) in Madras.

He introduced certain department reforms too. He was for the elimination of all unimportant correspondence and the preservation of all important official correspondence. He was for the organisation of a separate Central Record Office for the preservation of all invaluable documents. "There can be no doubt that if he had continued in office for his full term, he would have established a Central Record Office."¹³ For the Madras Record Office which is now called Tamilnadu Archives situated opposite Egmore Station was organised only in 1909. He was also for Provincial Autonomy.¹⁴ though that idea was given effect to only by the Governemtn of India Act of 1935.

He also deplored the neglect of roads in Madurai when he visited it.¹⁵ He also deplored the delay in the disposal of civil suits and he rightly remarked that "such chronic delay in the administration of justice exercises an extremely baneful influence in encouraging litigation and enabling persons possessed of long purses to keep others out of their rights."¹⁶ To remedy this he suggested the appointment of an additional sub-judge. He also found the district so rich in natural products that he felt the need to connect it by railway to the other districts extremely urgent."¹⁷

He and his colleagues opposed Salt tax and Professional tax tooth and nail. He did not propose any new tax. He emphasised that "good administration was as effective in increasing the revenue as in diminishing the expenditure." And an essential requisite of good administration he pointed out consisted in the selection of proper personnel. Unfortunately he was recalled when he opposed strongly some of the unwise proposals of Mr. Wilson, the Finance Member of the Governor-General in Council. His recall at once led to much heated discussion in and out of Parliament. But it was in India that his recall was most keenly felt. People of all classes, and creeds expressed strong sentiments of grief at his departure.

Thus Trevelyan left Madras on 24th June, 1860¹⁸ disgraced by his superiors but honoured by the people of India. He was too great too brilliant a personality to be smothered by obscurity."

Sir Charles Wood recalled him again and sent him here as Finance Member of the Council of India. "His tenure as Finance Member was marked by several administrative reforms and by extensive measures for the development of the resources of India by means of Public Works."¹⁹

In 1865, he returned to England and he died at 67 Eton Square, London on 11th June, 1886. His illustrious son George Otto Trevelyan later became a great writer and a historian. He was the author of many worthy works of which the most well-known was the book on Garibaldi. His Social History of England is being read all over the world. "There never perhaps was a more popular Governor since the days of Munro and Bentinck. Everyone liked him and loved him. Everyone wholeheartedly cooperated with him in all measures that he introduced." The memoir written in October, 1945 shows and proves to the hilt what an able, energetic and capable administrator that Sir Charles Trevelyan was.

References

1. Dictionary of National Biography, vol.xix,p,1135
2. Papers transmitted from India by C.E. Trevelyan, 1830
3. Macaulay's Life and Letters by G.O. Trevelyan, Popular Edition, p.278
4. The same as 2
5. The same as 1
6. Ibid
7. Trevelyan's Administration of Madras by J.D.B. 1860 pp.25-30
8. Trevelyan's Administration of Madras by J.D.Bourdillon, 1950
9. Ibid
10. G.Os No 1289-90 Judicial dated 24th Sept, 1859
11. G.O.No. 1756 Public Dated 23rd Novr. 1857
12. G.O.No. 437, Public dated 26th March, 1860
13. G.O.No. 264, Public dated 23rd Febry, 1860
14. Even now the roads are in a deplorable condition
15. Supral
16. G.O. No. 517 Revenue dated 14th April, 1860, Minute dated 8th Febry, 1860
17. Madras Almanac 1861, p.565
18. Dict. Of National Biography vol.XIX, p.1136

NATIONALISM AND BRITISH INDUSTRIAL POLICY IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1905-1922)

*Dr. C. Balakrishnan
Reader In History
I.C.E., University of Madras
Madras*

The Indian National Movement acquired a new dimension with the birth of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905. Swadeshim was not only a technique to exert economic pressure upon the British administration by boycott of foreign goods, but to create a sense of awareness among the Indian masses to march towards economic self reliance. Economic writers and thinkers in the Indian National Congress did foster economic nationalism. They felt the need for holding Industrial Conferences every year in different parts of India in order to review a) the industrial position of India, b) the British industrial policy and c) create consciousness among the Indian business community to invest their capital in industries and finally d) to criticise the British administration's failure to promote industries in India. These economic nationalist were responsible for creating an awakening among the people on the industrial backwardness of the Madras Presidency by conducting the fourth and tenth industrial conferences in Madras in 1908 and 1914 respectively.

The birth of the non-Brahmin movement was another episode in the Madras Presidency from 1916 and it also turned its attention on the industrial backwardness of the Presidency. The first world war, 1914 - 1918, had its own consequences upon the British attitude to India. The result was the lacklustre attempt made by the British administration in this part to promote industries as they were very cautious in not allowing the development of any vital industries. They allowed only small industries by private enterprises.

This paper seeks to examine the influence of the national movement on British industrial policy during 1905 to 1922 in the Madras Presidency in the context of the above factors. The term industrial policy, in the context of this paper, means the attitude of the British administration towards the industrial problems in the Madras Presidency, their stand and response to the demand of the people.

The economic writers and thinkers in the Indian National Congress during the Swadeshi Movement played a key role in creating an awakening on the industrial backwardness of India in general.

They included persons like Vital Das Thackersey, R.N. Dutt, D.E. Wacha, G.V. Joshi, G.Subramania Iyer, Lajpat Rai, P.N.Bose, A.C.Sen, Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari and Dr. Nilratan Sirkar.¹

The first Indian Industrial Conference was held at Benares in 1905. In Madras, the first outcome of the outburst of the Swadeshi feeling was the establishment of the Indian Industrial Company Limited at Kondy Chetty Street, Esplanade. Following it several other similar establishments on a small scale were opened in various places and a notable among them was the Madras Chrome Leather Industry Limited.²

The Madras Mahajana Sabha formed an Association in March 1906, called the National Fund and Industrial Association, with the aim to encourage indigenous industries by training the Indians locally and in foreign countries.³ Such activities of the nationalist had profound influence on the Madras Government under the British. Therefore it began to initiate certain measures towards promoting industrial development in the Presidency. A.Chatterton, Professor of Engineering on special duty, was appointed as the Director of Industrial and Technical Inquiries in August 1906.⁴ The British records mention that the Government of Madras was committed itself to an increasing active policy for the promotion of industries, but in actual terms the industries which it encouraged were handloom weaving, chrome leather manufacturing, making of motor pumps and bore well machines which could in no way be compared with the modern industries of Europe at that time.

The Government also created an organisation for assisting private individuals to install power driven machinery and plant. But even such modest attempt could not be tolerated by the European commercial community centred in Madras. They opposed and interpreted the attempt of the Madras Government as a serious menace to private enterprise and as an intervention on the part of the state in matters beyond the sphere of the Government⁵. The Government was caught between the devil and the deep sea and it organised an industrial conference in 1908 at Ootacamund to decide on its industrial policy⁶. In the same year the nationalists also conducted the fourth Indian Industrial Conference at Madras.

Demand of the Nationalists

The nationalists demanded the creation of the Department of Industry under the Director of Industries in every province of British India to deal with industrial questions and to set up an Advisory Board to advise the Government on such matters. In response to it the Madras Government designated the Director of Industrial and Technical Inquiries as the Director of Industries from 17 October, 1908 in anticipation of the consent of the British Secretary of State.⁷ He was to

control pioneering enterprises, practical industrial education and to establish a bureau of industrial information and industrial museum.

Secretary of States' Reaction

The European business community centred in Madras raised a hue and cry against the policy of the Madras Government. In consequence Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, negatived the proposals of the Madras Government in a despatch dated 29 July, 1910⁸. His despatch condemned the Madras Government's policy of sympathetic co-operation with Indian attempts and directed it to observe the sacred principle of Laissez faire on such matters. He ordered the abolition of the infant department of industries.

Protest of the Indian Industrial Community

The reactionary decision of Lord Morley aroused a great dissatisfaction among the industrial nationalists throughout India. They protested against the abolition of the department of industries in the sixth Industrial Conference held at Allahabad in 1910. And in the following February the Legislative Council of Madras passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to reconsider his decision. There followed a considerable correspondence between the Government of Madras, the Imperial Government and the Secretary of State as to the functions of a separate Department of Industries.

Except a few cotton mills, tanneries and workshops there were no big factories and workshops worthy of mention in the Madras Presidency by 1910. There was no free flow of capital for industrial enterprises. Because the wealthy class, which comprised of the Zamindars, Gujaratis, Marwaris, Nattukottai chettis at that time, considered investments on lands, houses and jewellery much sager than in investing in industries.⁹.

Creation of the Department of Industries, 1914

The persistent demand of the nationalists for the creation of the Department of Industries continued. Lord Crewe, who followed Lord Morley, as Secretary of State, could not prolong a decision on the creation of the department of industries. He favoured the constitution of Department of Industries. It came into existence with effect from 1 April, 1914 with the following functions:

1. to collect information as to the existing industries, their needs and the possibility of improving them or of introducing new industries.

2. to carry out and direct experiments connected with such enquiries,
3. to keep in touch with local manufactures,
4. to bring the result of the experiments to their notice and
5. to obtain their co-operation in the conduct of operation on commercial scale¹⁰.

An Industrial Exhibition held in the subsequent year at the instance of Lord Pentland, the then Governor of Madras, revealed the fact that there was little prospect of any rapid progress in industry without outside help. The outbreak of the First World War had further exposed the industrial backwardness of India. For during the war the Indians suffered a lot as they were to rely upon foreign manufacturers for even smaller things like match sticks and needles etc.

Effects of the First World War (1914-1918)

The First World War had taught a lesson to every nation that it should strive to manufacture the articles required by it. There was a temporary cessation of foreign competition and it led to the starting of certain new industries and revival of certain ostensibly promising industrial ventures which had previously failed. The manufacture of glass, paper and pencil and oil seed milling were undertaken. But due to the inability to obtain the required plant and the services of suitable experts the experiments in glass manufacture completely failed. The attempt to introduce modern methods of milling oil seeds owing to non-delivery of the machinery did not advance beyond the experimental stage. The manufacture of paper was started at Punalur after unsatisfactory experiments with a variety of wood available in India. The pencil factory set up in Madras achieved considerable success with cedar wood imported from British East Africa¹¹. Thus the war had aroused an unusual amount of interest in the development of the economic resources of the country. However, there were certain impediments to Indian industrial development such as want of capital, lack of industrial experience, the poverty of the country, lack of enterprise among the rich and want of a sufficient number of industrial banks.

The Indian Industrial Commission 1916-1918

The effects of the war on the industrial situation in India compelled the Government of India to appoint the first Indian Industrial Commission in May, 1916. The commission was "instructed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit its recommendations". Another Committee, known as the Public Works Reorganisation Committee, was also appointed in 1917. Both of them submitted their proposals in 1918. The Industrial Commission in its report pointed out that there was a great demand for developing

Indian industries.¹² The report embodied a number of recommendations, the most essential was that the Government should actively interest itself in the industrial development of the country and aid it by adopting various measures such as equipping itself with an adequate scientific and technical staff. The Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1918 also stated that a forward policy in industrial development was urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people. The absence of state aid stood in the way of the progress of industries.¹³ A concrete step in this direction in the Madras Presidency was the appointment of an Advisory Board of Industries for two years in November, 1920.

Industry Under Montford Reforms

From the 1920's onwards industry became a transferred subject under the care of the Indian Ministers who could not do anything radical on account of the financial control still vested with the Governor and his Executive Council. Whitehall also discouraged the extension of Government subsidies to industries.¹⁴ Such protective discrimination was one of the main reasons for the lop-sided development of industries in the Madras Presidency. However, the Justice Party, which formed Government in the Madras Presidency, took interest in encouraging the development of industries. Therefore they were instrumental in the enactment of the State Aid to Industries Act in 1923¹⁵. The Act was intended mainly to assist the establishment and development of industries that had an important bearing on the economic development of the Presidency¹⁶. It made provision for the constitution of a Board of Industries for the following aims,

1. Providing general assistance to trade and industry; collection and supply of statistics and other information useful to commerce and industry;
2. For carrying out experiments in new industries and industrial processes;
3. For managing model industries;
4. Rendering assistance to cottage industries and
5. Providing industrial education¹⁷.

Thus the Madras Government was the pioneer in providing state aid to industry in India. But their policy only led to the development of small industrial units rather than the commissioning of big factories.¹⁸ Industries like Aluminium factories, Breweries and Distilleries, Carpentry and Cabinet Making, Cashewnut factories, General Engineering works, Ice and Aerated water works, Oil milling, Sugar factories and Tanneries made some progress and received the Government's encouragement. These developments, however, did not lead to the development of any big industries in the Madras Presidency. But the Justice Party was proud of its role in committing the Government in Madras to the policy of industrial development with support from public funds. The Act was a landmark in the history of industrial growth and development of the Madras Presidency¹⁹.

Conclusion

Thus the influence of the economic writers and thinkers in the Indian National Congress, during the Swadeshi Movement, was largely responsible for infusing economic nationalism, which is very much required even today, among the Indians. Their demand and criticism of British attitude had resulted in breaking the non-intervention policy of the Government on industrial matters. The creation of the Department of Industries in 1914 in Madras was their achievement. The economic consequences of the First World War was a blessing in disguise as far as the industrial development of the Madras Presidency was concerned. The introduction of the Montford Reforms and the formation of partially responsible Government by the Justice Party in the Madras Presidency fostered industrial growth in the Presidency.

Foot Notes

1. Report of the Tenth Indian Industrial Conference held at Madras in 1914, Appendix, pp. 5-7; G.O. No.128 Education, 11 Nov.1907.
2. Extracts from the Hindu Vol. III, (Tamil Nadu Archives) 15 Mar.1906, p.71.
3. Madras Secret Police Abstracts of Intelligence, 1906 (TNA), pp.122.
4. ibid
5. Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1918, pp.78-81.
6. G.O.No.1421, Revenue 17, Oct.1908; G.O.No.2043, Development 28 Nov.1924.
7. G.O.No.2894, Revenue 17, Oct.1908; G.O.2043 Development 28 Nov.1924.
8. G.O. No.2043, Development, 28 Nov. 1924.
9. Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1918, Minutes of Evidence, p.51.
10. G.O. No.477, Development, 6 Apr. 1923; G.O.No.2043, Development 28 Nov. 1924.
11. Report of the Indian Industrial Commission 1918, pp.78-81.
12. Ibid. pp.261-262.
13. Moral and Material Progress of India 1921 p.144
14. Ibid
15. G.T.Boag, Madras Presidency, 1881-1931, (Madras 1933), p.75
16. Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council Vol. X, Nov. 1922 p.618.
17. G.T. Boag, Ibid
18. Somers Playne, (Ed.) Southern India. History People Commerce and Industrial Resources, (London, 1914-1915), p.626.
19. P.Rajaraman, The Justice Party A Historical Perspective 1916-37, Poompozhi Publishers, (Madras, 1988), p.247.

PONDICHERRY : A POLITICAL BASE FOR NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU, 1908-1917

*Dr. N. Rajendran, Head, Centre for History
Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirapalli-24*

This paper attempts an analysis of how the strained Anglo-French relations fostered the national movement in Tamil Nadu during 1908 - 1917. The year 1908 ushered in an era of British repression all over British India. Consequently, it was during 1908, a group of political exiles took asylum in Pondicherry. They continued to stay in Pondicherry till the beginning of First World War. Later, the power equation changed in Europe, Britain and France fought together from a same camp against Germany and her supporters. This had necessarily forced France to change its attitude towards Britain. The political offenders in British India were expelled from Pondicherry or forced to surrender.

Thus, the collaborators of imperialism maintained their hegemony over their colonial possessions. To this effect a treaty was signed between France and England during the middle of the First World War (1917).¹

The brief period between 1908 and 1917 could be regarded as an important landmark in the nationalist struggle in India which received French help, particularly in Pondicherry.

This paper analyses the causes for the congregation of Indian revolutionaries in Pondicherry, their activities in Pondicherry and the British Government's measures to counter their activities.

Revolutionaries in Pondicherry:

Pondicherry served as a convenient meeting place for the nationalists as early as late 19th century. Around 1889 Tilak visited Pondicherry and the local citizens welcomed him. Tilak addressed a few public meetings in Pondicherry.² Thus, a favourable ground was created for the nationalist movement among the citizens of Pondicherry who rendered active support to the Indian political exiles there.

The inauguration of the "India Office" in Pondicherry in the latter half of 1908 marks the formation of an active anti-British organisation outside British limits. The French Settlement offered an

Indian Nationalists easily accessible and favourable retreat for the Indian Nationalist. The public feeling there being strongly anti-British a small group of Pondicherry citizens such as Murughesam Pillai, Ponnu Arumugam Chettiar, Sundaram Iyer, Kuvalai Krishnamachari and Palampuli Muthukumarasamy Pillai and others offered asylum to those Indians who were pursued by the British law in Indian territories.³ For instance, when M.Srinivasa Aiyengar, the registered editor of the "India", a magazine at Madras, was arrested in July 1908 for sedition and subsequently sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, C.S.Bharati, who was the real editor of the paper, S.Srinivasa Chari, and M.P.Tirumala Acharya, (who had escaped to Paris,) the real proprietor all of them fearing prosecution and considering French territory a safer refuge, transferred the entire press plant to Pondicherry and had it set up there. An application was made to the French authorities about the middle of September 1908, by them to start the paper "India." This was refused by the French authorities in the first instance, but subsequently the paper was registered in the name of one Lakshiminarayana Iyer, a French subject, and the paper appeared on the 10 October 1908.⁴

The weekly **India** had enjoyed an extensive circulation both in Pondicherry and in British India, the issues increasing from 1600 in May 1909 to 1830 in October of that year. With the increase in popularity, there took place a considerable addition to the staff employed. In June 1900, the staff consisted of the proprietor, S.Srinivasa Chari, and the Editor Bharathi with 6 compositors (one of whom was a pensioned corporal of the French Army, named Dorai), 2 printers with 1 foreman.⁵

The tone of the India has all along been strongly anti-British, and hence the paper had been proscribed by the Madras Government under the Indian Press Act.

Apart from the India group, the Pondicherry citizens gave shelter to Pingala Lakshmi Narayana Rao who published articles in a Telugu paper called **Swaraj** and also G.Harisarvotham Rao and Bodi Narayan Rao.⁶

In 1909 B.S.Rao and K.Rajeswara Rao, two nationalists of Masulipatam, who were accused in the "Masulipatam Burglary case" visited Pondicherry and stayed with the members of the "India Office".⁷

In 1910, Arobindo Ghose, who had been the editor of **Bande Mataram** was tried in the "Manicktola Bomb case" for whose arrest, warrant was issued to him, under section 124-A, in Calcutta. He also took refuge in Pondicherry.⁸

Revolutionary Literature :

In addition to **India** there were four other papers which attacked British administration and which were published from Pondicherry.

The **Vijaya** was a Tamil daily which was printed in the same building and press as the **India**.⁹

The **Bala Bharati**, an English monthly journal, edited by C.Subramanya Bharati, suffered a most precarious existence, appearing at irregular intervals.¹⁰

The **Karmayogi**, Tamil monthly, was modelled after the Allahabad paper of the same name.¹¹

The **Suryodayam** (or **L' Aurore**), a Tamil weekly, proscribed under section 12(1) Press Act, was started in April 1908.¹²

Due to severe constraints on press freedom from British India, the existence of the above - mentioned papers were virtually threatened.

From documentary evidence on record it could be understood that the India Office Group were in touch with the revolutionary parties in England and on the Continent. Thus, Pondicherry became an easy means of disseminating revolutionary literature into British India.¹³

J.N.Sharma, residing in Berkeley, California, wrote to the Manager, India Office requesting for copies of Arabindo Ghose's book "On the present state of India." Similarly, Rangacharya's (Editor of **India**) in his letter to V.V.S. Aiyer indicates very clearly that the latter was playing a very important role in the dissemination of revolutionary literature through the India Office. The Rani Lakshmi Bhai by C.S.Bharati, was issued from the India Press, and the picture of the Rani of Jhansi which appeared in the publication was the same as that referred to in the letter of Tatya (V.D.Savarkar) to his brother in which he requested the latter to send without delay the photograph of the Rani Lakshmi to the editor, India Office, Pondicherry. The **History of Garibaldi** by V.V.S.Aiyer appeared as a series in the **India** from July, 1909 and successive issues.¹⁴

Copies of the **Gaelic American**, **Free Hindusthan**, **Indian Sociologist**, **Vande Mataram** of Geneva, **Talvar** and other American papers such as the **New York Press**, **New York Call** and **Evening Post**, in which M.H.Phelps expressed his views occasionally on British Administration in India, were regularly received each week by the India Office. Likewise, Savarkar's **War of Independence** was also received from London, Singapore and Penang.¹⁵

Other publications were also brought out in Pondicherry **Gnana Ratnam** (Car of wisdom) by C.S. Bharati was one such publication. In January 1909 an attempt was made by Rajeswara Rao, one of the accused in the "Masulipatam Burglary case", to have a book entitled **The Life of Napoleon** printed at Pondicherry.¹⁶ The book, of which no copy is available, was said to be very anti-British.

Interception of Revolutionary Literature from Pondicherry

The India Post Office Act (during British rule) did not apply to Pondicherry and hence no action could be taken under this Act.

Revolutionary literature reached Pondicherry from abroad by (1) by British packet via Bombay; (2) through Chandernagore in the direct French mail bag transmitted via Calcutta; (3) by the French packet from France direct.

The British were not entitled to examine direct bags for French officers in India. These were separately made up either before despatch or at an early stage of the journey, and were not opened until the French territorial destination was reached.

Correspondence, whether foreign or inland, reached British India inspite of strict British vigilance. For long, the British Government was not aware of the method in which the revolutionary literature was brought into British India. However, after Ashe's murder, Neelakanta Brahamachari was arrested and it was in his confession that the secret was revealed to the British.¹⁷

Arms Importation :

British Government was very much concerned about the importation of arms into Pondicherry by the Indian revolutionaries with a view to smuggle them into British India. The geographical proximity of Pondicherry would certainly favour such a scheme as it is split up into numerous narrow strips of land with British territory intervening. The correspondence from London revolutionaries stressed the subject of sending arms into India.¹⁸

Conclusion:

Geographical proximity of Pondicherry provided an active political base for the political exiles from Tamil Nadu. For the British Government, this situation had complicated their efforts of Pax Britanica. The revolutionaries congregated in Pondicherry from Tamil Nadu, Bengal, Poona, Andhra and London. Thus, inspite of strong repressive measures in British India, politically hospitable climate in Pondicherry assisted the growth of nationalist literature and political movement

in Tamil Nadu. This situation came to an end with the coming of the First World War when France and England had become Allies. The war had forced France to reverse its policy of providing asylum to Indian revolutionaries at Pondicherry.

Foot Notes

1. G.O. 551 Public (Conf.) 3, July, 1918.TNA.
2. A.Ramasamy (1918), P.154.
3. Home Political Deposit, March 1911 No.12.NAI.
4. A.R.Venkatachalapathy, Bharathien Karuthu padangal: India, 1906-1910 [Bharathi's Cartoon's:]
5. Home Political Deposit, op.cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. V. Subbiah, Saga of Freedom of French India (Madras:NCBH,1990), p.11.
9. Home Political op.cit.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. G.O. 1014 Judicial (Conf.), 24 June 1912. TNA.
14. See India 1 September, 1909.
15. Madras Secret abstracts of Intelligence, 1910, para 77, p.37.
16. Home Political op.cit.
17. G.O. 1211, Judicial (Conf.), 27 July 1911. TNA.
18. Home political Deposit, op.cit.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE SECOND PANDYAN EMPIRE (UPTO C. 1350 A.D.).

Dr. Mrs. A.J. Thinakaran

The second pandyan Empire (A.D. 1190 -1312) which had shot up like a meteor from the middle of the 13th C. A.D. began to lose its glow steadily from the beginning of the 14th C A.d. till it emitted its last flicker by the middle of the 18th. C A.D.

For this study, some of the sources consulted are south Indian Inscriptions, A.R.E, Epigraphia Indica, Gazetteer, Temple chronicles of Madurai and published works such as the pandyan kingdom by Nilakanta Sastri K.A., The history of the Pandya country by Husaini S.A.Q., The Imperial pandyas of Sethuraman. N. Madurai through the Ages by Devakunjari D., The History of India as told by its own Historians, Volume III, et al.

The Second Pandyan Empire attained the acme of its power under its greatest ruler Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1250¹ - 84²). It extended from the cape of Nellore, even as far as the Krishna, Ceylon also coming within its ambit. He was ably assisted in his military ventures by his two illustrious brothers, Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II (acc, 1250) and Jatavarman Vira Pandya I (acc. 1254), but of the trio, Jatavarman stood head and shoulders above the rest and carved for himself an unforgettable niche in the history of the pandyas. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers in the history of Tamil Nadu.

However, the Second Pandyan Empire began to disintegrate in the time of Maravarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1268-1318³). His epithet was "Emmandalamum Kondaruliya" as evidenced by his conquest of the chera, the chola-Hoysala combine, Ceylon and the cuddapah country. But his victorious mardh came to a halt towards the close of the 13th C. A.D. In the north, Ambadeva, a Kayastha Chief (A.D. 1272-1302) of the cuddapah country. overthrew his allegiance to Rudramba Kakatiya (1262-1296) and in the record⁴ of A.D. 1290 ("S. 1212), he claimed victory over the pandyas. Under Kulasekhara, who presented elephants and horses to him. After the death of Jatavarman Sundara pandya II in A.D. 1294, the pandyas had to withdraw from Nandalur, the northern outpost of the empire for reasons not known. Jatavarman Sundara pandya II was the brother of Maravarman Kulasekhara I. The Hoysalas Under Ballala III (1291-1344/45), though they could not bring back Kannanur into their custody, wielded considerable influence in the Kanchi region. The conquest of Ceylon too did not have any permanent results, for parakrama Bahu III (1302 - 1310) through peaceful persuasion was able

to recover the tooth relic of the Buddha from Kulasekhara⁵. Thus the Kingdom shrank considerably in size, from the Patar to the cape though it included the chola and Kongu kingdoms. The decline of the II Pandyan Empire is attributed in part to the civil war between the two sons of Maravarman Kulasekhara I Viz., Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (1303 - 1325) and Jatavarman Vira Pandya II (1297 - 1342). Abdullah Wassaf in his *Tazjiyatu - L - Amsar - Wa Tajriyatu - L Asar* postulates the parricide of Maravarman Kulasekhara I by his elder son Sundara Pandya, as he was aggrieved over his supersession by his younger brother Vira Pandya to the throne in A.D. 1310. As a consequence, a battle is said to have ensued between the two brothers at Talachi, defeat in which made Sundara Pandya invoke the protection of Ala - ud - din Khilji (1296 - 1316) of Delhi. This narrative of Wassaf is based on hearsay evidences through the Persian embassy to Delhi, the horse dealers and merchants, who traded with India. Wassaf presented his work to the Sultan Uljaitu in A.D. 1312, through the good offices of the latter's Wazir, Rashidudin, who himself was the author of *Jami "ut - Tawarikh*⁶. But Amir Khusru in his *Khazainu - Futu's or Tarikh - i - Alai*, being contemporary with the events and therefore more reliable than Wassaf says that Vira Pandya was the eldest son of the king and Sundara Pandya the youngest, which statement of his is corroborative with the Pandyan records.⁷ However, there is an interesting variable - Vira Pandya is called the Ilaiyalvan (younger brother) of Sundara Pandya in a record of the twenty seventh regnal year of Vira Pandya dated A.D. 1322^{8(a)}.

This record necessitates some rethinking of the parricide issue. Though Amir Khusru is silent on the question of legitimacy, he mentions about the parricide^{8(b)} - Sundara Pandya the younger coloured his hands in the blood of his father. But epigraphical records of Maravarman Kulasekhara I believe this statement, as they yield a date as far as A.D. 1318 for the king. The King's protracted illness must have led to his natural death in that year. So he was not murdered before Kafur's raid, as has been alleged. His illness is indicated by the expressions in some records^{9(a)} as "perumal thirumeni Kalliyana thirumeniyagavenum enru" and "perumal thirumeni kunrath thiruaradha nathukkum."^{9(b)} On that count, the parricide theory would be exploded. Further, his two sons were on cordial terms with their father and among themselves at this juncture. Sundara Pandya arranged for monthly services in a temple, (at Tirumalugandankottai, Rammad Dt.). On the day of Mula, the natal star of his father as per a record dated A.D. 1312. (51 of 1932). The two brothers made benefactions to the Vishnu Temple at Srivaikuntam, Tirunelveli Dt., to which temple their father also had made endowments. (No.S 373-381 of 1959-60).

Sundara Pandya not only honoured his elder brother Vira Pandya by instituting a festival for an image in the latter's name but in a similar way his queen too, by name Desamikka Pruma Nachiar¹⁰. So parricide is out of question on the above grounds. The king's severe malady must

have, however, contributed to the decline of the empire. As per the Tirukkadaiyur record (Thanjavur Dt.) of A.D. 1301 (Corresponding to the thirty - fourth regnal year of the king Maravarman Kulasekhara I¹¹, there had been some maladministration by his younger brother (tiruttambi) (Probably Maravarman Vikrama Pandya III of acc. 1298) leading to people fleeing away from the region., which they wanted the king to set right. So the king kulasekhara took up the administration into his own hands. So in gratitude, the people arranged for the burning of 108 nunda lamps for the welfare of the king.

The king's illness must have proffered a good opportunity for Malik Kafur's incursion into Ma'bar (the Madurai country). He was a general of Ala-ud-din Khilji. He set out for Madurai on the thirteenth of Zilka'da (Apr, 1311) says Zia Barni in his Tarikh-i-FirozShahi. which has historical authenticity. Earlier, Jatavarman Vira Pandya had fled for Viradhacalam and was pursued from place to place. (Kandur, Brahmastpuri). Mathra was the dwelling place of the Rai Sundar Pandya. He had fled away with his family and treasures. It is said that the Madurai temple was spared from total destruction because of divine intervention - the power of the deity demonstrated by siddha, when a stone elephant was seen eating sugar cane. (Sithalaputhakam) it can be historically explained by the fact that there arose a saviour for Madurai, Maravarman Vikrama pandya, who along with his nephews rolled back the tide of the Muslim raid with the help of his elephant force¹². His date is not certain. The pandya brothers finding themselves no match to the superior military might of Kafur had avoided pitched battles and resorted to guerilla war¹³. Unlike the other Hindu powers of the south, the pandiyas never submitted to the raider. In fact Vira pandya (acc. 1297) had sent a force to help Ballala III on the eve of Kafur's raid¹⁴. However in their won land, there was treachery on the part of a certain Jatavarman Raja Rajan sundara pandya (acc. 1310). who was either a son or nephew of the ruling chief, who came with the Rulukkars (Under Kafur), which resulted in great distress for the land.¹⁵ He had fought against Vira pandya (eldest brother) earlier. (Sethuraman N., paper on Rajarajan Sundara pandya, Dharwar, 1985).

Kafur returned from Madurai in 1311, with the precious plunder amounting to 500 mans of jewels of every description. His primary motive for the raid was plunder. Madurai was drained off its wealth. It was left bleeding and prostrate economically. Kafur's was however a brilliant raid, and not an invasion as such, its political impact being less significant.

Within a year of Kafur's departure, there were other dangers for the pandyan Empire. Ravivarman Kulasekhara of Venad (Zcc. A.D. 1299) tried to make capital out of the troubles of the pandayas. He had been an ex-feudatory of the pandyas and had married into the pandyan royal family. As such he began to claim the pandyan throne. He defeated Vira pandya¹⁶ (acc. 1297) and was

crowned in Madurai in ' ' S 1234 (A.D. 1312). His second coronation took place in the vegavati near kanchi either in 1312¹⁷ or 1313 (Sewell, Year 1313). He vanquished Sundara pandya too, as per his poonamallee record¹⁸. A record contains the figure of an elephant goad surmounting a fish, symbolising kerala domination over the pandya (33 of 1911), though it was short-lived.

Sundara pandya (acc. 1303) appealed to kakatiya prataparundra II for help, whose general Muppidi Nayaka defeated Kerala Ravivarman vira pandya, a nephew of Ravivarman at Kanchi in A.D. 1316¹⁹. In 1317, the kerala ruler Ravivarman was defeated at Srirangam and Sundara pandya was established at Viradhavalam. The pandya brothers instituted a special festival in honour of Muppidi Nayaka at the vriddhachalam Temple (72 of 1918). As the pandya power got weakened, the Sambuvarayas, who were the ex-feudatories of the pandyas subsequently became independent of the latter during, the first quarter of the 14th C.

In 1318 - 19, Khusru, the general of Mubarak Khilji (1316 - 20) attacked Madurai. the Rais of Mabar, Vira pandya and Sundara pandya fled with their treasures while in Madurai, Khusru plotted with his confidants as to how to kill those nobles, who supported the reigning dynasty id. The pandyas. Khusru was defeated by Jatavarman parakrama pandya²⁰ (acc 1315) who was rightly titled valai Vali tirandan²¹. Perhaps in commemoration of their his victory, Parakrama Pandya constructed the nine-storeyed western gopura of the Madurai Meenakshi temple in A.D. 1323. (Tiruppanimalai., ViZ).

Inside the entrance of the gopura are a pandya crest and an inscription in praise of Parakrama Pandya. (58 of 1905)²².

When Adi Sultan (prince Muhammad) and Maluk Nemiyan occupied Madurai in 1324, Parakrama pandya fled to the Kalaiyakoil fort, where he was taken prisoner by the former and sent to Delhi, as per the Madurai Temple Chronicles (S' 1246).

By now, Ma'bar had become one of the twenty - three provinces of Madurai. Muhammad - bin - Tughlaq appointed one Jalal-ud-din AhSan as governor of Ma'bar. (Tin Batuta). He proclaimed his independence of Delhi in 1334-35, when the Madurai Sultanate came into being, which lasted from 1335 to 1378.

It is interesting to note some pandya rulers continued to be in the immediate environs of Madurai even during the period of the Muslim raids. Jatavarman Sundara pandya (acc. 1304) at Alagarkoil in Madurai (320,321,323 of 1930 - during 1318 - 19 at the time of Khusru's occupation of Madurai. Jatavarman Sundara pandya of Acc. 1318 was at Vanjinagar²³ near Madurai and at

Sinnamanur²⁴ near madurai (1324), When prince Muhammad was in Madurai. We have noted how parakrama pandya (acc. 1315) was at Kalyarkoil in 1324. Other pandya rulers moved away from the scene of Muslim occupation to places of safety, wherefrom they issued their inscriptions, such as Gangaikondacholapuram (rec. V.R.III, Trichy, 72) of Maravarman Kulasekhara II (acc.1314) in the year 1318, Jatavarman Vira pandya's of 1318 from Rammad (V.R. II, Rammad, 266); another record of the same king of 1323 from tirupattur (III, 120 of 1908); Pud. 128 of Jatavarman Parakrama pandya (acc.1315) dated 1323, etc.,

1336, was the rise of Vijayanagar as a symbol of a determined opposition to the Muslims. Ibn Batuta on landing in Ma'bar found the reigning sultan at War with the heathen - the supporters of the expelled Pandya princes. The second sultan of Madurai Ala-ud-din Udawji was killed either by Ballala III or by a Pandya. (Husaini, S.A.Q., op. cit., P. 85). His dargah is at Goripalayam²⁵ in Madurai. Hoysala Ballala III died a martyr after the Battle of Kannanur Koppam at the hands of the fourth sultan of Madurai Damghani. The battle is said to have taken place in 1342, but Ballala III's last date remains enigmatic -either 1344 or 1345 (Ramamoorthy V. History of Kongu Pt. I (Madras, 1986) p.340. Jatavarman Vira pandya's closing date 1342 appears to approximate to the event of Ballala's martyrdom. That year was the reconsecration of the tirupattur temple, by a chieftain visayalaya Thevar, who was honoured by the Ur makkal. (120 of 1908). Perhaps it was a concerted effort on the part of the pandya and the Hoysala as a part of their drive against Damghani. The people clung to their old Pandya rulers Jatavarman Sundara pandya (acc. 1330) resisted the Muslims at Kaliyarkoil and adopted the title "paliyil Pugalanen" in 1339-40. The role of vijayanagar in this regard is outside the purview of this paper.

To conclude, the wide extent of the second Pandyan Empire contained within itself germs of destruction and went the way of all other empires. The king's illness for a long time weakened the central authority. It was an invitation in itself for an attack on his kingdom - by the Muslims, who drained Madurai off its wealth. It meant much suffering for the people who became apprehensive of the impending danger to their religion and language. The weakness of the empire led to the rise of ex-feudatories such as the Sambuvarayas (14th C. A.D.) and the Banadarayas, who rose to prominence under Vijayanagar. Internally, plurality of Kingship led to strifes and weakened the central authority. The institution of polygamy also led to internal dissensions.

The pandyan got the support of the people, who never got reconciled to the aliens - the Turushkas. So the *pandyas* continued to live in the Madurai country and whenever chance had it, they continued their resistance to the alien, however feeble it was, even if they lived an obscure and unhonoured existence in the early part of the 14th C. A.D.

Foot Notes

1. 166 of 1894 (Tiruppundurutti)
2. Idaiyattur (pud 364) of Maravarman Kulasekhara I (acc. 1268) of his regnal year 16. It refers to his father sundara Pandya Deva (Nayanar) Perhaps.
3. 38 of 1913 from Karkudi (near Trichy) of Jatavarman Vira pandya II of acc. 1297-regnal year twenty two A.D. 1318, also S.I.I. XXIV 221 from srirangam of the same king (Year 21)
4. Record from Tripurantakam, Kurnool Dt. No.268 of 1905.
5. Pillay, K.K., South India and ceylon (Madras, University of Madras, 1963) p. 104.
6. Eliot and Dowson., The History of India as told by its own Historians (London, (1871) Vol II Chapt XI p. 24; Hodivala S.H., Studies in Indo-Muslim History (Oxford, 1939) P.Ph.244
7. No. 156 of 1914 from Vriddhachalam.
8. (a) DEVAKUNJARI. D., Madurai through the Ages' (Madras, 1979) P. 158 She refers to 80 of 1927.
8. (b) Khazain-ul-futuh., J.I.H. Vol. IX p.56.
9. (a) S.I.I. XVII No.549 (506 of 1904) of year 31 of the King, Agathiyanpalli, Tirutturaippundi tk., Thanjavur Dt. A.D. 1298.
9. (b) (231 of 1904) S.I.I XVII No.253.
10. Sethuraman. N., The Imperial pandyas (1978). p.134.
11. S.I.I. XXII Pt. I No.46.
12. Baliga B.s., Madras Dt., Gazeteers - Madurai (Madras, 1960) p.39, Venkataramanayya., Early Muslim Expansion in south India (Madras, 1942) P. 66.
13. Devakunjari D., op. cit., P.155.
14. Ibid (A.D. 1311)
15. 642 of 1902.
16. Kanchi rec. 34 of 1890 (1315-16)
17. Sreedhara Menon, A., A survey of Kerala History (Kottayam 1970) P. 164.,
18. 34 of 1911.
19. 43 of 1893 (Kanchi) Sethuraman, N., Sambuvarayas of the 14th C. A.D. - Paper - Jabalpur, 1986.
20. Ellito and Dowson., op. cit., pp 214 ff.
21. 303 of 1910 (Nagar, Tirukkivilur tk) Vide Sethuraman IV Paper "Rajarajan Sundara Pandya" (Dharwar) 1985).
22. Devakunjari, D., op cit., pp 222-223. It is not certain which Parakrama constructed it.
23. 291 of 1973.
24. 437 of 1907.
25. ARE 1961-62 App D.P.186 No.115.

சோழமன்னர் மரபினர் யார் ?

புலவர் செ. இராசு,
தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக் கழகம்
தஞ்சாவூர் 613 005

முன்னுரை

சங்க காலம் தொடங்கிக் கி.பி.13 ஆம்நூற்றாண்டின் இறுதிப் பகுதி வரையிலும் வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்புமிக்க வளம்மிகு சோழமண்டிலத்தைச் சீரும் சிறப்புடன் நல்லாட்சி புரிந்தவர்கள் சோழர் குடியினர் ஆவர்.

இடைக்காலத்தில் ஒரு சில நூற்றாண்டுகள் களப்பிரர், பல்லவர், முத்தரையர் ஆகியோரால் சிறிது ஒளி மங்கினாலும் சோழநாட்டில் சோழர்கள் தொடர்ந்து வாழ்ந்தனர் என்பதைக் கல்வெட்டு, இலக்கியச் செய்திகள் உறுதிப் படுத்துகின்றன.

"வண்புகழ் மூவரில் ஒருவர்", "மாபெரும் தாணையர்", "தார் வேந்தர்", "பழங்குடியினர்", "படியின் மாப்பெருமை பரவுறு சோழர்", "கொற்றச் சோழர்" என்றெல்லாம் புகழப்பட்ட வீரம் செறிந்த சோழ மன்னரின் மரபினர் வாரிசுகள் யார்? என்று விரிவாக ஆய்வுகள் செய்யப் பெறவில்லை.

பண்டாரத்தார் குறிப்பு

2.7.1939 அன்று தஞ்சை மாவட்டம், கும்பகோணம் வட்டம், தேப்பெருமாள் நல்லூரில் நடைபெற்ற ஒரு மாநாட்டில் வரவேற்புரையாற்றிய வரலாற்றுப் பேரறிஞர் தி.வை.சதாசிவப் பண்டாரத்தார் அவர்கள் சோழமன்னர் மரபினர் சிதம்பரத்திற்கு அண்மையில் உள்ள பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார் குடும்பத்தினரே என்று கூறினார்.

குலதெய்வம்

சோழப் பெருமன்னர்கட்குக் குலதெய்வம் தில்லை நடராசரே. விக்கிரம சோழன் மெய்க்கீர்த்தியில்..

"தன்குல நாயகன் தாண்டவம் பயிலும்
தில்லையம்பலம்"

என்று கூறப்படுகிறது.

பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார் குடும்பமும் தில்லை நடராசரையே குலதெய்வமாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது.

தில்லைக்கோயில் உரிமை

அண்மைக் காலம் வரை தில்லை நடராசர் கோயில் உரிமை பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தாருக்கே இருந்தது. அதனால் தில்லைக் கோயில் சாவி நாள்தோறும் ஜமீன்தாரிடம் ஒப்படைக்கப் பட்டது. அர்த்தசாம பூசையின் கோயில் சாவி பல்லக்கில் வைக்கப்பட்டுப் பிச்சாவரம் கொண்டு சென்று அளிக்கப்படும். அதிகாலை மீண்டும் அவ்வாறே வாங்கி வரப்பெறும்.

வழக்குத் தீர்த்தல்

சிதம்பரம் கோயில் ஆட்சி உரிமையைப் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்கள் பெற்றிருந்ததால் தில்லை மூவாயிரவர்க்குள் ஏற்படும் சிக்கல்களையும் வழக்குகளையும் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தாரே தீர்த்து வைத்தனர். பேரம்பலம் என்ற இடத்தில் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்கள் வீற்றிருந்து தொடர்புடைய தீட்சிதர்களை மட்டும் வரவழைத்து விசாரித்துத் தீர்ப்பளிப்பர். தீர்ப்பு எதுவாயினும் தீட்சிதர்கள் அதனை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

சோழனார் எனும் பெயர்

திருமலை திருப்பதிக் கல்வெட்டொன்றில் சோழநாட்டுச் சோழனார் உலக பெருமானர் என்ற பெயர் குறிக்கப்படுகிறது. அப்பெயர் அமைப்பை வைத்து அவர்கள் சோழ அரச மரபினர் என்றே ஆய்வார்கள் கருதுகின்றனர்.

பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்கள் அனைவருக்கும் பெயர் இறுதியில் சோழனார். என்ற பெயர் இணைந்து வருவது சிறப்புக்குரியதாகும்.

சக்கரவர்த்தி

சிதம்பரம் தேவஸ்தானம் பொது தீட்சிதர்கள் சார்பில் 12 தீட்சிதர்கள் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தாருக்கு 5.11.1911 இல் எழுதி கடிதம் ஒன்றில் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தாரை

'மகா.ள.ள.ஸ்ரீ. சக்கிரவர்த்தியவர்கள்'

என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளனர்.

முடிசூட்டல்

தில்லை மூவாயிரவரான தீட்சிதர்கள் சோழ மன்னர்க்கு அன்றி வேறு எவருக்கும் முடிசூட்ட மாட்டார்கள். கூற்றுவ நாயனார் என்பவர் சோழமண்டலப் பகுதிக்குத் தலைவரானார். அவர் தில்லை தீட்சிதர்களால் அரசராக முடிசூட்டிக் கொள்ள விரும்பினார். ஆனால் தில்லை தீட்சிதர்கள் சோழ மன்னர்க்கு அல்லாது வேறு யாருக்கும் முடிசூட்ட மாட்டோம் என்று கூறிவிட்டனர். அதனால் கூற்றுவ நாயனாருக்கு அஞ்சித் தில்லை மூவாயிரம் பலர் சேர நாட்டில் தஞ்சம் புகுந்தனர். இதனைப் பெரியபுராணம் வாயிலாக அறிகின்றோம்.

மல்லல் ஞாலம் புரக்கின்றார்
மணிமா மவுலி புனைவதற்குத்
தில்லை வாழ்அந் தணர்தம்மை
வேண்ட அவரும் செம்பியர்தம்
தொல்லை நீடும் குலமுதல்வோருக்கு
அன்றிச் சூட்டோம் முடி என்று
நல்கார் ஆகிச் சேரவன்தன்
மலைநாடணைய நண்ணுவார்.

என்பது பெரியபுராணச் செய்யுள் (கூற்றுவ நாயனார் 4)

பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்களுக்குப் பரம்பரை பரம்பரையாகத் தில்லைத் தீட்சிதர்களான மூவாயிரவர்களே சிதம்பரம் நடராசர் திருக்கோயில் பஞ்சாக்கரப்படியில் அமரச் செய்து வலம்புரிச் சங்கால் அபிடேகம் செய்து தம் கையால் ஐந்து சபைகளில் ஒன்றாகிய ராஜசபையில் முடிசூட்டினார்.

பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்களான சாமிதுரை துரப்ப சோழனார். தில்லைக் கண்ணு துரப்ப சோழனார். ஆண்டியப்ப துரப்பசோழனார், சிதம்பரநாததுரப்பசோழனார், ஆகியோருக்குமேற்கண்டவாறு தில்லையில் முடிசூட்டப் பெற்றது. இதனைப் பின்வரும் பாட்டு உறுதிப்படுத்துகிறது.

"அலகில்மற் றெவரும் அணுகுவதற்கு அரிய
பஞ்சாக் கரத்திருப் படிமிசை அமர்த்தி
அஞ்சேல் எனநடம் ஆடும் இறைவன்முன்
வலம்புரிச் சங்கால் கங்கைநீர் பெய்து
நலம்பெறத் திருஅபி டேகம் செய்தபின்

தேவரும் முனிவரும் திருவுளம் கனிய
பூமகள் இலங்கு பொன்மணி மண்டபத்து
அரியா சனத்தில் அரசனை அமர்த்தி
பரிவுடன் துதித்துப் பரமனை வணங்கி
முடிதனை முனிவர் திருக்கரத்து ஏந்திச்
சூடினர் வாழ்த்திச் சோழனார் தமக்கே

புலிக் கொடி அளித்தல்

முடிதட்டிய பின் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தாருக்குக் கொடுக்கும் வரிசைகளில் முதலாவதாக இடம் பெறுவது
புலிக் கொடியாகும். இதனை மேற்கண்ட பாடல் பகுதி

"விண்ணவ போற்றும் வியாக்கிரக் கொடி"

என்று குறிக்கிறது. வாழ்த்துப் பகுதியில் "வாழிய புலிக்கொடி" என்று கொடிக்கு வாழ்த்துக் கூறப்
படுகிறது. அதே பாடலில் வ"ாழிய வளவன்" என்று பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார் பாராட்டப்படுகிறார். வளவன்
என்பது சோழருக்கே உரிய பெயராகும் (காண்க. கரிகால் வளவன்).

பட்டாபிஷேகப் பிரகடனம்

பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்களின் பட்டாபிஷேகத்தை ஒட்டிப் "பட்டாபிஷேகப் பிரகடனம்" என்ற பெயரில்
அறிவிப்பு ஒன்று வெளியிடப் பெறும்.

"ஆதியிலே கௌட தேசாதிபனுடைய மூத்த குமாரனாகிய இரணியவர்மச்
சக்கரவர்த்தி என்னும் காரணப்பெயர் பூண்ட சிம்மவர்மச் சோழனால் பதஞ்சலி,
வியாக்கிரபாதர்கள் ஆக்ஞைப்படி தில்லைக் காட்டைத் திருத்தி தேவாலயமாகப்
பிரதிஷ்டை செய்யப் பெற்ற ஸ்ரீ சிதம்பரம் நடராசப் பெருமான் சந்நிதியிலே
தில்லை மூவாயிர முனிவர்கள் திருமுன்னே ஸ்ரீ பஞ்சாக்கரப் படியின் மீதே ஷே
சோழ வம்சத்தினருக்குத் தொன்று தொட்டுப் பட்டாபிஷேகம் நடந்துவந்த
சம்பிரதாயப்படி அச் சோழ வம்ச வழி வந்த பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார்"

என அவ்வறிவிப்புத் தொடங்குகிறது.

.முடிவுரை

சோழருக்கு அன்றி முடிதுடாத் தில்லை மூவாயிரவர் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தாருக்கு முடிதுட்டுவதாலும், அப்போது புலிக்கொடி அளித்தலினாலும், வளவன் என்ற பெயர் உள்ளமையாலும், தில்லை நிருவாகம் பெற்றிருந்த காரணத்தாலும், தில்லை நடராசரை குலதெய்வமாகக் கொண்ட காரணத்தாலும், தில்லைக் கோயில் சாலியை வைத்திருந்த உரிமையாலும், தில்லை தீட்சிதர்கள் கட்டுப்பட்டிருந்தமையாலும், சோழனார் என்ற பெயர் பெற்றிருப்பதாலும் பிச்சாவரம் ஜமீன்தார் மரபினரே சோழர் மரபினர் என்பது பெறப்படுகிறது. பண்டாரத்தார் கூற்று உண்மை என்பதும் புலியுறுகிறது. இது குறித்து மேலும் விரிவாக ஆய்வுகள் நடத்தப் பெறுதல் வேண்டும்.

SECTION II

**SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
HISTORY**

RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN TAMIL NADU - AN ANALYSIS OF SECULARISM AND COMMUNAL HARMONY

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

*DR. G. Thangavelu
Former Professor of History
Madurai Kamaraj University
Madurai 21*

The Theme of this very short address is to throw light on the mixed and pluralistic character of 'Religion and Society' in Tamil Nadu in historical perspective in order to test the existence of 'Secular Concept' and 'Communal Harmony' in the State of Tamil Nadu through the ages. At the dawn of historical time i.e., during the Sangam Age, there was no organised Religion in Tamil Nadu. But people living in different regions worshipped different gods.

Today, the Hindu Religion is the Religion of two-thirds of the population, with its innumerable castes and sub-castes rituals, temple worship etc. It is being followed by almost all Tamils. So, it became the 'Religion of the Tamils'. During the Sangam age the VEDIYARS and ANDANAS propagated the vedic religion in Tamil Nadu.

In 'Perumpanarrupadi' a Sangam work it is described that the houses of the Andanars resembled the caves.¹ They were chanting Vedas both in the morning and evening in an unknown language and in different tones.² Their way of worship, meditation and chanting of their scriptures were entirely different from that of the Tamils. They used to perform yagas or velvi or fire-pit sacrifices which is the cream of vedic religion.

Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Perumvazuthi, a noted king of Sangam Age also performed Nal-velvi.³ He performed that velvi as per the rites or tenets of Vedas and so it was called good velvi i.e., Nal-velvi. On the call of the Vedic experts he installed vedic-pillars called 'Upam'. He donated liberally to vedic experts and the poets at the end of Yaga performance.⁴ Golden lotus, elephants, chariots and other costly articles were also presented to them. Hence, the poets and prothas glorified him as 'Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Perumvazuthi'. Here, it is to be noted that the word 'yaga' is a Sanskrit word.

'There is unquestionable evidence that by the Sangam Age itself the fusion of Dravidian and Aryan (used not in ethnic sense but cultural) religious practices had commenced'.⁵

It is stated that Vedic Hinduism is unique in its absorptive capacity; it is, in fact, a broad Ocean which assimilated the several streams which flowed into it. In vedas there is no idol worship. The iconic concept was learnt by Aryans only from the Tamils. Thus, the Aryans and the Tamils mutually exchanged their religion and cultures even at the earliest stage.

The Tamils believed in 'Life after death'. They also blindly believed that the dead persons were found in the form of ghosts with dishevelled hair and fierce looking eyes and wandered about.⁶ The Tamils made offerings to appease the ghosts.⁷ The idea, that the performance of penance (Tavam) helps one to attain the heaven (Turakkam) had also appeared.⁸

Thus, the Sangam Society had a concept of heaven and hell.⁹

Nadu-kal (or) Virakkal was installed on the grave yard of the fallen hero. They, believed that the fallen hero had attained 'Vira swarga'. Thus the Tamils of sangam Age, believed that perfection, morality, heroism, chastity and such other virtues are essential for attaining Moksha. Kannaki, the Paragon of chastity, is stated to have been honoured by a Nadu-kal around which a temple was built.¹⁰ Thus, the Sangam Society believed that only people with high character are eligible to attain Turakkam.¹¹ They called this heaven as 'Melor Ulagam', Vanor Ulagam and the hell as 'Kilor Ulagam' etc. They began to worship dead people i.e., their ancestors; and raised Nadu-kal on their grave yards which developed in later stages as temples. Thus, the icons and temples were the creations of Tamils which evolved later as Puranic temples or Avatara temples, of Hinduism.

Tamils used to perform their poojas and marrigaes before the fire-pits. Fire worship is the traditional culture of the Tamils. Even to-day they perform Vilakku Poojai and Karthikai Deepam - and so they are letting light on the top of the hills during religious festivals.¹² Due to the contact with Aryans this culture adopted the practice of performing Yagas or Velvis.

Next, the Tamils believed in the 'Law of Karma' and the theory of 'Re-birth'. Kabilar, the bosom friend of Parivallal of Parambu Hill mourned over the death of Pari and vowed that he would re-join him the next birth.¹³

It was believed that the next birth will be decided according to the good or bad deeds done in the present life. Those who led perfect lives in this world definitely would reach the world

above.¹⁴ They will reach heaven in an aeroplane which is not driven by a pilot.¹⁵ Those who died in the battle fields will enjoy the married life with chaste wives in the heaven.¹⁶ Those who injure the living creatures without love and affection will go to Naraga (hell) and suffer for ever.¹⁷ These verses from Purananuru clearly show, that the people of the Sangam Age believed in heaven and hell, and re-birth according to ones Karma.

This Karma Theory, is the root cause for the formation of Caste-system and untouchability in Tamil Society. Those who did good deeds in their present jenma will have their high birth in the next jenma; and those who did bad deeds will be born in low caste or less than human being in the next birth according to the verdict of Purananuru.¹⁸

The word 'Brahmin' is not at all found in any of the Sangam Classics. But they were called as Andanar, Maraiyor, Vedyar and Parpar. The word Brahmin became popular only after the Pallava rule in Tamil country. Dr. N.Subramanian opines that the earliest wave of Brahmins arrived in the Tamil country about the 6th Century B.C.¹⁹

According to Tolkappiam the earliest Tamil grammar the Tamil Society was grouped as Andanar, Arasar, Vanikar and Velalar. This may not be a synonym for Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vysya and Sudra but the gradations were there even before Tolkappiar. Society was further sub-divided into numerous groups such as Kudis. The Panar, Paraiyar, Kadambar and Kudumbar were called as martial Kudis who marched to the battlefield with the Maravas. There were uzavar and uzuvithu unpor, i.e., the landlords and the landless labourers. There were also slaves and tribes. So, the Tamil Society during the Sangam Age was divided into various castes based on their occupation and it was not forced on their heads by Brahmins.

The Yavanas in Tamil Country :

Due to commercial contacts a considerable amount of Yavana population was found in Tamil country. The word 'Yavanas' was first applied to the Greek, then to the Romans, and in due course to all the foreigners in Sangam Classics²⁰. During the Post Sangam Age they might have mingled with the Tamils and formed into separate caste.

Religion :

Different regions of Tamilnadu had different gods. Thus for Kurinji, Mullai, Marudam, Neithal and Palai, Seyon, Vendan, Mayon, Varuna and Korravai were the Gods respectively. After the contact with Aryan culture these Gods were transformed into Vishnu, Rudra, Indira, Varuna

and Durga respectively. They also worshipped the sun, moon, stars and other heavenly bodies. Trees, snakes, rivers, hills and such earthly bodies were also worshipped. The same pattern is found in Rig Veda . We do not know definitely who borrowed from whom.

Jainism and Buddhism :

The Brahmi inscriptions found in the natural caverns of the Southern part of Tamilagam unmistakably reveal that Jains and Buddhists had entered the Tamil country even before the 2nd Century B.C.²¹ Buddhism began to flourish in Tamilagam in the 3rd Century B.C. itself and it is clearly proved by the inscriptions of Asoka. Among the Sangam poets there were both Jains and Buddhists. The Kalabras of the post Sangam age are considered to be Jains who contributed a lot to Tamil Grammar and poetry.

The Pallava rule in Tamil Country :

The Pallava rulers of Tamil Nadu were not Tamils. They came from Andhra and were of Brahminical origin. Rock cut caves, Radhas and structural types of temples were their contribution and during their rule the Brahminical Hindu Religion and icon worship were very much popular. They were the first rulers of Tamil Nadu who imported Brahmin Prohitas from outside Tamil Nadu and donated to them tax free lands and fertile Brahma Deya villages for doing poojas in the temples. They, ruled the country according to the Vedic Dharma and so were called as 'Dharma Maharajas'. The Society consisted of various caste-groups based on profession and taxes were imposed caste-wise.

By their political influence they ousted the traditional priests, the Valluvas and boosted their status in the Society. Thus, the Brahmins were given the highest status in the society. Religion during the Pallava rule was Brahmanised. Hence, Tamil society was full of ups and down during this period. The Brahmins who attained the topmost rank played their role as the head of Society and Religion, and the untouchables and slaves descended to the lowest rung of the society.

There were so many castes other than Brahmins. During the Pallava and early Pandia rule certain sub-division of the Surdas had emerged. These were based on the different occupations pursued by them²².

Apart from the 'Trinity', the Goddess Maahishasura Martini ten Avataras of Vishnu and others were popularised during Pallava period. For the first time the Bhakti Movement emerged in Tamil Nadu. The Trio of Saivism, Appar, Sambandar and Manikarvasakar started their pilgrimages

all over the country. Vaaishanivism also flourished side by side. The Bhakthi Movement brought to Tamilagam the essence of Vedic religion and enriched Tamil literature. Bhakti (or) devotion was brought to the Pamaras (commons) and Tamilagam became a pilgrim centre for both Saivites and Vaishnavites. God Ganapathi was brought from Vatapi to Tamil Nadu during this period.

Chola Period :

The art of temple building started by Pallavas and Pandyas were continued and developed by the Cholas. Temples became the centre of activities and places of culture in the society. The Bhakthi Movement was further strengthened and the 'holy places' and temples were visited more and more by the commons. The famous temples like Brahadeeswara temple at Tanjore and Gangaikonda Choleswara temple became the everlasting monuments of Brahminical Hinduism.

The Brahmins as priests in temples found pleasure with leisure and they made the religion costly, complex and splendid.

The Caste-system and untouchability became very rigid during this period. For the first time in the history of Tamil Nadu certain caste names are referred to as low castes in inscriptions. The Varnasharma Dharma was vehemently enforced on society. Hence, the Tamil Society became a multiple storey, and each caste born in a tier must die only in that tier and there was no possibility of moving from one tier to another. For example, a Pulaya could not become a Brahmana even though he had all the virtues of a Brahmin and a Brahmana could not be divorced from his community even though the virtues of a Brahmin were not at all found in him.

"A peculiar development of the caste system which affected social history of Tamils and Kannadigas in a limited measure, was the rise of the division of many castes into one or the other of the Right and Left hand castes. It was believed that each one of these two division had within its fold 98 castes".²³

Tamil Country under Vijayanagar, Nayaks and Maratha Periods :

During this period the Religion and Society in Tamil Nadu became a mixture of opposites because, the rulers by language, culture and traditions were completely foreign to Tamil language, culture and traditions. When their religion and population mixed with those of the Tamils' a mixed society was born. The caste-system was further multiplied with numerous sub-castes created on the basis of languages.

The Vijaya Nagar rulers were the Telugu people and they brought with them their own statesmen, administrators, priests and artisans. Hence, for every professional group there was a counterpart in Tamil Nadu. For example: Kaikkolas are the weavers of Tamil Nadu. Their Telugu counterparts Devangas, and Seniyas, and Saliyas were both Kannadigas and Telugus. Even among the Brahmins, there were Tamil Brahmins, Telugu Brahmins and Kannada Brahmins.

During the Vijaya Nagar rule, the Telugu speaking Reddis, Naidus, Kamma, etc., occupied a superior position in Tamil Nadu. Sourashtras called in Tamil as Pattunoolkaran and who hailed from Sourashtra freely mingled with the Tamil Society. As a result, the number of castes in Tamil Nadu increased. At one time the Hoysalas became the rulers in certain parts of Tamil Nadu. They also brought with them their own culture and civilization. During the Maratha and Nayak rules, there were considerable number of Telugu, Marathi, Urdu and English speaking communities in Tamil Nadu. The Reddis, Rajas, Naickers, Naidus and Chettis who spoke Telugu and Sourashtras who spoke a corrupt Gujarathi, the English speaking plantation owners of Nilgiris etc., could all play a significant role in the politics of Tamil Nadu.²⁴

During this period, casteism was reflected in the mode of dress, customs and manners, food habits etc., of different groups of people. their gods and goddesses were also distinct from those of Hindus. Gangamma, Durga, Poovadaikkari, Pavadi Rayan etc., were newly added to the list of deities in Tamil Nadu. Dasara festival (Navarathiri), Durga pooja, Yugathi festival etc., were also added to the Tamil festivals. An untouchable Telugu menial, Madiga had his own way of dress, customs and habits and his deity also differed from that of the untouchable chakkiliyan of Tamil origin. Most of these counter-parts were forced to wear a dress of a distinct colour and go about half-naked. Lot of restrictions were imposed on them. Thus, the castes were multiplied on the basis of languages, religion, regions etc vertically and horizontally.

The Right and Left hand caste groups that originated during the Chola period continued to exist upto modern times and often threatened the Government, the unity of the society and Tamil Nadu at large. Certain castes like Vellalas the landed gentry Kammalas, Chettiars, etc began to imitate the Brahmins by wearing the 'Poonool' and became the mediators in the battle for privileges between the above classes. In certain disputes the Vellalas and Brahmins were the only mediators. Their judgements were inscribed on public records.

Foreign Traders :

A considerable number of Portuguese, French and Danish people were also settled in Tamil Nadu. They converted a number of natives into Christianity. The Portuguese even tried for

inter-caste marriages but it was abandoned. When the English permanently settled as a new caste, 'Anglo-Indian' was added to the Tamil castes.

Muslim Population :

After the fall of Pandyas, Madurai was ruled for about 40-years by the Muslims called 'Mabar Sultans'. But Islam was known to Tamil Nadu since 7th Century A.D. The Arabs and Muslims lived amicably with Hindus in their separate quarters. But they converted a large number of natives to their faith. Hence, Mosques and Churches are found by the side of temples in Tamil Nadu. Many Tamils who were converted to Islam became rich and were called as Labbais, Ravuthars and Marakkayars. Tamil Society has always been a liberal society and therefore it tolerated Islam and Christianity. Nayak rulers such as Minakshi and Kamakshi Nayaks granted tax free lands to Mosques too.

When Hyder Ali invaded Tamil Nadu in 1769 A.D, temples of Tanjore Kingdom were destroyed and plundered. The idols were taken away. Hyder Ali captured many Hindus and converted them into Islam. According to Schwartz, Hyder Ali captured 12,000 children and converted them into Islam. Even then, there was no hue and cry from the Tamils, because they were divided among themselves into castes and sub-castes.

Christianity :

The Christian Missionaries were not looters of temples and killers of Hindus, like Muslims and Arbas. Their only aim was to spread Christianity in a honest way. In the beginning, the native rulers in the South of Tamil Nadu did not permit them to preach Christianity and to build churches. But in course of time they were allowed to build churches and start educational institutions. Thus, their religion slowly but steadily spread all over Tamil Nadu. The lowest of the low in the society were civilized, educated and found equality with caste-hindus by the Grace of Cross. Some of the Missionaries were appointed as Diwans, Advisors and Doctors to the Native Rajas. Most of them learnt Tamil and contributed a lot for the growth Tamil language and literature. The establishment of printing press in Tranquebar by the missionaries was a boon to Tamil language and literature.

After the formation of Madras Presidency in 1802, the Colonial Rule had commenced. At that time even the high caste men including Brahmins converted themselves into Christianity and began to thrive with the knowledge of English language. So far 93 per cent of the converts

were from low castes and now the percentage of high caste converts has considerably increased. So, nothing could be heard from the Tamils against Christianity and its propagation.

As a whole, the Tamil Society further increased its communal and caste-groups. Even a single caste was multiplied into a number of sub castes based on, religious and regional basis. For e.g:-

A Brahmana by his gotra and kula may be divided into Vadama, Smartha, Vadakalai, Thenkalai, etc. Now on the linguistic basis, Tamil Brahmana, Telugu Brahmana, Kannada Brahmana, Marathi Brahmana, Gujarathi Brahmana etc. on the basis of his religion Vaishnava Brahmana, Saiva Brahmana, Christian Brahmana etc.

Did Conversion brought a Casteless Socieity?

This is a very critical question. The converts were caught in a dilemma and found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. Most of the converts were from lower classes - especially the so called untouchables. They converted themselves into christianity only to escape caste tyranny. But even there they were once again caught in the net of caste-atrocities.

As cited above, only when the British became the rulers of India many high caste people converted themselves into Christianity to feather their own nests. But they carried along with them, their original caste prejudices. They segregated the low caste converts and began to dominate the Churches and educational institutions. Untouchability was strictly practised in the churches where separate enclaves were reserved for the low caste converts. Only after the performance of prayer by forward caste converts, the backward caste converts were allowed to perform their prayer. Even grave-yards were dominated by these high caste converts.

Today, the untouchable Christians have started a Movement called 'Dalits Christian Movement' and struggle for their freedom and equality with the high caste Christians. The high caste Christians even after their conversion want to be identified only by their erstwhile Hindu castes. So, they appended the caste titles like Pillai and Mudali to their proper names.

For e.g., Asirvatham Reddiar, Albert Naidu, James Nadar, Margret Mudaliar, etc.

This is the case with the Islam converts also. So, customs are being carried over even to other religions like a snail carrying her shell on her back wherever she moves! Tamils, often used to proclaim the philosophy of Pttnathar, who said, "we are born in this world with empty hands and carry nothing with us when we die". But the Tamils seem to have brought with them

the caste to this world and carry the same to their grave. Whether Christians or Muslims the Tamils seem to carry the caste appellation with them from womb to tomb.

Is there Secularism in Tamil Nadu?

Hindu religion with its caste-system is the religion of the Tamils. Our constitution says, that India is a "Secular State". Is there Secularism in Tamil Nadu?

Secularism means, 'no religion should be a State religion'. A State should not oppose or support any religion. And no religious institution is to be maintained by State fund! These are the main characteristics of a Secular State. But, even at the National level this is not practiced. The President, Prime Minister and Governors who are considered to be the custodians of the constitution and the symbol of sovereign power openly practice Hinduism at the expense of the Government. All the Hindu Presidents used to make pilgrimage to Kanchi Mutt and prostrate at the feet of the Periyavals. It is against the policy of secularism. Kanchi Mutt is the Mutt of Hindu religion. Its head is the head of a particular branch of Hinduism (Advaita). It practices casteism and untouchability. Poori Sancharacharya openly upholds untouchability. No caste is allowed to hold any position in the Mutt except a particular caste. But it is being visited by the President of India at the cost of Government. The Presidents do not visit other than Hindu mutts such as Gurudwaras and Dargahs. In defence of such religious actions, it is said that secularism does not mean irreligion and agnosticism but freedom and respect for all religions and religious practices and perfect neutrality of the government to all religious sects in the country.

"Among the Tamils, under the dynamic self-respect and rationality movements of Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy, there was a frontal attack on the Hindu Religion with a pronounced anti Brahmanic Movement calculated to make Government secular, and it had its repercussions all over the South".²⁵

"When the D.M.K. first formed the Government in Tamil Nadu in 1967, under the Chief Ministership of C.N. Annadurai an order was passed calling up the Government Officers to quietly remove the pictures and icons of Gods from their office rooms.²⁶ The Brahmin press raised a hue and cry against this order, but it was carried out by the D.M.K. Government. In 1974 when M. Karunanidhi was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Hindu Religious Endowment Act was amended. And a Bill was introduced to the effect that any qualified person may be appointed as an Archaka. But, the Supreme Court disallowed the Bill as an act of 'Orbita-Dictum'. When D.M.K. Government was followed by A.I.A.D.M.K., it could not impeach such an order, though it is professing atheism and following the foot prints of Periyar and Anna.²⁷ On the contrary,

it is openly supporting Hindu religion and religious institutions and crores of rupees are being spent for its revivalism.

Constitution separates 'State' from 'Religion'. But in Tamil Nadu, State has been openly supporting religion. The chairperson of a public meeting or a festival who is usually the Prime Minister, President, Governor and Chief Minister used to quote Vedas and Gita but not the golden words of Buddha, Vardhamana, Nabigal Nayagam or Guru Nanak.

The 'Secular Concept' has been borrowed from the West. Our concept of secularism seems to be Religious. Tolerance which is not at all equivalent to 'Secularism' in the strict sense of the term. Asoka followed Buddhism but he tolerated all other sectarians. But secularism means a religion should not be a State institutions. Buddhism is the State Religion in Sri Lanka, Japan and other countries and they are non-Secular States but they have religious tolerance towards other religions. That is why it was stated that Secular State should not follow any particular religion and should not support or oppose any religion and no religious institution should be maintained by the State fund. It does not mean that the State is irreligious or anti-religious. It only means that in no way it is connected with any religion. When Anna was the Chief Minister, pictures and icons of Hinduism were removed from the Government offices and the pictures of Thiruvalluvar were placed not only in the Government offices but also in the State owned buses with a Kural in most of the Government buses, with akural inscribed under the picture. Now a days it is also vanishing and the pictures of Virgin Mary, and crescent the symbol of Islam are also found.

Pandit Nehru and Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar felt that a Secular State is, part of the 'Democratic Tradition' and 'Secularism' in Government can only be built upon a broad based philosophy.²⁸

Dr. Ambedkar had two strong secular views in the making of the constitution. One, that there should be no scope for Brahminic revivalism, and two that the constitution should not be too rigid so as not to permit changes in accordance with the times.²⁹

Pandit Nehru and Babasaheb Ambedkar felt the pulse of the people who were all along the slaves under the foreign yoke and enjoyed their religious freedom constitutionally from the Queen's proclamation of 1858 A.D. Therefore, they hesitated to add the word 'Secular' in the constitution. When one of the members of the Constituent Assembly moved this amendment, twice it was rejected by Ambedkar. But, when Indira Gandhi was Prime Minister the emergency was declared and she inserted the word 'Secular' in the preamble which triggered a great communal clash. Anyhow, India is now a 'Secular State' according to the constitution. But the Brahminic

revivalism flourishes well in Tamil Nadu. The Concept of Secularism and communal harmony are dwindling day by day.

Is there communal harmony in Tamil Nadu ?

In our birds' eye-view, the history of Tamil Nadu reveals that caste system has been existing here from historical times. During Sangam Age land was the main capital and there were landlords and land labourers, called uluvittunbar and ulavar respectively. There were also agricultural slaves called Nila Adimaigal. The social structure and the positions of different groups were also in vertical and horizontal levels. Naturally the Brahmin supremacy was there.

Through the ages we found that the number of castes has increased and multiplied; so, also, the religion. When the British began to follow the non-intervention policy in Religion and Society the Tamils both Brahmins and non-Brahmins developed their own caste-consciousness and religious chauvinism and became pucca fundamentalists.

The Census Reports from 1881 upto 1951 carefully recorded the castes and their sub-castes. The castes grew in number by endless mutations and minglings. New occupations, religious cults, rituals and ceremonies were some of the reasons that contributed to the formation of new castes. The compilers of the census of 1881, who made a thorough investigation into the ramification of caste system have noted the incredible figure of 19,044 denominations of sub-castes in the Madras Presidency.³⁰ Almost all these sub-castes began to form their caste-associations and registered them under the Society Registration Act of 1860. Each caste claimed its priority over the other. They had their own kulavaralaru. Kula, Gotra and the like Brahminical way of terminology was adopted by the Sudras and casteless Adi-Dravidas.

When we see the history of constitutional development, simultaneously we could see the caste-wise constitutional recognition and priority. So, caste was constitutionalised in India and in Tamil Nadu. That tells upon the reservation policy now. When the communal reservation was made in the Acts of 1909 and 1919, it became an inevitable phenomena, that caste is not to be abolished. Each sub-caste claimed its share in the politics and public administration. So, the caste groups became the prey to the politicians and the people as their scape-goats. They were daring enough to exhibit even their religious denominations and caste titles in their election propaganda. So, Religion and Society became the handmaid of the politicians. In this politics of intoxication, the traditional and cultural epitome of communal harmony was diluted and thrown to the winds. It naturally led to communal clashes, all over India.

Secondly, the dearth of dynamic selfless and enlightened national leaders like K.Kamaraj and Anna is also a cause for the communal disharmony in Tamil Nadu. Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy the great atheist who opposed casteism and religion as deadlocks of communal harmony found no true successor.

Thirdly, the present generation has no motivation or ideology. They are in darkness; their future is unknown. They are being trained in cinema culture, mobism, vandalism, nepotism and gun-culture. So, they want to lead a life of pleasure without any hard labour. Their attraction always revolves round the bigwigs, fake business magnets or politicians. Hence, the peaceful park of Tamilagam has become a bear garden.

Fourthly, the Government and Censor Boards have allowed cinemas with caste titles such as Chinna Gounder, Devar Magan etc. to boost the pride of certain castes which indirectly provokes caste animosity and lead to communal clashes. Installations of statues, memorials and even naming certain Districts after the names of certain caste leaders has also strengthened sub-caste fanaticism and diluted the broad national outlook.

Sixthly, there is no epoch-making movement in Tamil Nadu in recent days so as to divert the minds of the youngsters. The Social-Reform Movement, Self-Respect Movement, or even the Bhakthi Movement were well responded and kept the society in harmony. Now, only the 'Mob-Movement' is absorbing the minds of youngsters and that is why they are jumping into the narrow pits, of violence and communal or caste conflicts.

Certain classes, particularly the downtrodden are still struggling for equality and fraternity with others. The air of freedom is yet to be breathed by them. In religious, social, and even in political clashes they are the targets of attack. Tamilagam was once united politically during the time of Karavela of Kalinga who was afraid of dismantling the federation of Tamil Kings (Tiramala Sangadam). Today all the castes and religious people like Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and even Jains are united during times of communal or caste conflicts especially against the Dalits.

Constitution has guaranteed to them both the minority and Scheduled Caste rights. But in practice they are rarely conceded to them. Constitution clearly states that ours is a Secular State. But Secularism is rarely practised.

Who is to solve these problems ?

Sometime back a minister said that 'History is a non-utility subject. But we can with confidence state that it is the only utility or useful subject, a study of which could reform the broken Tamil Society, religion, and politics. It is the bounden duty of historians like you to find out the root causes for all these problems which have encroached upon the Tamil Society and find out permanent solutions for them.

With this great and enduring hope, I conclude my Presidential address.

Thanking you.

Foot Notes

1. Perumpan:315-316

"குன்று குடைந்தன்ன அந்தணர் வீடுக"

2. Madurai Kanci
Silambu - 13: 141-142.

468-474,

654-656

3. Madurai Kanchi 760

4. Ibid.

5. Pilly

A Social History of the Tamils, University of Madras, 1975. p.465.

Dr.K.K.

6. Padirrupattu : 13-15.

7. Ibid 71:23.

8. Kali-139 : 32-36.

9. Puram -5 :5-6,
Madurai Kanchi - 197; Kali 139:36.

50:14-15

240:

6;

10. Silambu XXVIII Nadu-kal Kadai.

11. Agam - 233 : 7-8.

12. Agam - 141 : 8-10.

13. Puram 27 : 8-7.

14. Puram-50:14-16.

இவண் இசை உடையோர்க்கு அல்லது அவனது உயர்நிலை
உலகத்து உறையுள் இன்மை விளங்கக் கேட்கமாறு கொள்.

15. Puram - 27 : 7-10.

புலவர் பாடும் புகழுடையோர் விசம்பின் வலவன் ஏவா வான வூர்தி
எய்தும் என்பதம் செய்வினைமுடித்த எனக் கேட்பல்.

16. Puram - 287 : 7-12.

ஓடல் செல்லாப் பீடுடையாளர்
நெடுநாப் பெய்கைப் பிறழியவாளை ..

.....
மாசின் மகளிர் மன்றல் நன்றும்
உயர்நிலை உலகத்து நுகர்ப

17. Puram 5: 5-6.

அருளும் அன்பும் நீக்கி நீங்கா
நிரயங் கொள்பவர்

18. Puram - 71 : 18-19

தென்புலங் காவலின் ஓரி இப்பிறர்
வன்பு லங்காவலின் மாறியான் பிறக்கே

19. Subramaniam

History of Tamil Nadu to A.D. 1336, Madurai, 1972, p.338.

Dr.N.

20. Pillay, Dr.K.K. op.cit., p.104.

21. Ibid, p.506.

22. Pillay,

The Caste System in Tamil Nadu, University of Madras, 1977, p.21.

Dr.K.K.

23. Ibid, p.36.

24. Subramaniam,

History of Tamil Nadu (A.D.1565-1956), Madurai, 1977, p.325.

Dr.N.

25. Dharmalingam,

Prof.

A.M.

Baba Saheb Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and Secularism, Dalit Sahitya Academy, Bangalore, 1988, p.35.

26. Ibid, p.42.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid, p.39.

30. Sarasvathi,

Minorities in Madras state, Delhi, 1974. p.6.

S.

TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT TAMIL NADU

(A Case Study of Arikamedu)

N.Athiyaman
Centre for Underwater Archaeology
Tamil University
Thanjavur - 613 005

The references found in Sangam literature suggest that Tamils were aware of the Town Planning right from Sangam period. The epics Silappathikkaram and Maduraikanchi vividly explain the plan of Kaveripumpattinam and Madurai respectively. Archaeological excavations at Kavreipumpattinam and Arikamedu yielded materials to prove the possible existence of planned cities. To understand this ancient town planning, Arikamedu is taken as a case study here.

Arikamedu is located 4km South of Pondicherry in a curve of Ariyankuppam river just before it enters the Bay of Bengal (Fig.1). Narrinai (58:5) refers to a Velir called Veeraian Venmaan Veliyan Thiththan who owned a coastal port/harbour. It is noted in Agananuru (206:13) as Veerai munthurai (in Tamil 'munthurai' refers to small harbour situated near estuary). Now the place is called Veerampattinam where the site Arikamedu is situated. The periplus of Erithraean sea and Ptolemy refer this port city as 'Poduke'. The archaeological excavations conducted at this place by Wheeler in 1945, Casal in 1947 and 1950 and Begley between 1989 and 1992 revealed many antiquities dating back to mid 3rd c. BC. However, the structures exposed have provided ample evidences to the development of port town from 1st c. BC and flourished till end of the second century A.D.

Since the major excavations were done by three scholars in different periods, Begley (1993:93) has produced a single map by pooling together all the excavated date (Fig.2). Wheeler (1946:24) divided the habitation site into North and South sectors where the border limit of these sectors were not clearly indicated. Wheeler's trenches were named as AK-I to AK-X and Casal's (1949, 1956) trenches were as Group I to IV. Begley's (1993:93-108) excavations were named as AV with the year of excavation followed with the trench number in Roman letters (AV901 for instance). Begley has retained Wheeler's division of two sectors but has clearly demarcated the northern end of South sector based on the availability of amphoras and rouletted wares which is the massive wall excavated by Casal of length 75mm running diagonal to the river.

Plan and Development of the Town :

The gradual development of the city can be seen from the evidences available. Before the period of overseas trade with Mediterranean countries, the settlement was found only in south sector (of Casal's group I trenches). From the contours drawn by the Wheeler (1946:17), it can be seen that the early settlement is situated in the elevated place (Fig.3). This may be due to the reason that the elevated place cause little concern to the habitants where the problem of flooding and erosion is expected. In those periods they would have had a small harbour in the Norther region (lower level) as stated by Akananuru. In the initial periods the port structure would have been made of timber. The shell working industry should have been around the harbour as the preparation of shell for industry involves decomposing the living organism which produce odour unsuitable for the residents. This could be evidenced from the large number of cores of worked shell found in the AV91-VI trench.

The evidence at Group I trenches of Casal suggest that during this period the dying vats and other sinks or pits were existing between the inhabited site and the harbour area. The tanks were associated with terracotta ring wells but without drainage facilities. These industries could have only catered the need of the local community.

Later when the trade with Mediterranean countries started around 1st C. BC, the settlement expanded in the both the sectors. Almost all of the structural remains noticed in trenches along the river are dated to this period (Begley 1993:97). The trade activities necessitated the expansion of Industries and other port facilities. The south sector experienced the industrial development while the north sector had seen the port and commercial development.

In this period the warehouse (excavated by Wheeler) and small fragmentary walls near the river bank ('Quai' as called by Casal) were constructed.

The undated enclosure walls excavated by Begley (AV 90 A and B and AV 91 C) due to the disturbed stratigraphy can be now dated to this period. During development of port, the construction techniques would have been learnt from Romans. This can be evidenced from many first century Ad Roman ports like Claudius, Pozzouli, Leptis magna, Aquileia (river port) (1957:518-520) which had similar quays, warehouse backed by portico and fortification. In addition to that, the claim made by Will (1991:154) that broken amphora sherds for the use of construction of port facilities in Mediterranean ports and Pozzolonian material sticking to amphora sherds found at Arikamedu is worth noting. The cultural identity was maintained by both the population as the large number of amphora sherds found Casal's Group IV contrary to the very less number in south sector.

Meanwhile to meet the growing demand the development of construction of dying vats with drainage facilities were noticed in the south sector. These were associated with terracotta ring wells. The addition of drains might have been used to discharge the effluents into the sea as the tank were situated near river banks. This view can be supported by Wheelers (1946:26) Ak IV trench. Besides, a reservoir of 6m wide with 75m long wall fitted out with terracotta ring wells in the floor perhaps to ensure an interrupted supply of water during all seasons (Casal 1949:24-28) for other industries like metal, glass, semi precious stone, ivory and shell. The city served its function keeping social identity intact with high commercial objectives. In later period around mid second century the city has been ruined due to some unknown reasons as evidenced from the stray structures in those strata.

Conclusion :

It is clear that before the contact with Mediterranean countries, the settlement was situated in elevated place to get rid of natural dangers and continued to live till it lost its importance. Harbour area is properly planned and constructed at the mouth of the river. To keep the cultural identity, the Romans were living in separate area (near harbour). The industries have been interspread between the settlement and the harbour for smooth commercial transaction. The construction technique of the harbour is changed due to the infusion of foreign knowledge.

Reference :

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| Begley,V. | 1983 | "Arikamedu Reconsidered", <u>American Journal of Archaeology</u> Vol.87, pp.461-481. |
| Begley, V., | 1993 | "New Investigations at Port of Arikamedu" <u>Journal of Roman Archaeology</u> , Vol.6, pp.93-108. |
| Casal, J.M., | 1949 | <u>"Fouilles de Virampatnam-Arikamedu</u> , Paris. |
| Casal,J.M.,and
Casal, G., | 1956 | <u>Site Urbain et sites funeraires des environs de Pondicherry</u> , Paris. |
| Wheeler, R.E.M.,
Ghosh,A.,
Krishna Deva | 1946 | "Arikamedu : An Indo-Roman Trading and station on the East coast of India", <u>Ancient India</u> , No.2, pp.17-124. |
| Will, E.L., | 1991 | "The Mediterranean shipping Amphoras from Arikamedu". <u>Rome and India: Theancient sea trade</u> , Madison, pp.151-156. |

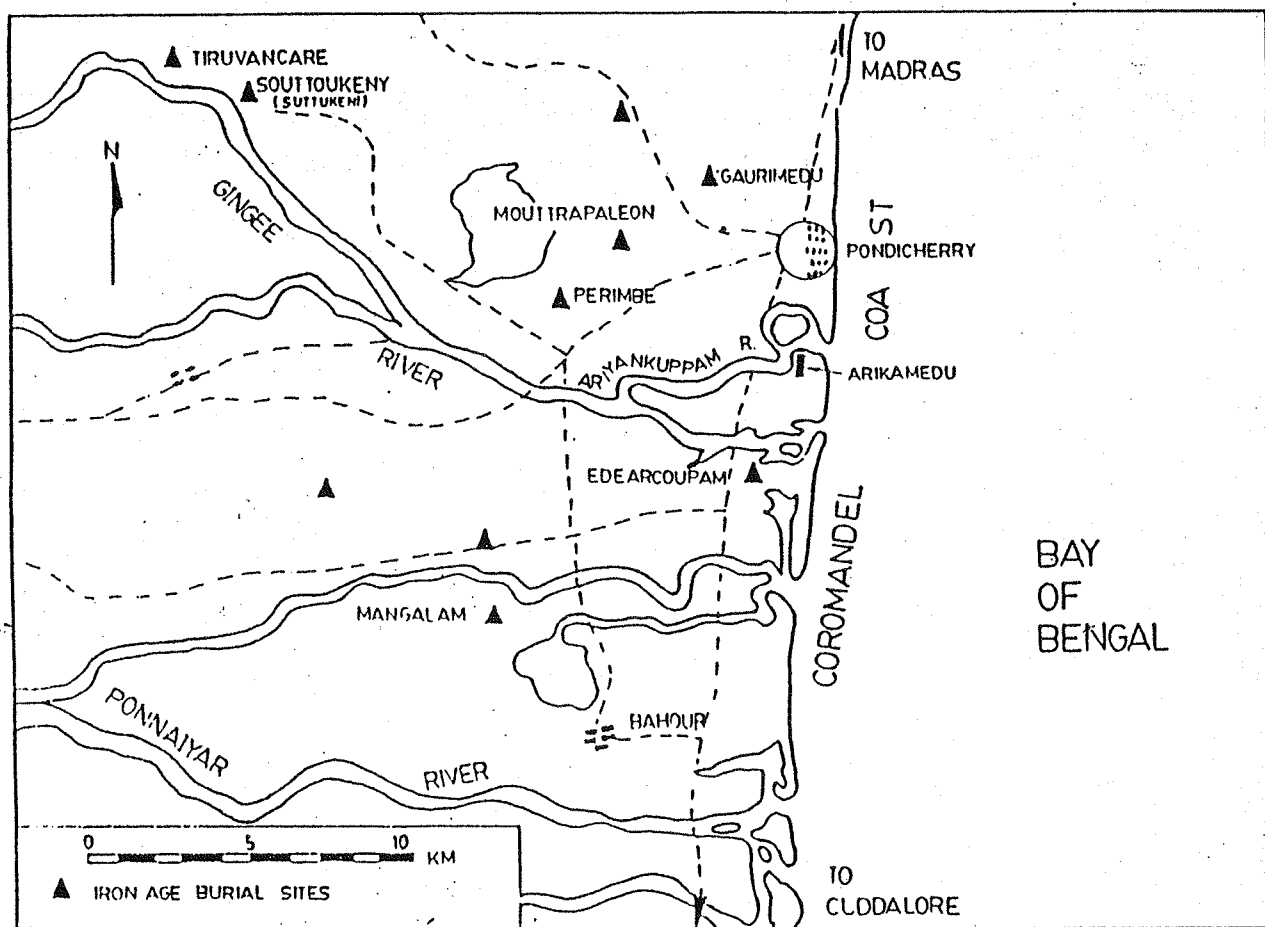


FIG 1

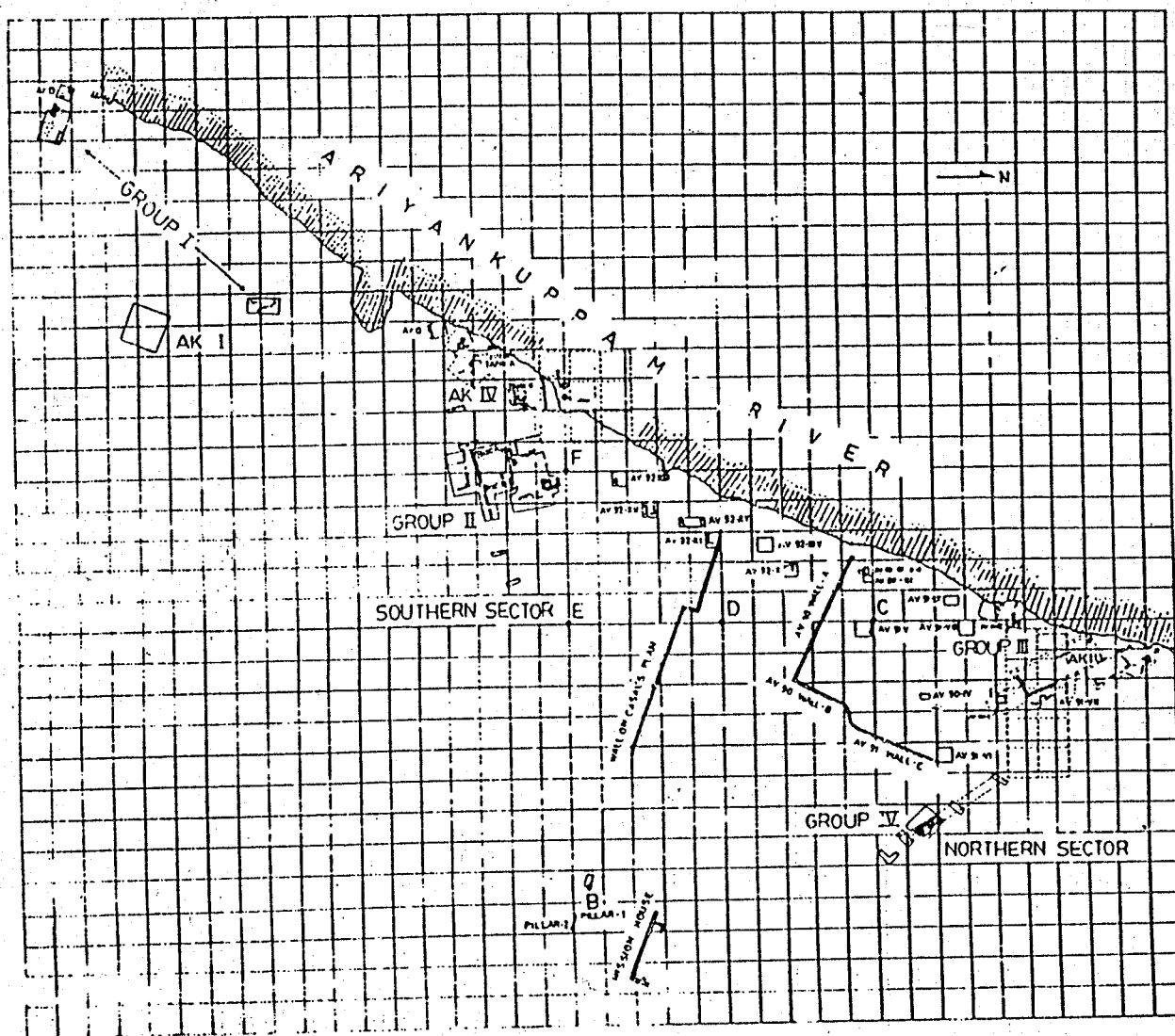
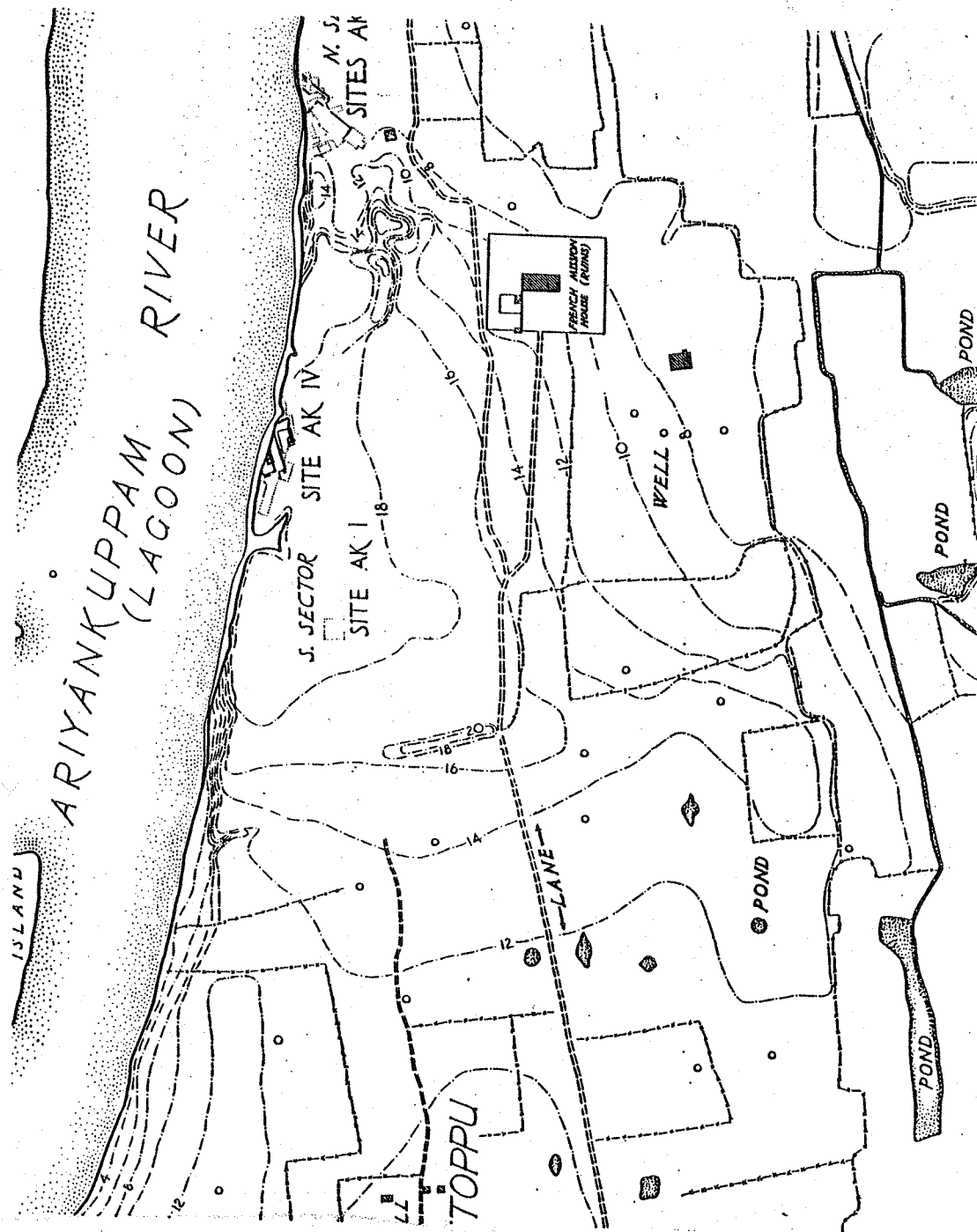


FIG 2



SANKARAPANDIYAR: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF A MERCANTILE COMMUNITY

P. Shanmugam

*Professor, Dept of Ancient History and Archaeology,
University of Madras, Madras 600 005.*

The economic activities of the medieval Tamil country (600-1300 A.D.) was largely controlled by the working groups. Their activities and economic implications were studied by some historians in the past.¹ Among the producing groups the community of weavers have been studied elaborately. The finished products of these weavers were sold in the local, as well as in foreign markets. Similarly the community of metal workers (kammalas) produced valuable and intricately designed ornaments. They rose to an enviable position among the other producing communities.

The production of oil was an important ancient profession. The oil was extracted by some methods from vegetable fruits like coconut and mahua (iluppai) and also from the vegetable seeds like gingelly and castor, etc. The oil so produced was consumed mostly by the domestic consumers. Some oil was also used by the temples for lighting lamps. The oil producers were variously called in the inscriptions and literature. The most common terms used for them were the cekkar, vaniyar and sankarapadiyar.² The real significance of the correct usage of these terms are not clear at present. However, we may suggest that the term, cekkar could possibly refer to a owner/user of a chekku, the oil extracting mill. In the case of the vaniyar, the meaning is not clear. The sankarapadiyar could refer to a group of people living in the locality called sankarapadi, where the chekku was installed.

The oil producers were active from the Pallava times. They also functioned as merchants and became itinerant traders. Sometimes they also participated in the various function of the temple and in the administration of the nagaram, a mercantile settlement of the merchants.

The Sankarapadiyar, as a community of oil merchants, appear from the later Pallava times in the Tondainadu. In an 18th regnal year inscription of the Pallava king, Kampavarman (A.D.887) the local members of the sankarappadi agreed to maintain one perpetual lamp in the Vishnu temple by receiving 2 kalanjus of gold as an annual interest on the 10 units (kalanju ?) of gold. No individual was given the responsibility of providing oil to maintain the lamp, but the sankarapadi community as a group had agreed to provide one uri of oil to the temple. The sabha of the kavantandalam chaturvedimangalam made this agreement. From this, it is clear that the whole

body of the sankarappadi living in the village were involved in this transaction. The inscription has not indicated the members of the sankarapadi community involved in this transaction.³

In the 9th century Uttiramerur, a famous Brahmadeva village, the sanakarapadiyar were referred to as the residents of a locality called vadakkilangadi. They received 15 kalanju of gold and agreed to maintain one perpetual lamp in the Tiruppulivala Mahadevar temple. The Vadadkkilangadi, as the name suggests, could be a market place (angadi) situated on the northern part of the village Uttiramerur. The sankarapadiyar had their oil mill and produced oil for the consumption of the villagers.⁴

During the Parantaka I's rule, the sankarapadiyar functioned in the gold testing committee (ponvariyaṁ) constituted by the Sabha of Uttiramerur for finding the fineness of gold. The nine committee members were elected by pot tickets (Kudavolai), of which 4 members were from the Madavidi (merchants), 2 from the senai (betel growers) and 3 from sankarapadi. They were to work under the supervision of the sabah's annual committee (samvatsaravariyaṁ) and are to test the quality of gold for all the residents of the village Uttiramerur.⁵ From the number of representatives it is seen that the sankarapadiyar constituted the second largest mercantile community in Uttiramerur. Perhaps they were one of the important mercantile groups in the early part of the tenth century A.D. Though there is no reference to the commodities transacted by the sankarapadiyar, we could suggest that a considerable quantity of oil could have been transacted in the village.

In an inscription of Rājendra I (16th r.y = A.D. 1030) from Tiruppurambiyam (Thanjavur District), the sankarapadiyar have received two grants of gold amounting to 65 kasus (50+15 kasus) from two individuals for maintaining 15 sandi (evening) lamps in the temple of Adittai-isvaram in the village Tiruppurambiyam. The sankarapadiyar are said to have been living in the street called Viraiyakkalip-perunteru in the place called Pirambil, a devadana of the Adityesvaram temple.⁶ The number of persons involved in the burning of the lamps are not known from the inscription. They are mentioned as a group only and no individual members are referred to. The sankarapadiyar were functioned as a group only.

In the neighbourhood of the eastern pidagai of Perumbarrappuliyur (Chidambaram), a Nagaram was created with the name Gunamenagaipuram in 1028 A.D. The original extent of the nagaram (47 1/2 velis) was enlarged (78 1/4 velis) with the addition of five pieces of lands, probably situated in the neighbourhood of the newly created nagaram, Gunamenagaipuram. From the total extent of land, 34 velis were exempted from taxation for various purposes. The merchant

communities newly settled in the nagaram were divided into two groups, namely 1) Kudigal and 2) Kilkalanai. In the first group (kudi) were included : 1.Viyaparigal (merchants as well as chettis), 2.Vellalar (cultivators), 3. Sankarapadiyar (oil producers), 4. Saliar (weavers) and 5. Pattinavar (fishermen). In the Kilkalanai group were included 1. Tachchar (carpenter), 2. Kollar (metal smiths), 3. Tattar (gold smiths), 4. Koliyar (weavers)⁷ and 5. other communities whose names are not enumerated.

The nagara inhabitants were to pay the taxes kalalavu and kolkuli which are included in the common tax called angadippattam. From the angadippattam and the melvaram collected from the lands the authorities are to feed 1000 brahmanas in the temple at the time of Tiruvani festival in the temple. The inclusion of the sankarapadiyar in the Kudi group could suggest an equal position among the other mercantile communities like the vellalas and viyaparigal. They could be land owners as well as owners of oil presses (chekku). There is no evidence of the condition of the landless sankarapadiyar as well as labourers in the community.⁸

During the reign of Rajendradeva II (2nd r.y. = A.D. 1054) a new settlement was created in a part of the village Tiruvalangadu (Chenglepet M.G.R District) with the name Rajendracholapadi and 25 families were settled with the purpose of burning 15 lamps in the temple. The settlement was created by the orders of the king, on the request preferred by his officer (Kanmi) Viracholappallavaraiyan. The settlement was provided with living quarters, gracing grounds, water cistern, irrigation tank and burial grounds. Since the last portion of the inscription was damaged, the other details could not be made out. However it is clear that new settlement were created by the king in this area probably to help the sankarapadiyar community.⁹

The members of the sanakarapadi community seem to be moving to other regions probably for the sale of oil or for religious purpose. In A.D.936, a member of the community, Tirubhutaniyakkan, hailing from Tirukkottiyur in Pandya country had gone to Tiruvamattur (South Arcot District) and had gifted 15 kalanjus of gold for maintaining one perpetual lamp to the deity. More details could not be collected since the record is damaged.¹⁰ In A.D. 1193 (Kulottunga III, 15th r.y.) another member of the community, Irulnikki Deyvanayakan alias Chembiyadaraiyan, a resident of Cholakulavallinallur in Pattanpakkai Nadu had gifted gold ornament weighing more than 5 kalanjus and two cows to the temple at Tiruvendipuram in Merka Nadu.¹¹

References :

1. Kenneth R.Hall, Trade and State craft in the Age of the Colas, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980; Vijaya Ramaswamy, Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India, Oxford, New Delhi, 1985.
2. S.Rajagopal, 'Sekku', in Kalvettu, Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu; Natana Kasinathan, 'Sankarapadiyar', Srinidhi : Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, Art and Culture, New Era Publications, Madras.
3. South Indian Inscriptions (SII), Vol.VII,No.421.
4. SII, Vol.VI, No.363.
5. Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXII, No.24, p.146.
6. SII, Vol.VI, No.30.
7. According to Edgar Thurston, the koliyars were a weaver, caste, largely found in the Thanjavur and Madurai districts and are engaged in weaving a coarse white clothes. Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.III, (1909), reprinted, 1975, Cosmo Publication, Delhi, p.302.
8. SII, Vol.IV, No.223.
9. SII, Vol.III, No.65.
10. S.I.I. Vol.VIII. iro.734.
11. Annual Report, Epigraphy (ARE), year 1956, No.245.

BRAHMAN PEASANT RELATION IN MEDIEVAL TAMILNADU

*A.Justin Wilson,
Department of History,
Kamaraj College, Tuticorin-628 003.*

Several papers have come out about the brahman-kshatriya relation and brahman-peasant relations in South India. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, the pioneer historian of South India declares that the brahmans and the peasants lived in absolute harmony in the numerous brahmadeyas. Professor Sastri further says that in the early medieval period there was no evidence of the ugly social conflicts and jealousy between the brahmans and non-brahmans or right and left hand caste groups as those found in his own days.¹ His views were echoed by T.V.Mahalingam, C.Minakshi and A.Appadorai. However, these early historians appear to have overlooked the real facts and have highlighted only one aspect of it. Meanwhile, R.S.Sharma and Prof.Vanamamalai found out evidences for the brahman-peasant conflicts. Prof.Sharma observes, "unable to bear the brahmans" oppression, the peasants began to react by revolts, desertion of villages or refusal to perform agricultural functions.²

Evidences of medieval Tamil Nadu especially inscriptions, refer to a kind of suspended animation of the relation between the brahmans and the peasants which had far-reaching consequences. This paper makes an attempt to re-capture the kind of situations and relations that existed between the two classes of Tamil Nadu viz, brahmans and peasants. This aspect of the brahman-peasant relation has not received the due attention from the historians and social scientists until now.

For its proper understanding, it is imperative to study the status and importance of the brahmans in the society during those days. The brahmans represented the intellectual serenity of the day. As keepers of conscience, they served as a cohesive force of the State and the society. Educationally the brahmans continued to hold an esteemed position in the society, for they maintained a high degree of excellence in learning.³ As scholars, they occupied exalted positions in the State as priests, prohibits, astrologers, poets, commanders and counsellors.⁴ Politically, the priestly class had enjoyed the power of royal authority which no king of the medieval days could dispense with. Further by their religious and economic powers, privileges and functions, brahmans had exerted a high degree of influence on the administration of the State.⁵ Therefore, the kings took pride in their presence, performance and benedictions. They not only kept royal relations with the priestly class but also had even family relations.⁶ In recognition of their services to the State, they were granted brahmadeyas, chaturvedimangalams and even devadanas for their maintenance. All this was done at the cost of the tillers of the soil, who in general, were forced to evacuate their lands in favour of the most favoured in the society. They were not allowed

to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Their sweat and toil were exploited by the kings to keep their favourites ever happy and prosperous.

Literature, inscriptions and copper plates of the medieval days bring out the connivance of the ruling and the priestly classes against the peasants. For various reasons, the rulers had to keep the priestly class under perpetual prosperity and happiness. Hence, they accorded a respectful treatment to the Brahmins and generally ignored the peasantry. As a mark of their patronage, the kings, used to grant the brahmins the most fertile lands by evacuating the peasants. This practice was in vogue even from the Sangam age. Pari, the ruler of Parambunadu⁷ and one of the seven chiefs, had granted 300 villages to Kapilar, the brahmin poet for singing his glory. Evidences prove that the villages granted thus are "Tan Parambu Nannadu"⁸ a land of groves with perennial water supply. The peasants might have been evacuated from these regions because we find the absence of certain domestic animals mostly available among other sections of the society. Kurutogai, one of the Sangam classics states that the residential areas of the brahmins were very clean and neatly arranged and their settlements had no dogs.⁹ It confirms the fact that there was no possibility of peasants staying in the brahminical settlements. There are references in Sangam literature to farmer-poets exhorting the kings to keep their oppressive hands off the peasantry.¹⁰

This tradition of granting brahmadeyas to brahmins continued uninterrupted vigour in the medieval period. For instance Pattathalmangalam also called Korrangudi,¹¹ was created mainly for the purpose of settling the brahmin scholars. This village had an extent of 40 velis. Of these a brahmadeya was created in 24 velis long ago.¹² Of the remaining 16 velis, 12 velis were donated as another brahmadeya in the 59th regnal year (790 A.D) of Nandivarman II. The remaining 4 velis were also donated to the brahmins. The copper-plates were issued for all the 16 velis of land¹³ in the 61st regnal year of Nandivarman II. It was a fertile region.¹⁴ This brahmadeya was carved out after dispossessing the former tenants and it was Kudiningi brahmadeya.¹⁵

It is known from the Udayandram copper plates that the villages Kumaramangala Vellattur and Korra located on the bank of the river Palar in Mel Adayaru Nadu were granted to 108 brahmins¹⁶ by Nandivarman Pallavamalla in his 21st year of reign (752 A.D.) as a gift in appreciation of the valour¹⁷ of his sincere and loyal commander, Udayachandra.¹⁸ This village was very fertile with river, channel, tank and sluice. The brahmins were given the hereditary right to enjoy the whole income from the land¹⁹ which was full of groves of coconuts, arecanuts, mango trees, jack trees, etc.²⁰ The record does not speak of the condition of the evacuated tenants. Thus it was a practice among the Tamil kings to evacuate the original tenants or some times the owners of the land whenever they wanted to settle the brahmins.

Fertile villages were also granted to the brahman scholars for fostering vedic studies by dispossessing the peasants (owners). For instance the Kasakudi copper plates inform us that two patti land (2400 kuli - 8 acres) ²¹ in Kodukalli village in Urukadunadu was granted to one brahman scholar Jyestapada Somajaji as brahmadeya. It is done in the 22nd regnal year (753 A.D.) of Nandivarman II after expropriating the former owners.²² Once granted it was renamed as Ekadhiramangalam.²³ As per the terms and conditions of the grant, the donee was given the right to enjoy the wet and dry lands within the limits of the brahmadeya. Exemption was given from a number of dues and taxes. This brahmadeya was a fertile land of high yield. To make the land more fertile and to have perennial water supply, permission was granted to the donee to dig channels for conducting water from the river Cheyyaru, Vegavati and Tirayaneri. But this was denied to other people, especially the peasants. The people in the adjacent villages, who took out and used the water in the river channels by cutting branch channels or through small levers were punished with a fine.²⁴ All these point to the fact that the king was very much concerned with the prosperity, preservation and progress of the brahman scholars rather than the welfare of the common peasants. It is also learnt from the record that the king's expropriation of eight acres of land from its owners for declaring it a brahmadeya was for the benefit of that single brahman, but at the cost of a large number of peasants.

Villages were also granted to nalkurnarparpar after evacuating the peasants. It is known from the Pullur copper plates that Nandivarman II in his 33rd regnal year (764 A.D) amalgamated the four villages of Nellai, Pulur, Kudiur and Takkaru by evacuating the former tenants, the tillers of the soil and renamed it as Nayathiramangalam.²⁵ This was granted to 108 highly qualified brahmans who were of good character and experts in Vedas.²⁶ This fertile brahmadeya land was situated in the Southern bank of the river Cheyyaru.²⁷

Dispossessing the former tenants, the lands were often granted to the brahmans for educational purposes too. The best example is provided by the Bahur copper plates.²⁸ The plates state that the three villages - Chettupakkam, Vilakattukaduvanur and Iraippunaiccheri - were granted as an educational endowment during the 8th regnal year (877 A.D.) of Nrupatungavarman.²⁹ These brahmadeya villages consisted of ponds, wells and channels and dry as well as wet lands and fruit bearing trees.³⁰

Moreover, these records tell us that this grant was also a Kudiningi brahmadeya. This is surmised from the words "dispossessing the former tenants".³¹ Regarding this, C.Minakshi says that the phrase "expropriation of former tenants or their dispossession" does not mean that the owners of the lands stated in the gift deed were deprived of their lands but only the former tenants

employed by the State farms were removed, leaving the right of employment to the tenants i.e. to the donee of the gifted land.³² This cannot be accepted as it is generally contrary to the prevailing practice. Nandivarman II in his 33rd regnal year evacuated the tenants of the village of Nayathiramangalam and settled there 108 brahmans.³³ At Kothamangalam village 24 velis of land were granted towards the establishment of brahmadeyas by Nandivarman II. He forced its owners to evacuate and handed it over to the brahmans.³⁴ It is also evident from the Udayendram copper plates that the owners of the land were expelled and the land was transferred to the brahmans.³⁵ But C.Minakshi justifies her stand by telling that it was done due to inimical and hostile attitude of the owners towards the state.³⁶ It was a common phenomenon during the medieval period to evacuate the owners and settle the brahmans. Details of how the old tenants were compensated and re-employed are not known in any of these records. The tillers of the soil could not enjoy the fruit of their soil even though they had toiled in their own soil. The kings had not attached much importance to the owners of the soil, as to their reverence for the brahmans.

In case of dispossession, the tenants had either to seek their fortune by working in the brahmadeya lands or leave the place in search of some other barren lands to try their luck there. Evacuation of the peasants continued during the Pandya period also. For instance, Parantaka Viranarayanan in his 7th regnal year (887 A.D) regranted a brahmadeya integrating two villages. Madurantaranallur and Thirumangalam, with Somacikurucchi to the brahmans which were lost in the troublous difficult times.³⁷ It is stated that the land given to them were very fertile with cotton and paddy fields with a well-knit irrigation system.³⁸ In reality, what had happened was that so long as the land was laid waste and uncultivated no one claimed it. But, when once it was brought under cultivation and the yield was assured, then the brahmans would stake out their claim to it and would occupy it by forcibly evacuating the tillers of the soil. The kings also thought it meritorious and dharmic to grant such fertile lands to brahmans at the cost of poor peasants for the cause of protecting dharma. Thus, kings had very little concern for the poor peasants who ultimately lost their possessions.

The Madras Musuem plates of the Pandya king Jatilavarman (768-814 A.D.) ends with a subtle warning that the property of a brahman was a poison,³⁹ which would take away the life of a person, but the confiscation of the property of a brahman would kill the successors for the generations.⁴⁰ Further the record lays down the tenet that the greatest reward from God was the protection of the brahman grant and the greatest sin was its confiscation.⁴¹ This warning tells us how the brahmans and their property were protected and how the kings took it as their duty to offer them solid security by allowing them to record such a warning in the engravings. The Pandya king's act of renaming the village of Velangudi as Srivaramangalam and its declaration

as brahmadeya strengthens the fact of existence of a good relationship between the king and the priestly class. This relationship however led to the exploitation of the peasants.

It is learnt from above records that the peasants paid great reverence and respect for this priestly class. Taking undue advantage of this reverential fear, the priestly class kept them under servitude. However, in the passage of time, the peasantry became aware of their exploitation by the king and the priests.

In the later medieval period, instances of tension between the two groups are noticed. It is well known that food, one of the necessities of life, was produced by the Vellalas represented by the peasantry and agricultural labourers. It is thus that they formed the basic structure of the society. But, in fact they were the heavily burdened and as such marginalised and heavily taxed and exacted section, which was at the mercy of other estates. It is known from records that they served their masters in servitude.⁴² This working class was exploited by both the rulers and the brahmins. Their condition deteriorated day by day. The promise of religious merit and the prospect of bliss in the next world did not allure them very much any longer.

This unbearable condition made the peasants grow more restive and aggressive and they began to struggle against the oddities imposed on them by brahmins even from the Chola days. N. Vanamamalai gives an instance of peasants' revolt during the Chola period. On an occasion, the angry peasant masses rose in revolt against their feudal lords and pulled down the walls of temples, where the documents of transfer of lands were kept which robbed them of their rights.⁴³ They also destroyed the original documents kept in the archives of temples. In 1072 A.D. in the reign of Kulottunga I, a clash between the Valangai (right hand) and Idangai (Left hand) castes resulted in the burning of the village, Rajamahendra Chaturvedimangalam at Papanasam in the Thanjavur District, the destruction of its sacred places and the looting of the temple treasury and the removal of idols. The temple was thereby to be renovated and its property restored and idols reconsecrated.⁴⁴ A few ameliorative measures such as remission of taxes, restoration of lands forfeited,⁴⁵ recognition of the rights for which a section of the peasants struggled and made sacrifices, were initiated to heal the wounds thus caused.

Cruelties perpetrated by brahmins against the peasants are also reported in inscriptions. An inscription⁴⁶ found at Aduthurai reports that the brahmins with the help of the officers of the crown and the vanniars wrought untold havoc to the 96 castes of the Idangai group of agricultural labourers. It enumerates the taxes the local village sabha proposed to levy on them with the consent of the representative of the king, Muventhavelan. A mass meeting of 96 castes decided

not to pay any tax levied by the sabhas and the king's officers. It attests to the authoritarian ways of dealing with things by the sabha, which imposed taxes without considering the heart-burning sufferings of the poor peasants.

Further two inscriptions dated 1238⁴⁷ and 1239⁴⁸ A.D. state that the cultivating peasants of a village presented a memorandum to the sabha telling it that they were subjected to oppressive and vexations imposts. As a consequence they reported to the sabha that they would not cultivate the land unless steps were taken to prevent people illegally demanding shares in produce and to prevent persons, claiming to be tax collectors harassing them. On the whole, such kinds of inhuman and callous dealings of the sabha very severely damaged its reputation and created a kind of ill-will among the peasants.

The study made above very well attests to the fact of a kind of "suspended animation" of relation between the priestly and labouring classes. Records cited above on the other hand bring out the cordial relation that existed between the ruling and the priestly classes at all times. It is surmised from the study that the peasantry existed for the betterment of the other two classes; who at all levels, exploited them from their innocence and ignorance by forcefully evacuating them from their own hard earned lands and putting them to severe strains because of heavy taxation and inhuman exactions. Fear of royal and priestly connivance and punishments prevented them from revolting against this "conspiracy in silence" to quote Prof.S.Manickam. Once they understood their powers, functions and positions and their exploitation by the others they were not ready to remain meek animals. They grew more and more suspicious of the other two classes, revolted against them, brought destruction to properties and sought remissions and other remedial measures. This struggle for survival happened in the later medieval period rather than in the early medieval period when the peasantry tried to maintain harmonious relations at every level.

Notes and References

1. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, Studies in Cola History and Administration, University of Madras, 1932, p.546.
2. R.S.Sharma, Indian Feudalism, C.A.D. 300-1200, University of Calcutta, 1985, pp.3,60-61.
3. Rajendra Nath Sharma, Brahmans Through the Ages, Delhi, 1977, pp.42,120-121.
4. SII, Vol.ii, 1.59, p.349; N.subramanian, The Brahman in the Tamil Country, Madurai, 1989, pp.71-72.

5. Ibid, pp.78,79; T.V.Sadasiva Pandarattar, Pirkala Cholar varalaru (T1.) Annamalai University, 1974, p.76.
6. K.Sadasivan, Devadasi System in Medieval Tamil Nadu, Trivandrum, 1993, pp.41-41. See also R.Shyama Sastry, (tr & ed.), Arthasastra of Kautilya, Book 11, Mysore, 1961, pp.22ff.
7. Puram; 110 : 3,4; Prambunadu is identified as Piranmalai.
8. Puram; 110 : 3.
- 9.. Kuruntogai, 277 : 1-3.
10. Puram, 35
11. The village Korrangudi in the Tirutturaipundi Taluk is in the Tanjavur District (Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.347).
12. Thirty Pallave Copper Plates, p.242.
13. The record refers to it as palam (old) brahmadeya. (Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.242).
14. Ibid, p.243.
15. Ibid; Kudiningi means evicting the earlier occupants; R.Thirumalai, Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Cola and Pandya Times, University of Madras, 1987, p.93.
16. Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.59.
17. "Avanudaiya Kathi munaikku anbalippaka....". Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.137.
18. Wnen Nandivarman II was besieged in Nandipura by Maravarman Rajasimha I, Udayachandra broke the siege, saved his life and enthroned him as king.
19. Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.135.
20. Ibid., p.129-130.
21. Ibid., p.146.
22. Ibid., p.166.
23. Ibid., p.179.
24. Ibid., p.167.
25. Ibid., p.183.
26. Ibid., p.193.
27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p.263.
29. Ibid., p.270.
30. Ibid., p.271.
31. Ibid., p.267-268.
32. C.Minakshi, Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas, University of Madras, 1977, p.170.
33. Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.193.
34. Ibid., pp.243.
35. IA., Vol.VIII, P.281; Thirty Pallava Copper Plates, p.137.
36. C.Minakshi, Op.cit., p.207.
37. The Ten Pandya Copper Plates, pp.38 & 135.
38. Ibid., p.137-138.
39. Ibid., p.70.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. K.Sadasivan, Op.cit., pp.72-73.
43. N.Vanamamalai, "Consolidation of Feudalism and Anti-feudal struggles during Chola Imperialist Rule". Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies", Madras, 1968, p.243.
44. SITL., No.786, D2387. See Also SII., Vol. XXIV, No.58.
45. Ibid., pp.94, D2875.
46. ARE., 246 and 254 of 1925-29 and Rep. para 79.
47. SII., Vol.VI, No.50.
48. Ibid., No.58.

Acknowledgement

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to my guide Dr.K.Sadasivan, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, who has given me his valuable guidance in preparing this paper.

**LIVRO DA RECEITA E DEPESA DO FEITOR DO COROMANDEL,
MANUEL DA GAMA :
PORTUGUESE SOURCE ON THE PORT-ECONOMY OF THE
TAMIL COAST IN A.D. 1526-1527**

*DR. S. Jeyaseela Stephen Ph.D.
Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient
Pondicherry.*

The records of Portuguese contacts with various coastal regions in the Indian Ocean region must be sought at Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. The records of the Portuguese overseas trade, expansion of the missions and the administration of the Portuguese colonies in the orient are to be found scattered all over Europe. The classification of the archival records at Torre do Tombo is as far as possible a geographical one but a large proportion of the documents do not admit of such a provision. One of the important series called Nucleo Antigo is a separate collection which contains account books of several factories of different coastal regions of Asia in general and India in particular¹. These account books were received by the King of Portugal from all the ports in the East containing accounts of receipts and disbursements by the appointed factor and captain. All of them remain still unpublished. The present paper highlights the importance of Livro da receita e despesa do feitor do Coromandel. This account book was maintained by Manuel da Gama who served as the factor and captain of the Coromandel coast from A.D. 1526 to 1529. This study examines the document covering the accounts of receipts alone for the period of March 1526 to December 1527.

The documents catalogued under the classification of Fundo Antigo in the past covered only account books containing Income and Expenditure statements of several Portuguese factories in India. They had been recently placed under the title 'Nucleo Antigo' as exists in the National Archives of Portugal in Lisbon. The most important ones are the factories in Goa, Chaul, Cochin, Quilon on the Western coast of India² and Coromandel on the East Coast³. As these manuscripts remain still unpublished owing to the reason that deciphering the script is difficult, historical information relating to India in general and Tamilnadu in particular had remained insufficiently used for the reconstruction of history. As the sixteenth century Portuguese was usually written in a script which presents numerous difficulties from standard modern roman script, scholars who have expertise in the sixteenth century Portuguese paleography alone are able to do justice to this work of transcribing. The difficulty of learning Portuguese language in India as well as the healthy relationship that was absent between India and Portugal in the

past had made it difficult to consult the original documents which are necessary for reconstructing the history of Tamilnadu. Most of the Portuguese records are also not available in English translation. Hence Portuguese documents relating to the history of India in general and Tamilnadu in particular have not been used to throw light on some aspects of economic and social history.

The coastal region of Tamilnadu that functioned as a key trading zone in the formation of the Indian Ocean trade had been divided into two ocean segments called Pearl fishery coast and Coromandel coast. They had been described owing to their respective traditional revenue potentials of pearl and chank fishing besides production of rice and textiles⁴. Dom Duarte de Menezes, the Portuguese Governor of India was the first to realise the importance of the Tamil coast. When the Portuguese visited the region and began to trade in the early sixteenth century breaking with the traditions of the past, the king of Portugal had appointed his own trustworthy men. The functionary of coastal revenue of the king of Portugal in the overseas trading settlements on the Tamil coast was the factor and captain of the coast. Gaspar Correia manuel de Frias was the first factor and captain of the Coromandel coast appointed for the first time in 1522⁵.

The factor and captain was appointed initially for a period of three years only. In some cases he was also appointed for a period of six years. Generally Fidalgos (nobles) were appointed in the post of captain and factor of coast. The royal appointment orders contain the period of appointment along with details of his past achievements for which the present sanction of post is given as an award mentioning the nature of duty, such as administrator of the Portuguese people, officer incharge of provedor dos defunctos and issuing cartazes (sailing passes).

In the begining, the factor and captain of the Coromandel coast resided at Pulicat and conducted trade. Later in 1530 when Santhome of Mylapore emerged as settlement of the Portuguese Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel coast resided at Santhome of Mylapore⁶. When other similar Portuguese trading settlements at Nagapattinam and Devanampattinam came to be established, each port respectively had a separate resident captain instead of one factor and captain of the Coromandel coast⁷. The King of Vijayanagar had appointed an Adhikari to collect taxes at these ports. The Portuguese had conducted trade with the ports of Kayal⁸ and Kilakkarai⁹ and later established their trading settlements at Punnaikayal, Vedalai and Tuticorin¹⁰ where a Portuguese resident captain respectively stayed there. The records kept by such officials relating to the various trading centres for the information to the king of Portugal are known as factory records and these are of great importance.

The (Feitoria) factory was under the charge of a resident factor who had at his service writers, interpreters and other persons necessary for the conduct of maritime trade. He had to submit

a detailed account of his commercial activities in the factory at the end of his period and get a (carta de quitaceo) certificate of acquittance. The account book of the factory was to be entrusted to the chief of the ship that left India and it was handed over to the factor of the (Casa da India) House of India in Lisbon when the ship arrived Portugal¹¹. All the Portuguese captains were directed to maintain accounts of the respective ports on the Tamil coast. A letter written by the inhabitants of the Port of Santhome of Mylapore to the king of Portugal dated 27th December 1535 mentions that the book containing the receipts and disbursements statements were maintained there. The letter further added that out of the alms received, a sum of five to six thousand cruzados had been paid for the work executed in connection with the building of the church of Apostle St. Thomas at Mylapore¹². The practice of maintaining the account books of the Portuguese factor and captain had continued in the later period also. We have only the account book of Manuel Da Gama that had survived. I have tried to discover the account books of other Portuguese captains on the various ports of Tamilnadu during the course of research in the archives at Goa in India and Lisbon in Portugal but unable to find among the massive collection of records. It is possible that many of them had been lost during the earthquake that occurred in 1776 in Portugal. Hence the only precious document of Livro da receita e despesa do Feitor do Coromandel is the single and the most significant record which could throw light on the history of Tamilnadu and it can be taken up for examination very.

Several fundamental questions could be asked with reference to the history of the Portuguese expansion on the Tamil coast. How did the Portuguese who came from such a far away place began to establish overseas trade in the Tamil coastal region? How did they raise funds for trading capital in the Tamil region? What were the busy ports at that time and how did they make their investments in the various commodities knowing the demand and supply? Were these finances of trade internally generated or externally mobilised by the Portuguese in the Tamil region? If we seek solutions to these above cited problems, then it is easy to understand how they began to control over certain navigational lines in the Bay of Bengal and particularly trading from the Tamil ports. The object of undertaking the critical and analytical examination of the account book of Manuel da Gama is two fold. In the first place it aims at supplying essential Portuguese data that had been found missing in the native inscriptional sources for the study of sixteenth century coastal Tamilnadu. In the second place it furnishes plenty of details for the study of economic history and especially to trace the port economy of Coromandel coast.

The account book at present as preserved in Lisbon contains folios in total and the folios are numbered serially in it. Some of the folio numbers such 1; 1; 5 to 9; 26 to 36; had been found missing. These folios in the account book as in the present state are seen without any writings

in ink simply remaining blank. Hence I conclude that this rare document is not the original and it seems to be a copy. It is certain that a copy of this rare document was probably made by the archivists after the salvage of records during the earthquake occurred in Portugal in A.D. 1776 maintaining its originality without any writings on the missing pages in the account book. The following tables are prepared with the help of information contained in the account book.

TABLE. I.

RECEIPTS OF COMMODITIES AT THE PORT OF KAYAL

Sl. No.	Name of the Commodity	Total amount of quantity	Selling price of each unit (in panams)	Total Amount realised (in panams)
A. Dated 6th March 1526				
1.	Safflower	166 faracola	2 ½	415
2.	Long pepper	19 "	13	247
3.	Black pepper	18 "	21	378
4.	Horsegram	6 "	7	42
5.	Arecanuts	8 Marks	30	240
B. Dated 7th March 1526				
1.	Rice	255 kottai	10	2550
2.	Aval	136 "	6	816
3.	Jaggery	15 jars	7	105
C. Dated 8th March 1526				
1.	Pepper	37 farcola	13	481

TABLE. II

RECEIPTS OF CASH AT THE PORTS OF KUNIMEDU AND NAGAPATTINAM

Name of the Port	Date	Total amount realised and realised
Kunimedu	20th July 1526 to 15 January 1527	419 130 reis
Nagapattinam	30th September 1526 2nd October 1526	1180 reis 2,64, 930 reis

It is possible to derive conclusions through examining this document. The translation of the record¹³ from the Portuguese version appended to this study helps us to understand the Portuguese system of revenue collection on the Tamil coast. This also shows the complete mechanics of Portuguese capital formation and how it was initiated for the first time on the Tamil coast by these foreign traders that remained in operation during the expansion of the Portuguese on the Tamil coast. Another significant aspect was how the Portuguese captain and factor began to administer the ports, of Tamil coast and how these Portuguese authorities from time to time began to accumulate maximum possible revenue from the ports, since the king of Portugal needed finances locally to conduct trans-oceanic trade in the Bay of Bengal with other parts of the trading world especially with South East Asia¹⁴. We are able to collect the comprehensive information about the units of weights and measures, prevailed prices, nature of commodities sold as mentioned in these factory records. We find the signature made by the clerk of the Portuguese factor in the factory record as a witness. The study of the account book further proves that there was no scope for misappropriation of such funds and there was no little room left for manipulation of accounts. The unique details found in this Portuguese document are not generally found in the native epigraphical sources and in many cases particularly about the ports. The document contains all the amount released through sale and it was entered in the account book including both receipts of money (capital) and goods. It shows that how funds were generated in the Tamil coastal region for conducting overseas trade. The goods of the cargo ships seized by the Portuguese captain and factor of the Coromandel coast that sailed in the sea without a cartez issued by the captain shows that strict control over the movement of ships had been established by the Portuguese in the Bay of Bengal region during the sixteenth century. The Dutch in the seventeenth century had adopted a different way of generating trading capital on the Tamil coast through participation in inter-Asian trade and it also continued in the eighteenth century if we had to go by the testimony of Jan Schreuder¹⁶, the Dutch Factor at Surat from 1740 to 1750. Thus, different European trading companies also adopted various methods of raising trading capital in India while the Portuguese in Coromandel raised funds through plundering the ships that sailed without sailing permits issued by the Portuguese captain of Coromandel and the money was realised through sale in the port. They had also taken the money left unclaimed by the persons who died in voyages in the Tamil region for raising trading capital to conduct maritime trade.

APPENDIX
TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE VERSION

ANTT, NUCLED ANTIGO NO.808

- f1.1 Book of Receipt and Disbursement statements relating to the period 6th of March 1526 to 15th October of the same year maintained by Manuel da Gama, the captain and factor of the Coromandel coast.
- f1.2 Title of the same and of the Receipts acknowledged by Manuel da Gama, the Captain Major and factor of that Coromandel coast dealing mainly with the receipt of the items found in the cargo ship (Nau) of Bengal seized in Kayal.

Safflower for sale

Item was received by Manuel da Gama captain major and factor of this coast of Coromandel. It is was one hundred and sixty six faracolas of safflower of the land. He sold them with each faracola at the rate of two and a half panams and the total amount realised was to the tune of four hundred and fifteen panams, the currency of Kayal. This again was found to be parallel in weight for sale being weighed by me, namely Gaspar Dias, the clerk appointed to him in that job on the 6th day of March 1526. The said safflower of the nau of Bengal was seized at Kayal.

415 panams

Pepper for sale

Item was received again on the same day by the same Manuel da Gama. 19 faracolas of long pepper from the same nau were sold at the rate of thirteen panams for each faracola and the total amount realised was two hundred and forty seven panams. The said amount of panams by this sale was brought out and it was written by my clerk.

247panams

Black pepper

Item was received again on the same day by Manuel da Gama. Eighteen kottai of black pepper were sold at the rate of each for twenty one panams per kottai and the total amount was realised to the tune of three hundred and seventy eight panams. This sale was brought out and it was written by my clerk.

378 panams

Horsegram for sale

Item was received on the same day. Six kottai of horse gram were sold and each kottai at the rate of seven panams realising the total into forty two panams. This commodity is also from the same Bengal Cargo ship. The sale was brought out and it was written by my clerk.

42 panams

Arecanuts

Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the same day. Eight marks of arecanuts were sold each at the rate of thirty panams and the total amount was realised into two hundred and forty panams. That cargo was also from the same ship. The sale regarding this was also entered by my clerk.

240 panams

Rice for sale

Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the seventh day of the same month. Two hundred and fifty five kottai of rice were sold each at the rate of ten panams per kottai and the total amount was realised into two thousand five hundred and fifty panams. The sale regarding this was also from the cargo ship of Bengal and the sale realised was entered by my clerk.

2550 panams

f1.2

flattened Rice

Item was received on the same day again by Manuel da Gama. The total amount was realised into eight hundred and sixteen panams. This sale was also made from the same cargo ship and it was entered by my clerk.

816 panams

Jaggery

Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the seventh day and also on the sixth of March. Fifteen black jars of cargo contained in the same ship were sold at the rate of seven panams for each jar. The sale regarding this was written by my clerk.

105 panams

Slaves

Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the eighth day of the same month. Sixty slaves including bachelors had sailed in the same cargo ship. The proceedings regarding all of them were made by my clerk.

60 slaves

Merchants

Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the same day. Three merchants had sailed in the same cargo ship belonged to the Muslims. They included sailors in the ships such as the sailor of the Caravel and the sailor of the grand bark who were employed to carry and also to go here and there. The receipt regarding them was done by my clerk.

3 persons

Eunuchs

Item was received again on the same day from the the same cargo ship. One salior, the son of a merchant had six eunuchs who received military pay had also sailed along with them.

7 persons

Pepper

Item was received again on the same day. Thirty seven faracolas of long pepper from the same cargo ship was sold, each faracola at the rate of thirteen panams. The total had amounted to four hundred and eighty and one panams. This sale in total was effected by me with two chetti merchants residing in Karaikkal.

481 Panams

Rice

Item was received again on the same day from the same cargo ship. A total of one hundred and forty eight sacks of rice found there had been allotted as food provisios for the men serving in the armada. Every ship that was allowed to despatch had to acknowledge receipts. This order was issued by me and the execution of the same was done by my clerk.

148 sacks

Sugar

Item was received again on the same day by Manuel da Gama from the same cargo ship. A total of thirty five fardos of sugar found there had been allotted as food provision for the armada. These had to be despatched in the ships and the acknowledgement had to be prepared. This order was issued by me to my clerk.

f1.3

3. The following item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the twentieth of July. A sum of 419, 130 reis, had been taken out in Kunimedu from a Muslim, the son of Shabhandar of Pasai who had stayed there. The same shabhandar and his father was also murdered on the Junk that was found in Malacca. The same Junk which possessed certain Portuguese and they had also been killed along with him. We do not know how many were found alive there. The said money belonged to the son of Shabhandar whose father was killed along with the above said Portuguese. The said amount was left in the cargo ship of Kunimedu that sailed where after the death of his father, in order to pack up the money this arrangement was made by me.

Written by Gaspar Diar here in his capacity and the receipt was issued by me.

4. As said in the above manner, a portion of revenue had belonged to the Portuguese who were killed in the junk along with Shabhandar. This statement is true and it is written here.

Signed by Manuel da Gama along with his clerk.

5. Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the last day of September of the same year. A sum of 1180 reis of additional revenue was received for bombarding. The foreigners who had come from Portugal attacked the natives with the help of galleys. Manuel da macedo, the captain had passed away at this time. Hence, the said money belonged to them was received and it was written by my clerk.

Item was received again by Manuel da Gama on the 2nd day of October of the same year. A sum of 2,64,930 reis of specific revenue was realised in Nagapattinam. It belonged to those who were killed in the cargo ship that sailed from Malacca. This statement in this regard was written by Gaspar Dias, the clerk appointed in the post.

(Signed) Gaspar Dias

f1.3

As found in the Margin

3. This amount that was seized in Kunimedu had originally belonged to the men who were killed in the Junk along with the Shabhandar of Pasai. The amount was returned to him and it was never despatched at all.

Afonso Mexia, the Captain of Cochin and Comptroller of Revenue

I ordered Gaspar Dias to write the same in the account of the armada of Coromandel.

As this certain amount belonged to the said Shahbhandar it was ordered to be brought under the traveller's account as it was done in the past.

Written by him, today on the 15th of January 1527

4. It was paid to Pero Vaz who travelled from there. Joao Rebello, the factor was given 4000 reis. The amount originally belonged to the Shahbhandar of Pasai whose cargo ship was going to Pegu. It was ordered by the captain in port who discovered that this money belonged to the Shahbhandar. Hence, this was ordered to be effected on the 15th of June 1527.

(Signed) Francisco da Maia

5. On the 14th of December 1527, two certificates were asked by individuals. We have issued them based on the entries made in the books of the bombardiers. They had to be paid by the House of India.

Footnotes :

1. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, (Hereafter ANTT), Mss Nucleo Antigo (Hereafter N.A.) See Document numbers 801 to 808. To cite some examples we may say "Livro da Receita e despesa das feitoria de Pegu a India de Pero Paes A.D. 1512", "Livro da receita e despesa dos feitores de el-rey em Malacca A.D. '1513".
2. Ibid, See "O Livro de receita e despesa de Francisco Corvinel, feitor de Goa A.D. 1514" and "O Livro da receita e despesa de Francisco Faleiro, Feitor de Chaul, 1514-1515".
3. Ibid, Mss, No.808, "O Livro da Receita e despesa do Feitor do Choromandel".
4. S.Jeyaseela Stephen, "The Manuscript collection of Coropo Cornologico at Torre do Tombo and its significance for writing the maritime history of Tamilnadu in the sixteenth century" in A.R.Kulkarni, (ed.) Non-English European sources and the Medieval and Modern Indian History (Provisional title), Pune, 1995.
5. Gaspar Correia, Lendas da India, Porto, 1975, See Pt.II, Ch.IX, P.721; This account of the chronicler is not true since we Archives of Portugal a a proof to show that Bastiao Lopez was the first factor and captain of the Coromandel coast before the appointment of Manuel de ffrias in 1522. For details See S.Jeyaseela Stephen, "Dimensions of urban development in the Portuguese trading settlement of Punnaikayal on the Tamil coast A.D.1547-11579", in Boletim do instituto Menezes de Braganca, Vol.170, 1994, pp.174-195.
6. S.Jeyaseela Stephen, "Pulicat based Shipping and Trade, 1500-1530, "in Purabhilekhas-Purataa, Vol.IX, No.2, July-December, 1991, pp.1-15.
7. For details see, S.Jeyaseela Stephen, Changing Trands in Economy and Society : The Coromandel coast and hinterland in South India, 1500-1600, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1995.

8. S.Jeyaseela Stephen, "Industry and trade of the Portugueses on the Eastern coast of India : A Case study of Port Kayal". Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress, Eleventh Session, Calicut, 1991, pp.67-73.
9. S.Jeyaseela Stephen, "Portuguese commercial enterprise of the port of Kilakkarai and establishment of a Trading settlement at vedalai on the Tamilnadu Coast "Purabhilekha-Puratatva, Vol.XI, (Forthcoming).
10. S.Jeyaseela Stephen, The Portuguese, the port of Tuticorin and the Saltpetre trade, 1580-1658, Journal of Marine Archaeology, Vol.5, December 1995.
11. Affonso de Albuquerque, Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, Lisboa, 1884-1935, Tomo II, p.305.
12. Antonio da Silva Rego, As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, 1948, Vol.II, pp.712-818.
13. I dwell on the few pages of this interesting document dealing with some commercial elements of the history of coastal Tamilnadu. This document has to be subjected to a close and careful scrutiny and to throw further light on the matter and the present paper is, I fear, incomplete. The complete transcription of the account book and verbatim translation may still take few years before awaiting to be published.
14. S.Jeyaseela Stephen, "Entrepot of Malacca in the Trading World of South East Asia and Portuguese commercial networks of overseas of trade with the ports of Tamil country in South India", Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies, XII, No.2, March, 1995, pp.16-20.
16. Kolonial Archief, The Hague, Mss Collection Hoge Reggering, Jan Schruedder Memoria, fl. 838.

CONTRIBUTION OF A. VAIDYANATHA IYER TO TEMPLE ENTRY MOVEMENT

by

Dr.N.K. Mangalamurugesan
Reader in History
Institute of Correspondence Education
University of Madras
Madras 600 005.

A great patriot veteran freedom fighter and social reformer, Madurai A. Vaidyanatha Iyer's life and work have great influence on the social, political and cultural life of the people of Tamilnadu.

A Vaidyanatha Iyer was a prominent advocate of Tamil Nadu and a close friend of Rajaji. He pioneered the movement to open the doors of temples to the untouchables. This was an act of non-violent heroism of Vaidyanatha Iyer which will never be forgotten. It is a story of non-violent and courageous action.

He pioneered and piloted the Temple Entry Movement in 1939 by taking the Harijans into Sri Meenakshi Sundareswaran Temple, Madurai. The law in the 1940's stood against temple entry by the "untouchables". A remarkable event made him to attempt the entry of Harijans into temples breaking the law which forbade the entry of Harijans into temples. This attempt of Vaidyanatha Iyer was responsible for the introduction of the historic Temple Entry Act in Tamil Nadu.

In the nearby State of Travancore, Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple suddenly thrown open in 1939 to the Harijans by historical proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and his Diwan Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Vaidyanatha Iyer had gone to Trivandrum and witnessed with thrill the entry of Harijans into the Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple which was every day visited by the Maharaja for worship¹. He took with him his friends to witness this great event.

Vaidyanatha Iyer returned to Madurai determined to get the Madurai Meenakshi Sundareswarar temple opened to the Harijans breaking the law. His decision to implement the Harijan entry into the Meenakshi temple was not implemented suddenly. First in Madurai town he had conducted several street meetings. Then he met the local leaders and people and enlisted their support for his efforts and thus prepared the ground for the performance of that great event.

Not only the local leaders but also the religious heads such as His Holiness Sankarachariar who visited Madurai was also met and his blessings sought for that action.² He had also convinced and took his side the Executive Officer of the temple R.S. Naidu to extend his strong support in his endeavour.

Vaidyanatha Iyer and his followers visited every locality of Madurai to win and get even signatures of the masses in support of temple entry. The street meetings were organised by Vaidyanatha Iyer at his own cost. In those meetings the prominent congressmen of the state such as G. Ramachandran, Mrs. Soundaram Ramachandran, N. Halasyamayyar, L.N. Gopalsamy, Pattabhiramayya, Mattapparai Venkatramaiyar, N.M.R. Subbaraman Krishna Bharathi and K. Venkitachalapathy participated, addressed and prepared the people to accept it. Thus ground was well prepared for temple entry by Vaidyanatha Iyer³.

On 13, June 1939, Vaidyanatha Iyer organised the Tamilnadu Provincial Harijan Temple Entry Conference under the leadership of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, the President of All India Harijan Seva Sangh⁴. In this conference, inaugurated by V.I. Munuswami, Rajaji, the then Premier of Madras Presidency, T.S.S. Rajan and about 800 delegates participated. The leaders all in one voice requested the audience to support the temple entry to Harijans. The public who attended the conference raised their hands when asked to do so in support of temple entry, with enthusiasm.

After the conference, 8 July, 1939 was fixed as the date for temple entry of Harijans. It was widely propagated all over Madurai town. People in large numbers gathered in front of the Madurai Meenakshi Temple to witness this heroic non-violent event organised by A.V. Iyer.

At the appointed auspicious time the first batch of Harijans were led into the temple under the leadership of A.V. Iyer, L.N. Gopalsamy, the Secretary, Harijan Seva Sangh, Tamilnadu, R.S. Naidu, Executive Officer and A. Chidambara Mudaliar of Madurai, and other Congress workers were with him⁶.

The Harijan Congress workers led into the temple were, 1. P. Kakkan, 2. Alampatti Swami, 3. Muthu, 4. Karuppia and a Nadar community businessman S.S.S. Shanmugha Nadar of Virudhunagar. This first batch of volunteers were followed by many workers of Madurai Mill. All entered the temple and went nearer the sanctum and had a good darshan of the deities and returned with prasadam offered. These Harijan workers had seen the deity for the first time in their lifetime⁷.

This event of Harijan entry into the temple was reported in the Government sources thus:

The Sanathanists have raised an outcry but the general public have refused to become excited. Generally speaking people are apathetic or mildly in favour of the innovation.

The Hon'ble the Premier has appealed to reformers to refrain from acting without the express and clear consent of the priests and in places where an effective proposition might lead to disturbances⁸.

But the premier Rajaji rejoiced when he received the telegram of temple entry of Harijans at Madurai.

I was almost mad with delight. I lost my sleep that night and could not concentrate on my work. I could not believe it, it seemed too good to be true. After all it was quite true, a miracle had happened⁹.

He appealed to the priests at Srirangam that he as a Vaishnavite himself would like to plan for the reform to go to Srirangam¹⁰.

Yet the fact remained that Rajaji had aided and abetted the illegal entry of Harijans into the temples.

Gandhiji commented about this historical event in the Harijan thus:

It is a great event in the campaign against untouchability and the movement for the opening of temples to Harijans. The proclamation of opening the state temples of Travancore was no doubt a great step, but it was a prerogative of the Maharaja. But the opening of the celebrated temple of Madurai is a greater event in that it is the popular will that has brought about the consummation. It reflects the decided conversion of the temple goers of the Meenakshi Temple. Sri Vaidyanatha Iyer and his co-workers deserve all the praise for the ceaseless effort they have put forth in educating public opinion¹².

Though the action of Vaidyanatha Iyer received wider support A.V. Iyer and his co-workers were arrested for violating the law. Rajaji the premier convinced the British Governor Lord Erskine to legalise the temple entry by a proclamation which he himself had drafted¹³.

Vaidyanatha Iyer who was arrested faced legal action and was produced before the court. But as soon as the Judge took his seat on the Bench the District Collector came and gave the government

counsel a copy of the Ordinance which the Madras Governor had just then promulgated validating the temple entry with retrospective effect and indemnifying all action taken in this regard. The case against Vaidyanatha Iyer and his co-workers were dismissed.

When there was much criticism against the Ordinance and the way in which it was promulgated, Rajaji defended his action¹⁴.

The Ordinance had then to be made law through the Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Bill. The Liberator, the Justice Party Newspaper was angry at both the Ordinance and at the breach of the parliamentary rule.

It said "it is needless to say that the Indemnity Bill was passed - a measure which will prove an outrage on the constitution, not because a measure of social justice has after all been rendered possible, but because of its implications; that a crooked approach to a grave problem and a violation of all order of public conduct can be not merely forgiven but actually legalised and made the subject of compliments and congratulations. Surely the end never justifies the means¹⁶."

Rajaji replied to this criticism thus:

If we wait for public opinion to be framed before changing the law, we have to wait for an impossible thing to happen¹⁷.

He added,

If a few great and big temples are opened in this way without election or electioneering campaigns the influence of that great fact will have its effect through the rest of the country ¹⁸.

Following this historic even other temples in Tamilnadu such as Sri Rangam Ranganatha Swami Temple, Srivilliputtur Andal Temple, Alagarkoil Sundararaja Perumal Temple, and Palani Thandayuthapani Temple were thrown open to the Harijans.

Another interesting side light of this temple entry movement deserves specific mention. The Sanathanists made a propaganda that Goddess Meenakshi aggrieved by the entry of untouchables had departed from the temple. A new idol was installed and pujas performed for that new idol in the house of one Sanathanist Natesa Iyer. This awful act continued for quite a sometime. But the people of Madurai were not deterred by the gimmicks of the Sanathanists. They visited the Meenakshi Temple which the Harijans had entered and worshipped with much devotion.

Foot Notes

1. Ramachandran, G., 'A. Vaidyanatha Iyer: Selfless Leader and Social Revolutionary', Amarar A. Vaidyanatha Iyer Vizha Malar, Madurai 1990. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer Centenary Volume.
2. Muthu, V., 'Harijanangalin Thanthai', Amarar A. Vaidyanatha Iyer Nutrandu Vizha Malar, Madurai 1990.
3. Dinamani, 7.11.1987.
4. Harijan, 22 July, 1939
5. Interview with Puli Meenakshi Sundaram, Freedom Fighter, Tirumangalam, Madurai District, on 21.06.1995; The Hindu, 14 June, 1939.
6. Tamilnadu Harijan Seva Sangh, 7th Year Annual Report of 1939.
7. The Hindu, 9 July, 1939.
8. The Hindu, 9 July, 1939.
9. Ibid., 10 July, 1939.
10. Home Pol. F.18/7/39. Fortnightly Report, 20 July, 1939 Boas to Conron Smith.
11. Copley, A.R.H., The Political Career of C. Rajagopalachari, 1937-54, The Macmillan Company, Madras, 1978, p.147.
12. Harijan, 22 July, 1939.
13. Copley, A.R.H., op. Cot., p.148.
14. Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol.Xiii, 3 August, 1939, p.30. "So, Sir, on the 17th July, the Government had to take steps to have an ordinance issued in respect of the matter. The House was not sitting. If fact if you will pardon my saying so the speaker was far away from Madras even for consultation in regard to this matter. So steps were taken under these provisions for the issue of an ordinance immediatley to indemnify the persons involved and prevent suits which would certainly be launched and some of them were, as a matter of fact launched in spite of the ordinance."
15. Dinamani Kathir, 31.10.87
16. Diary of a Old Parliamentarian, Madras, 1943, p 90-1
17. Copley, A.R.H. Ibid., p.149
18. Ibid.,

HISTORICAL TRACES OF DALIT ASSOCIATION AND ITS FUNCTIONING IN TAMILNADU

Dr. T.E. Mohan

The Nineteenth century is rightly called as a period of "Renaissance" in Modern Indian History, since the period witnessed the birth of social reform and fight against social evils such as Sati, Child marriage, etc. All such reforms were mainly concerned with "women" only. The tide of the reform process, then gradually turned towards human values and the manner in which human beings, their own brethren suffered on account of untauchability, unapproachability, and unseeability, etc. The change to give importance and real value for human dignity caught the attention of a section of people especially, the western educated, who faced the pinch of it with his English counter-part, who treated him as low.

Nineteenth century also witnessed, grouping of castes. There were innumerable caste associations founded and begun to function during this period to achieve, certain desired goal for their grouping. In the lower sections of the society also this feeling had its shape. Finally the word DALIT has come to stay in the literacy circles and accepted by a greater section of the society.

The origins of Dalit community movement both among the Mahars of Maharashtra and Adi-Dravidas of Tamilnadu are traceable from 1890's through their Mahar association² and Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha, previously called as "Paraiah Mahajana Sabha" established in Rangoon⁴. Again the origins of those who worked for the down-trodden is traceable with Buddhists, Saint Ramanujar and others in the ancient and by the christian missionaries from the sixteenth century.

The efforts of sir Justice Chandravarkar in Bombay presidency, founded the birth of the Depressed class mission society of India.³ In 1909 Justice Sir.C.Sankaran Nair, was instrumental to propagate the work of the above society by being a president of the Madras Branch of the above society. Mr.S. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar and Mr.C.Ramanuja Chetty were its Vice-presidents.⁴ Mr. Govindan was the secretary of the society.⁵ During the same period, a new organisation sprang up and begun to do human service to the society. The genesis of this organisation is traceable from the vision and idea of Rev. T.B. Pandian of American Baptist Mission. He went to Great Britain with the financial support of Sethupathi of Ramnad. He exhibited his vision in one of his petitions to the Governor of Madras Presidency. He suggested a direction for the elevation of the depressed classes.⁶ He held the view that the depressed classes should not fall in to the hands of any political or semi-social bodies of people or missionary society, and with an independent body. He stressed that government should have control over it.

Birth of Dalit Organisation :

Israel Nallappah, Headmaster of Agricultural and Industrial School in Pandur, (Tiruvallur), Chingleput District was the founder of "Depressed Classes Elevation Society of South India. This society was founded on 29 June 1908. It created a platform to bring like minded persons to come together on an annual conference organised by it. The society was first founded in Chidambaram where the first Depressed classes conference was organised on 29 June 1908 by the above society.⁷ Mr. Abraham Bhagianathan presided over the conference.⁸ He was leading member of the depressed classes at that time. More than seventy delegates attended the conference. At that time Israel Nallappah was the Acting President of the society. The society organised its second conference at Vepery Madras, on 8 June 1911.⁹ It was presided over by Mr.G.A. Natesan, a leading Journalist and social reform activist, and Editor of Indian Review. In this conference, Israel Nallappah confessed how he laboured for several years for the uplift of the depressed classes, that is from the time of the publication of the booklet on "The slaves of the soil in South India", by Rev. T.B. Pandian in 1893. The Third Annual Conference was organised on 3 June 1912 and was presided over Mr.V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. In these Annual Conferences, papers were presented on the problems faced by the depressed classes. In the second conference Mr. G.A.Natesan in his Presidential address clearly pointed out, "We may touch a dog, we may touch other animals but touch of the human being is pollution. He further said, "It is revolting our sense of Justice."¹⁰ He praised the efforts of Ramanuja, Sankara, Vivekananda, and of christian missionaries, Theosophist, Brahmosamajists, Arya samajists, Prathana samajists, etc. He praised the efforts of the Gaekwar of Baroda. He said that only a politician is needed to consolidate the 60 million brethren sunken in ignorance. He exhorted the youth of the depressed classes saying only, "Self confidence is the first thing needed," Trust in you," You will make a head way."¹¹

In the third conference in his presidentail address in 1913 at the Central High School, Shiyali Mr.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri confessed that as a member of higher classes, he expressed the shame for the treatment of depressed classes by the high castes. He also mentioned the humiliation faced by the depressed classes He pleaded for the various classes to live together.¹² He stressed the need for mutual sympathy and co-operation of the people for their amelioration.

During the deleberations of the societies third anniversary celebration at the end of the society's third annual conference at Shiyali Mr. Yakub Hassan, Honorary Secretary, South Indian Muslim League, who presided over the anniversary Celeberations clearly indicated the four agencies working for the amelioration of the Dalits.¹³ According to him the four agencies were:

1. The British Government.
2. Christianity and Missionaries.
3. Educated Hindu Politicians, and gentlemen belonging to various organisations like Brahmo samaj, Arya samaj, and Dana samaj etc.

They try to elevate the depressed both morally as well as politically. The third agency is purely patriotic in nature. It includes Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and parsis joined as a mission to work.

4. Agency of Depressed themselves.

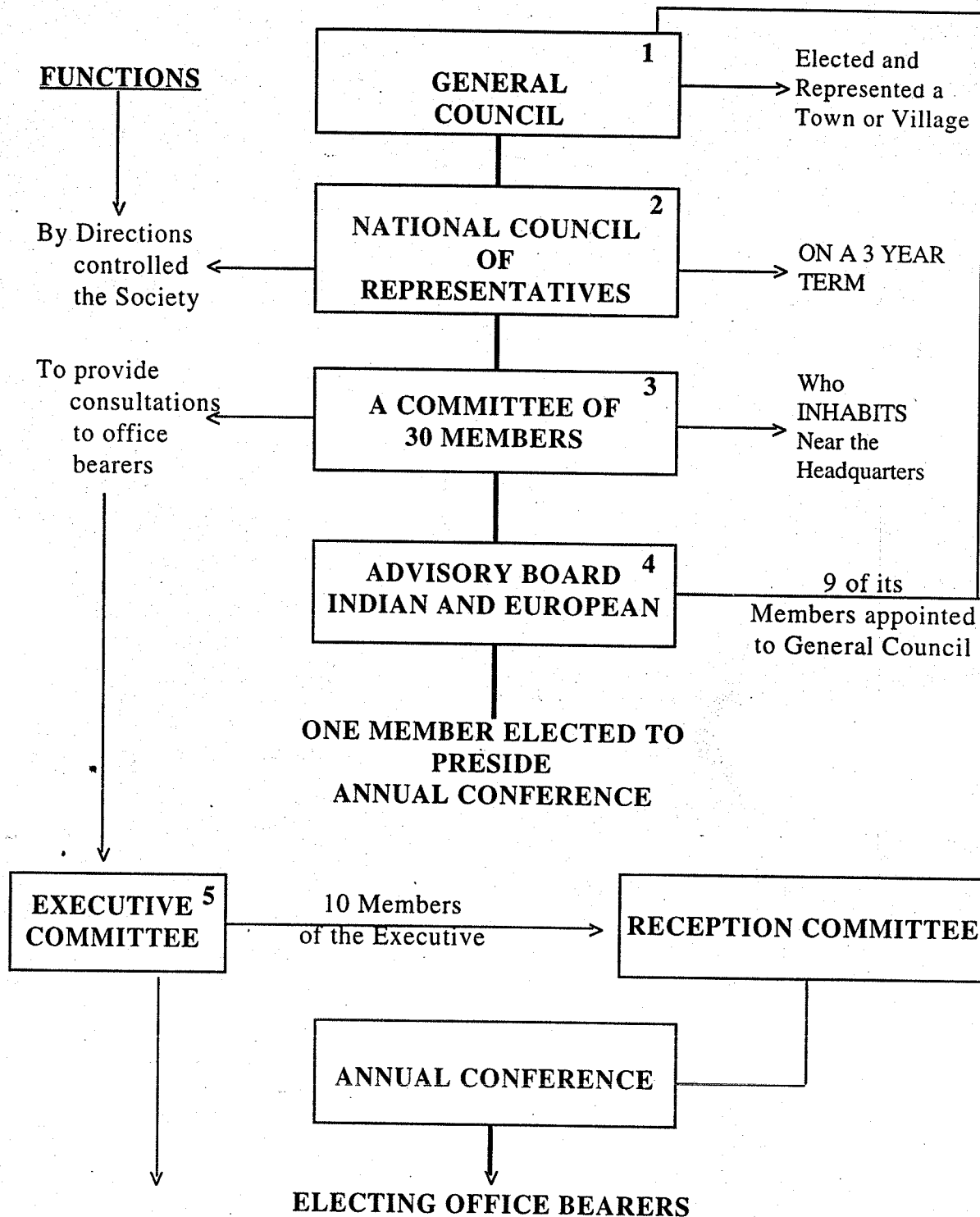
ADMINISTRATIVE AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES ELEVATION SOCIETY - SOUTH INDIA :

The above society evolved an administrative and constitutional structure for its functioning during its second conference held at Vepery on 8 July 1911.¹⁴ From an appeal issued by the society. The society had a five tier structure and has its own internal Auditing. It had its accounts in the Indian Bank, Madras to receive donations from the public. In the five tier structure the first body was the general council all the members of the society were its members. The second body of the society was the national council of representatives, the members of the council were elected and represented each village and town for every three years. The affairs of the society were carried out on the basis of the directions provided by this council. The council had the power to create a committee consisting of 30 members by its power of appointment, who were living probably near by the head quarters of the society, to provide consultation and support to the office bearers who have been elected once a year in the annual sessions of the society.

Apart from these three bodies, there was an Advisory Board, consisting of Indian and European gentlemen who were sympathetic with the object of the society. The Board had the power to appoint nine of their members to serve on the general council. One of the members of the board was requested and elected to preside the Annual General meeting or conference. In this annual conference only office - bearers of the society were elected and they have to hold office for one year. The official posts thus elected were president of the society, Honorary Local Treasurer, Honorary General Secretary, Joint Secretary, Honorary Travelling Secretary, and provincial secretaries increased according to the need and growth of the society. For every Annual conference, a reception committee was formed with not less than 10 members of Executive committee. This Executive Committee had office bearers of the society as its members. Except the posts of presidents and provincial secretaries all other posts were held only as a Honorary posts. In 1911, there were 32 provincial secretaries, 8 Honorary Travelling secretaries, and 3 Joint secretaries. Mr. D. Devanesan of Nandalur was the Auditor of the society.¹⁵ The society asked the general public to address its communications to Honorary Secretaries of the society at Purasavakam, Madras.

2, Vepery Madras, and 3 church Road chidambaram or to the general secretary of the Society of Tranquebar.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF DES



- 1 President of the Society
- 2. Hon. Local Treasurer
- 3. Hon. Gen. Secretary

- 4. Joint Secretary
- 5. Hon. Travelling Sectry.
- 6. Provional Secretary.

The society had more members in Pandur, Purasavakkam and Vepery (in Madras), Chidambaram and Tranquebar.

Most of the members of the society were christians and belonged to various protestant christian missions especially German Lutheran Mission. Apart from christians, Muslims and among Hindus, Brahmins and others were members of the society. Most of them held positions in their public life. Some of them were Journalists, Lecturers, Headmasters and clerks. Few of them were associated with servants of India society.

Nature of the Resolutions :

A study on the resolutions passed in the above conferences, which were duly conveyed to the government of Madras for its consideration and further assistance and cooperation clearly shows the areas on which the organisation concentrated and worked.

The first resolution always expressed the loyalty of the Depressed classes Elevation Society of South India to King George V the emperor of India and the British Nation. It praised the British rule for having introduced "Rule of law" and gave credit to christianity which propagated especially the ideals of love, harmony, and sympathy. The society felt that the introduction of christianity and British rule gave birth for freedom of thought, freedom of action and freedom of unmolested of religion.

The resolutions concerning the amelioration on economic front concentrated on land and house sites and on labour. It expressed the danger of eviction of the depressed classes from their huts for a trivial act like their disobedience to their land lord. It pointed out that 90% of them were living in miserable condition and hardly 1% of them possess land. Even the vegetables grown by the side of their huts were taken away. It demanded a grant of waste lands to the depressed classes and pointed out that the government has not received any application for the distribution of Darkast land from the depressed classes. It requested distribution of small plots as house sites for the depressed classes.

With regard to labour, the resolutions pointed out that India was an Agricultural country 65% of Indian Population were agricultural labourers and in the Madras presidency 80% were Agricultural labourers. Among them 44% were actual labourers and other were dependent. The resolution classified the agricultural labourers as free labourer and Bonded Labourers. The resolution compared their wages with escalation of prices. It pointed out that in 1873 in Tanjore for one rupee one

can buy 20.75 seers of rice and in 1907 for the same one rupee he can buy 7.68 seers only. It pointed out that due to such condition more than 1/5th of the population saw only 1/2 of their bread. The society demanded more employment opportunity for them and pointed out the prevalence of serfdom and prevalence of same wage for the past 50 years inspite of exaltation of prices.

With regard to education the resolutions concentrated on Technical education, elementary education and secondary education and on hostels and scholarships. In the early conference the resolution pleaded for the establishment of Agricultural and industrial school on a 40 acres of waste land situated near a railway station either in South Arcot or in Chingalpattu district.¹⁶ In 1913, the resolutions pleaded for the establishment of such schools in all the districts of the presidency with an addition of 5 acres of land for staff and servant quaters. The resolution requested the Government to grant scholarship and to provide hostel facilities for elementary education and atleast one scholarship for secondary school education in each district. It asked the government to give wide publicity about the scholarship, since people were ignorant of it. It requested the government to establish special technical schools at least one Technical School and pleaded with the government to open an orphanage on the occasion of the coronation of King George V.¹⁷ The Society showed more emphasis on the bill of Mr. Gokhale on Elementary education and felt that will be a means to the amelioration of the masses. The resolution also highlighted the obstacles faced by the depressed classes to pursue education. They classified it into four kinds 1) Obstruction of the land lords by prohibiting them to go to schools. 2) Poverty of the parents 3) Cattle work done by the children and 4) Prejudices of caste teachers, village officers, and local influential land holders. To overcome this, it solicited co-operation of one.

The resolutions also pointed out the general condition and lack of basic amenities to the depressed classes. It pointed out that the lack of sanitation in their habitation and neglect of village authorities who never visits their habitation and pointed out the occasional help rendered by self-sacrificing European missionaries, who gave medicine, cloth and instruction on hygiene. The problem of drinking water was highlighted in all the conferences. It requested the government to erect for them and to instruct the taluk Boards to do it at the cost of Rs.100 i.e. \$14 per well.

The resolutions also asked the government to take steps to crush the evil of drinking. It asked the government to close toddy shops in villages which have more than one shop as a first step to control the evil of drinking.

The society thanked through resolutions those who supported their just cause like Foreign christian missions. Indian Social Conference and Hindu societies etc. It condemned the oppression of

Master and ill treatment and expressed that such oppression was mitigated only by British rule and christianity. The resolutions proclaimed their cause as a cause of right and Justice and expressed to the world that they are not struggling for equality but for freedom. Finally in all the conferences a resolutions authorised the president of the society to convey the resolutions to the government.

All such activities of this organisation clearly points out, that it totally understood the problem inherited by the depressed classes and thought out a modest way for their amelioration and betterment.

Reaction of the Government :

Responding to the resolutions submitted to the government, it thought to considered the problem of drinking water carefully, and for temperance as a suggestion in right direction. Extracts from His Majesty shows the remark: "Admirable motives going on the wrong lines, It is the depressed classes and the classes by whom they are depressed that the society should direct efforts of conversion not to the converted. I cannot pretend to find in the annual widow dressings of these conferences and the accompanying eloquence any serious contributions to the society of the problems connected with the depressed classes. What we want is practical proposals or schemes."¹⁸

The above remark shows the attitude of the government, which rejected the coordinated effort of this society having represented men of standing from all walks of life. This depressed class organisation which was supported by a cream of men of the day which functioned on right direction went into oblivion due to certain possible internal and external factors. the first and foremost internal factor was in its administrative structure. It had elected representation who have been elected in the annual conferences. If the annual conference was not held after the expiry of their term the office it was left vacant. The administrative structure and constitution is silent about it. Secondly, most of the posts were honorary and there was possibility of communication gap between the general Secretary who was residing at Tranquebar and president of the society who was residing at Pandur, Chingleput District. As external factors the first world war and the condition of war curbed the government and the persons to promote such social activity. The government might have seen the society with suspicion since a good number of members belonged to German Lutheran mission. Because of their German association the government may have treated then with suspicion. However, the work of the society created an awareness to the social oppression and made the educated elite to show attention to this problem of social and economic exploitation and provided an urge to think for their amelioration which later was done by the government of Madras Presidency by starting labour department in 1919 with an aim to ameliorate the affected classes.

Foot Notes

1. Jayashree B. Gokhale-Turner, "The Dalit Panthers and the Radicalisation of the Untouchables" "The Journal of Common Wealth and COmparative Politics Vol. XVII, March 1979, London - p.78.
2. G.O. No.273, Public (General) 28th March 1933.
3. Natesan G.A., Depressed Classes - An Enquiry in to the condition and Suggestions for their uplift Madras, 1912, p.254.
4. The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory of Madras and South India Calendar for the Year 1920 Madras, pp.1671 and 1675.
5. Ibid.,
6. Mohan P.E., Op.Cit., p.65 and 66
7. Report of the Second Session of the Depressed Classes Conference held at Madras, 1911, p.5, also see G.O. No.585, Revenue dt. 27th February 1913.
8. Ibid.,
9. Ibis., p.15
10. Op.cit., Report of the Second Session - p.15.
11. Ibid.,
12. Repost of the Third Session of the Depressed Classes Conference held at Shiyali Tanjore 1912 published in Madras, 1912, p.3.
13. Ibid., p.32.
14. Ibid., p.5 to 13.
15. Ibid., p.26
16. G.O.No. 1739 Revenue Dated 11th June 1913.
17. Memorial submitted available in the above Government Order.
18. Op.Cit. G.O. 1739.

SECTION III

**ART AND CULTURAL
HISTORY**

ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Nanditha Krishna
Director
The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation
Madras 600 018.

I would like to thank the Tamilnadu History Congress for so graciously inviting me to preside over the Art and Cultural History Section of the Second Annual Congress. It is a privilege by which I am truly honoured.

I also hope that, with the establishment of the Tamilnadu History Congress and the great enthusiasm with which it has been functioning over the last two years, there will be a resurgence in the study of, interest in and respect for history in the state of Tamilnadu, which has one of the most glorious and ancient civilizations, with substantial archaeological and literary records.

Art has been one of the earliest forms of communication. It is the origin of writing and several other forms of expression, a symbol of cultural development and the growth of civilization. Yet our study of art has generally been limited to documenting great artistic works, without utilising them as tools for an understanding of past and present civilizations.

South Asia is fortunate in having several living traditions: social and cultural practices and artistic traditions, covering all aspects of life from agriculture and industry to cookery and crafts. Some are developments of recent times or of the recent past. But many are of such great antiquity that they recall the history of the people themselves. There has been some attempt to document old traditions and cultural practices but, given the diversity of the region, this can, at best, be limited.

The myths and legends surrounding the symbols and works of art, ancient icons and cultural practices, analysed critically, can be a means of understanding the history and culture of a people. The use of symbols satisfies not only the need to act but to give symbolic reasons for this act. The mythical world is related to detailed features of the actual world and the chief concern is the maintenance of personal, social and cosmic harmony, and the attainment of material needs such as rainfall, prosperity, health and children.

Natural phenomena thus get explained according to the principles of society and social organisation, with the symbols replicating society and social development. The study of art is, therefore, a study of society, wherein the symbols become representative of people and socio-economic needs.

The attributes held by the gods and their attendants reflect the lives of the people of a particular age : the weapons they used, the implements of their daily lives and so on. The vehicles on which they sit narrate a story of an age when people revered the world of flora and fauna and identified closely with them. Often, they represent the coalescence of various tribes, as in the case of some vahanas, objects of popular use like pitchers and fly-whisks, the history of the development of warfare from the simple club of Vishnu to the spear of Skanda and the bow and arrow of Rama, or the development of philosophic ideas as represented by the lotus.

The various racial and cultural movements in India have also synchronised and evolved, expressing themselves through symbols and symbolism. Durga in the west rides the lion, the steed of Ishtar, the ancient Babylonian Goddess, while in the east she rides the tiger. It is also a fact that the lion roams the Gir forest in western India, while the sheer numbers of the tiger in the east gave it the prefix "Bengal". Shakti in Tamil literature and late Pallava art has been associated with the stag, a rare companion appearing only in the coins of the Kunindas and, much earlier, with the Phoenician Astarte and the Greek Artemis. The various Avataras of Vishnu also suggest exciting possibilities of this process of syncretization and harmonization.

Thus art and culture become useful for the study of the ethnoarchaeology of a region and in India, with its continuing traditions, this is so much easier and essential.

A knowledge of living cultural traditions is an essential tool for archaeology, leading to ethnoarchaeology. Housing and settlement patterns, craft development from locally available materials and agricultural practices have hardly changed through the centuries. The simple village hut is the basis for the design of the temple structure, and the layout of the Pallava temple complex is repeated in subsequent periods, with a few additions. The small Amman shrine of the remotest village re-appears in Maratha temples, albeit with a few developments. The tradition of painting temple walls has a long and continuing history in Tamilnadu. Clay pots and pans continue to be produced and used in the traditional manner. The large-sized metal utensils with big rings through which is driven a pole, carried by two men, beautifully delineated in the Chola paintings of the Brihadeeshvara Temple, are still used in the temples of Tamilnadu today.

Yet another example of a continuing cultural tradition with ancient origins is that of the sthalavriksha of the temple, reflecting an earlier tradition of regarding the tree as an object of veneration, a vriksha chaitya. It is amazing how so many vrikshas associated with the temples of Tamilnadu are obviously vriksha chaityas, with the stone base and circumambulatory path. Even the ritual for the worship has not changed over the centuries, coinciding with Vedic and Buddhist descriptions. This is a continuing tradition reflected in ancient temple sculptures and literary works, and in contemporary ritual.

While epigraphical sources have been studied in depth, many others have been sidelined. The temples of Tamilnadu, rich in artistic quality and iconographic development, also portray scenes of everyday life, of weapons of war and implements of daily use. There is also a folk culture, with its own hoary past. Startling pieces of information come out from time to time, such as Buddhist sculptures on the walls of the Ekambareshwara temple walls at Kanchipuram, reflecting either an echo of the past or a contemporary remnant of an earlier tradition. All these and more require further study.

Recent discoveries have enhanced our knowledge of Tamilnadu's art heritage, revealing a cornucopia of subjects to be researched. Our increasing knowledge of pre-historic rock art, ancient Puhar and the Indo-Roman trade is a result of the growing awareness of the need for further excavation and study. The surviving rock paintings of Tamilnadu must be documented and analysed for the possible messages they may carry, apart from the obvious ones of hunting and survival. A dancing image of a female spearing a buffalo evokes images of Mahishasuramardini, causing the viewer to wonder whether artistic symbols developed from myths or vice versa. Very little analytical work has been done on the rock paintings of Tamilnadu, and these archaeological discoveries must be put to better use.

Similarly, from the wealth of manuscript paintings that abound in the Saraswathi Mahal Library, it appears that there was a school of miniature painting in south India which reached its zenith in Thanjavur. While influenced, no doubt, by predecessors and contemporaries, thereby combining elements of Vijayanagara iconography and portraiture, north Indian decoration, western Indian (Gujarati and Maratha) usage, Kalamkari and Tirupati stylisation and even European landscaping, it syncretised into a harmonious school of Tamil miniature painting, a 200-year old style of strong lines and rich colours, which it has been my good fortune to study and document.

In the appreciation of the old and the beautiful, of classicism and continuity, we art historians tend to ignore the wealth of folk art and culture. Tamilnadu has a rich horde of folk bronzes,

sheet metal work and terracottas. We see in them the genesis of the classical forms, yet the two co-existed as parallel developments, each with its own unique iconography. Sometimes there is an attempt to identify one with another. The origins of some folk deities, such as Ayyanaar, are still shrouded in mystery, in spite of the many attempts to unravel it. But the votive offerings to Ayyanaar, especially the terracotta horses, are unique examples of artistic excellence, grandeur and beauty. They vary from district to district, village to village, in size, decoration, appearance and colouring, a spontaneous expression of the indigenous artist's creativity, uninhibited by canons of art and iconography. Yet they are hardly included in most studies of the art of Tamilnadu.

Although epigraphical and literary sources are essential for reconstructing history, it is equally essential to visually study the artistic object or cultural phenomenon to decode the message from the past. The story is there, visually present, to see and understand. Sometimes scholarship may blur the obvious, making us search elsewhere for a meaning. Thus Skanda with the spear is obviously a warrior, dressed in a coat of arms, as he first appears on the Indo-Greek kshatrapa coins, before he can be identified as a hunter. And this corroborates the early legends of his birth. Similarly, the trishula, which appears late in Shiva's hand and is non-existent in the early sculptures of the god, is less of a weapon than a symbol of Shakti, who was always symbolised by the trident, making the early images of the God holding the trident probably the earliest examples of the concept of Ardhanarishvara, the union of the male and female principles, first mentioned in the yin and yang of Taoism, a 4th century B.C. philosophy from ancient China. In the Indo-Greek kshatrapa coins, Shiva holds the trident and Devi is absent. They appear together much later. Thus there is reason for us to make a reappraisal of our artistic and cultural history, to use it as a means of charting the development of our history and culture.

For India is a nation of coalescing ideas and cultures, where styles of painting travelled from China and Central Asia, over mountains and plains, till they reached Ajanta and, from there, Tondaimandalam in the south. Such examples are continuous throughout Indian history and endless, as evidenced even today by the increasing preference for western culture and the English language. But new influences must be welcomed, although judiciously. They pose intellectual challenges, broaden the vista and enrich and rejuvenate our culture.

The art and cultural heritage of Tamilnadu is, then, a melange of ideas, discoveries and innovations that, planted over a rich ground of classical tradition, has blossomed into a multi-faceted heritage which tells a tale of an ancient people who enriched their lives with new influences from all over the world, and who left us their story in their works of art - the paintings, sculptures, music, dance, and much more. It is necessary for us to acknowledge the many influences brought

in by migrants, travellers and even enemies. For no healthy, developing civilization can survive in a vacuum and no culture can deny new and varied impacts. It is this openness to new thoughts and ideas that has enriched Tamilnadu's cultural heritage.

It is also good that these artistic and cultural traditions exist today, in the creations of the sthapathis, the consecration of a new horse for Ayyanaar or the kumbhabhishekham of an ancient temple. The continuity of tradition makes the work of the historian more challenging, as the origins of contemporary culture are traced to the past or archaeological remains are connected to contemporary life. There is a great need to trace the linkages, the threads which connect art and culture to specific tribes and communities of the past and present, and to their socio-economic needs. I hope young scholars of tomorrow will take up this challenge.

The range of subjects available for research is truly amazing. There is a tremendous potential for using artistic and cultural remains to study the cultural, social and economic history of Tamilnadu. But it is also necessary to ensure that such studies are historical and devoid of all bias, that no fanciful claims or untenable theories grow out of apparent symbols, and that personal preferences and dislikes are kept out, making the study of history truly scientific.

Finally, I once again thank the Tamilnadu History Congress for this unique honour and privilege, and wish it every success in the years to come.

"MUSIC IN CANKAM PERIOD"

Dr.Salem S.Jayalakshmi.

We generally believe that we have no history recorded properly and we have no records to prove our authenticity. But by probing into Cankam literature and the other earlier works from a modern and scientific angle, we are sure to get good results. In the sphere of music, we are able to get ample evidences that our Tamil music was well evolved and established with sound principles and basic foundation even from ancient times.

Enormous changes have taken place over the long span 2000 years and more, Still we have a remarkable continuity of our traditions. History of music in the west shows that they gave up the older traditions and switched over to an entirely new system of music namely the polyphonic or harmonic music from 15th century A.D. In the East particularly in India we may say that the older tradition has been preserved without giving way to any new musical systems.

The melodic systems of music in India, set in the varied structures of ragas seem to come down in-tact at least in the practical side of the art. It is really marvellous that the Indian raga-system with semi, quarter tones and still more minute microtones have lived through this lengthy period of several hundred years mostly by traditional singing called guru paramparai. The living ragas with all the subtle notes and scales incorporated in them and their technique of structure and form, are the only clues from which we could pursue the track of the original sources.

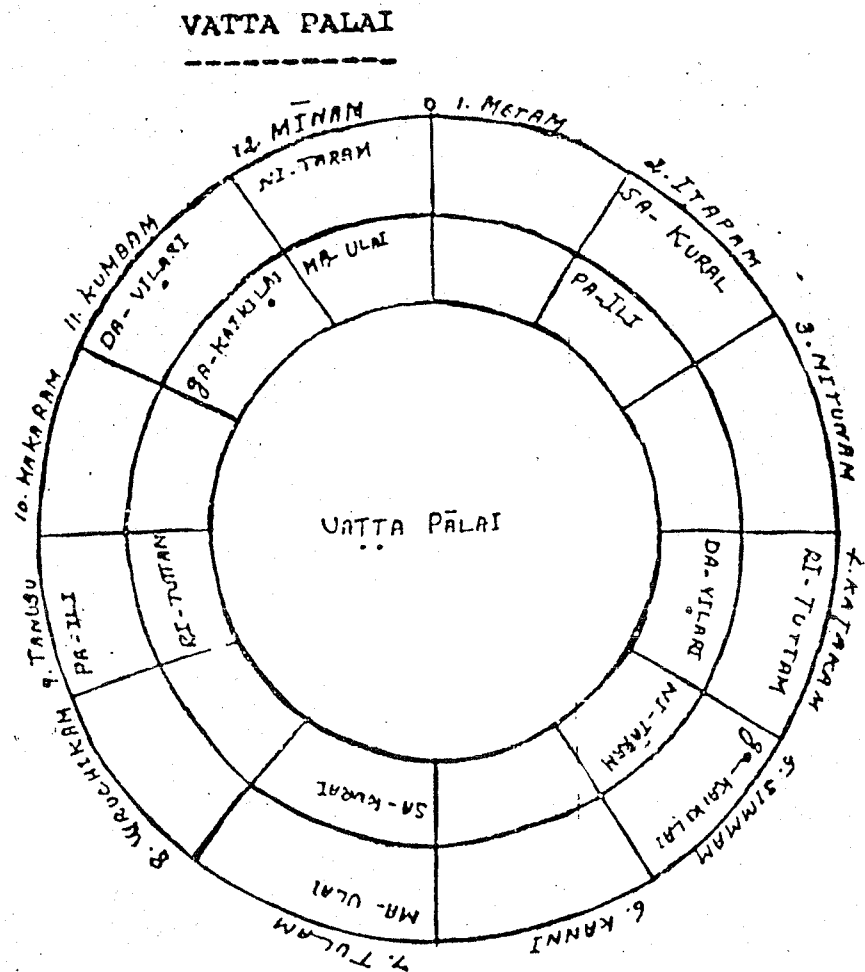
We have to admit that our present yardstick of knowledge in music is much diminished and meagre, because in the earlier Tamil musical system, the practice of modulation (ie) the "Kural Tiripu" or "Grahahedam" was plentiful where as we have completely lost sight of it now-a-days. Now we adhere to monotonic system. (ie) singing on only one sruthi. (tonic note) having a fixed pitch. To understand our own system, we have to go through other systems of music - for instance, the western music has got the practice of modulation - ie changing of the tonic note frequently. I have explained the two systems Eastern and Western in my article "Musical systems of Ancient Tamils" published in the Journal of International Institute of Tamil Studies (1974). The article was indeed a comparative study of Ancient Tamil music and greek music. It was really astonishing that the riddles we were not able to solve in Cilappatikaram which gives many references which we could not understand, the study of greek music especially the theory portion poured much light on the obscure verses in Cilappatikaram about the grammer of music. The exactly corresponding verses and explanations given in greek music also shows the close contact of greeks with Tamils. The first major scales, "El perum palai" advocated

in Tamil music are there, the pans according to land scape., Marudam, Kurinji, Mullai, Neidal etc are there. As we do not find works earlier to Cankam literature and Cilappaticaram, in any other part of India or in any other language, we can be sure that Tamil music was the origin for all other systems.

The ragas are individual structures with their own characteristic phrases and patterns. Each raga, why even each 'Swara' the musical note has life and emotion; Each raga expresses its own emotion and expression. Now let me trace a few ragas and their history starting from Cankam age.

Regarding the structure of pans or Ragas, the Vattapalai system advoced in Cilappatikaram 'Aichiar Kuravai' explains the location of each note in the zodiac form. The dancing girls in the Kuravai Kuttu, each allotted to a zodiac house, represent a note in the Raga. Further with the help of commentaries by Adiyarku nallar and Arumpata Urai Asiriyar, we are able to chalk out the four yals assigned to the lands Kurinji, Mullai, Marutam and Neital - The four major scales for the yal names are given below:-

Vatta Palai



The Cankam tradition gives a full account of the different kinds of lands peculiar to Tamil culture called Kurinji - the mountains and the terrain, mullai-the forest land and the woods, neidal-the costal areas or marine lands, marudam-Towns and Villages on river banks, palai the barren lands. In Tamil literature - each land is assigned special gods, trees, flowers, musical instruments, like Yal, Pans (Ragas), the Drums etc.

Kurinji the mountainous region was noted for its kurinji flowers which blossom once in twelve years. The yal was kurinji yal, the pan kurinji pan which was the raga of the midnighr, Mullai the forest range was noted for its white fragrant Jasmine flower blossming in plenty in the region. Mullai yal and kulal(flute) were special to this land and mullai pan was the raga assigned to the land. The lands were noted for the winter season and mullai pan 'called eevvali' was assigned to the early hours of the evening. Marutam, the township and villages on the riverside was allotted the maruta flower. The yal was Maruta yal, the pan maruta pan. Neital yal and neidal pan suited to sing after sunset, were assigned to the sea coast. The barren land palai was assigned palai yal and palai pan. This was for the noon and the goodess korravai(Durga) was worshipped with the dance kuravai kuttu. Drums and different percussion instruments were assigned to these lands.

The Cankam literature speaks elaborately about the panar's traditions. The legendary panan was not only an adept in music but also well versed in poetry and sang songs on various topics. With his vast experience and contact with nature, people, men and matters, Some of the scenes from Cankam literature prove the expertise of the panan and his music.

Scene I Muruda pan-belongs to the early morning. The moon is disappearing and the East becomes bright. The cocks triumphet-the dawn. The flowers blossom smiling. The yal panan tunes his instrument for the morning raga. This is how the night retreats and the dawn projects forth.

“Mati Nila Karappa velli ertara
Vakai man nallil
porimayir varanam polu-Tarintiyampa
poikai pumukai malara panar
Kaival Ceeriyal Katanarintiyakka
Iravup puram perra ema vaikarai”

-puram 398 1-6.

Another Song

Ceerinitu Kondu narampinitiyakki
Yalor marutam panna
pularntu viri vitiyal. . . .

- Madurai Kanji.

Scene II The evening melody is cevvali. The bard adjusts the FRETS of the yal to tune eevvali scale and starts playing eevvali pan with the accompaniment of Mulavu (Mattalam), Akuli (another instruments) when the lights are lit in the houses after the dusk.

“Tivavu meiniruttu eevvali panni
Kural punar nayal mulivotu onri
Nunnerakuli iratta palavuta
Onontar vilakka muntura
Munthai yamam centra pintrai”

Madurai Kanji

The Mullai land, winter season and the evening are assigned to cevvali pan. This pan is said to be pathetic.

“Arula yatalo kotite
irul vara
ceriyal cevvali panni yala nin
karetir ganam patinemaka”

- puram

Scene III The melody of Kurinji land was kurinji pan. It was for the midnight. The names of the yals of the time they belong to are given as follows:

“Yama yal peyar kurinji yalum
cevvali yal peyar mullai yalum
palai yalum maruta yalmena
nalvakai yalum narperum panne -

-Centan Tivakaram.

In the hilly place the hunter girl keeps vigil over the crops singing the kurinji pan. An elephant coming there stealthily to graze the crops listening to the music got enchanted by it and stood still.

“Koticci -

Peruvarai Marungir Kurinji pata
Kuralumkollatu nilaiyinum peyartu
Pataapainkan patu perroyyena
Maram pukal mala kaliru uranku natan

Aka Nanura - 102.

It is said that elephant is charmed by music. The elephants trumpeting is compared to the note of ‘Ma’ ‘Ulai’ ‘Isaipam’ ipam is elephant. Likewise the horse gets irritated by music.

Scene IV Palai pan belongs to midday. In the dry land people lived by hunting and highway robbery. A troupe of bands carrying their instruments had to pass a barren land. Robbers living in that region came and surrounded the bards. The panan took his yal and started playing the palaipan. The robbers got enchanted by the music, they became emotional and decided to give up their cruel life and became disciples of the panam.

“Aralai kalvar patai vita Arulin
Marutalai Peyarkku Maruv
Palai”

Porunar Arrupatai.

We come across many such beautiful scenes in the Cankam literature.

Now we can trace the history of a few ragas. As I have already mentioned, each raga is an individual, with its specific notes and forms with special phrases etc. In the Tamil works on music, the scales are given, the names of the scales, its derivations and all other details have been clearly given. More than everything the grammar for using a minute particle of a note also is given. We are not able to find a minute particle of a note also is given. We are not able to find this important point in any other musical works, in Telugu and Sanskrit. They were able to spin their own formulas without understanding the fundamental principles laid down by the exponents of Tamil music. This was because they took the practice of music from the formation of Ragas which were already established. We find in Tamil music of Cankam age, the seven noted, six noted, and Five noted ragas. Now we can go into the details of a few ragas:

Pan-Naivalam

This is a five noted raga

S.G.M.P.N.S. - S N P M G S
C E F G B C - C B G F H C

The raga name became Nattapatai in Thevaram
The carnatic name is Gambira Nattai.

“Ponvarntanna Puriyatanka
Narampin
Inkural Ceriya itavayin
Talie
Naivalam paluniya Nayanteri Palai
Kaival Panmakan Katanarintiyakka.

34-37 Cirupanarrupatai.

The strings of the yal-look like golden strings. Panan holds the instrument at his left side and plays the pan Naiyalam in a dexterous way. Nattai Raga is considered to be very auspicious. This is a very old raga. This is the first raga played at the Temples in puja times. Even today a concert begins with this raga. It is majestic and beautiful.

Pan Puranirmai This is also a penta-tonic raga five noted; this raga was called ‘Nertiram’ in Cankam literature. There is a picturesque scene in Cilappatikaram. The bee’s humming is compared to the kural-(sad jam) because it is there even without raising its pitch. The bee like a panan is singing the morning raga of ‘Ner Tiram’. The lotus flower in the pond listening to the song of the bee opens its eyes and blossoms. The birds fluttering their wings make it like the sound of drums. The cocks are trumpeting. The enjoyable cool early morning dawns with all these musical background.

“Panvai vantu Nertiram patak
Kanvaru Kuvalaik Kanmalar villippa
Pulvai Murasamotu porimayir varanattu
Mulvai Canka Kukai Mukai Arppa”

- Cilappaticaram.

Pinkalantai and Centan Tivakaram Nikantu works say,

“Araga Nertiram Uruppu
kurunkali Asan Intum Palai
Yal tirane”

This raga Nertiram in Cankam period becomes pan puranirmai in Thevaram singing. The raga gets the name ‘Bhupalam’ in Carnatic music. Till to-day this raga is sung for Tiruppalli eluchi in the temples in the early morning. The Ascent and Descent of the raga is.

S R G P D S - S D P G R S
C D E G A C - C A G E D C

3. Pan-Palampanjuram

This raga is the present-time ‘Sankarabaranam’. In thevaram this scale is called ‘Palam Panjuram’ ‘Panjuramam Palam Panjurame’ says pinkalantai nikandu. The first raga of the el perumpalai is cempalai, the C major of western music. All the seven notes of this scale are natural “Iyalpu Surangal” with neither a flat not a sharp. Hence this is the most well balanced scale. All the seven scales starting from this projects forth by ‘Kural Tiripu’ (modulation). There is a called ‘velevai” in the list of 103 pans of Tamil music. There is a raga called Bilavela in Hindustani Music which is again Sankarabaranam scale. Thus we see even North Indian Music taking its roots from Tamil music only.

In due course the Tamil names have been translated into the names of the other schools of music. Since we find in Tamil all the practices and knowledge of Music which is far earlier to all other systems. We may be sure that the origin was only from Tamil sources. Hence our culture was termed as ‘Aliya Marapu’ (immortal tradition) by Ilango Adigal.

HEAD OFFERING IN ANCIENT TAMILAGAM

DR.P.D.Balaji
Dept.of Ancient History & Archaeology
University of Madras

Head offering was an ancient custom that was in practice in ancient Tamilagam from Sangam Period. This practice was in vogue upto 17-18 cent AD, as attested by the literary, epigraphical and sculptural evidences. This offering was made to goddess Korravai. Many Sangam works refer to this offering in various contexts. This custom had continued to be in current in the Pallava, Chola, Vijayanagara and Nayaka times as attested by the inscriptions. Stone sculptures were also erected in honour and memory of the warriors who servered their heads for a noble cause. The style of these sculptures differs from period to period.

Silapatikaram datable to early centuries of christian era, describes in one of its canton² about the offering of heads by the warriors to goddess Korravai prior to a military campaign. Since, Korravai was considered as the goddess of war and victory, head was offered to her to obtain success in the milary encounter. Sometime, after attaining a victory, this offering was made to thank the goddess for the success³. This offering was considered as Kadan duty) imposed on all the warrior class people i.e. Maravar.

The procedure of offering is narrated in the same Tamil epic. A virgin girl belonging to maravar community was chosen and she was decorated as Korravai. Her hair was formed into a knot at the top. On this, teeth of a wild boar was fixed to indicate the crescent moon. A pulipal tali was tied around her neck. Her lower body was covered by the skin of the tiger. Finally she was mounted on an antelope and worshipped as Korravai.

Then flowers, sandal, rice, gingilly cakes, meat and fragrance were placed before the goddess. Just before the offering of head, drum was beaten and trumpet was blowed. Then the warrior came and first worshipped the balipeetam (altar) and then the goddess. Thereafter he offered his head by cutting of his neck. Only warriors with good stamina and courage performed this offering⁵ Nerthikadan⁶ Palankadan⁷ Ugirkalan⁸ and Uyirbali⁹ are some other terms used in the tamil literatures to indicate this offering.

This type of offering continued to be in vogue till recently. It is attested by ample number of sculptural representations and epigraphs found at various places in Tamilnadu. In many of

the Durga Sculptures of Pallava period, at the lower part, one or two devotees are depicted as offering their heads. Specimens are found in the cave temples of Mahabalipuram, Singavaram and Trichy. This offering was noticed in the Chola period. This is attested by the Durga Sculptures at Punjai (Nanturaieswaran Koil), Pullamangai (Brahmapuriswarar temple) and Mayavaram (mayuranathaswamykoil).

It is corroborated by the literary work of chola period. Kalingathuparani.¹⁰ Describing the valour of Kulottunga I (IIth Cent. AD) also makes mention about the head offering. It also narrates how head offering was made in that period. The warriors had offered their head by cutting at the neck, and placing it on the balipeetam (altar). Thereafter one of the female attendants of the goddess carried the decapitated head in the left hand and the sword in the right hand and placed it before the goddess in the sanctum.

Head was also offered to appease the goddess for the success in the endeavours other than war. A number of epigraphs point out many references on this aspect. At Arakandanallur¹² (Tirukkoyilur Taluk) in a temple, in the reign of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (14th cent AD) a devotee by name Ilavematisudinan offered his head for the successful completion of the construction of a mandapa in the temple. In praise of this act, 1000 kuli of land was gifted as Udirapatti to his mother ponnandi a devadasi in the temple. Likewise at Sengamangalam¹³ (S.Arcot) in a siva temple, in the 16th Cent A.D. a Devotee by name perran had severed his head for the successful conduct of the temple festival. His descendants were rewarded with land grants as Udirapatti. Similar type of land grants are mentioned in the inscriptions datable to 13th Cent A.D. at Tirumalisai¹⁴ and other places. For making such head offerings, a mandapa known as veeramandapa was constructed in the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam¹⁵ is gleaned from an inscription dated to 1377 A.D.

Small stone statues depicting the deceased were installed accaliming his brave act. Though we do not get any sculptures, representing sangam period, for the first time it was introduced in the sculptural art when Durga figurines were chiselled out in pallava period. Seperate sculpture, was erected around 10th Cent A.D. At Mallam in appreciation of Navakandam (i.e. offering Nine parts of the body) performed by a warrior, a stone slab portraying a decapitated warrior in relief holding the head in the left hand and the sword in the right hand was erected. An inscription¹⁶ dated in the 20th regnal year of Kambavarman (968 AD) found on the slab mentions, that the warrior had committed navakandam and in praise of his brave act, the Uravar gifted a piece of land to the descendants of the deceased. In 1076 AD¹⁷ another statue was erected in memory of a warrior who had severed his head in front of pathalasami devi temple at Macherla (Guntur dt.A.P.)

It seems from 15-16th Cent A.D. onwards installing stone statues in honour of the decapitated warriors had become more popular. These are round and having a height 2' to 3'. No inscription is found on these specimens. Such figurines have already been found near Madras at Tiruverriyur,¹⁸. Recently in Sriperumbudur Taluk (Chengai MGR District) at Tiruverkadu, Tirumalisai, Manimangalam, Kunrathur, Nazarethpettai, Kovur, Sriperumbudur and Pillaipakkam similar stone figurines are discovered by this author¹⁹. All the individual sculptural representation of the warriors could be classified into six types as follows.

1. A relief sculpture of a beheaded warrior on a slab stone. His left hand holding the mutilated head and the right hand holding a sword. There is an inscription on the slab-Mallam (Drawing No.2).
2. A relief sculpture of a standing warrior on a slab stone with his left hand holding the head by its tuft at the top and the right hand holding a sword that was passing through the neck. An inscription connecting the warrior is engraved on the slab-Chettitangal (Chidambaram TK) & Macherla (Drawing No.3).
3. Free standing sculpture of a warrior round with his left hand holding the head by its tuft and the right hand a sword that passing through the neck. No inscription is found-Manimangalam (Photo No.1)
4. Free standing sculpture of a warrior in round with his left hand holding a sword that is passing through the neck and right hand holding another sword that rested on the ground-Manimangalam, Kunrattur, Tiruverkadu (Drawing No.4, Photo No.2).
5. Free standing warrior with his two hands holding two ends of the swords, that depicted across the neck-Tiruverkadu (Drawing No.5, Photo No.3).
6. A standing warrior in relief, with his right leg positioned forward and the left leg slightly kneeling downward. His left hand is holding a decapitated head while right hand is holding a sword.

In all these, warriors are depicted with lower garment and Veerakalal on the leg. The head dress is arranged to form a knot at the top of the head. Though most of these sculptures are devoid of any inscription, their presence, invariably in front of an Amman temple, helps in identifying them as memorial stones installed in honour of warriors who offered their heads.

These sculptures are dated on the basis of stylistic feature of the above types, the first one is not available in the post-pallava period. The second one with inscriptions is assignable to the early chola period. The sculptures belonging to types 3,4 and 5 could be dated between 15th and 17th Cent A.D. The sixth type belonged to a later period that could be fixed between 17th-18th Cent A.D. Warrior figure in the specimen of this type is depicted in low relief on a small stone slab having a height of 1' to 1 1/2'. The warrior's style is changed. His attributes namely left hand holding decapitated head and right hand holding a sword reminds as of the

verses in Kalingatuparani, describing the female attendant of the goddess bringing the decapitated head in her left hand and holding a sword in the right hand to offer it to goddess.

The author of Manimekalai ²⁰ while describing the cakkṛavala kottam, says, the Korravai temple in the cremation ground is covered on all sides by the branches of a tree in which heads offered to the goddess are hanging. This indicates, perhaps such like offered heads were not buried or burnt, but instead, tied in a tree branch.

Foot Notes

1. K.S.Srinivasan, "Some aspects of religion as revealed by early monuments and literature of the south" Journal of Madras University XXXII No.1 PP 131-198.
2. Silapatikaram (Indravila etutta kathai) verses 81-88.
3. Idid (Vettuvavari) Verses 16-17.
4. Ibid Verses 21-43.
5. Ibid (indravila etutta kathai) Verses 80-85.
6. Manimekalai (Chkkaravala kottam) Verse - 50.
7. Silapatikaram (Vettuvavari) Verse 7.
8. Manimekalai (Cakkaravala kottam) Verse 97.
9. Silapatikaram (Indravila ettuta kathai) Verse 97.
10. Kalingatyparani (Koil Padiyat) Verse 116.
11. Ibid Verses 111,112 & 116.
12. ARE 197 of 1934 - 35
13. ARE 278 of 1939 - 40
14. ARE 3 of 1911
15. ARE 20 of 1915.
16. SII XII 106
17. ARE 586 of 1909.
18. K.R. Srinivasan op cit pp 159-160
19. Author conducted exploration in these areas for his Ph.D. research.
20. Manimekalai (Chakkaravala kottam) Verses 50-55.



HORNED DVARAPALAS FROM KAVERIPAKKAM

*Dr.Srinivasa Desikan
Retd Asst. Director of Museums
Madras Museum and
Senior Research Fellow, ICHR*

Kaveripakkam, situated on the Madras - Bangalore road is about 100 Km from Madras and about 30 Km from the temple town of Kanchipuram and is in the Arakonam taluk of North Arcot District. It was a centre of great artistic activity a thousand years ago. It was a flourishing settlement during the Pallava and later times.

This region was in the hands of the great dynasties such as Pallavas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Cholas, as evidenced by the inscriptions found at Kaveripakkam and its neighbourhood. In later days the vijayanagara dynasty had control over this region for a considerable time.

In the earlier days, the great dynasties - Chalukyas, Pallavas and Rashtrakutas tried to gain supremacy over this region of the country. The artistic idioms of the dynasties found their way to blend harmoniously and the result was a magnificent production of sculptures of the highest quality. It may be seen that Krishna III, the Rashtrakuta King, was responsible mainly for the construction of three temples: Kalapriya, Gandamarthanda and Krishna at Kaveripakkam. These temples are referred to in the Karhad plates of the King. But these temples do not exist now. The present existing temples in the village preserve some of the best pieces, though they have nothing to do with these temples.

The existing temples in the village where historical sculptures are available are: Konganesvara, Kottai Varadaraja, Alagiya Ramar, Muktesvara, Moolathu Vazhaianman, Ochcheri Amman, Draupadi Amman and Selliamman. Besides these, a good number of sculptures which were used for strengthening the lake bund were salvaged by Dr.C.Sivaramamurthi and brought to the Government Museum, Madras in 1938.

A systematic study of all the sculptures available in the temples at Kaveripakkam and in the Madras Museum would show that Kaveripakkam was a veritable Art Gallery representing the different schools of art. Besides the Saivite sculptures, which are predominantly available, Vaishnavite sculptures, narrative panels, motifs (Sri Udaraukha etc) matrka sculptures, fragmentary architectural art pieces and panel figures like that of Rashtrakuta panels and miscellaneous pieces such as crest and nidhis.

For the present paper, Dvarapalas are taken. There are three dvarapalas from the village. Of them one is at the Madras Museum and the other two are in Konganesvara temple in the village. Of them, two have horns on the head dress.

There are different views as to the significance of the horns on the dvarapalas. One scholar is of opinion that it is due to the continuance of the earlier motif of Nagaraja as dvarapala and thus attributes Buddhist origin¹. If the middle three hoods out of five snake hoods from the Nagaraja are removed then they will look exactly like the horned dvarapala of later times. Another has explained the horns with reference to the practice of wearing horns by such primitive tribes as Nagas and the Godas². Still another scholar proposed that these horned dvarapalas represent Nandi³.

But recent studies tend to show that the horned dvarapalas could be the representations of the ayudhapurushas. A systematic study of these horns as well as axe blade on the head dress of the dvarapalas has been done by a band of scholars from Madras Christian College, Tambaram whose results have been published in a book form in 1974.

Their analysis of the stylistic development of these features (i.e.) door guardians having horns and axe-blades in their head dress have established that "these door guardians are really anthropomorphic representations of weapons or emblems peculiar to the god, enshrined within". Then they are ayudhapurushas. In Pallava temples, the peculiar weapon or their emblems which a guardian represents is usually shown on his head dress⁴.

In one case trisula is represented in a form of elongated makuta flanked by two horns, whereas in another place (Vallam cave) the ayudhapurusha is represented by axe-blade on the head of the dvarapala.

It is interesting to note the Vaishnava parallel also. This practice of showing the emblems of the deity on the guardians head dress is applied to Vishnu's guardians also. In the Varaha cave at Mamallapuram, Chakra and Sankha are placed at the top of their head dress. Again in the Adivarana cave temple the dvarapala with horns are discussed hereunder.

The Dvarapala in the Madras Museum is an exquisite piece but unfortunately broken below the waist and it is a relief. He has four hands, out of which the two lower hands are broken and missing. The upper right is in Vismaya hasta and a snake is perching on the shoulder and it comes out from his right hand (some fingers are cut), while the left upper hand is in tarjani pose, the tip of the finger touching the patrakundala. He wears an ornate prominent Karandamakuta

with four tiers excellently modelled one above the other. The top projection has a bulbous end. The horns are seen projecting at either side of the makuta. The Jatabhara has a thick relief on both sides in between the horns. The lalatapatta (head band) is presented like a narrow thick projection with a pendent coming off at the centre of the band. The urna mark is oval in shape. The face is slightly oval with the bulging eyes and also the eyes and the mouth have deep incisions. Canine teeth are seen. The patrakundalas have figures of an owl and a bird respectively on the left and right ears. The shoulder tassels are absent. On right shoulder, the tail of the snake is seen. The necklace is represented with studded pearls on it and with pendants in different shapes. He wears mukta-yagnopavita which is slightly damaged in the centre. The yagnopavita knot is quite interestingly done, but unfortunately the bottom portion is lost. The udarabandha is ornamented with pearls. The lion head clasp for the armlet is reminiscent of Chalukyan work. Three bangles are seen on both the upper arms which shoot off from the elbows. The hands are rounded in shape and they are positioned towards the figure. This dvarapala closely resembles his Tiruttani counterpart. From the disposition of the head and that of the left lower hand, which is supported to rest on the goda (club) this dvarapala should have been on the right side of the sanctum sanctorum of a temple assignable to 10th Century A.D.

The second omage of dvarapala which is on the right entrance of the ardhamandapa of the Konganesvara temple at Kaveripakkam, is again horned one. The upper right is in abhaya while the upper left is in vismaya. The lower left and the lower right rest on the gada (club). A snake is perching on the right shoulder. He wears a jatamakuta with horns, patrakundalas, keyura and valayas. The mukta yagnopavita (pearl studded sacred thread) and the lion clasp for the armlet are features reminiscent of Chalukyan work. The position of the club and the way in which the lower left hands rest on it add excellence to the figure. The anatomical contours of the sculpture speak the vigour and movement on it. The limbs are rounder. From the position of the sculpture, it may be said that this dvarapala might have not belonged to this Vijayanagara temple and must have belonged to an early date. The sculpture may be dated to 10th Century A.D.

It may be seen that these dvarapalas resemble Tiruttani and Takkolam ⁶ counterparts. With regard to the yagnopavita, Kaveripakkam dvarapalas are reminiscent of Vijayawada dvarapalas ⁷ (one of them wears garland of flowers as yagnopavita and the other one wears a garland of bells). It may be mentioned that the Dvarapalaka at Brahadisvara temple at Tanjore⁸ has the flower garland as yagnopavita (pushpa yagnopavita) and here in his depiction the Chalukyan type has been excelled.

Regarding the horns adorning the headgear of Kaveripakkam dvarapala, the earlier representations can be seen at Bhairavakonda cave temple at Nellore⁹ which are slightly earlier. Again the Mogulrajapuram cave¹⁰ (near Vijayawada) of the Eastern Chalukya period has representation of horned dvarapala and this must have inspired the Kaveripakkam artists.

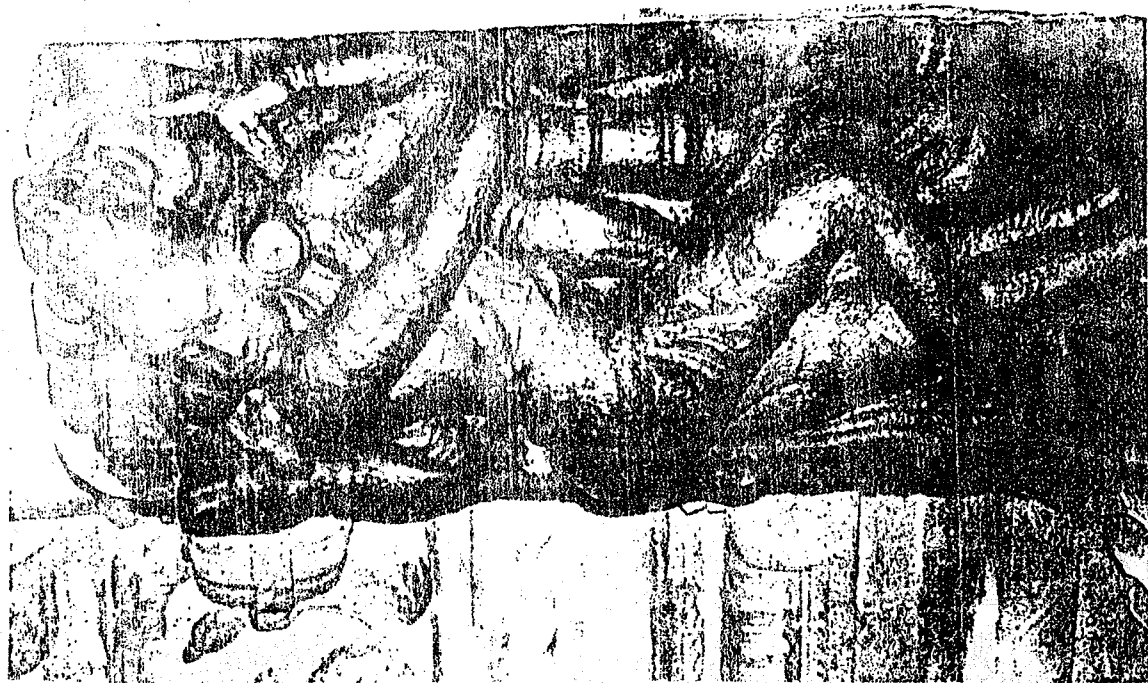
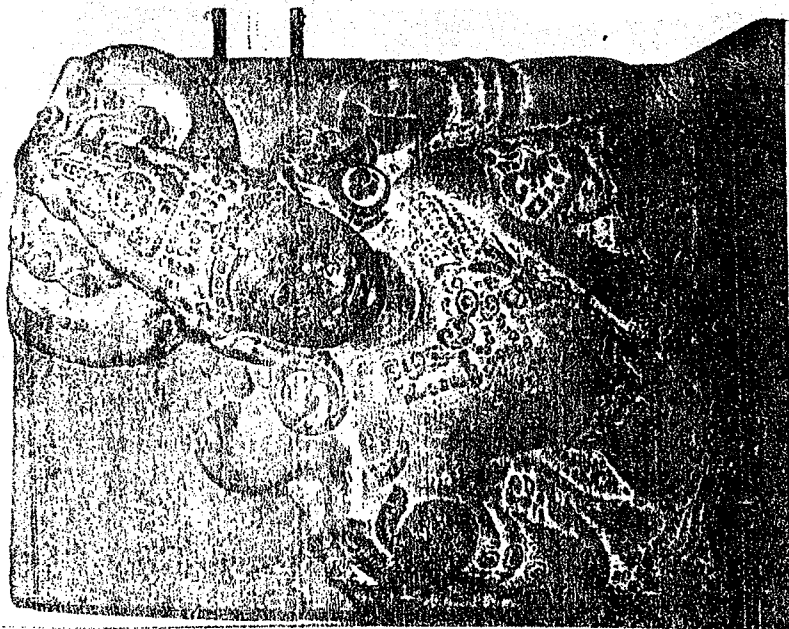
If we see further for the continuity of the horns, the horns transformed itself as a trisula over the crown of the dvarapala as in the Big Temple at Tanjore¹¹.

It will not be out of place to mention similar ayudhapurushas of Vaishnavite theme. The bronzes of 13th Century A.D. in the collection of Madras Museum representing Sudarsana (discus) and gada (mace) with the weapons indicated on the crown fall in this group 12.

To conclude it may be seen that the earlier motif found in the Chalukyan region slowly moved to the Contemporary Pallava territory which extended to the Chola region, wherein it has excelled in the theme and thus a cultural tradition was continued which may be considered as a result of the interaction between the Chalukyan Rashtrakuta and Pallava-Chola art expressions.

References

1. P.R.SRINIVASAN "Beginning of the Traditions of South India Temple Architecture" Madras 1959 p. 34.
2. MICHAEL LOCKWOOD, Gift Siromoney, P.Dayananda "Mahabalipuram Studies", Madras 1974 p.9.
3. K.R.SRINIVASAN "Cave Temples of the Pallavas" New Delhi 1964 p.36
4. MICHAEL LOCKWOOD etc. Ibid p.7
5. DOUGLAS BARRET "The Temple of Virattaneswara at Tiruttani", Bombay, 1976 plate 7
6. SR.BALASUBRAHMANYAN "Early Chola Art Part I," Madras 1956 plate 95.
7. C.SIVARAMAMURTI "Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculptures, Madras 1962, plate V a and V 6.
8. C.SIVARAMURTI "Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan, Calcutta, 1964 Plate XI-a
9. Ibid p. 15
10. C.SIVARAMAMURTI, "Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculptures, Madras 1962, Plate iiiia & b
11. C.SIVARAMAMURTI "Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and Deccan, Calcutta, 1964 p XI a.
12. V.N.SRINIVASA DESIKAN "Guide to Bronze Gallery" Madras 1995 (Revised Edition) plate XXVII and XXVIII.



PANCHARANYA TEMPLES IN THANJAVUR REGION

(A study in the co-cultural system)

*Dr. C.K. Sivaprakasam,
Head Department of History,
AVVM Sri Pushpam College(Autonomous),
Poondi-613 503*

Tamil Nadu abounds in Śiva temples. Some of these temples, on the basis of mythologies and traditions, are grouped into various categories viz. Panchpūtha talas, Sapta Vitarnga talas, Sapta sthanas, Atta vīratta talas etc. Panchāranya temples form one such group. These temples represent a group of five Śiva temples located in Thanjavur region. Śiva temples at Tirukkarugavur, Avalivanallur, Aridwaramangalam in the present Thanjavur district and Alangudi and Tirukkollampudur in the Nagai Quide Milleth district are situated on the southern bank of the river Kaveri. The above temples had been sung by Tēvāram hymnists. Their grouping under Panchāranya concept is interesting. Panchāranya tradition is alive even today, particularly among the Saivite population of the Thanjavur region. An attempt is made here to study the Panchāranya temples in historical and cultural perspectives.

The term āranya means forest and sacred centres located in the thickly vegetated areas are called āranya talas. Swetaranyam, Vedaranyam are good examples of such centres. Āranya talas were used to contain plant varieties of leaves and flowers which were specially meant for Śiva pūjas.

Though the five temples under study are now located in the fertile areas of Thanjavur region, they are termed as Panchāranya talas. The first of the five talas, Tirukkarugavur on the southern bank of the river Vettar is located in the midst of mullai vana. Today it is a village in the Papanasam taluk about 6 K.Ms., west of Papanasam in the Thanjavur district. The presiding deity therein is called Mullai vana nathar. The temple at Avalivanallur is the second Panchāranya centre situated on the northern bank of the river Vennar in Valangaiman taluk of Thanjavur. It is 8 K.Ms. south-west of Ammapet on the main road between Thanjavur and Tiruvarur. The temple is surrounded by Padiri Vana. The third temple at Aridwaramangalam or Aradai Perumpali, just two K.Ms. from Avalivanallur is located in the midst of Vanni forest. The Lord herein is known as Pataleswarar. Alangudi is a village about 4 kms north of Nidamangalam in the present Nagai Quide Milleth district wherein the fourth Panchāranya tala is found. Irumbulas was its ancient name. The temple here was found in the midst of Pūlai plants and infact the Lord

herein is called Kasi Aranyeswarar. Vilvanathar is the name of the presiding deity of the Śiva temple at Tirukkollampudur situated on the banks of river Vettar. This centre is just 4 kms north-west of Koradacheri on the Thanjavur-Tiruvarur main road. The sites of these temples fall almost in a straight line in the north-west - south-east direction. They are placed at short distances that one can visit all of them in one day pilgrimage.

The pancharanya concept is still fresh in the minds of the people of the region. The recent tradition underlying the concept lays down the schedule for the worship of the five temples in one single day. A devotee is to start with the worship of Lord at Tirukkarugavur at Usatkalam (5-6 a.m.) and then to proceed to Avalivanallur for Kāla sandi (8.30 - 9.30 a.m.). The Lord at Aridwaramangalam is to be worshipped at Uchi kalam (11.00 - 12.30 a.m.). The God at Alangudi is to be worshipped by the devotee at Sāyaratchai (5.00 - 6.00 p.m.) and artha jama pūja (7.30 to 8.30 p.m.) is to be attended by the devotee at Tirukkollampudur. The above tradition also envisages the attainment of salvation for any Saiva devotee performing pūjas in Panchāranya temples on the same day as per the schedule given above.¹

Though the Panchāranya concept is of a late origin, the genesis or core idea behind it could be traced back to the medieval period. In fact a look into the historicism of Panchāranya temples will be a reflection on the eco-cultural system of the region between Vettar and Vennar in the medieval period. The existence of all the five temples of the group at the earliest in the 7th century A.D. is attested by the Tēvāram hymns.² Astonishingly enough all of them had Swayambu lingas which emerged in the midst of thick vegetation. In all probability these sites were uninhabited areas prior to the appearance of Tēvāram saints. The centres of Swayambu lingam were the centres of attraction to Saiva saints.

Temple centres had been one of the major settlements in the early medieval period. By the 7th century A.D., agriculture had gained dominance and also the trend in the settlement pattern was to move from old agricultural areas to the new rural tracts in search of more agricultural lands.³ During the period of the Cholas, deliberate efforts were made from time to time to increase the area under the plough^{3a}. In the process Kaveri plains had witnessed the increase of denser settlements. More of non-agricultural areas came into the attention of the settlers. Tirukkarugavur, the first of the Panchāranya group was popular in the Bhakti age. As such it continued to flourish in the early Chola period (9th -10th centuries A.D.). The present Siva temple at this place dates back atleast to the time of Parantaka I as his inscriptions are the earliest noticed in this temple centre⁴. Infact from 9th century onwards, the river Kaveri is the reference point

for the location of the Nadus either on its northern or southern bank as learnt from the earliest Chola inscriptions of the 9th -10th centuries A.D.⁵. Infact Nayanmars visit to this Śiva temple centre made it popular. The Bhakti movement was instrumental in retaining the popularity of the centre in the 9th - 10th centuries A.D., when the temple movement gained momentum and assumed different dimensions in the land of the Cholas.

The history of the twin temples of Panchāranya tradition, namely one at Avalivanallur and the other at Aridwaramngalam gives a different but an interesting picture of the region. Both these sacred centres of Swayambu linga character were not popular ones in the early Chola period as their counter-part at Tirukkarugavur. The forest nature of their locations were more pronounced in the Tēvāram hymns⁶. As such these two centres, situated side by side, continued to be a non-settled area for a long period. These Kadus or forests were gradually integrated into the system for agricultural and habitation purposes only in the later Chola period. The epigraphical evidence and architectural features of these temples attest to the above fact. It was only in the later Chola period, the stone structures were raised in these centres. The total absence of early Chola architecture in the above temples add credence to the above view. As the temple was the major institutional force in the agrarian expansion and integration the areas of Avalivanallur and Aridwaramangalam were integrated into the habitation or settlement system only in the 12th - 13th centuries A.D. Thus the eco-cultural interaction was late in this area despite their locations on the south side of Vennar.

The Bhakthi movement and the consequent growth of temple culture were close on the wheels in the temple centre at Alangudi which is located near the banks of Vennar. The Lord of the temple herein is known as Kasi Aranyeswarar. This sacred centre once in the midst of pūlai forest became a rich settlement gradually in the 11th century A.D. and was part of Jananathā chaturvedi mangalam located in Mudikonda Chola valanadu. It received considerable attention in the days of Vikrama Chola. It was perhaps extensively remodelled by him⁷.

The interior locations and ecology of Avalivanallur and Aridwaramangalam made them inaccessible to the commoners in the early period. By efflux of time the proximity of Tirukkarugavur to Avalivanallur and Aridwaramangalam might have led to the expansion of agriculture and settlements in these centres. So also from Alangudi to Tirukkollampudur. The Tēvāram traditions and the consequent bhakti concept were the factors for the integration between already settled agricultural Tirukkarugavur and newly emerging settlements in Avalivanallur and Aridwaramangalam which in all probability would have taken place in the 12th - 13th centuries A.D.⁸ when the full fledged temples came into being. In all probability these would have been the nādu settlements. Alangudi besides being a temple centre

was also a brahmadēya. It was instrumental in converting Tirukkollampudur into an active temple centre in the 12th century A.D.⁹ Thus āranya centres in the Vennary Vettar regions had connections and affiliations right from the medieval period.

Further the above Panchāranya centres had developed rich myths and legends through the ages. Each had its own religious importance¹⁰. These myths, legends and religious traditions were a great attraction to Saiva believers, who often visited them. The Śaivite population of the region were instrumental in keeping alive the traditions connected with the āranya centres.

The grouping of five temples of the region under Pancharanya concept was a sequel to affiliations that lingered in the minds of the Śaivites. It promote the Śaivite renaissance of the recent centuries which induced Saivite followers to worship as many siva temples.

Refernces :

1. Vidwan M.Sivagurunatha Pillai.
Tiru Valivanallur tala varalaru
(Satchinathaswamy Tirukkoil: 1987) p.3
2. Tirugnanasambander had sung padigams on all the five talas: tirunavukkarasar had sung only on the Lords at Tirukkarugavur and Avalivanallur.
3. R. Champakalakshmi, "The Study of settlement patterns in the Chola period: some perspectives", Man and Environment XIV (I), 1989, pp.91 - 101.
- 3a. K.A.N.Sastri, The Cholas (University of Madras: k75), p.584.
4. A.R.E. 35,36,37, 42/1910.
5. R.Champakalakshmi, op.cit.
6. Tirugnanasambandar Tevaram, Avalivanallur padigam
7. S.R.Balasubramanyam, Later Chola Temples, p.370.
8. In both these cntres we have inscriptions only of 12-13 centuries A.D., S.I.T., Vol.III. nos.200-203 (Avalivanallur)
9. A.R.E. 1,2/1899 (Kulothunga III).
10. At Tirukkarugavur, the Moon and the constellations are said to have worshipped the Lord. The Local legends mention the succour given by him to a child in the womb of a helpless women. Hence the name of Tiru-karu-kavur, the abode of one who saved a child still in the motherās womb.

Satchinathaswamy at Avalivanallur stood witness to identify the wife of a Brahmin, namely, Sambupatha sarma. Hence the name Aval-ival.

Alangudi had a special importance for worship because it is a guru tala.

CONTRIBUTION OF GOVINDA DIKSITA AND HIS FAMILY TO THANJAVUR

*Dr. B.Narasingaraja Naidu,
Professor of History
University of Bangalore*

The Kannadiga has always evinced deep interest in Sanskrit learning and classical music. The Kannadiga who fights for the primacy of the Kannade language in Karnataka does not fight for its primacy in the temple. Govinda Diksita was one such Karnataka Brahmin who carried his love for Sanskrit and classical music when he migrated to Thanjavur from Vijayanagar in the time of King Achutaraya (1539-42).

Thanjavur was given away as dowry by King Achutaraya of Vijayanagar when he performed the marriage of his sister-in-law Murtimamba, with Chavappa Nayaka (or Sevappa Nayaka) of Thanjavur.¹ Among those who accompanied the bride and bridegroom to Thanjavur, was a Karnataka Brahmin, Govinda Diksita. Chavappa Nayaka of Thanjavur (1541-80) declared his independence after 1565, but continued to maintain friendly relations with Vijayanagar Kingdom. Govinda Diksita was in the good books of Chavappa Nayaka, and the latter also had such admiration for the Brahmin. He made him (Govinda Diksita) his court-astrologer. Chavappa Nayaka honoured Govinda Diksita as his guru.

Govinda Diksita was known in those days as 'Advaita Vidyachary'. He wrote a commentary on Kumaralila Darsana which is a Mimamsa work. He wrote a treatise on the Saddarsana. Father Heras says that he composed a long epic poem called, Harivamsa Saracaritam in three cantos. He got the purana of Thiruvayyar (Thiruvadi) translated from Tamil to Sanskrit. He is said to have written a commentary on the Sundara Kanda of the Ramayana. It was in collaboration with Govinda Diksita that Raghunatha Nayak wrote his Sangita Sudha, an excellent treatise on music.² Govinda Diksita must have been very popular as a statesman, scholar and philosopher because even the inscriptions refer him as 'Ayyan'.

Govinda Diksita had a son by name Yajnanarayana. This son was well versed in Vyakarna, Tarka, Mimamsa and advaita vedanta. He had taste for music and dancing also. He wrote the great epic (Maha Kavya), Sahityaratnakara, which was edited and published by T.R. Chintamani. This deals with the life and achievements of the three Nayaka Kings of Thanjavur, namely Chavappa Nayaka, Achyutappa Nayak and Raghunatha Nayak. Sahityaratnakara is useful not only for an

understanding of the history of Thanjavur during the time of these three Nayakas but for an understanding of the civil war in the Vijayanagar Kingdom.

Govinda Diksita had another son whose original name was Venkatesvara Diksita, but he was better known as Venkata Makhi. Venkata Makhi wrote several commentaries and also a treatise on Vedic Trigonometry, *Sulbamimamsa* based on *Sulbasutras*. He learnt the art of music in all its aspect of *Lakshana* and *Lakshya* from a great expert by the name of *Tanopacharya*. Venkata Makhi became the court-poet of *Raghunatha Nayak* of Thanjavur. Encouraged by the King, Venkata Makhi wrote his monumental work on *Karnatak Music*, *Chaturdandi Prakasika*. He was the one who formulated the seventy two *janaka* (parent) ragas. Even today, reference is made to the *Lakshana geetas* of Venkata Makhi as *raga lakshana*. The present day *Veena* with twenty four frets is the result of Venkata Makhi's diligent application and effort to perfect this musical instrument. This instrument is still called "*Raghunatha Mela Veena*".

Govinda Diksita had a grandson, *Venkatesvara Raya*, who wrote a treatise on astrology known as *Jatakacandrika*. He had a great grandson also. He was, *Vanchesvara*. One day the King of Thanjavur (*Shaji*, 1687-1711) took *Vanchesvara* along with him to visit the famous temple at *Madurai*. *Vanchesvara* was a small boy at that time. While, in the temple, the King was singing in praise of the Temple Goddess, *Meenakshi*, the lad started singing in praise of the King. At this, His Highness felt very happy and hailed the lad as "*Kutti Kavi*". *Vanchesvara* later became a talented author and wrote three beautiful *Satakas* (*Mahisasataka*, *Asirvatsataka* and *Turgasataka*). *Vanchesvara* had an elder brother by the name of *Rama Sastri* who composed *Sri Ramastapadi* on the lines of *Jayadeva's Gitagovinda*. *Vanchesvara's* grandson (*Vanchesvara Jaiva*) was also a talented scholar. He wrote the famous *Battacintamani* for which he was known as '*Chintamani Kutti*'.

Foot Notes

1. Venkatesam Pantulu's research paper in the Proceedings & Transactions of the Seventh All-India Orientalists' Conference (Baroda: December 1933), pp.37-42; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri & C. Srinivasachari, *An Advanced History of India* (Allied Publishers: New Delhi, 1971), p.428.
2. P.P.S. Sastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library*, XIX (Thanjavur: 1934), p.XXII; V. Virdhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Tanjore* (1942), Ch.VII; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.Cit.*, p.429.

பழுவூர்ப் பூப்பலகை

அர. அகிலா,

கல்வெட்டாய்வாளர்

டாக்டர். மா. இராசமாணிக்கனார்

வரலாற்றாய்வு மையம், திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி 620 017

சோழர்களின் தொடக்க காலத்தில் அவர்களின் ஆட்சி விரிவாக்கத்திற்குத் துணை நின்ற சிற்றரசு மரபுகளுள் பழுவேட்டரையர் மரபும் ஒன்றாகும். இவர்தம் ஆட்சி மன்னு பெரும்பழுவூர், அவனி கந்தர்ப்புரம், சிறு பழுவூர் என்று மூன்று பகுதிகளாய் அமைந்திருந்த பழுவூர் மண்டலத்தில் சிறப்புற்றிருந்தது. இங்கு முற்சோழர் காலத்தே பல கோயில்கள் உருவாக்கப்பட்டன. பெரும்பழுவூரில் பகைவிடை ஈசுவரமும் திருத்தோற்ற முடையார் கோயிலும் எழுந்தன. அவனி கந்தர்ப்புரத்தில் அவனி கந்தர்ப்ப ஈசுவரர் கிரக வளாகம் உருவானது. இதில் தென்வாயில் ஸ்ரீ கோயில், வடவாயில் ஸ்ரீகோயில் என்னும் இரு கோயில்கள் அமைந்தன. சிறு பழுவூரில் சம்பந்தரால் பாடப் பெற்ற ஆலந்துறையார் கோயில் கற்றளியாக்கப்பட்டது. மறவனீசுவரம் என்ற புதிய கோயிலும் உருவாக்கப்பட்டது. திருத்தோற்றமுடையார் கோயில் தவிர ஏனைய அனைத்துக் கோயில்களும் இன்றும் காணுமாறு உள்ளன. இக்கோயில்களில் கள ஆய்வு மேற்கொண்ட டாக்டர்.மா.இராசமாணிக்கனார் வரலாற்றாய்வு மையம் பல புதிய கல்வெட்டுக்களைக் கண்டறிந்து வெளிப்படுத்தியது. அவற்றுள் ஒன்றுதான் பூப்பலகை பற்றிப் பேசும் இராசகேசரியின் கல்வெட்டு.

சிறுபழுவூர் ஆலந்துறையார் கோயில் இரண்டு திருச்சுற்றுக்களை உடைய முற்சோழர் கற்றளி சம்பந்தரால் பாடப்பெற்ற இக்கோயில் பழுவேட்டரையர் மறவன் கண்மனால் கற்றளியாக்கப்பட்டதற்குக் கல்வெட்டுச் சான்றுகள் உள்ளன.¹ ஒரு கள விமானமாய் அமைந்துள்ள இத்திருக்கோயிலின் உள் திருச்சுற்று, மாளிகை அமைப்பினைக் கொண்டது. இம்மாளிகையின் தென்மேற்கு மூலையில் பிள்ளையார் சிற்பத்துக்குப் பின்னுள்ள பகுதியில் இந்தப் பூப்பலகைகள் ஆய்வின்போது கண்டறியப்பட்டது.

நன்றாகச் சீரமைக்கப்பட்ட கருங்கல்லாலான இப்பூப்பலகையின் கீழ்ப் பகுதியில் கல்வெட்டு² காணப்படுகிறது. ஐந்துவரிகள் உள்ள இக்கல்வெட்டில் நான்கு வரிகள் பலகையின் கீழ்ப்புறத்தும் ஒரு வரி பலகையின் கால முகப்பிலும் காணப்படுகின்றன. இராசகேசரியின் நான்காம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் வெட்டப்பட்டுள்ள இக்கல்வெட்டுக்கள் அரிய செய்தியை உள்ளடக்கியுள்ளது.

குன்றக் கூற்றத்துப் பிரமதேயமான சிறுபழுவூரில் இருக்கும் திருவாலந்துறைத் திருக்கோயில் இறைவனுக்கு இருங்கோளப்பாடி சார்ந்த திருவாரந்துறை நெல்வால்வான் மாதேவன் பரமேசுவரன்

என்பால் இப்பூப்பலகையை அளித்தாகக் கூறும் கல்வெட்டு இப்பரமேசுவரன் இதே கோயிலில் கொல்லிப் பெரியான் என்ற பெயரில் திருச்சுற்றாலையொன்றும் எடுப்பித்ததாகக் கூறுகிறது. இவ்விரண்டு அறச்செயல்களையும் செய்த பரமேசுவரனைப் பிள்ளை சேரமானார் கைக்கோமானி என்று கல்வெட்டு அடையாளம் காட்டுகிறது.

இக்கல்வெட்டால் குறிக்கப்படும் பிள்ளை சேரமானார் அவனி கந்தர்ப்ப ஈசுவர கிரக வளாகத்துக் கல்வெட்டுகள் இரண்டில்¹ இடம் பெற்றுள்ளார். தென்வாயில் ஸ்ரீ கோயிலில் ஒன்றும் வடவாயில் ஸ்ரீகோயிலில் ஒன்றுமாய் வெட்டப்பட்டுள்ள இக்கல்வெட்டுகள் சேர மானாரின் தேவியார் அக்கார நங்கையார் இவ்விரு கோயில்களுக்கும் கந்த விளக்குக் கொடைகளைப் பற்றிப் பேசுகின்றன. இவ்விரு கல்வெட்டுகளும் இராசகேசரியின் ஆறாம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் வெட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன.

இக்கல்வெட்டுகள் குறிக்கும் இராசகேசரி யாரென்பதை மிகத் தெளிவாகக் கண்டறியலாம். முதலாம் இராசராசரின் நான்காம் ஆட்சியாண்டிலேயே காந்தனூர்ச் சாலைப் போர் நடந்து முடிந்ததாக மதுராந்தகம் கோதரண்டராமர் கோயிலில் உள்ள முதலாம் இராசராசரின் நான்காம் ஆட்சியாண்டுக் கல்வெட்டு² வழி அறிகிறோம். அதனால் இராசகேசரியின் நான்காம் மற்றும் ஆறாம் ஆட்சியாண்டுகளில் வெட்டப்பட்டுள்ள பிள்ளைச் சேரமானாரைக் குறிக்கும். இப்பழுவூர்க் கல்வெட்டுகள் முதலாம் இராசராசரின் காலத்துக்கு முற்பட்டவை என்பது தெளிவாகும். முதலாம் இராசராசர்க்கு முன்னர் இராசகேசரி என்னும் பட்டத்துடன் அரியணை யேறிய சோழ மன்னர்கள்மூவரே. இவர்களுள் முதலாம் ஆதித்தர் கால எழுத்தமைவில் இக்கல்வெட்டுகள் இல்லாமையில் இவற்றைக் கண்டராதித்தர் அல்லது சுந்தர சோழாக்குயனவாகக் கருதலாம். இவ்விருவரில் சுந்தர சோழரே பொருத்தமானவர். திருவிடைமருதூர் க் கல்வெட்டொன்று இம்மன்னர் சேர இளவரசியான பராந்தகன் தேவியம்மனை மணதருந்த தகவலைத் தருகிறது.³ பழுவூர்க் கல்வெட்டுகள் குறிக்கும் பிள்ளை சேரமானார் இவ்வம்மையின் உடன்பிறப்பாகலாம்.

சிறுபழுவூர்த் திருவாலந்துறைத் திருக்கோயில் உத்தம சோழரின் ஒன்பதாம் ஆட்சியாண்டுக்கு முன்னோ. கற்றளியாக்கப்பட்டதாக அங்குள்ள கல்வெட்டோன்று⁴ தெரிவிக்கிறது. பூப்பலகைக் கல்வெட்டு கொண்டு நோக்கும்போது திருச்சுற்றாலையே சுந்தர சோழரின் நான்காம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் எழுப்பப்பட்டிருக்கும் நிலையில், திருக்கோயில் அதற்கும் முன்னால் கற்றளியாக்கப் பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும் என்பதைத் தெளிவாக உணர முடிகிறது. இப்புதிய கல்வெட்டின் கண்டுபிடிப்பால் சுந்தர சோழரின் ஆட்சிக் காலத் தொடக்கத்திலேயே திருவாலந்துறைத் திருக்கோயில் கற்றளியாளமை உறுதிப்படுகிறது.

கொடையாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ள பூப்பலகை கோயில் வழிபாட்டின்போது பூப்பலி இடுவதற்குப் பயன்படுத்தப் பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். இது போன்ற கல்வெட்டுடைய மற்றொரு பூப்பலகை திருவரங்கத்தில் தாயார்

திருமுன்னருகே இருப்பதாகக் கல்வெட்டறிக்கை குறிப்பிடுகிறது.⁹ இதிலுள்ள கல்வெட்டு இதை தந்தவராக 'சோழ குலோத்துங்க மூவேந்த வேளார்' என்பாரை அறிமுகப்படுத்துகிறது. தற்போது இப்பூப்பலகை தாயார் திருமுன்னில் காணுமாறு இல்லை.

இறைக்கோயிலில் இறைவன் திருமுன் இதுபோல் பூப்பலியிடும் பழக்கம் சங்கப் பழமையது. இதற்குப் பல சான்றுகள் இலக்கியங்களில் உள்ளன. முள் முருக்கம், கோங்கம், புனலி, பாதிரி, வெண்கடப்பம் ஆகிய பூக்கள் கொட்டிச் சிதறிக் கலந்து கிடக்கும் காட்டு நெறிக் காட்சி, கோயிலோன்றின் பலித் தளத்தையே பாலை பாடிய பெருங்கடுங்கோவிற்கு நினைவு படுத்துகிறது. 'அணங்குடை நகரின் மணந்த புவின்' என்ற பாடல் அடியால் இறைக் கோயில்கள் நகர் என்று அழைக்கப் பட்டதையும் அறிய முடிகிறது.¹⁰

"நோக்கின் பிணி கொள்ளும் கண்ணொடு மேல்நாள் நீ
பூப்பலியிட்ட கடவுளைக் கண்டாயோ?"

என்னும் மருதக் கவி பாடல் நேரிடையாகவே பூப்பலியிடும் பழக்கத்தைக் குறிக்கிறது.¹¹ இப்பழக்கம் காப்பிய காலத்திலும் தொடந்ததைக்

"குறிஞ்சி பாடுமின் நறும்புகை இடுமின்
பூப்பலி செய்ம்மின் காப்புக்கடை நிறுமின்."

என்னும் சிலம்பின் அடிகளும்,¹² கோயில்களில் உள்ள இறைமுன் மட்டுமல்லாது அங்காடி வீதிக் கடைகளில் உறையும் இறை முன்னும் இப்பழக்கம் பரவியதைக்,

"கடவுப் பீடிகைப் பூப்பலி கடை கொளக்
கலம்பகர் பீடிகைப் பூப்பலி கடைகொள"¹³

என்னும் மேகலை அடிகளும் இதை உறுதிப்படுத்த வல்லன. அப்பரடிகளின் திருமுறைப் பாடல்கள் பல இடங்களில் பூ இடுவதை முன்னிறுத்திப் பாடுவதன் மூலம் இவ்வழிபாட்டு மரபு பல்லவர் காலத்திலும் தொடர்ந்ததைத் தெள்ளிதின் விளக்குகின்றன.

இந்த பழக்கம் சடங்குகளும் வழிபாட்டு முறைகளும் பல்கிப் பெருகிய சோழர்கள் காலத்திலும் வழக்கில் இருந்ததைத் தான் பழுவூர்ப் பூப்பலகை எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது.

அடிக்குறிப்புகள்

1. S.I.I. Vol.19 Ins.No.384, இரா. கலைக்கோவன், பழுவூர்ப் புதையல்கள் கழக வெளியீடு 1989 பக். 296.பு.க.33
2. புதிய கல்வெட்டுகள். வலராறு 3. அரையாண்டு ஆய்விதழ் டாக்டர் மா. இராசமாணிக்கனார், வரலாற்றாய்வு மைய வெளியீடு, ஆகஸ்டு 1994, பக்.7 8
3. S.I.I. Vol.13, Ins. Nos. 153, 154.
4. ARE 395 of 1922
5. S.I.I. Vol.4, INS.No.290; SII Vol.5; INS No.723
6. இப்புதிய கல்வெட்டு, டாக்டர் மா.இராசமாணிக்கனார் வரலாற்றாய்வு மையத்தால் கண்டறியப்பட்டது. இரா. கலைக்கோவன், பழுவூர்ப் புதையல்கள் பக்.296, பு.க.33
7. S.I.I. Vol.24, Ins.No. 172
8. அர. அகிலா, வை. இராமன் ஸ்தபதி, இரா. கலைக்கோவன் தமிழகக் கோயிற் கட்டடக் கலை வரலாறு- 2இ வரலாறு-4இ அரையாண்டு ஆய்விதழ், டாக்டர்.மா. இராசமாணிக்கனார் வரலாற்றாய்வு மைய வெளியீடு பக்.120 121
9. கலித்தொகை நியு செஞ்சரி புக் அவுஸ். 1981, பக்.85, அடி 23.24
10. சிலப்பதிகார மூலமும் அரும்பதவுரையும் அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரையும், தமிழ்ப்பல்கலைக் கழகம் தஞ்சாவூர் 1985 காதை 24, 1 18 19
11. மணிமேகலை உ.வே.சாமிநாதையர் உரை 1931 காதை 7, அடி 121, 122
12. நான்கு. ஐந்து. ஆறாம் திருமுறைகள், தருமபுர ஆதின வெளியீடு.

தமிழகக் கடவுளரும் மருத்துவமும்

இரா. சரவணன்

வரலாற்று துறை அண்ணாமலை பல்கலைக்கழகம்

நோயற்ற வாழ்வே குறைவற்ற செல்வம் என்பது முதுமொழி, மூப்பு, பிணி, இன்றி வாழ்வது முதன்மை பொருளாக வாழ்வியலின் குறிக்கோளாக உள்ளது. இவற்றினையும் தவிர்க்க முடியும் என்றும் நோய் தடுப்பதற்கான முறைகளைப் பண்டைய காலத்தில் இருந்தே நம் முன்னோர்கள் கடைப்பிடித்தனர். அப்படி இருந்தாலும் அனைத்தும் ஈசன் செயலே என்று வாழ்பவர்கள் பெரும்பாலோர்.

எளிய மக்களின் சமயத்தில் இருந்து சமயவளர்ச்சியின் மேன்மை நிலையான சைவம், வைணவம், இஸ்லாம், கிறிஸ்துவத்திலும் உடல் ஆரோக்கியத்திற்காகக் கடவுளர்களை மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்பு படுத்திக் காண்பதைக் காணமுடிகின்றது.

அஃது தொடக்ககால இறைவழிபாடாக இருப்பினும், திராவிடக் கடவுளாக அல்லது ஆரியக் கடவுளாக இருப்பினும் அன்றி இரண்டும் கலந்த இந்து கடவுளாக இருப்பினும் மருத்துவம் தொடர்பு பெற்றுள்ளது. உதாரணமாக வேம்பு மரத்தை இறைவனாகப் போற்றி வணங்குபவர் பலர் உண்டு. இந்த வேம்பு ஒரு மிகப் பெரிய கிரிமிநாசினி ஆகும். வேம்பை இறையுடன் தொடர்பு படுத்தி இறைப்பொருளாகக் கருதி பெரும்பாலோர் வணங்கி வருகின்றனர்.

கொடிய பிணிகளான தொற்றுநோய் வகைகளில் அம்மை, காலரா, வாந்திபேதி, சீதபேதி, இவைகள் எல்லாம் கடவுளருடன் தொடர்பு படுத்திக் குறிப்பாக ஆடி மாதத்திலும் பிற மாதங்களிலும் கூழ்வைத்து, பொங்கல் இட்டு வணங்குவது வழக்கம். இதனை மிக அருமையாக எட்மன்ட் பர்க் அவர்கள் வாரன்ஹேஸ்டிங்கைக் கடவுளராக இந்தியாவில் வணங்குகின்றனர் என்று கேலியான நகைச்சுவை உணர்வுடன் இராஜதுரோக குற்ற விசாரணையின்போது¹ எடுத்துக் கூறியது இங்கு குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

தமிழகத்தின் திருக்கோயில்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றிற்கும் பட்டியலிட முயற்சி எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் 69 தலமரங்கள் உள்ளன என ஒரு கணக்கிடு மூலம் தெரிகிறது.

தில்லையம்பலத்தில் தில்லை என்ற தல மரம் உள்ளது.² அதன் தாவரவியல் பெயர் Excoecariaagalloch. இதன் இலை, விதை, பால் ஆகியவை நீர்கட்டு, புண்கள், விஷங்கள் போன்ற இந்த நோய்களுக்கு மருந்தாகப் பயன்படுகின்றன.

திருவேட்களத்தில் மூங்கில் தலமரம். இதன் தாவரவியல் பெயர் *Bambusa arundinaceae*. இவை காய்ச்சல், குடல் புழுக்கள், சிரங்கு, படை, பற்கறைகள், போன்ற நோய்களைக் குணப்படுத்துகின்றன.

சிவபுராணத்தைப் பார்த்தால் சிவன் ஜீவராசிகளை உருவாக்குவதற்காக நீரில் தவம் செய்து கொண்டு இருந்தார். இதில் இருந்து வருவதற்குப் பல ஆண்டுகள் ஆயின. ஆனால் இதற்கு முன் பிரம்மனும், விஷ்ணுவும் உயினங்களை உருவாக்கத் தொடங்கினார்கள். நீரில் இருந்து வந்த சிவன் அதைக் கண்ணுற்று கோபம் கொண்டார். அப்போது பிரம்மனும், விஷ்ணுவும், நீங்கள் ஏன் பல ஆண்டுகள் தவம் செய்தீர்கள் என்றார்கள் ஜீவராசிகளின் பிணிக்கும் நோய்க்கும் தேவையான மருந்துக்களை வழங்குவதற்காகவே தவத்தில் இருந்தேன் என்று சிவன் கூறினார்.⁴ இதில் ஓர் உண்மைச் செய்தி உள்ளது. இறைவனே ஜீவராசிகள் வாழ்வதற்கு மருந்துகள் வேண்டும் என்று பூமி தோன்றிய பிறகு மருத்துவ தாவரங்களையும் ஏற்படுத்தினார். புராணக் கதைகளிலும் மருத்துவ தொடர்புடைய செய்திகள் உள்ளன என்பதற்கு மேற்கூறப்பட்ட கதை சான்றாக உள்ளது.

திருமூலர் போன்ற சித்தர்கள் மருத்துவ பயன்களுடைய மூலிகைகளைப் பற்றி எல்லாம் எழுதி வைத்துள்ளார். பல சித்தர்களின் சிலைகள் பல கோயில்களில் வழிபாட்டுச் சிலைகளாக உள்ளன. இறைவனும் மருத்துவமும் தொடர்பு படுத்தியே பேசப் படுகின்றன. கடவுள் பெயரும் மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்புபடுத்திக் கூறப்படுகின்றது. தஞ்சை ஜில்லா, சீர்காழி தாலுக்கா, வைத்திஸ்வரன் கோயிலில் உள்ள இறைவன் பெயர் வைத்திஸ்வரன் என்றும், இறைவிக்கு தையல் நாயகி என்றும், பெயர்கள் நிலவுகின்றன.⁵

தமிழகத்தில் வைத்தியத்தைப் பழகி வந்த சமுதாயத்தினர் திருவள்ளூர் பரம்பரையைச் சார்ந்தவர்கள். அவர்கள் வழிவந்த வள்ளுவர்கள் சிறப்பு மிக்க மருத்துவர் குலமாக விளங்கினர். அதுபோலவே மருத்துவர்கள் என்ற குலத்தையும் குறிப்பிடலாம். இவர்கள் ஜோதிடத்தையும், வான சாஸ்திரத்தையும் கற்று சமுதாயத்திற்குச் சேவை செய்து வந்தனர். ஆகவே இந்த வைத்திஸ்வரன் கோயிலைச் சுற்றியுள்ள நாடி ஜோதிடர்களைப் பார்க்கும் போது இறைவனும் ஜோதிடமும், மருத்துவமும், வான சாஸ்திரம் தொடர்பு உடையனவாகத் தெரிகிறது. இக்கோயிலில் உள்ள உருவச்சிலைகள் மருத்துவ ஆயுதங்களைக் கையில் ஏந்தியுள்ளவாறு காணப்படுகின்றன. இக்கோயில் பிரதான பிரசாதமாக உப்பும், மிளகும் (Pepper) தரப்படுகிறது. இவை இருமல், சளி போன்ற நோய்களைக் குணப்படுத்துவையாக உள்ளன. இக்கோயிலின் தலமரம் வேம்பு.⁶ இவற்றின் தாவரவியல் பெயர் *Azadirachta indica*. இவை உடம்பு வலி, என்புருக்கி, ஏப்பம், கட்டி, கரப்பான், கல்லீரல் நோய், காய்ச்சல், சன்னி, தலைவலி, தொழுநோய், பருவு, புண்கள், பெரியம்மை, மலப்புழுக்கல், மார்புச்சளி, வாதம், வாந்தி, வீக்கம் போன்ற நோய்களைக் குணப்படுத்தும் தன்மை கொண்டது.

வைத்தீஸ்வரன் என்ற பெயரில் பல கோயில்கள் பல மாவட்டங்களில் உள்ளன. உதாரணமாக திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டத்தில் ஸ்ரீவில்லி புத்தூரில் உள்ள கோயில் தலத்தில் உள்ள சிவன் கோயிலை வைத்தீஸ்வரன் என்று அழைக்கின்றனர். தென்னாற்காடு வள்ளலார் மாவட்டம் திட்டகுடி தாலுக்காவில் சுகசின பெருமாள் என்ற வைணவக் கோயில் உள்ளது. வைத்தியநாத சுவாமி என்ற சைவக் கோயில் இரண்டும் மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்பு உடைய இறைவனின் திருபெயர்களைப் பெற்று உள்ளன.⁸ இங்குள்ள கோயிலின் தலமரம் வில்வம்.⁹ இதன் தாவரவியல் பெயர் *Aegle marmalos*. இந்த மரத்தின் இலை, வேர், பட்டை, காய் கனிகள், இருமல், கண்ணோய், கல்லீரல், காய்ச்சல், சித்பேதி, தலைவலி, தாதுபலவீனம், தொண்டைக்கட்டு, நீர்க்கோவை, மலச்சிக்கல், வயிற்றுக்கடுப்பு, வயிற்றுவலி, போன்ற நோய்களைக் குணப்படுத்தும் தன்மை கொண்டது.

சில குறிப்பான நோய்களை நீக்குவதற்காக திருத்தலங்கள் உள்ளன. உதாரணமாக விழுப்புரம் ராமசாமி படையாச்சியார் மாவட்டத்தின் வடகிழக்கு திசையில் 7 மைல் தொலைவில் உள்ள பனையபுரம் என்ற ஊரில் நெட்ரோதாரக சுவாமி கோயிலின் மூலவர் நெட்ரோதாரக சுவாமியாகும்.¹⁰ இவ்விறைவனைக் கண்ணமர்ந்த நாயனார் என்று தேவாரம் கூறுகின்றது. கண்களைக் காக்கும் மருத்துவ கடவுளாக இதை வழிபடுகின்றனர். இந்த கோயிலின் தலமரம் பனைமரம்.¹¹ இவற்றின் தாவரவியல் பெயர் *Palmyra*. இவை இரத்தபேதி, சித்பேதி, சொறி போன்ற நோய்களைக் குணப்படுத்தும் மருந்து பொருளாக உள்ளன.

திருச்சி மாவட்டம் சமயபுரம் என்ற ஊரில் சமயபுரத்து மாரியம்மன் கோயிலில் சித்தலிங்கசுவாமி என்பவர் கண்ணொளி திரும்பப் பெற்றார். இதே போன்று கண் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட நோய்களைத் தீர்ப்பதாக எண்ணி அவ்வம்மனை வணங்குகின்றனர்.¹² இங்குள்ள கோயிலின் தலமரம் லேங்கு ஆகும்.

பண்ணாட்டி அருகாமையில் திருவதிகை என்ற இடத்தில் துலதீர்த்த வீரட்டேசுவரர் என்ற திருத்தலத்தில் உள்ள இறைவன் வயிற்றுவலியை குணப்படுத்தும் கடவுளாக உள்ளார். நாயன்மார்களின் ஒருவரான திருநாவுக்கரசர் வயிற்றுவலியால் அவதிப்பட்ட போது இவருடைய சகோதரி திலகாவதி அம்மையார் இத்தலத்திற்கு அழைத்து வந்து திருநீற்றை கொடுத்ததும் நாவுக்கரசருக்கு வயிற்று வலி நீங்கியது.¹³ அதனால் இவர் முதலில் சமண சமயத்தில் இருந்தவர், சைவசமயத்திற்கு மாறினார். இதைப்பற்றி அவரே எழுதி வைத்துள்ளார்.

தஞ்சை மாவட்டம் கருகாவூரில் உள்ள கருகாவூர் கர்ப்பரட்சாம்பிகை என்ற சக்தி தெய்வம்¹⁴ கருவில் உள்ள உயிர்களைக் காக்கும் கடவுளாக வழிபடுகின்றார்கள்.

செங்கல்பட்டு மாவட்டத்தில் திருமுகூடல் என்ற கிராமத்தில் மூன்று ஆறுகள் சங்கமிக்கும் இடத்தில் அமைந்துள்ள விஷ்ணுகோயிலின் கிழக்குச் சுவரில் அமைந்துள்ள கல்வெட்டின் மூலம் கீழ்க்காணும்

செய்தி அறியப்படுகின்றது. இக்கல்வெட்டில் பிணியால் பீடிக்கப்பட்டவர்கள் தங்கி அனைத்து மருத்துவச் சிகிச்சைகளும் செய்து கொள்வதற்கு ஏற்ற வசதியோடு மருத்துவமனை ஒன்று இருந்தது என்ற செய்தியினை அறியலாம். வீரராஜேந்திர சோழன் கல்வெட்டு இதற்குச் சான்றாக உள்ளது. மேலும் கி.பி.1069 ஆம் ஆண்டு பொறிக்கப்பட்ட மருந்துகள் பற்றியும் பணியாற்றுவவர்களின் ஊதியம் பற்றியும் கூறப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த மருத்துவமனை நோய் தீர்க்கும் கடவுள் என வழிபடப்படும் விஷ்ணுகோயில் அருகாமையில் அமைந்து இருந்தது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. இம்மருத்துவமனையில் எந்த எந்த நோய்களுக்குச் சிகிச்சை அளிக்கப்பட்டது என்ற செய்தியும் அறியப்படுகிறது.

மேற்கூறிய கல்வெட்டின் மூலம் சோழர்கள் நாட்டில் மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்புடைய கோயில்கள் இருந்து வந்துள்ளன என்பது தெரியவருகிறது. சோழர்கால கோயில்களும் மருத்துவப் பயனும் என்ற தலைப்பில் மேலும் ஆய்வு செய்தால் இன்று பல பிணிகளின் நோய்க்கு தீர்வு கிடைக்கும் என்பது தெரியவரும்.

தமிழகத்தின் பல மாவட்டங்களில் உள்ள ஊர்களில் சிறு தெய்வ வழிபாடு காணப்படுகின்றது. அவற்றில் மிகவும் முக்கியமானது மாரியம்மன். இது அம்மை நோய் நீக்கும் கடவுளாக உள்ளது.¹⁵

இது போலவே தமிழகத்தின் பிறசமய மக்களும் தங்கள் இறைவனை மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்பு படுத்தி வழிபடுகின்றனர். உதாரணமாக கிறித்துவ சமயத்தையும், இஸ்லாம் சமயத்தையும் பார்க்கலாம்.

கிறிஸ்துவ ஆலயம்

நெல்லை மாவட்டத்தில் புளியம்பட்டி என்ற ஊரில் அந்தோனியர் என்ற முனிவர் அடங்கிய தலமாகும்.¹⁶ இங்கு பைத்தியம் பிடித்தவரைத் தெளிவிக்கிறது. இக்கோயிலில் முகமதியர்கள் இந்துக்களும் வணங்குகின்றனர்.-

நாகை காயிதே மில்லத் மாவட்டத்தில் உள்ள வேளாங்கண்ணி மாதா பேராலயம் ஒரு கிறிஸ்துவக் கோயிலாகும். மாதா மனிதனின் உடல் ஆரோக்கியத்தைக் காக்கும் கடவுளாக விளங்குகின்றது. இங்கும் அனைத்து மதத்தினரும் உலகின் பல பாகங்களிலிருந்தும் வந்து வணங்குகின்றனர்.

இஸ்லாமிய தர்கா

இதே நாகை காயிதே மில்லத் மாவட்டத்தில் இஸ்லாமியரின் புனிதத்தலமான நாகூர் தர்கா தீவினை அகற்றும் தலமாக வழிபடப்படுகிறது. பல்வேறு நாடுகளிலிருந்தும் பக்தர்கள் நாகூர் வந்து தர்காவில் வழிபடுகின்றனர். சீர்காழி, ஒழனகமங்கலம், அன்னமங்கலம், நாகூர், வேளாங்கண்ணி முதலியத் தலங்கள் சுமார் 75 கி.மீ. தூரத்தில் அடுத்துள்ளது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

தர்மபுரி மாவட்டத்தில் தொப்பூர் என்ற ஊரில் ஒரு முஸ்லீம் தர்கா உள்ளது. இத்தலமும் உடல் ஆரோக்கியம் பெறவும், மனவல்லிமை அளிக்கும் இடமாக உள்ளது.

மனிதனின் தீவினைகள் அகற்றும் கடவுளரின் பெயர்களுையே மக்களும் வைத்துக் கொள்கின்றனர். உதாரணமாக மாரியம்மாள், வைத்தியநாதன், தையல்நாயகி, நாகூர் மீரான் .

சோழர்களின் ஆட்சிகாலத்தில் அவர்களுடைய நிர்வாகப் பிரிவுகளாக அமைந்த ஒவ்வொரு கோட்டத்திலும் மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்புடைய திருத்தலங்கள் இருந்திருக்கின்றன என்பதற்குச் செய்திகள் சில இடங்களில் கிடைக்கின்றன. அவ்வாறு அவ்வுண்மையைக் கண்டறிய தனியான ஆராய்ச்சி செய்யப்பட வேண்டிய தலைப்புகளாக உள்ளன என்றும், மருத்துவம் சமயம் இவற்றை இணைத்துப் பேசும்போது நல்ல நம்பிக்கையினால்தான் அனைத்தும் அடையலாம் என்பது உண்மை.

முடிவுரை

எந்தச் சமயமாக இருந்தாலும் தமிழகத்திலும் இந்தியாவிலும் சமயங்கள் இறைவன் இறைவியை மருத்துவத்துடன் தொடர்பு படுத்தி வாழ்வதே வாழ்வியலின் ஓர் தத்துவமாக மக்கள் உணர்கின்றனர்.

அடிக்குறிப்பு

1. Macaulay Historical Essays (The Nation classics) P.983 quoted by Sathianathaier R. History of India Vol.III p:197, Vth Edition 1982
2. சு. திருஞானம், திருக்கோயில் மரங்களின் மருத்துவப் பயன்கள் (செல்வி பதிப்பகம், ஜனவரி 1995), பக்.39
3. சு.திருஞானம், திருக்கோயில் மரங்களின் மருத்துவப் பயன்கள் (செல்வி பதிப்பகம், ஜனவரி 1995), பக்.26
4. Wendy Doniger O Plaherty, Siva, Oxford University Press, 1973
5. புலவர். சி. முத்துப்பிள்ளை, புனித கோயில்களும் புண்ணிய தீர்த்தங்களும் முதற்பதிப்பு 1981, பக்.334
6. புலவர்.சி. முத்துப்பிள்ளை, புனித கோயில்களும் புண்ணிய தீர்த்தங்களும், முதற்பதிப்பு, டி.சம்பர், 1981, பக்.338
7. சு.திருஞானம், திருக்கோயில் மரங்களின் மருத்துவப் பயன்கள் செல்வி பதிப்பகம், ஜனவரி 1995, பக்.84
8. Dr.B.S. Baliga, Madras District Gazetteers, South Arcot, Govt. of Madras, 1962, p.487

9. சு. திருஞானம். திருக்கோயில் மரங்களின் மருத்துவப் பயன்கள் (செல்வி பதிப்பகம்). ஜனவரி 1995, பக்.1
10. டாக்டர். ராஜாராம் ஸ்ரீ நேட்ரோதாரகா கோயில் ஜூன் 1985, பக்.7
11. சு.திருஞானம். திருக்கோயில் மரங்களின் மருத்துவப் பயன்கள் (செல்வி பதிப்பகம்.) ஜனவரி. 1995, பக்.34
12. டாக்டர். கணபதிராமன், திருநெல்வேலிப் பகுதி, சிறுதெய்வ வழிபாடு, முதற்பதிப்பு, 1986, பக்.282
13. புலவர். சி.முத்துப்பிள்ளை, புனித கோயில்களும் புண்ணிய தீர்த்தங்களும், முதற்பதிப்பு டிசம்பர் 1995, பக்.293
- 14., முத்துப்பிள்ளை, அருள் சுரக்கும் சக்தி, ஆலயங்கள், முதற்பதிப்பு, 1984, பக்.24
15. டாக்டர். கணபதிராமன், திருநெல்வேலிப்பகுதி, சிறு தெய்வ வழிபாடு, முதற்பதிப்பு, 1986, பக்.28
16. டாக்டர். கணபதிராமன், திருநெல்வேலிப்பகுதி, சிறு தெய்வ வழிபாடு, முதற்பதிப்பு, 1986, பக்.101

கி.பி. 300 – 600 இல் கல்வி

கோ. வேணிதேவி

வரலாற்றுத்துறை

சீதாலக்ஷ்மி ராமஸ்வாமி கல்லூரி, திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி

ஒரு சமுதாய வளர்ச்சிக்குத் துணையாக நிற்பவர் கல்வியிற் சிறந்த சான்றோர்களும், அவர்களின் பண்டைய செயற்பாடுகளுமே என்பதை நன்குணர்ந்தவர்கள் பண்டைய தமிழர்கள். கற்றோர் எங்கும் எப்போதும் சிறப்பிக்கப்பட்டனர். ஆண்டி முதல் அரசன் வரை அனைவரும் கல்வி கேள்விகளில் சிறந்து விளங்கியவர்களாக இருந்தனர் என்பது சங்ககாலப் பாடல்களின் மூலம் அறிய முடிகிறது. "உற்றுழிபுதவியும் உறுபொருள் கொடுத்தும் பிறறை நிலை முனியாது கற்றல் நன்றே" என்ற வரிகளில் கல்வியின் மேன்மையை எடுத்தியம்பியவன் ஒரு மன்னன். இங்ஙனம் கல்வியின் அவசியத்தை உணர்ந்து புரவலர்கள் பாவன்களைப் பராமரித்து நன்கொடை வழங்கிய செய்திகள் ஏராளம். ஆயுளை நீடிக்கும் அரிய நெல்லிக் கனியைத் தானுண்ணாமல் தமிழை வளர்க்கும் மூதர்ட்டிக்குக் கொடுத்த கொடையுள்ளம் அம்மன்னன் கல்வியிற் கொண்ட ஈடுபாட்டைத்தான் குறிக்கிறது. சங்க இலக்கியத்திற்குப் பின் தோன்றிய பதினெண்கீழ்க் கணக்கு வரிசையிலுள்ள புற இலக்கியங்களில் அவை தோன்றிய காலத்தில் (கி.பி. 300 – 600) நிலவியிருந்த சிறந்த கல்விச் சிந்தனைகளைத் தெளிவு படுத்துகின்றன.

கல்வியின் சிறப்பு, கற்பதன் பயன், ஆசிரியர்களின் இயல்பு, கல்வி கற்பித்த முறை, பாடத் திட்டங்கள், மாணாக்கர் கடமை, அவர்கள் மேற்கொள்ள வேண்டிய ஒழுக்கம், அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்பட்ட கற்பதற்குத் தேவையான பொருட்கள் எனப் பல செய்திகளை இலக்கியங்களில் காணலாம்.

கல்வியறிவு, நல்லிணக்கம், தவ ஒழுக்கம், குடிவளம், ஆண்டில மூத்தோராதல் அதாவது அனுபவம் இவ்வைந்தும் இல்லற ஒழுக்கத்திற்கு அடிப்படையானவை. ஆதலின் நற்குடியில் பிறந்தவன் கல்லாதிருந்தால் நன்மையல்ல என்று கருதப்பட்டது.¹ பிச்சை எடுத்துண்டாவது கற்றல் வேண்டுமென்ற சிந்தனை இருந்தது.² கல்வியறிவு படைத்தவனுக்கு யாதும் தன் ஊரே. கற்றோருக்கு சென்றவிட மெல்லாம் சிறப்பு என்றார் ஔவையார். கற்கத்தவறியவன் வாயிலிருந்து வரும் சொல்லே அவனுக்குக் கூற்றுவனாக வந்தமையும்.³ இளமைப் பருவத்தைப் பயனின்றிக் கழிக்காமல் கற்பதே சிறந்தது. அக்காலத்திலும் படிப்பைப் பாதியில் விட்டு வெற்றுப் பொழுது போக்கியவர்கள் சமுதாயத்திற்கு என்றும் ஊறு விளைவிக்கக் கூடியவர்கள் என்பதால்தான் இளமையிற் கல் என்பதைக் கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்கள் வலியுறுத்துகின்றன.⁴ பொருளின்மேல் உள்ள ஆசையால் கல்வியின் பயனை அடையாதிருத்தல் ஒரு சமுதாயத்தைப் பெரிதும் பாதிக்கக் கூடியது.⁵ கல்வியின் தரத்தைப் பொறுத்தே ஒரு சமுதாயத்தின் பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி உருவாகும்.

கல்வி இங்ஙனம் சிறப்பிக்கப்படுவதால் கற்பிக்கும் ஆசிரியர் தந்தைக்கு நிகராகக் கருதப்பட்டார். நல்ல மாணாக்கன், கொடுக்கக் கொடுக்கக் குறையாத வற்றாத செல்வமாகிய கல்வியைப் பயிற்றுவிக்கும் ஆசிரியரை

மதித்து ஒழுகுதல் வேண்டற்பாலது. அது எங்ஙனமென்றால் ஆசிரியர் இரு எனும்போது இருந்து, சொல் எனும் போது சொல்லி, செவி வாயிலாகக் கேட்டு, அவர் யாதும் சொல்லாதிருந்தால் எந்தக் கேள்வியும் கேட்காமல் அமைதி காக்க வேண்டும்.⁶ மாணவர்களிடம் இத்தகைய பணியை எதிர்பார்க்கும் ஆசிரியர்களும் அதற்கேற்றவாறு நல்வொழுக்கத்திலும் கல்வி கேள்விகளிலும் சிறந்தவராக இருத்தல் அவசியம். அங்ஙனமிருந்தால் மட்டுமே ஆசிரியர் மாணவனின் மரியாதைக் குரியவராகிறார்.⁷ மாணாக்கர் மேல் வெகுண்டு உரைப்பவர்தம் கல்விச்சாலை பயனற்றது என்கிறது திரிகடுகத்தில் காணப்படும் ஒரு பாடல் "பள்ளி" என்ற சொல்லாட்சி கல்விச் சாலைகள் இருந்ததைத் தெளிய வைக்கிறது.⁸

அக்காலத்திலும் கற்பவற்றைத் தெளிந்து ஆழப்படிக்காமல் மனனஞ்செய்து அப்படியே சொல்லிக்காட்டி ஏதோ பொருள் நயம் உணர்ந்தாற்போல் நடித்துத் தம் அறியாமையை வெளிப்படுத்தும் போலிப் புலவர்கள் இருந்ததைச் சொல்கிறது நாலடியார் பாடல் ஒன்று. இத்தன்மையுடையவரை ஆரவாரமில்லாத மெய்யறிஞர்கள் அணுக மாட்டார்கள் என்கிறது அப்பாடல்.⁹

பள்ளியாசிரியர்கள் பாடங்களை மனனஞ்செய்வித்தனர். மாணவர்கள் புரிந்தோ புரியாமலோ படித்த நிலையும் இருந்திருக்கிறது. இங்ஙனம் தானாகவும், தெளியக் கற்காமல் ஆசிரியர்களால் மனப்பாடம் செய்விக்கப்பட்டுப் பயின்றவனுக்குச் சுயசிந்தனை வளர வாய்ப்பில்லை. ஆதலின் கற்றவர் அவையில் தன் அறியாமையைத்தான் அவன் வெளிப்படுத்த நேரும். அவன் அறியாமைக்கு ஆசிரியரே காரணமாகிறார் என்பது நாம் மனதில் கொள்ள வேண்டிய செய்தி.¹⁰

கீழ்க் கணக்கு நூல்களில் "புத்தகம்" என்ற சொல் காணப்படுவது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. ஒரு நூலைத் தெளிந்து படிக்கப் பொழிப்பு, அகலம், நுட்பம், எச்சம் அதாவது பொழிப்புரை, அகலவுரை, நுட்பவுரை, எச்சவுரை என்ற நான்கும் தேவை என்று கீழ்க்கணக்குப் பாடல் ஒன்று கூறுகிறது.¹¹

ஆசிரியர்கள் "கணக்காயர்" என்று குறிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். நெடுங்கணக்கு கற்பிக்கும் ஆசிரியர்கள் "கணக்காயர்" என்று வழங்கப்பட்டனர்.¹² ஒலை கணக்கர் ஒலியடங்கு புன் செக்கர் என்னும் நாலடியார் வரிகள் ஏடுகளில் கணக்கெழுதுபவரை "கணக்கர்" என்று குறிக்கிறது.¹³ பிற்காலத்திலும் பல அலுவலகங்களில் "கணக்காளர்" நியமிக்கப்பட்டனர். முதலாம் இராசராசன் தன் கோயிலில் பணியாற்றும் கணக்காளர்கள் எப்படியிருக்க வேண்டுமென்பதைக் கல் வெட்டுக்களில் குறித்துள்ளார்.¹⁴ ஆதலின் கணக்கர் என்ற சொல் இத்தகைய பொருட்களில் கையாளப்பட்டது என்பது நன்கு தெரிகிறது. வேதத்தை ஒதுதல் செய்யாத பார்ப்பனருடைய சொல் ஏற்பதற்குரியதன்று என்கிறது "இன்னா நாற்பது" பாடல் "இன்னா ஓதில்லா பார்ப்பான் உரை" என்பது பாடல் வரி.

மாணவர்கள் எங்ஙனம் இருந்தனர் என்பதைக் குறிக்கும் சில சுவையான செய்திகளைப் புற இலக்கியப் பாடல்களில் காணலாம். மாணாக்கர் குடுமி வைத்திருந்தார்கள். அக்குடுமியும் நெய்தல் மலரின்

மொட்டளவே இருக்க வேண்டுமாம். மாதம் ஒரு முறைதான். அவர்கள் தலை முழுகுதல் வேண்டும். பயிற்றுவிக்கும் நல்லாசிரியரை வணங்குதலும் அவன் கடமையாகிறது.¹⁵ ஒருவனுக்கு நல்லறிவூட்டி அவனை மேலான பதவிக்கக் கொண்டு வருபவனே சிறந்த ஆசானாவான்.¹⁶ குடிப்பிறப்பால் உயர்ந்தவனாயினும் கல்வியுடையவரையே மேலானவராகச் சமுதாயம் கருதியது.¹⁷ கல்வி கற்றலைப் போலவே கல்வியிற் சிறந்த பெரியோரை வழிபடுதலும் சிறந்ததாகக் கருத்தில் கொள்ளப்பட்டது.¹⁸

கிழக்கணக்கு நூல் தரும் ஒரு முக்கியமான செய்தி கற்பிக்கும் ஆசிரியருக்கு ஒன்றைக் கொடாது கற்பது சரியன்று என்பது கற்பிக்கும் ஆசிரியருக்குக் குரு தட்சிணை வழங்குதல் பழக்கத்தில் இருந்திருக்கிறது.¹⁹

ஆசிரியரிடத்தில் கணக்கும், எழுத்தும், இலக்கணமும் கேட்டு, எழுதிப் படித்து மாட்சிமைப்பட்ட நல்லியல்புகளோடு செயல்படும் மாணவனுக்கு உணவும் உடையும், எழுத்தாணியும், புத்தகமும் விரும்பி வழங்கப்பட்ட அரியதோர் செய்தி புறநூலில் காணப்படுகிறது.²⁰ இளைஞர்கள் வளர வேண்டுமென்று அவர்களுக்குத் தேவைப்படும் பொருட்களை வழங்கினர். இதனுடைய தொடர்ச்சியை பின்னால் எண்ணாயிரம், திரு முக்கூடல், திருபுவனை கோயில்களில் காணப்படும் கல்வெட்டுச் செய்திகளிலிருந்து அறிய முடிகிறது. வேதம் மற்றும் இலக்கணம் பயிலும் கல்லூரிகள் நிறுவப்பட்டதும், பயிற்றுவித்த பாடத்திற்கேற்ப ஆசிரியருக்கு வழங்கப்பட்ட ஊதியமும் மாணவர்களுக்கு வழங்கப்பட்ட வசதிகளும் இக்கல்வெட்டுக்கள் தரும் செய்திகளால் அறியப்படுகின்றன. குறிப்பாகத் திருமுகூடல் கல்வெட்டு வேதம் பயிலும் மாணவர்களுக்கு இலவசமாக நீராட எண்ணெய், படுத்துறங்கப்பாய் வழங்கப்பட்டதையும், உடல் நலம் குன்றினால் சிகிச்சைக்கு மருத்துவனை அழைத்துக் காட்டியதையும் விளக்குகிறது.²¹ இக்கல்வெட்டின் காலம் முதலாம் இராஜேந்திரனின் மகனான வீர ராஜேந்திரனின் ஆறாம் ஆட்சியாண்டு இதற்கு வெகுகாலம் முன்னரே மாணவர்கள் பராமரிக்கப்பட்ட விதத்தைப் புறப்பாடலில் பார்க்கும்போது பாரதி கூறிய கல்வி, சிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு அக்காலமல்லவோ என்று நம்மை வியப்பிலாழ்த்துகிறது.

ஒருவன் தன் மக்களைக் கல்வி கற்க வாய்ப்பளிக்காமல் விடுவது தீதாகக் கருதப்பட்டது.²² மக்கள் என்பது புதல்வன். புதல்வி என்று பொருள் கொண்டோமானால் பெண் கல்வியின் அவசியத்தை அக்காலச் சமுதாயம் உணர்ந்திருக்கிறது. பெண்கல்வி எத்துணையளவு வளர்க்கப் பட்டது என்பதறிய முடியவில்லை. கல்வி, கேள்விகளில் சிறந்து விளங்கிய பெண்டிர் இருந்திருக்கின்றனர். பெண்கள் கவியரங்குகளில் பங்கேற்பது சங்ககாலத்தில் இருந்திருக்கிறது. சங்க காலத்திற்குப் பின் காரைக்கால் அம்மையார் தென்படுகிறார். சம்பந்தர் தம் ஆவூர்ப் பதிகத்தில் ஏழாம் நூற்றாண்டுப் பெண்களின் பேச்சுத்திறம் பற்றிப் பேசுகிறார்.²³ ஆதலின் சங்க காலத்தின் தொடர்ச்சியாக கவியரங்குகளில் பங்கேற்ற பெண்ணறிஞர்கள் இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும்.

பாடதிட்டத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் எழுத்து, இலக்கணம், கணக்கு ஆகியவற்றுக்குத்தான் முதலிடம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது என்பதைப் புற இலக்கியப் பாடல்கள் தெளிவு படுத்துகின்றன.⁴⁴ உழுதொழில் செய்யும் முறைகளையும் தொழில் நுட்பங்களையும் விளக்கும் "கலப்பை நூல்" இருந்ததாக-சிறு பஞ்ச மூலம் சொல்கிறது.⁴⁵ விளை நிலத்திலுள்ள வைக்கோலைத் திரட்டி, நான்தோறும் உழு மாடுகளைக் காப்பாற்றி, புல்லிய நிலத்தை நஞ்செய்யாகத் திருத்தி எருவினால் அதனைப் போற்றிய பின்பு பண்படுத்திக் கலப்பையால் உழுதல் செய்பவனை உழுதொழிலில் சிறந்தவனாகிறான் என்று "கலப்பை நூல்" சொல்கிறது என்கிறது அப்பாடல்.⁴⁶ விவசாயப் புரட்சி தமிழ் நாட்டில் அன்றையிருந்தது என்பதை உணர்த்தும் அற்புதமான செய்தி இது.

உயிரினங்களைப் பற்றிய கல்வி அதாவது தாவரவியல், விலங்கியல் குறித்த சுவையான செய்திகள் பல சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் கிடைக்கின்றன. பூக்காமலே காய்க்கும் மரங்கள், பாத்திகட்டி, விதைக்காமலே விளையும் விதைகள், பூத்திருந்தாலும் காய்க்காத மரங்கள், பாத்திகட்டி விதைத்தாலும் விளையாத வித்து போன்ற தாவரவியல் செய்திகள் கிடைக்கின்றன. அதேபோல் தூக்கணாங் குருவியினால் கட்டப்படும் கூடு, பேரெறும்புகளால் உருவாக்கப்படும் அரக்கு, உலண்டு என்னும் புழுவால் நூற்கப்பட்ட நூல், கோற் புழுவால் செய்யப்படுவதாகிய கோற்கூடு, தேனீக்களால் திரட்டப்பட்ட தேன் போன்ற புழு பூச்சியியல் குறித்த செய்திகளும் கிடைக்கின்றன.⁴⁷ அன்று மக்கள் இயற்கையாகப் பார்த்து அனுபவித்த செய்திகளை இன்று பாடமாகக் கொண்டுள்ளோம். அன்றாட வாழ்க்கையில் காணும் சாதாரண செய்திகளை இலக்கியங்களில் காண்கிறோம்.

அம்பலத்தின் கண் அறிவுடையவர்கள் வாழ்கின்ற ஊர் நன்மையளிப்பதாக இருக்கும் என்பதை "மன்றின் முதுமக்கள் வாழும் பதி இனிதே என்ற இனியவை" நாற்பது பாடல் நன்கு விளக்குகிறது. ஆதலின் ஒரு ஊர் சிறப்பதற்கு முக்கிய காரணமாகத் திகழ்ந்தது கோயிலும் அறிவுடைய மக்களுமே என்பது தெளிவாகிறது.

பொதுவாகவே அரசர்களும், பெருங்குடி வணிகரும் மற்றவர்களும் கல்வித் தொண்டு செய்து கல்வியை வளர்த்த அக்காலத்து சீரிய கல்விச் சிந்தனைகளின் அடிப்படையில் வளர்ந்த நல்லதோர் சமுதாயத்தைக் கீழ்க்கணக்கு வரிசையிலுள்ள புற நூல்கள் நன்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டுகின்றன.

அடிக்குறிப்புகள்

1. நாலடியார், பாடல் 333
2. இனியவை நாற்பது, பாடல் 1
3. நான்மணிக்கடிகை, பாடல் 85
4. திரிகடுகம், பாடல் 97

5. திரிகடுகம், பாடல் 86
6. ஆசாரக் கோவை, பாடல் 74
7. திரிகடுகம், பாடல் 26
8. திரிகடுகம், பாடல் 46
9. நாலடியார், பாடல் 312
10. நாலடியார், பாடல் 314
11. நாலடியார், பாடல் 319
12. நாலடியார், பாடல் 314
13. நாலடியார், பாடல் 397
14. இரா. கலைக்கோவன் - சுவடழிந்த கோயில்கள் பக்கம் 187
பாரி நிலையம், சென்னை, 1987
15. சிறுபஞ்சமூலம், பாடல் 30
16. சிறுபஞ்சமூலம், பாடல் 34
17. முதுமொழிக் காஞ்சி, பாடல் 1, வரி-7
18. முதுமொழிக் காஞ்சி, பாடல் 1, வரி-8
19. முதுமொழிக் காஞ்சி, பாடல் 5, வரி-8
20. ஏலாதி, பாடல் 63
21. Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXI (1931-32), Text 32-43
22. நான்மணிக்கிழகை, பாடல் 95
23. வரலாறு முதல் தொகுதி, இறையியல் பொழிவுகள் இனிய சொற்கவிகள், பக்கம் 50
டாக்டர். மா. இராசமாணிக்கனார் வரலாற்றாய்வு மையம், திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி, 1993
24. ஏலாதி, பாடல் 63
25. சிறுபஞ்ச மூலம், பாடல் 60
26. மேற்கண்டது
27. சிறுபஞ்ச மூலம், பாடல் 22, 23
28. சிறுபஞ்ச மூலம், பாடல் 27

SECTION IV

HISTORIOGRAPHY

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

AN ARSENAL OF HISTORICAL WRITING

Presidential Address

by

*Dr.P.Rajaraman,
Principal
Thiru.Vi.Ka.Govt.Arts College
Tiruvarur*

Mr.Vice Chancellor, The dignitaries on the dais, Delegates of the Tamilnadu History Congress and friends,

It is an honoured privilege for me to preside over the historiography section of the Second Tamilndua History Congress being hosted by the Department of History, Annamalai University, I feel indeed elated to be in the midst of erudite scholars and historians of Tamilnadu that oo in the Sastri Hall of my own alma matre which stands as a symbol of eternity reminding us of the beautiful verse of the renowned English poet Tennyson.

For men may come and men may go.

But I go on for ever.

Let me at the outset make my respectful obseisance to my alma matre with deep sense of gratitude for what it has done to me to shape my career as an ardent student of history. I am happy to pronounce here that this temple of learning which was a gift and cadacu of Dr.Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinadu, an enterprising business magnate of Nagarathar community grew phenomenally under the care and custody of his illustrious son, Dr.Rajah Sir M.A.Muthiah Chettiar, a philanthropist of rare virtues, His performance as the founder pro-chancellor for the development of this institution is the most authentic testimony to the work of his father. It should be acknowledged with all fairness over the years of its existence for six and half decades this University has been catering to the educational needs not only of people of higher strata but also people of the lower rungs of the ladder of society particularly the sons and daughters of "the hewers of wood and drawers of waters".

Needless to say, but for this institution, the entire erstwhile South Arcot district would have been educationally most neglected and god forsaken and the meek and the weak of this area would not have tasted the fruits of higher education.

The Growing Awareness of Rich Heritage of Tamilnadu.

A conspicuous development in historical reseach in Tamilnadu in recent years has been a growing awareness of the rich heritage of our state. Aptly this congress is an eloquent demonstration of this fact.

It is also gratifying to note that more number of research scholars have come forward to explore one or other of the different areas of the history and culture of Tamil Nadu from the turn of this century. Consequently certain hidden facts of history have been brought to light. The discovery of Roman coins and pottery of the rouletted and arretine ware type in the excavations at Arikamedu and Uraiyur made historians have a fresh look at the history of Tamilnadu in the context of ancient Tamil literature which speaks of the glory of Kaverippumpattinam and Madurai. " The recent excavations at Kaverippumpattinam by the Archeological Survey of India bears testimony to the state of Buddhism there succinctly described in the Manimekalai and the Silappadikaram (1). There is no doubt that the ancient Tamil classics and other literary works of both religious and secular nature possess very valuable historical materials.

The Writing of the History of Tamils - a Desideratum

The reference that the Silappadikaram makes about the destruction of the river, Pahruli and the mount Kumari with many ranges of hills by the tidal waves of the sea (2) needs to be discerned in the light of the remarks of Dr.Vincent A.Smith, one of the celebrated historians of modern India that the history of India if at all rewritten should be commenced from the south. He knew well that the ancient TAMILAGAM was the primeval home of early man and it was where the early civilization dawned. In fact a careful study of our literature, inscriptions, and archaeological discoveries will yield a rich crop of materials for the reconstruction of the history of Tamilnadu.

A complete and comprehensive history of Tamilnadu, inspite of its hoariness, has not yet been attempted by a single organisation. Even the endeavour of the Government of Tamilnadu to write the authentic history of our state remains incomplete even though the scheme was launched in 1971.

The neighbouring states viz., Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh after the reorganisation of states have published their own histories atleast in compendium. But here individuals have written text books on Tamilnadu history keeping their eyes on the requirements of the Syllabi of the Universities but they can not be regarded either as comprehensive or complete. It is therefore high time to think that the writing of the history of Tamilnadu is a desideratum.

Annamalai University - An Arsenal of Historical Writing.

The school of history in Annamalai University has rendered a meritorious service to the historical research in Tamilnadu. The historians of this school not only added new dimensions but also opened new vistas in the history of Tamil Nadu. Its Historiography from P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar to M.S.Govindasamy reveals various patterns of historians workshop. It is satisfying to note that this school has shed searching light on the dark corners of the history of our State.

This school, though born even before the inception of Annamalai University, as a wing of the Meenakshi college, grew into a full pledged centre of research only when P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar took up its rein. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, the illustrious founder of this venerable institution appointed him the Head of the Department of History knowing fully well his popularity as the author of his celebrated work, History of the Tamils. It was an outcome of sustained hard work for a long period of time. His task as historian was very much in consonance with the lofty ideals of this University which was to be nurtured as 'a centre of learning to give the world the value of Tamil learning, literature and culture'. It is a fact that he was inevitably 'a creature of his age'. Hence he felt it was his duty to improve the historiographical ideas of the epoch. The golden Age theory of the Tamils propounded by Robert Caldwell in his book, A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian languages (1856) revolutionised thought of 'the emerging elites' of the Non-Brahmin communities and it proved to be one of the factors for the emergence of Non-Brahmin movement in Tamilnadu. As a historian, P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar had not lost sight of the ideology of 'Glory that was Tamilagam' Apart from this his profound knowledge of Tamil language and literature propelled him delve deep into Tamil literature and collected enormous historical materials for writing the ancient history of our people.

His work, History of the Tamils presents a vivid account of the political history of our people from the earliest times to the end of Kalabhra interregnum i.e. till 600 A.D. which marks the beginning of the epoch of the great Pallavas. It is not mere a story of the rise and fall of the royal dynasties viz., the Chera, Chola and Pandyas. It portrays a beautiful picture of the robust society of the Tamils who lived a full life replete with glamour valour, piety and nobility' Yet it should be admitted in all reasonableness that he had not begun his work in a virgin soil as it was already ploughed by historians like V.Kanaka Sabhai Pillai and M.S.Purnalingam Pillai. Had Iyenger not attempted such a painstaking research work the ancient history of the Tamils we would have remained unexplored. Indeed he was a forerunner to historians such as K.N.Sastri, K.K.Pillai and N.Subramaniam for whom he provided the warp and the woof to weave the history of the Tamils in their own fashions. PTS also felt that the history of the Tamil country has

not been given due importance by the historians who endeavoured to write the history of India. This lacuna he had pointed out in his work as follows: 'The orientation of Indian history will be correct only if the important part played in its unbroken development by the Tamils is correctly apprehended' (0.618)

It is sad that P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar was not able to contribute much to the development of the school of history in Annamalai University due to his premature demise. The only work that stands to his credit during his stay in this institution was that he got the Matha vilasa Prahasanam of Mahendravarman translated into Tamil by N.Balarama Aiyar (3).

His writings on themes such as 'Pre Aryan Tamil Culture' reveal the dimensions of his thoughts on Tamil history about which Dr.N.Subramanian remarks 'like Acton the man was far greater than his work' Significantly his name is remembered for more than one reason. It was he who wrote the history of the Pallavas in Tamil much earlier to the endeavour of Dr.M.Rajamanickam.

C. S. Srinivasachari - The Thucydides of South India

A versatile scholar of history who added lustre to the school of history in Annamalai University was C.S.Srinivasachari who was affectionately called, 'Chikka' by his friends, students and admirers. His erudition and historical scholarship which he tremendously exhibited as Professor of History in the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras attracted our beloved Rajah Sahib who offered him the Thucydidean chair in his institution to fill the vacuum which arose after the passing away of P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar. He could be rightly designated as the Thucydides of South India as he, was 'punctilious in checking his sources and refreshingly analytical in his approach'. He rendered his services to the University with devotion and steadfast loyalty till he retired in 1946. It was he who turned this school into an arsenal of historical writing. As a result, his versatile pen produced the following works:

- 1 The History and the Institutions of the Pallavas (1924)
- 2 History of the City of Madras (1939)
- 3 Ananda Ranga Pillai, The 'pepys' of French India (1940)
- 4 A History of Gingee and its Rulers (1943)
- 5 The Inwardness of British annexation in India 1951

I. The History and Institutions of the Pallavas, The Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore 1924.

The slender monograph was written by C S S in 1924 when he served as the Junior Professor of History in Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. This is a brief account of the history of the Pallavas and the culture of their age. He has taken pain to cull materials from all available published books and sources bearing on the subject including the South Indian inscriptions. The author exhibited his scientific temper in resolving the knotty problem viz., The origin of the Pallavas by testifying to the fact that the Pallavas who were once the feudatories of the Satavahanas, established their own dynasty in Tondaimandalam. This theory has been held as tenable even today by the historians of different schools. His conclusion has therefore acquired a final validity. His views that the Pallavas brought to Kanchi the culture of the north, as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian need further investigation in as much as the Aryanisation of South India took place several hundred years before the advent of the Pallavas. It cannot be considered as a farfetched notion that his tiny tracts served as a precursory work for R.Gopalan to build up his volume on History of the Pallavas of Kanchi and also for C.Minakshi to reconstruct her work, Administration and Social life under the Pallavas. C.S.S. has thus laid the corner stone for the later edifice of the Pallava history.

II. History of the City of Madras P.Varadachary & Co., Madras, 1939

The book, History of the City of Madras was an offshoot of the generous assignment given to CSS by the Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee which desired to publish a popular handbook of the history of the city. Because of the fact that the committee did not find a suitable person for the above work it chose Chikka who was practically 150 miles away from the Metropolis. The author put forth extraordinary labour to collect materials to give chronological sequence of events and episodes that had taken place during the period under study. The sources that he had depended on were mostly archival. It traces the chronicle of the city of Madras from the foundation of Fort St.George down to the third decade of this century. In short it is a history of three centuries of the Southern most province of the British Empire.

This book is illustrative of how the modern city of Madras which sprang up around the twin petnames namely the Chennapatnam and Madraspatnam emerged as an agglomeration of old Pakkams such as Selpakkam)Chepauk) Nungambakkam, Kodambakkam, Purasawakkam, Urs such as Thiruvanmiyur, Tiruvotriyur, Ezhumpur, (Egmore) and Pettahs such as Tondiarpet, Chindaripet, Royepettah, Alwarpet, Teynampet and Saidapet, etc. During the pre-Independence era it played

an admirable role both as the administrative and intellectual capital of South India. The author examines how this place acquired the name Madras and how it remains still a tantaliser for the researchers. In a readable style he catalogues facts about various Governors who ruled the Madras Presidency. Significantly it contains a veritable mine of information for the period under review and it could be of much help for tracing the history of freedom movement in Tamilnadu. Every aspect of life and growth of the city is dealt with enough detail. It is immensely useful for the contemporary history of Tamilnadu.

III. Ananda Ranga Pillai, The Pepys' of French India, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi -Madras-1991 (originally published in 1940)

Ananda Ranga Pillai, 'The Pepys' of French India is a modified and supplemented version of the series of articles entitled 'The Historical Material in Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai the famous Courtier of Dupleix (1736-1761)' written by 'Chikka'. They appeared in nineteen parts over a period of eleven years in the issues of the Journal of Indian History (Vol.VI, 1927 to Vol.XVII, 1938) Madras.

This work gives a continuous narrative of the events mostly historical, recorded by the diarist in an exposing manner. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai is a document of great value for the history of Pondicherry and of the French in India. Though it is not available in its entirety 'it is a good summary of the views and feelings of the most acute Indian observer of contemporary events'. C.S.S. had prepared an excellent symposium of Pillai's Diary. No doubt by this work 'Chikka' had made a critical appraisal of men and matters, events and episodes relating to the period between 1736 and 1761 - a quarter of a century - based upon the Diary as well as supplementary records left by the Dubash. To create this volume, the writer had toiled laboriously. 'The chapters..... make a fascinating study; and Professor Srinivasachari has strung the various items together by notes of the highest value to the historian' (4) Ranga Pillai was an intimate friend of Dupleix 'The political ascendancy of Dupleix brought unprecedented honours to his Chief Agent, who was not only the greatest Indian merchant at Pondicherry but also a man of substantial political influence' (5) He was deeply grieved at the fall of Dupleix Pillai was of opinion that his misfortunes were only due to his black beast, Madame Dupleix. This has been recorded in his Diary on 15th Oct 1754 day after the departure of Dupleix by the Duc d'Orleans. C.S.S. beautifully elucidates this universal truth 'His (Dupleix's) arms carried French glory upto the Narmada, he had made the throne of the Padshah tremble. What had become of the man formerly so powerful? Nadame is the sole cause of his all troubles. It is not written in the Saptha Sastras; 'Unhappy is the man who is guided by his wife. He will reap evil who takes a woman's advice' (6). As an ever enduring historical literature Anandaranga Pillai speaks the glory of C.S.S.

IV. A History of Gingee and its Rulers, Annamalai University, Annamalai nagar, 1943.

A History of Gingee and its Rulers is a great historical work of C.S.S. It is an enlarged reading of his thesis for the M.A.Degree Examination submitted in 1912 to the University of Madras. Subsequently the historian laboured for over a quarter of a century to collect materials to expand the scope of the subject and succeeded in getting it translated into French by Mon.Edmond Gaudart, President of the Societe de L'Histoire de l' Inde Francaise, Pondicherry and published by the Society in 1940. Further additions were made by the author in order to make it more comprehensive. In 1943 Annamalai University came forward to publish it as its historical series No.2. It traces the history of Gingee, the Troy of the East in detail from the days of Vijayanagara Nayakas till the close of 18th century. The author has devoted his attention in giving a good account of the Nayakas of Gingee in the early part of this book. He has also explained the circumstances under which the Nayaks of Gingee asserted their independence after the historic battle of Talikota (1565). The most prominent among them was Krishnappa of whom an enormous information has been furnished by the scholar in the light of the records of Fr.Pimenta, a Portuguese Jesuit. During his reign Gingee was in the heyday of its glory. Its independence was preserved by the Nayak rulers till it was captured by the Sultan of Bijapur in 1648. At the third quarter of 17th century the political condition of the Karnatak was very much conducive for the great Maratha leader Sivaji to contemplate an invasion of the Coromandel Coast. In course of his momentous expedition he fell on Gingee 'like a thunderbolt' and captured it in 1677' at the first assault. Though the fort of Gingee sustained the Marathas under the regency of Rajaram both as a second line of defence and as a new capital. it was captured by the Mughals in 1698 after a protracted and weak sieze of seven years. (p.351).

The eighteenth century witnessed a Kaleidoscopic succession of quick changing scenes of which Gingee was the centre'. One such scene was 'the emergence of the brilliant, but shortlived and misdirected chivalry of Raja Desing (Jan 1714 to Oct. 1714) the well known 'hero of ballad and legend' of whom CSS makes an estimate in a fascinating manner.' Quite a striking trait in Desing's character was his sense of true comradeship with Mohabat Khan, who had been his companion from childhood. Contempt of death was a maxim of life with the hero which he was never tired of repeating (Ballad of Desing). It was in the blood of Desing's character was his sense of true comradeship with Mohabat Khan, who had been his companion from childhood. Contempt of death was a maxim of life with the hero which he was never tired of repeating (Ballad of Desing). It was in the blood of Desing to court all dangers and fight against the worst possible odds. The gallantry displayed by Desing at the age of 22, against the powerful

Nawab Sadatullah Khan of Arcot in struggle that was hopeless from the outset, should make us remember him for ever'. (p.435)

The heroic Rajput episode in the fortunes of Gingee ended when the Nawab of Arcot took it into his possession. The subsequent history of this 'impregnable' fortress witnessed the Anglo-French rivalry converting the Karnatak cockpit of their conflict. During this stormy days Bussy, the French warrior captured it by escalade in 1749 and it remained in the possession of French till 1761. 'The fall of Gingee (in the hands of the English) terminated the long constested hostilities between the two rival European powers in the Carnatic'(p.529). The only silver line in the murky political situation of 18th Century was that Gingee fortunately escaped the onslaught of Haider Ali when he marched through the Karnatak with 'fire and sword'. The fortress of Gingee today stands as a ravaged historical monument fascinating the students of history. It is only due to the efforts of C.S.S. the much forgotton story of this historic place has been brought to light.

V. Inwardness of British Annexations in India, University of Madras, 1951.

This book is based on lectures delivered by C.S.S. under the Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures for the year 1948-49. He had a thorough grasp of the issues and problems as to the annexation policy of the British in India. That is why in this scholarly work he tries to look at the other side of the medal thereby explaining the inner nature of British annexations. The political disunity and unrest which prevailed in many of the Indian states made them resolve in 1689 that territorial acquisition in a fabulously rich country like India would be more profitable than honest commercial pursuits. This rsolution of the John Company to acquire territory and to augment revenues by conquest as the prologue of the inwardness. It proved later to be the besetting sin in the history of the East India Company. C.S.S. elaborates how the proconsuls of the cōmpany deliberately ignored the ordainment of the Parliament and what they did was not only illegal but also immoral. As a result rlations between the Paramount power and the Native States materially changed when the British found the Indian princes 'powerless for good, useless as allies and important as enemies'(p.1). They had decided to get rid of principalities intervening between their dominions. The found lofty expression when Dalhousie adopted the doctrine of lapse unscrupulously to annex territories such as Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, Carnatic and Tanjore etc. As a scientific researcher 'Chikka' proved himself through these lectures to be one of the most accurate historians of British India. Every document connected with the policy of annexation of the British in India has been systematically analysed in this volume to prove his hypothesis that the policy of annexation adopted by the British after Hastings was 'undisciplined and irresponsible'.

His works are remarkable for elegance of style, pithiness of expression and lucidity of presentations. It is a tough task to make a review of the articles for any scholar that he wrote on several occasions. He was an active academician, constantly reviewing books for various magazines, contributing articles and presiding over conferences. All the more his service as the President of the Indian Historical Records commission are still cherished by research scholars who specialise modern Indian history. A three volume work of Indian History (1927) covering from the ancient times to the modern era co-authored by C.S.S. and M.S.Ramaswami Aiyangar provides interesting materials on socio-political aspects of Indian history Radhakumud Mookerji of Lucknow University appraises the work as follows:

The work is very sound and satisfactory in point of both the general and local history, in bringing out the unity and distinctive features of Indian culture and civilization in their different phases and periods and in describing the parts played by the different regions of India on different times in her political history”.

Chari is a classical example of his own definition of an historian which he mentioned one of his addresses. “The writer of history should not only try to give a correct, impartial and just interpretation of facts of Indian history but also make a supreme effort to ascertain their real significance, so as to illustrate that search after truth is after all far more enabling than quest after facts”.

As his interests in historical writing proved to be relentless, he took up the responsibility of the Asst.Editorship of the Journal of Indian History and “devoted years of patient toil until the Journal has taken deep root in the South”. He displayed a great zeal in the activities of the Indian History Congress about which Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad speaks:” His devotion to the Indian History Congress is marked; and he has not missed a single session of the supreme organ of Indian historical scholarship since it was inaugurated by me at Poona, in June 1935. His dedicated service to the cause of Historical erudition had placed him in the front rank among the scholars of British India.” Recognising his uncanny ability in breaking new grounds in the sphere of history he was given the honour of presiding over the Indian History Congress held at Hyderabad in 1941. In his presidential address he gave a critical view of methodology in history. Still it remains worthy as valuable document on research methodology in History. The British government appreciated the laudable services of this talented historian and conferred on him the much coveted titles of those days - Rao Sahib in 1935, Rao Bahadur in 1942 and Dewan Bahadur in 1946. T.K.Venkataraman, Former Professor and Head of the Dept.of History, Pachaiyappa's college, Madras and one of the loving students of CSS estimates his place in galaxy of Historians as follows:

"He was aptly described as a "veritable storehouse of historical information and little-known facts". I can only briefly summarise his contributions to the cause of historical learning. He praised the achievements of Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie, early collectors of manuscripts and records. He brought to public notice little-known figures like Sir John Macpherson, the civilian and de Koros, the Indologist.... His main work lay in the field of Modern History of the Madras state and ranged on a variety of topics like the Vellore Mutiny of 1806, the Madras Sepoy, the Polygar System, Yusuf Khan's Revolt, the character of Sir Thomas Rumbold. Early History of the Madras Judiciary and Mayoralty and the Origin of Right and Left Hand Castes"

-(7)

Apart from his literary achievements at Annamalai nagar Chikka' had produced a cluster of distinguished scholars who are conspicuous by their own contribution to the historical learning. Prominent among them are

- 1) V.Vridhagirisan, the author of the Nayaks of Tanjore
- 2) C.K.Srinivasan, the author of Maratha Rule in the Carnatic
- 3) P.C.Alexander(Present Governor of Maharashtra), the author of Dutch in Malabar and also Buddhism in Kerala

His articles on various themes published on different occasions are listed out at the end of this talk. They richly deserve republication. May I appeal to the students friends and admirers, of 'Chikka' to get them collected and published as a volume as has been done by the members of the Commemoration Committee of R.Sathianathaier, the successor of CSS, who collected his essays and articles and published them as a volume entitled Thoughts of A Historian. May the glory of "Chikka" as historian live long!

R.SATHIANATHAIER - Kalhana of South India

R.Sathianathaier, a distinguished historian who succeeded CSS as the occupant of the professorial chair in the School of History, Annamalai University, richly deserves to be called the Kalhana of South India. In many ways as the custodian of Clio, the Muse of history he anticipated the recent trends in history and he adopted scientific attitude towards that discipline. To him writing of history of any nation or race was a holy function. He turned to history not by current of events but by his professional duties. He loved to lecture on abstract ideology such as the concept of liberty propounded by writers like J.S.Mill. History remained in him as his heart and soul till he breathed his last. He had been a constant source of inspiration to many a research scholar who have got an inquisitiveness to unravel the mysteries of history. It was so sweet

for him to revel in the wealth of informations of history relating to all the centuries and to meet all the heroes face to face. His joy knew no bounds whenever he dealt with the personalities like Shivaji. In fine he was particularly attracted by the human side of history.

R.Sathiananthaier as a historiographer was noted for his divine impartiality. Every piece of information that he furnished in his historical writing reveals the fact that he was a pious agnostic. In the true historical tradition he was not only a lover of truth but a seeker of truth. He had not allowed truth to become a casualty while portraying the achievements of heroes for whom he had personal fascination. As an historian he acquired sufficient proficiency in as many languages as required. By birth he learnt Malayalam, by study he obtained proficiency in Sanskrit and English; by necessity he learnt Tamil and French. His knowledge of Sanskrit helped him to specialize in Ancient History of India to which he added new facets by throwing search lights on certain murky chapters. He was able to cut a few Gordian knots as far as the history of Ancient India was concerned. Either to decide the original home of the Aryans or to determine the chronology of Kanishka or to describe the social life of the Rig Vedic Age, his knowledge of Sanskrit was abundantly useful. Similarly his knowledge of Tamil language and literature was by no mean measure profound. The chronology of the Sangam Age is one of interminable controversies. It has been ably resolved by him by making a comparative study of the available evidences of both literature and archaeology.

R.Sathianathair was a prolific essay writer. His articles glitter like diamonds in the dim pages of certain commemoration volumes. Though his essays were mostly brief, they were written with all seriousness of a researcher and they contained the quintessence of the subject. In vividness of presentation, he equals Carlyle and Macaulay. His omniscience is a legend. His store of knowledge never loved exaggerated phraseology. He was emphatic and forceful in convincing his readers. It is gratifying that the Prof.R.Sathianathaier Commemoration Committee collected his essays and articles and got them published under the title, Thoughts of A Historian in 1989. The only article which escaped the sight of this committee is "A Vindication of Venkaji Bhonsle (Proceedings of Indian History Congress. Allahabad, 1938).

**His contribution of historical learning though limited is remarkable.
His works are:**

1. History of the Nayaks of Madura (Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, Madras, 1924)
2. A Political and Cultural History of India (Rochouse & sons, Private Ltd, Madras 1, 1942)
Vol.I-Ancient India, Vol.II-Medieval India, Vol.III-Modern India

3. Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam, Rochouse & sons Private Ltd, Madras, (1944)
4. Intermediate Ancient History, Greece and Rome, Published by the author printed at The Cross Word Press, Chidambaram (1946)
5. Tamilaham in the 17th century, University of Madras (1956)

1) History of the Nayaks of Madura:

The Ripon Gold medal which R.Sathianathaier won for securing the first rank in the History Honours examination of Madras University brought him another honour viz. a University Research Studentship. This work, History of the Nayaks of Madura is a historiographical fruit of his long period of learning, research and reflection as research fellow under Dr.S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar in the Department of Indian History University of Madras. It is doubtlessly a research work par excellence. The popularity of this monograph earned him a significant place in the catalogue of historians of India. Despite the fact that the subject has been already ploughed by writers like Nelson, Caldwell and V.Rangachari it was only R.Sathianathaier who made a systematic and thorough exploitation of all available materials including the Jesuit records thereby making the works of his predecessors out of date. He has taken extra - ordinary pain in deciphering certain plates such as Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, the Dalavay Agraharam and Vellangal plates of Venkata I and Kuniyur plates of Venka II to frame the genealogical table of the Nayaks of Madura.

As a research scholar a necessity arose on his part to learn the French language to go through the Jesuit records. He acquired a respectable command over that language which he proved by translating the relevant documents as well that the Rev.P.Carty S.J, his teacher in St.Joseph's College and the Rev.J.Bourdote S.J., Professor of French in the same college altered very little in order to improve the text.

The Oriental Historical Manuscripts, edited by William Taylor (1835) constituted the mainstay of this work. La Mission Du Madure - an epistolary source of Fr.J.Bertrand of the Society of Jesus proved to be a desideratum for his research endeavour. The epigraphical information required for the history of the Nayaks of Madura was found in Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Madras. The archaeological remains of the Nayak regime which were discovered in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu have their own story to tell about the Nayaks. The works of Robert Orme and F.C.Danvers and S.K.Aiyangar's Sources of Vijayanagar History have supplied reliable second hand information. In fact they enabled R.S. to give a coherent and connected account of the Nayaks of Madura for 200 years from the hey day of the empire of Vijayanagar to the

eve of the British conquest of the Carnatic. It is, in short, a connected history of the Madura Viceroyalty of the Vijayanagar power. Every aspect of the Nayak rule from its establishment in 1529 by Visvanatha Nayaka till the disastrous end of Minakshi in 1736 is elaborately dealt with. The last chapter of this book viz., "General Considerations on Nayak Rule" gives a very vital information about their Administration, Finance, and Social life. This monumental work is a worthy testimony to the historical scholarship and erudition of R.S.

2) A Political and Cultural History of India in three Parts

His text book, A Political and Cultural History of India in three volumes is a significant addition to the historical literature of this century. Indeed it is a compendium containing information on minor and major dynasties of India. This work has revealed his resources of research and judgement, and his ability of narration and condensation. Without even attempting flights of eloquence, his luminous and measured style produced its effect on his readers. In fact, it became an indispensable book of history for the students who aspired to appear for Indian Administrative Services. Century wise treatment of the subject is the redeeming feature of this book. His writings on "Dynasties of South India" (Chapter VIII) in The History and Culture of the Indian People, the Classical Age (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series) (Vol III) is the most marvellous contribution to the History of South India.

3) Studies in The Ancient History of Tondamandalam.

This slender volume embodies the two lectures delivered under the Sankara-Parvathi Endowment of the University of Madras in 1944. It is a veritable mine of research problems and issues as to the South Indian history. In a short compass R.S. wonderfully condensed a vast area of historical events. That is where his ability as historian lies. The history of Tondamandalam is conspicuous in several view points. This region witnessed a long series of invasions from the time of Bindusara to that of Sivaji. Historic monuments abound in places like Mamallapuram and Kanchi. Its contribution to language and literature of Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil is immeasurably huge. In its history the best evidences for the local government and educational organisation of the Pallavas and of the Cholas are noticed. Some of the conclusions that R.S. arrived through this research work are good nourishment for the researchers. They are:

- 1) Tondamandalam was the southern province of Asoka
- 2) The Pulindas of Asoka were the Kurumbas of Tondamandalam
- 3) Bindusara Maurya conquered Tondamandalam with the active support of Kautilya.
- 4) Samudragupta's Dakshinapatha expedition was punitive in character.

- 5) Tondamandalam was the stronghold of Buddhism till the middle of the 7th century A.D.
- 6) The germs of the Mahasabha of the Pallava and Chola periods are found in the Arthasastra of Kautilya and the Variyam organisation must be regarded as an Indian rather than as a South Indian institution.
- 7) A Buddhist University existed at Kanchi in the 7th century A.D.
- 8) The interpretation of the word, asvasamstha of the Talagunda inscription as mounted spy needs a revision of the account of Mayurasarman's visit to Kanchi
- 9) The establishment of colleges at Ennayiram, Tribhuvani and Tirumukkal in the 11th century are suggestive of Bhuddhist influence

The entire studies are devoted to prove his thesis that 'the Indian civilisation is a harmonious blend of many elements and is one and indivisible despite provincial or local variations' (p.54)

The Mahasabha inscriptions chart (Appendix I) reveals not only his electronic brain but also his mastery over Chola epigraphs thereby making his task extremely noteworthy.

4) Intermediate Ancient History (Greece and Rome)

This concise history of Greece and Rome was his modest contribution to the ancient history of human civilisation. It is satisfying that he was able to spotlight in this tiny volume "The glory that was Greece and grandeur that was Rome" in a remarkably vivid way.

5) Tamilaham in the 17th century

The Seventeenth Century Tamilaham presents a variegated political scene, which R.Sathianathaier, effectively portrays in this volume which consists of seven lectures, delivered in Feb 1955 under Sir William Meyer Endornment in the Uniiversity of Madras. The materials that he gathered for the History of the Nayaks of Madura have been extensively used for these lectures. In a way this work is the continuation of the former since some of the events narrated in the history therein are repeated in these lectures. The maror political episode in the begining of the 17th century was the war of succession (1614-1617) which broke out after the death of Venkata I, Emperor of Vijayanagar whom Heras considers as "The unconscious cause of the civil war". The lecturer traces out the circumstances leading to the battlle of Topur (near Trichirapalli) in 1617. This battle field brought the first phase of the civil war to an end. "It tremendously increased the centrifugal tendencies in the empire and may be regarded as its arch emasculator "(p.30), That is the reason why the scholar describes the batle of Topur as "the grand climacteric of the Vijayanagar empire". The imperialists won the battle but lost the empire. Thereafter the feudatories openly asserted their independence.

"The Tragic Tug of War" is the caption given to the second lecture. Soon after his accession Sri Ranga III seized with the problem of feudatory insubordination. As a result, a tragic tug of war ensued between Tirumala, the Nayak of Madura and Emperor over the question of tribute. One third of the revenues of the country had to be given as tribute in return for practically no advantages to Madura". In the early days of the Nayakship of Madura subordination and tribute meant safety from foreign aggression and small expenditure on external defence. Madura had herself to organise all her defence because of weak central authority. Emperor's attempt to regain his position with the help of Mysore was nullified by the activities of Tirumala Nayaka who invoked the help of Bijapur. In the tug of war, the Emperor faced defeat. Hence his second expulsion to forest. "A less ambitious and more considerate attitude might have secured the interests of the empire without offending the susceptibilities of its feudatories" (p.58) Sriranga III's career was a splendid failure. R.Sathianathaier endeavours to prove in this part of the book how "a brave man who struggled in 'the storms of fate' greatly failed with a falling state. The third lecture is on "The Last Nayaks of Tanjore," Vijayaraghava (1640-1673), son of Raghunatha, was remarkable for piety but as a ruler he was weak and vacillating. He co-operated with Tirumala Nayaka and the ruler of Jinji against Sriranga III but betrayed his allies to the emperor at last. R.Sathianathaier astutely proves that Vijayaraghava never showed the courage of his convictions. As a result, his kingdom and people suffered. "unspeakable misery" "The excessive and fatal religious zeal of Vijayaraghava made him culpably negligent of his subjects, sufferings" (p.75) His hostility to the Nayaka and Madura culminated in a war in 1673. Vijayaraghava, refusing to surrender fought bravely and died along with his son in the struggle. Tanjore was annexed by Chokkanatha who appointed his foster-brother Alagiri Nayaka as his viceroy for that newly conquered kingdom.

R.S. has given a very attractive caption viz, **"The Fraternal Fray"**, for his fourth lecture under the endowment. The circumstances leading to the establishment of the Maratha rule in Tanjore are explained at the outset. However the entire talk centres round the various motives attributed by the historians to the coromandel expedition of Sivaji. They were thus: (1 Partition of paternal jaghirs: "Tanjore was conquered by Venkaji in 1675, and if Sivaji had a claim to it, Venkaji could claim not only a moiety of the Poona jagir but also a part of the conquests of Sivaji" (p.98) If at all partition issue had been raised it was only a stocking horse (2) **Plunder**. It is argued that Sivaji was badly in need of money after his expensive coronation. There is no doubt that he coveted the wealth of the east coast of Madras region but plunder was not his chief object. The very fact that he made diplomatic arrangement with powers like Golkonda and marched with a grand army of veterans, military and civil, reveals that he contemplated no spoil (3) **A second line of defence**. This is the thesis of Ranade that Sivaji intended Jinji

to the a second line of defence against the Mughals. This alleged interior motive of Sivaji may be doubted because his political position did not warrant an alternative line of defence on the eve of his coromandel expedition. Nonetheless this "impregnable" fort sustained the Marathas under Rajaram for nine years. (4) **Revival of Vijayanagar.** This view is equally speculative. The author quotes several authorities to prove that Sivaji had no such ambition. It was only an excuse for his conquest of the eastern Karnatak (5) **Annexation** Martin's Memoirs makes it clear that annexation was the central objective of Sivaji's coromandel expedition. "To conclude, the attempt to discover Sivaji's ulterior motives is a wild goose chase; partition was a stalking-horse;plunder was a side issue; his palpable objective was the conquest and administration of the Eastern Karnatak in order to strengthen his own military and political position" (p.107) At the end, the author speaks of Sivaji-Venkaji collision and the pyrrhic victory that Santaji, the illegitimate son of Shahji won over, Venkaji, whom he vindicates as a worthy son of a worthy father, being cast in a heroic mould. The last part of this work deals with the vassalage of Travancore. The king of Travancore, a tributary to the Nayak of Madura never paid tribute willingly. It necessitated two invasions: one in 1634 by Tirumala Nayaka and the other in 1697 by Mangammal. The author portrays her as an enlightened monarch whose attitude towards religion particularly christianity was extremely tolerant. In this respect, she shone far above her contemporaries. Quasi-Foreign Epistolary Sources which form the subject matter of the seventh lecture throw much light on the fabric of Tamil society in the 17th century. In fine this scholarly volume brings to light certain hidden and little known facts about Tamilaham in the 17th century. Rightly he can thus be compared with the historian Robert Sewell who threw illumination on A Forgotten Empire. Similarly R.S. was able to present the political history of a century which remained murky and cloudly.

The greatest contribution of R.S. was the production of a princely band of historical investigators who have themselves come to prominence as authors of significant monographs on different aspects of the history of Tamilnadu, Most remarkable of them was Dr.A.Krishnaswami whose doctoral dissertaion, "Tamil country under Vijayanagar" adds a new dimension to the history of Tamil country. It is a notable addition to the History of Gingee and its Rulers of C.S.S. and to the Tamilaham in the 17th century of R.S. However "much credit is due to the author for having filled a real gap in our knowledge" of the Vijayanagar rule in Tamilaham.

Dr.A.Krishnaswami has written two more books viz., An Introduction to Toynbee's Study of History and Some Topics in the History of South India which are of immense help to the students to prepare for their examinations.

Another gifted and dedicated student of R.S. is Dr.M.S.Govindaswamy. This historian has virtually turned into an epigraphist for the sake of his research works namely The Role of Feudatories in Pallava History and The Role of Feudatories in Later-Chola History since he had to take great trouble to collate all available inscriptions and historical records for this much neglected area. He has examined the role played by several minor dynasties like Banas, Muttaraiyars etc., in the history of the later Cholas. It is perhaps not necessary to lay emphasis that the history of Tamilnadu cannot be considered to be complete if these feudatories are not given the due place.

I feel that I am greatly obliged to make mention here about two others popular educatees of R.S. though they do not technically belong to the School of History of this University They are (1)N.Subramanian, the General President of this Congress and (2) K.R.Hanumanthan, the General Secretary of this organisation. Their contribution to the history of Tamilnadu are really noteworthy.

My task will be unfinished if I do not refer to the contribution made by Sadasiva Pandarathar.

A Tamil Savant, a renowned epigraphist, a prolific writer, a diligent hitorian, T.V.Sadasiva Pandarathar stands unique in his own way. He was a self-taught genius. He did not learn the a b c of inscriptions by sitting at the feet of a teacher. His infectuous enthusiasm in deciphering the innumerable inscriptions being incised on the walls of the temples of our state made him work tirelessly and it has eventually become his life task. His study of inscriptions yielded rich dividends and as a consequence he turned out to be an authority on Pandya as well as the Chola histories. Kulothunga Cholan (1933) was the earliest monograph which flowed from his pen. Pandyar Varalaru was the next important work which brought him popularity among scholars of both Tamil and History. His Pirkala Cholar Varalaru was his magnum opus. It was an outcome of sustained and hard labour for a decade. Some of his conclusions are based not only on epigraphical evidences but supported by literary sources. His research re-establishes the greatness of ruined cities like Pazhaiyarai. It was the capital of the Cholas in the 7th and 8th centuries. The name of this city varied from century to century. In the seventh century it was called Pazhaiyarai; in the eighth "Nandipuram, in the ninth and tenth centuries "Pazharyarai Nandipuram; in the eleventh century Mudikonmda Chozhapuram; in the twelfth century Rajarajapuram. ' This monumental work is replete with new theories which may be at variance with those of K.N.Sastri. However it contains rich food for thought for researchers who long to resolve the riddles that have wrapped the history of the Cholas.

My talk has become rather prolonged perhaps due to the inspiration that I have derived from my alma matre. At this juncture may I earnestly appeal to Raja Sahib Dr.M.A.M.Ramaswami,

Founder - Pro-Chancellor of this august institution to launch a scheme to write the history of Tamilnadu with the help of senior historians so that the cherished dream of his father and granfather would become a reality.

“A race that forgets its history will have no future”

Notes and References

1. T.V.Mahalingam, “Writing of Indian History: Retrospect and Prospect”, Report of the Seminar on the Writing of Indian History Viswa Bharathi, (Santinikatan, 1968), P.30.
2. பஹுளி ஆற்றுடன் பன்மலையடுக்கத்து
குமரிக்கோடும் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள
சிலப்பதிகாரம், மதுரைக்காண்டம், காடுகாண்கதை, வரிகள் 19-20
P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar also quotes in his work, History of the Tamils, C.Coomorasawmy Naidu & Sons, (Madras, 1928), P.240.
3. N.Subramanian, Tamilian Historiography, Ennes Publications, (Madurai, 1988). P.145.
4. C.S.Srinivasachari, Ananda Ranga Pillai, P.ii.
5. R.Sathianathaier, A Political and Cultural History of India Vol III,(Second Edition) S.Viswanathan, (Madras, 1952), P.89.
6. Ibid., p.XiX.
7. T.K.Venkataraman, Prof.C.S.Srinivasachari, Pachaiyappa's Charities, 125th year Foundation Celebrations Commemoration Volume, (Madras, 1968) pp 49-50.

REGIONAL HISTORY AND FOCUS ON TAMILNADU : PATTERNS AND ISSUES

*Dr. G.Chandhrika
Lecturer
Dept. of History
Pondicherry University*

Mediating between the two "absolutes", the concept of India as an enduring political and social entity continuous with the modern nation and the reality of the existence of the "perennial nuclear regions", Ainslee.T.Embree points out that "what exists in India, both in the geographic India of the past and in the modern nation state, are the two realities, that of the regions principally defined by geography and language and the reality of an all India ideology that had been dominant throughout its history . . ." To understand these two realities is to understand India's historical experience.

The natural instinct of the historian to test standard interpretations concerning the evolution of society, state and nation in India, the opening up of new source materials and the the growing scientific and sophisticated methods of research have led to a dramatic revision of Indian history, placing emphasis on the region and sub-national elements. This paper makes a brief review of studies with a focus on Tamil Nadu in the light of new interpretations, particularly research in the following areas: State Formation in medieval South India, Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, the Non-Brahman Movement and cultural Nationalism, and analyses the patterns that emerge and the issues that are neglected.

Sadasiva Pandarattar, Krishanswami Iyengar, Nilakanta Sastri, T.V.Mahalingam, K.K.Pillai and C.Meenakshi were the pioneers in the study of Tamil Nadu history. Making a detailed study of the Pallava, Chola, Pandyan and Vijayanagar dynasties they also initiated research in the socio-economic conditions of Tamil Nadu. But social development and change in medieval Tamil Nadu as a specific theme of research gained importance with the entrance in the field of scholars from Western Universities in the 1960's. Applying Aidan Southhall's concept of 'segmentary state' to South India, Burton Stein argued that though ritually South Indian Society had been integrated during the Chola and its succeeding dynasties, it was not a composite political entity.² The South Indian State, according to him was a conglomeration of "independent segments" which were "well defined and persistent ethnic territories" prior to the formal state, called the Nadu in Chola inscriptions. Within the Nadus or peasant localities he identified various social groups

or rather social segments which were distinct and often opposed to each other, and which massed to form "supralocal combinations or pyramids". Explorations of the pyramidal segmentations of the South Indian State involved Burton Stein in a detailed study of the complex internal structure of South Indian peasant societies and the equally complex linkages among peasant localities. Whereas Nilakanta Sastri gave the picture of a grand bureaucratic state organisation in the age of the Cholas, Burton Stein not only refused to accept the almost "Byzantine royalty of Rajaraja" but also categorically denied the existence of a bureaucracy in the Chola state.

Equally provocative was the reinterpretation of the evolution of South Indian state and society by Kathleen Gough.³ Though a Marxist she departed from standard interpretations of societal development to adopt Darcy Rebeiro's classification of society which accounted for many types of social formation in the early stages of the state. Focussing attention on the Thanjavur area from Chola times to the eighteenth century she identified two types of social formation related to the prevalent modes of production. Though land was held in common by the peasants under the Cholas, because of the latter's effective control over the means of production, the peasants were no more than slaves, the prevalent mode of production was a complex variant of Marx's Asiatic Mode of production and the Chola state according to Gough was what Rebeiro called the Theocratic Irrigation State. The grant of landed properties by the rulers of the Vijayanagar period to local aristocrats and the emergence of the "big temples" culminated in the serfdom of the peasants and the consequent feudal mode of production gave rise to what Rebeiro referred to as the Despotic Salvationist Empire or feudalism.

Contending the interpretations of both Stein and Gough and criticising them for attempting to understand social developments within specific theoretical frameworks, Karasima sought to clarify social developments from the Chola times to the eighteenth century by examining the changes in landholding and by analysing social integration and the resulting power structure of the state.⁴ The great merit of Karasima's work is his connective account of social development which he traces from the Chola period to pre-modern times.

Nowhere is the reinterpretation of Indian history more evident than in studies on the origin and evolution of nationalism in modern India. A new trend in the analysis of nationalist politics set in from the late 1960s, focussing attention on regions and provinces rather than on India as a single unit. Historians and scholars trained in Western Universities represented the new trend. Their contention was that India as a whole did not possess then any political or national identity and as such the real motives of politicians could be best understood by a deep study of the regional societies. According to them what motivated Indian politics was the introduction

of such institutional opportunities as English education and legislative franchise which affected the existing balance between the different groups in traditional society. Prominent among these scholars is Anil Seal, the Cambridge historian.⁵ During the late decades of the nineteenth century, Seal observed "a gap began to open between the Raj and some of its educated subjects," who began to voice their protests louder and louder through organising lawful associations. "Those men who entered the politics of associations and then used them to move upto an all India level" were the western educated and these western educated men were concentrated more in the three coastal presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, than in other parts of British India. Seal proceeded further to distinguish the three important linguistic regions - Bengal proper, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu - "where the new educated class must be related to the religions, the caste, the linguistic and economic situations in which they lived. " Later Seal shifted the emphasis from the regions to the localities - the district, the municipality, the village.⁶

Taking Tamil Nadu as a separate field of study Eugene Irschick offered what may be called a neo traditional explanation of South Indian politics.⁷ He traced the origin of political consciousness in India to areas where there were concentration of institutions and individuals who provided the facilities and direction for the creation of modern educated elite." Between 1916 and 1929 the Brahmin supremacy in South Indian politics was challenged by a group of non-Brahmins. The ensuing conflict, according to Irschick was but the articulation of a pre-existing social rivalry between the two groups. For, the Brahmins were the upholders of the Aryan culture from the North whereas the non-Brahmins stood for the Dravidian culture of the South. The increasing competitions and rivalries between the two groups culminated in a demand for a separate state for the Dravidians. In his more recent work Irschick analysed how perceptions of political and social relations in the Tamil country during the 1930's, as a result of the interaction between indigenous social categories and the British colonial bureaucracy, influenced revivalist and nativist movements ⁸ and opened up the political structure to a wide variety of social groups.

While Irschick's research covered much of the twentieth century, nationalism and related issues in nineteenth century South India formed the subject of research of R.Suntharalingam.⁹ Focussing attention on the Southern presidency in the late nineteenth century, Suntharalingam gave a comprehensive portrayal of the formation and political orientations of the commercial, administrative and professional elites, which played a seminal role in the political and social movements of South India. The nature of Madras politics prior to 1947 was again in the limelight with the effort made by the two Cambridge scholars, Washbrook and Baker. They traced the fundamental patterns of Madras politics to the patron-client linkages between magnates and professional men and analysed how politicians utilised the support of different communities classes and interests

in order to establish their ascendancy.¹⁰ Whereas Suntharalingam viewed politics in terms of elite activities and the Cambridge historians in terms of power politics, David Arnold's analysis has been projected in terms of party politics.¹¹ Making a case study of the functioning of the Congress party in Tamil Nadu, David Arnold expanded on the practical difficulties of nationalist politicians, the techniques and strategies adopted by them, the rise of rival parties and its repercussions on the organisations and character of the nationalist Congress Party.

Patterns and Issue:

The new interpretations with a focus on the region of Tamil Nadu, viewed within a wider context of all India historiography, point to a shifting of emphasis from synthesis to localization bordering on isolationism. Specialization is but an attempt to fit research into a broader picture. But the exploration of one of the two realities of India's historical experience has led the scholars far away from the other reality. Sufficient care has not been bestowed upon how specialised research fits together or how regional patterns fit into a whole. The developments in Tamil Nadu in the south were not isolated phenomenon but part of the whole of the historical development that the Indian sub continent experienced, perhaps different regions undergoing change at slightly different points of time. A comparative approach would certainly engender a better understanding of Indian history. The concept of feudalism which has been accepted as a useful tool of analysis in studies about medieval North Indian society,¹² as rightly pointed out by Karashma is yet to be applied to the study of South Indian society.¹³

History has been much enriched by scientific and sophisticated methods of research, so much so its relevance today springs from its nearness to the social sciences. It is not merely as a study of the past but also as a study of continuity and change with a teleological vision in to the future that historical research has gained in importance. In this context studies about state formation and social development in medieval Tamil Nadu and studies about politics and social transformation in modern Tamil Nadu can be understood and appreciated better if they are linked together to form connective account. Isolationist and localized research loses meaning when it loses sight of the thread of continuity. To quote Burton Stein, "The peasant societies of medieval South India are more ancient, durable, and, yes, elegant than most in the world."¹⁴ A systematic study of Sangam classics and Bhakti literature in the light of social formation and peasant culture, similar to Romila Thapar's study of social formation in Gangetic valley¹⁵ based on Vedic literature, is required. Such a study will not only continuity and add meaning to research on medieval Tamil Nadu but infact will help test the relevance of the different interpretations of medieval state and society. Social developments after all do not take place over a limited span of time but over what Braudel refers to as the "longue duree".

Regional studies of late are proceeding on the much trodden path of political history neglecting fundamental and major issues like migration of social groups and agrarian developments particularly relating to pre-modern and early modern Tamil Nadu Studies with a focus on modern Tamil Nadu revolve around political change and political structures in interaction with specific groups, castes and institutions in a given time and locality. The emergent patterns also show a shifting of emphasis from province to locality, from Western educated professional men to locally "big men" and from urban centred politics to political control through rural networks. Here again one confronts the neglect of major issues. For example political activities are purported to be derived from economic relations and motivation, but it is not explained how. Research in the field of economic history has not kept pace with research in politics. The men who participated in the politics of Tamil Nadu were motivated not only by self-interest but also by ideologies resulting from culture changes. The evolution of political culture in Tamil Nadu, culture changes in terms of revivalism and revitalization, the transmission of ideas, the use of symbols and systems of communication are important themes among issues that await exploration by the historian of modern Tamil Nadu.

Foot Notes

1. Ainslee. T. Embree, "Indian Civilization and Regional Cultures: The Two Realities" in Paul Wallace, ed., *Region and Nation in India*. Oxford and IBH, New Delhi, 1985.
2. Burton Stein *State and Society in medieval South India*,
3. Fathleen Gough, "Mode of Production in Southern India". *Economic and Political Weekly*, Annual Number, February 1980.
4. Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, Oxford Uni. Press, Delhi, 1984.
5. Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge Uni. Press, 1968.
6. Anil Seal, "Imperialism and Nationalism in India" in *Locality Province and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics, 1870-1940*, eds. John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson and Anil Seal, Cambridge, Cambridge Uni. Press, 1973.
7. Eugene Irschik, *Politics and Social Conflicts in South India : The Non Brhaman Movement and Tamil Separatism 1916-1929*, Berkely, Univ. of California Press, 1969.
8. Eugene Irschick, *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930*, Madras, Cre-A 1986.
9. R. Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, 1857-1891*, Tuscon: Univ. of Arizona, 1974.

10. D.A.Washbrook, the Emergence of Provincial Politics in the Madras Presidency, 1870-1920, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ.Press, 1970
C.J.Baker, The politics of South India, 1920-1937, Cambridge:Cambridge Univ.Press, 1976.
11. David Arnold, The Congress in Tamil Nadu, Delhi: Manshar, 1977.
12. See D.N.Jha, "Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique", Presidential Address to Section I at the Fortieth Session of the Indian History Congress (1979).
13. Karashima, South Indian History
14. Burton Steith, Peasant State and Society
15. Romila Thapar, From Lineage to State: Social Formation in the Mid First Millenium B.C. in the Ganga Valley, Bombay: Oxford Univ.Press, 1984.

THE CHARISMATIC MOVEMENTS IN TAMIL NADU: SOME ASPECTS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE EMERGING TRENDS IN INDIA AS COMPARED WITH THE SAME MOVEMENTS AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Professor Thomas Edmunds

I

Introduction

Social and Religious Movements are very important themes in the Social and Religious History of a nation. One of the significant aspects of the Social and Religious History of Tamil Nadu is the charismatic movements that one can find in some of the major and Historic Religions (as A.J. Toynbee calls) in Tamil Nadu. How Historians should examine and write the History of those Movements? This is the central theme of this paper.

II

Historiographical Model to examine Charismatic Movements

Critical Historians must write truthfully. It is very difficult to write as historians the "healing revivals" that take place in religious meetings and movements. To some historians this may be a "sacred history". Some may find it "a bazarre tale of ignorance and chicanery".

While writing "scientific history", Historians are (also) influenced by their own "subjective judgements". Hence, when charismatic movements are to be written, one must clearly portray the "views" of the leaders and Historians should not try to "defend" them. There must be rigid commitment to study the movements objectively. Interpretation must be done very carefully. The evidence must be used logically. "Overt judgements" about the morality or the sanity of the leaders of the Movements must not be offered. That, a good historian must leave to the readers. Historians must analyse the views of those leaders, their beliefs and motives must be investigated. The publications by the leaders of charismatic movements can be taken for critical evaluation. Interviews with those leaders are very helpful. A critical Biography of those leaders must be written by Historians, first. The philosophical, and political clarity of the personalities, personal charm, private life, press reports - all these factors must be critically examined.

When those leaders express religious opinions, that must be reported faithfully by the historians and the "serene relationship with God" that the leaders would express must be recorded.

The crusades of these leaders must be portrayed vividly. Their "ministry" shall be judged within the framework of the religious principles they follow. How the "religious personality" was and is formed? What is the level of their "infatuation with the God"? How they manage the personal crises? In this age of Broadcasting Network, how people are benefitted, how they react - with special reference to the "intellect and personality" of the leaders, the "Private Side" of these preachers, how they gain the trust of his fellow charismatics - all these factors must be clearly written and evaluated.

The charismatic nature of the personality has to be judged not just in the "theological sense" but "in the broadest definition of the term". Newspaper's editorial pronouncements, criticism of (political) adversaries - will surely help the historians to fathom the depth of the "mysterious personal charisma" of these leaders.

The "message" of these leaders, the manner in which they deliver the message of salvation - Political, Social, Economic and spiritual - the straightforwardness of the message - are to be judged on the basis of records. Are they "pragmatists", "Realists", - these personality traits should be estimated.

The fundamental (and persistent) question that is always asked of a religious leader is: "Is he/she honest?" The discriminating observer's observations, Sociologist's, estimations, will come to the rescue of the historians in their writings.

How an historian can judge the "miracles" that these charismatic leaders perform? The recorded testimonies of those who have "experienced the miracles" shall be reported by the historians. To quote an eminent American historian of charismatic Movements:

"Humankind had entered a post - Enlightenment era, and it seemed both honest and reasonable to explore supernatural perceptions. The existence of truth beyond reason explain miracles, and miracles in turn, bore witness to the reality of that truth".¹

III

Theology, History and Historiography

Charismatic theology is an "unconscious challenge to the modern worldview".² Challenge to reason is a healthy trend. This provides a kind of liberating force and also sets up a bridge

to the "next age of history". Subjective insights might help to find answers to some of the problems of life. When charismatic leaders operate within this frame of mind, historians have no other option except to write their views and examine the "truth" on the basis of available records. "Timeless Truths of Scriptures" can enliven history. The concept that God Acts in History, in the words of Arnold Joseph Toynbee, finds a central place in all Historic Religions. When religiously motivated charismatic leaders act, their impact on the society must be historically analysed and judged and written without fear or favour. Because, "History which is a record of unique events in the life of mankind is the stir and vibration of life. ...History ... is philosophy in motion".³ Viewed from this angle, historians must play their role to "enquire, research, explore or inform" on Movements of Contemporary history affecting or shaping the people in Society.

IV

Some Conclusions

A new vision of history - the view that a historian should not merely narrate the events but also act as a guide and a philosopher" - is gaining momentum. At a time when the prospects for history in Tamil Nadu appear to be bright, the historical consciousness in projecting the rich historical heritage of Tamil Nadu must be carefully sustained. Hence, the emerging charismatic Movements in Tamil Nadu in some of the major Religions like Hinduism and Christianity must be written with care and caution. American historiography has much to offer to the historiography of charismatic movements in Tamil Nadu. We historians in Tamil Nadu, have to consolidate the heritage of the old. We have to add new dimensions to it. We must enrich the historical horizon. A "clear-cut pattern of thought" in the writings of Tamil Nadu historians is emerging. The Historiography with special reference in the writings of contemporary religious charismatic movements in Tamil Nadu can and should contribute its share. Indeed, a professional historian writes any movement as he sees it.

Foot Notes

1. David Edwin Harrell, Jr. Pat Robertson: A Personal, Religious, and Political Portrait (Harper & Row, Publishers, San Francisco, 1987), p. 118
2. For an excellent analysis of this theme see, Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard, The Emerging Order: God in the Age of Scarcity (1993)
3. B. Sheikh Ali, History its Theory and Method (Macmillan India Ltd., Delhi, 1978) p.1

கள ஆய்வும் கலைக் கல்வியும்

டாக்டர் இரா. கலைக்கோவன்

இயக்குநர்.

டாக்டர் மா.இராசமாணிக்கனார்

வரலாற்றாய்வு மையம். திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி - 620 017

தமிழகக் கலை வரலாறு இன்றளவும் சரியான முறையில், முழுமையான அளவில் எழுதப்படவில்லை. நிறைந்த சான்றுகள் இருந்த போதும் இக்குறை ஏன் நேர்ந்துள்ளது என்றறிவதற்காக அண்மைக் காலத்தே வெளிவந்த கலைவரலாறு தொடர்புடைய நூல்களையும் கட்டுரைகளையும் ஆய்வுக்கு எடுத்துக்கொண்டோம். இவற்றை முழுமையாக ஆராய்ந்ததில் கலை வரலாறு தொடர்பாக எழுதுவோரில் பலர் கள ஆய்வுக்குச் செல்வதில்லை என்பதையும், செல்வோரில் பெரும்பான்மையோர் தேவையான அடிப்படைக் கலைக் கல்வியைப் பெறாதவர்களாய் இருப்பதையும் மூலச் சான்றுகளைக் கூட இவர்கள் சரியாகப் பார்ப்பதில்லை என்பதையும் அறிந்து கொள்ள முடிந்தது. தாங்கள் எழுத முனைந்துள்ள தலைப்பு குறித்து, ஏற்கனவே வெளிவந்திருக்கும் நூல்களைப் படித்து அவற்றிலுள்ளவாறே தங்கள் கட்டுரைகளை அல்லது நூல்களை அமைக்கும் தவறான பழக்கமும் கலை வரலாறு தொடர்பாக எழுதுவோரிடே பரவலாகக் காணப்படுகிறது. அடிக்குறிப்புகளைக் கூடச் சரிபார்க்காமல் அப்படியே எடுத்தாளும் போக்கும் இவர்களை வழிதவற வைத்துள்ளது.

எங்கள் ஆய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தப்பட்ட நூல்கள், கட்டுரைகள், ஆகியவற்றில் வகைக்கு இரண்டிலிருந்து சில சான்றுகளைக் காட்ட விழைகிறேன்.

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி புதுக்கோட்டை நெடுஞ்சாலையில் திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியிலிருந்து ஏறத்தாழ இருபது கிலோ மீட்டர் தொலைவில் அமைந்துள்ளது கீரனூர். இங்கிருந்து கிள்ளுக்கோட்டை செல்லும் சாலையில் பதினேழாவது கிலோ மீட்டரில் உள்ளது மலையடிப்பட்டி என்னும் சிற்றூர். இவ்வூரில் உள்ள குன்றொன்றில் இரண்டு குடைவரைகள் குடையப்பட்டுள்ளன. ஒன்று சிவபெருமானுக்கும் மற்றொன்று பெருமானுக்குமாய் அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இக்குடைவரைகளை ஆய்வு செய்து 'The Malaiyadippatti Cave Temples' என்ற தலைப்பில் கட்டுரை ஒன்று South Asian Studies தொகுதி நான்கில் வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ளது. இரண்டு குடைவரைகளைப் பற்றியும் விரிவான நிலையில் பேசும் இக்கட்டுரையில் முப்பதுக்கும் மேற்பட்ட கருத்துப் பிழைகள் உள்ளன. கட்டுரை மொத்தம் பன்னிரண்டு பக்கங்களே உள்ளது என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. இக்கட்டுரையில் உள்ள பெரும்பான்மையான பிழைகளுக்குக் காரணம் தேவையான கலைக் கல்வியும் முறையான, அறிவியல் நோக்குடைய கள ஆய்வும் இல்லாமல் போன்மைதான். சில பிழைகளைப் பார்ப்போம்.

இடம், கட்டுமானம் பற்றிய தவறுகள்

1. கட்டுரையாசிரியர் சிவபெருமானின் குடைவரைக்கு வடக்கில் பெருமாள் குடைவரை இருப்பதாகக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். ஆனால் பெருமாள் குடைவரை சிவபெருமானின் குடைவரைக்கு மேற்கில் உள்ளது.
2. விஷ்ணு குடைவரையின் முன்பாக முகமண்டபம் மற்றும் கோபுரத்தின் எச்சங்கள் காணப்படுவதாகக் கூறுகிறார். ஆனால் கோபுரத்துக்கும் குடைவரைக்கும் இடையில் எந்தக் கட்டடச் சிதையும் காணப்படவில்லை. கோபுரம், துணைத்தளம் முதல் பூமிதேசம்வரை முழுமையான முதல்தள அமைப்புடன் நிற்கிறது. மேல் நிலைகள் மட்டுமே சிதறியுள்ளன. ஒரு தளம் முழுவதும் இருக்கும் இக்கட்டுமானத்தை 'Traces' என்ற சொல்லால் குறிப்பது பொருந்தாது.

சிற்ப அமர்வுகள், தோற்றங்கள் குறித்த தவறுகள்

1. மடைப்பள்ளியைத் தொடரும் மண்டபமொன்றில் விஷ்வக்சேனர் சிற்பம் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. இத்திருமேனியைக் கட்டுரையாசிரியர் விஷ்ணு என்று தவறாக அடையாளம் கண்டுள்ளார்.
2. மகாராஜ லீலாசனம், லளிதாசனம், உத்குடியாசனம், யோகாசனம் போன்ற அமர்வு நிலைகளில் ஆசிரியருக்குப் பெருங்குழப்பம் உள்ளது. பல இடங்களில் இவற்றை ஒன்றுக்கொன்று மாற்றிக் கூறியிருக்கிறார். உத்குடியாசனத்தில் உள்ள பெருமானின் தேவியரை மகாராஜ லீலாசனத்தில் இருப்பதாகக் கூறுகிறார். வீரபத்திரரின் யோகாசனத்தை உத்குடியாசனம் என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.
3. விஷ்ணு குடைவரையில் பள்ளி கொண்ட பெருமானின் தலைப்புறம், கிழக்குச் சுவரில் இடம் பெற்றிருக்கும் கருடனின் பறக்க எத்தனிக்கும் நிலையை ஆலிடம் என்று பிழையாகக் குறித்துள்ளார். ஆலிடத்தில் இரண்டு கால்களும் ஒரே தளத்தில் இருக்க வேண்டும். ஆனால் சிற்பத்தில் கருடனின் இரண்டு கால்களும் தரையை நீங்கிய நிலையில் உள்ளன.

கோட்பாட்டுப் பிழை

1. "The Sapta Matrkas of Malaiyadippatti occupy an important place in the cult system of the Pudukkottai and Pandimandalam regions because this is the only panel available in the entire zone beyond the river kaveri" என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். இது பிழையான கூற்றாகும். இதே போன்று பாறையில் வெட்டப்பட்ட, காலத்தால் முற்பட்ட எழுவர் அன்னையர் சிற்பத் தொகுதிகளைத் திருக்கோளக்குடி குடைவரையிலும், திருக்கோகர்ணம் குடைவரையிலும், வரிச்சியூர் குடைவரையிலும் காணலாம். இவற்றைப்பற்றி அறியாமலேயே, "The Bhatarar cave of Malaiyadippatti is our only evidence of the percolation of the matrkas cult into the interior areas in Tamilnadu

and thus the representation gets an important place in the local annals of religious tradition' என்றெல்லாம் எழுதிச் செல்கிறார்.

கல்வெட்டு தொடர்பான பிழை

தந்திவர்மர் காலத்ததாகிய தமிழ்க் கல்வெட்டொன்றை வட்டெழுத்துக் கல்வெட்டு என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.

இக்கட்டுரையாசிரியர் கோயிற் கட்டடம், சிற்பம், கல்வெட்டு, ஆடல், சார்ந்த துறைகளில் போதிய அனுபவமின்மையினாலேயே இத்தகு பிழைகளைச் செய்துள்ளார். இந்தக் குடைவரைகளை இவர் முழுமையான ஆய்வுக்கு எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவில்லை. குடைவரைகள் உள்ள மலை வளாகத்தை முழுமையாகப் பார்க்கவில்லை. ஒப்பீட்டு ஆய்வுக்கு இதே மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள இதே காலகட்டத்தைச் சேர்ந்த பிற குடைவரைகளைப் பார்க்க வேண்டுமென்றும் இவர் கருதவில்லை. இவர் கட்டுரையில் காணப்படும் அனைத்துப் பிழைகளுக்கும் இவையே காரணம்.-

மலையடிப்பட்டியில் ஆய்வு செய்த நாங்கள் இக்கட்டுரையாசிரியர் ஆய்வு செய்து நடுக்காலச் சோழர்களுடையதென்று கருத்து தெரிவித்திருக்கும் விஷ்ணு குடைவரையின் முன் மண்டபப் பட்டிகையிலிருந்து முற்சோழர் கல்வெட்டுகள் இரண்டைக் கண்டறிந்தோம். இவை இக்குடைவரையின் பழம்பெயரைத் தருவதுடன் கோயில் வழிபாடு தொடர்பான முக்கியமான தகவல்களைத் தந்துள்ளன. மலை வளாகத்திலிருந்து புதுமையான கல்வெட்டொன்றையும் கண்டறிந்தோம். 'கறையூர் ஆலங்காரிக்குப் பிச்சம் பிராந்தும் அமனி' என்ற தகவலைத் தரும் இக்கல்வெட்டு பற்றிய கல்வெட்டறிஞர்களின் விளக்கங்கள் எங்கள் மைய அரையாண்டு ஆய்விதழான வரலாறு நான்காம் தொகுதியில் பார்க்கலாம்.

சிவன் கோயில் வளாகத்தில் இருந்து -புதிய கல்வெட்டுகள் இரண்டையும் கல்வெட்டு அறிக்கையில் ஏற்பட்டுள்ள பிழைகளை நேர் செய்யும் தகவல்களையும் கண்டறிந்தோம்.

உலகத் தமிழ் மாநாட்டின்போது வெளியிடப்பட்ட 'தமிழர் நாகரிகம் முதல் தொகுதி' என்ற நூலில் ஐந்து கட்டுரைகள் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளன. இவற்றுள் ஒரு கட்டுரை தவிர ஏனைய நான்கிலும் பரவலாகப் பிழைகள் உள்ளன. 'கோயிலும் குடியிருப்பும்' என்று ஒரு கட்டுரை. கோயில்களின் வளர்ச்சியைப் பேசும் இக்கட்டுரை தாங்க முடியாத பல தவறுகளை உள்ளடக்கியுள்ளது. சில காட்டுகள் பார்ப்போம்.

பத்துப் பாட்டு இலக்கியங்களுள் ஒன்றான மதுரைக் காஞ்சியில் 'விண்ணுற வோங்கிய பல்படைப் புரிசை' என்றொரு அடி உள்ளது. பல அடுக்குகளைக் கொண்ட மதில், விண்ணைத் தொடுமாறு ஓங்கி உயர்ந்து இருந்தது என்பதே இதன் பொருளாகும். ஆனால் இக்கட்டுரையில் 'பல்படை' என்பதைப் 'பல்புடை' என்று தவறாகப் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் 'மிக உயர்ந்த மாடங்கள் அமைந்த மதில்கள்' என்று பொருளையும் மாற்றிக் கூறியிருக்கிறார்கள். மதுரைக் காஞ்சியின் சொல்லை மாற்றி, அதன் விளைவாய்ப்

பொருளையும் மாற்றிச் சங்க காலத்தில் இருந்திராத ஒன்றை இருப்பது போல் காட்டியிருப்பது எத்தனைப் பிழை?

கட்டுரையாளர்கள் பல்லவர் காலக் கலை வளர்ச்சி பேசுமிடத்து, மண்டகப்பட்டுக் கல்வெட்டைப் பற்றிக் கூறுகிறார்கள். 'மண்டகப் பட்டுக் குடைவரையை எடுத்த முதலாம் மகேந்திரவர்மர், நான்முகன், திருமால், சிவபெருமான் ஆகிய முப்பெரும் தெய்வங்களுக்கும் கல் இன்றி, மண் இன்றி, உலோகம் இன்றி, சுதை இன்றி, விசித்திர சித்தனாகிய தான் தோற்றுவித்ததாகக் கூறிக் கொள்கிறான்' என்கிறது கட்டுரை. மகேந்திரவர்மர் இதைப் படித்தால் பதறிப் போவார்.

'செங்கல் இல்லாமல், மரம் இல்லாமல், உலோகம் இல்லாமல், சுதை இல்லாமல், பிரம்ம ஈசுவர விஷ்ணுவுக்கு லக்ஷிதாய தனம் என்ற கோயிலை விசித்திர சித்தன் எடுத்தான்' என்ற அவரது கல்வெட்டுச் செய்தி இப்படிப் பொருள் மாறி நின்றால் அவர் பதறாமல் என்ன செய்ய முடியும்? கல்லில் சாதனை செய்த மகேந்திரரைக் கல்லில்லாமல் கோயில் எடுத்தார் என்றால் கலை வரலாறு என்னாவது? செங்கல் இல்லாமல் மரம் இல்லாமல், என்ற கல்வெட்டு வரியைக், கல் இல்லாமல், மண் இல்லாமல், என்று விருப்பம் போல் மாற்றிக் கொண்டால் படிப்பவர் என்னவென்று விளங்கிக் கொள்வர்?

கோயிற்கட்டட அமைப்பு பற்றி விரித்துரைக்கும் இடத்தில் கோயிற் கட்டடத்தின் ஆதார உறுப்புகளாக உப பீடம், அதிட்டானம், பாதம், பிரஸ்தரம், கண்டம், சிகரம், தூபி, என்ற ஏழு அங்கங்களைக் கட்டுரையாளர் குறிக்கின்றார். பெரும்பாலான கோயில்களில் உபபீடம் நீங்கலாக ஏனைய ஆறு அங்கங்கள் அமையப் பெற்றிருப்பதாகச் சொல்பவர்கள், ஒரு சில கோயில் அமைப்பில் நான்கு அங்கங்கள் மட்டுமே இடம் பெற்றுள்ளன, என்று கூறி, மாமல்லபுரத்து ஒற்றைக்கல் தளியான கொற்றவைக் கோயிலில் (திரௌபதி ரதம்) காட்டாகத் தருகிறார்கள். கொற்றவைக் கோயிலைக் கோயிற்கட்டடத்தின் அடிப்படை, அங்கங்களான ஆறில் பிரஸ்தரம், கிரீவம் என்னும் இரண்டு உறுப்புகளும் இல்லை என்று கட்டுரையாசிரியர்கள் கூறுகின்றனர்.

இவர்களின் கூற்று எத்தனைப் பிழையானது என்பதை மாமல்லபுரம் கொற்றவைக் கோயிலைப் பார்த்தால் அறியலாம். இக்கோயிலில் உபபீடம் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. அதையடுத்து அதிட்டானம் என்னும் தாங்குதளம். இவர்களால் பாதம் என்று சொல்லப்படும் சுவரமைப்பு, தாங்குதளத்திற்கு மேலே மூன்றாம் உறுப்பாய் எழுகிறது. இந்தச் சுவருக்கு மேலேதான் பிரஸ்தரம் என்னும் கூரை அமைய வேண்டும். இக்கோயிலில் கூரை அமைந்துள்ளது. கூரைக்கு மேலே சிகரமும் தூபியும் பார்வைக்குத் தெரியுமாறு உள்ளன. இக்கோயிலில் வெளிக்குத் தெரியாமல் மறைவாய் இருப்பது கிரீவப்பகுதி மட்டும்தான். இதையும் இல்லையென்று சொல்வது பொருந்தாது. ஆனால் கட்டுரையாளர்கள் இதையெல்லாம் கணக்கில் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவில்லை. கண்ணுக்குத் தெரியாதிருக்கும் கிரீவத்தை விட்டாலாவது பரவாயில்லை கண்ணெதிரே பளிச்சென்று தெரியும் உபபீடத்தையும் பிரஸ்தரத்தையும் கூட ஒதுக்கியுள்ளனர். இதற்குக் காரணம் இவர்கள்

திரு. கூ.ரா. சீனிவாசனின் தென்னிந்தியக் கோயில்கள் என்ற ஆங்கில நூலில் உள்ள தகவல்களை அப்படியே பின்பற்றியதுதான்.

The small Draupadi Ratha illustrates the type of a very small hut like vimana, square on plan, with only four of the usual six angas of the vimana, namely adhishthana, pada and bhitti, sikhara and stupi, the argas that are lacking being the prastara and griva. This chaturvarga ratha represents the kuta type with a four sided domical roof, or sikhara crowned by a simple stupi or final? இவை கூ.ரா.சீனிவாசன் தென்னிந்தியக் கோயில்கள் நூலில் கொற்றவை ரதம் பற்றி எழுதியுள்ள வரிகள்.

பிரஸ்தரம் என்ற சொல்லுக்கு, 'entablature consisting of the mouldings over the walls and pillars, viz. the uttra (beam), vajana, valashi, kapota, alinga and antari' என்று பல்லவர் குடைவரைகள் நூலின் சொல்லடைவுப் பகுதியில் விளக்கம் தருகிறார் கூ.ரா.சீனிவாசன். சுவர் மற்றும் தூண்களின் மேல் அமரும் உத்திரம், வாஜனம், வலபி மற்றும் கபோதம் ஆகியவற்றால் கூடிய அமைப்பே பிரஸ்தரம் என்பது இதன் பொருள். அந்தரியும், ஆலிங்கமும் கூரையுறுப்புகளாக அமைவதில்லை. அவை பூமி தேசத்திற்குரியவை. இன்னும் சொல்லப் போனால் பல்லவக் கோயில்களில் இவை பூமி தேசத்தின் தொடக்க நிலை வெளிப்பாடுகள். பிரஸ்தரத்தின் முக்கியமான உறுப்புகள் உத்திரம், வாஜனம், வலபி, கபோதம், ஆகியவையே ஆகும். கொற்றவைக் கோயிலில் இவையனைத்துமே உள்ளன. வலபியில் பூதவரி காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. இந்தப் பூதவரியில் நந்தி கூட இடம் பெற்றுள்ளது. இவையெல்லாம் இருந்தும் திரு.கூ.ரா.சீனிவாசன் இக்கோயிலை நான்கு அங்கங்கக் கோயில் என்றது பிழையே. அவர் நூலை அப்படியே பின்பற்றியதாலும் கொற்றவை கோயிலுக்குச் சென்று நேரடியாக ஆய்வு செய்யாமையாலும் இக்கட்டுரையாசிரியர்களும் இக்கோயிலை நான்கு அங்கக் கோயிலாகக் காட்டியுள்ளனர்.

இதைவிட வேடிக்கை என்னவென்றால் தம்முடைய South Indian Temples என்ற நூலில் கொற்றவை ரதத்தில் பிரஸ்தரம் என்னும் உறுப்பே இல்லையென்று எழுதும் திரு.கூ.ரா.சீனிவாசன். 'Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture. South India - Lower Dravida Desa' என்னும் நூலில், 31 ஆம் பக்கத்தில் 'The prastara shows bhutamala with each bhuta placed at a point where in brick and timber structures, it would have sealed a joist end' என்று எழுதுகிறார். இதை, இக்கட்டுரையாசிரியர்கள் படிக்கவில்லை போலும்.

முறையான இலக்கியப் பயிற்சியின்மை, கல்வெட்டுகளில் தேவையான புலமையின்மை, கோயிற் கட்டடக்கலை வளர்ச்சிபற்றிய தெளிவான சிந்தனைகளைப் பெறாமையோன்ற காரணங்களே இக்கட்டுரையாசிரியர்களின் பல பிழைகளுக்கும் காரணங்களாக உள்ளன.

கட்டுரையாசிரியர்களைப் போலவே கலை வரலாறு எழுதும் நூலாசிரியர்களும் தேவையான கலைக் கல்வியோ அல்லது கள ஆய்வோ இல்லாமலேயே நூல்களை எழுதி வெளியிட்டுள்ளனர். கள ஆய்வு அதிகம்

இல்லாமல் படங்களை வைத்துக் கொண்டு எழுதப்பட்ட நூலொன்றில் காணப்படும் பிழைகளுள் இரண்டையும் கலைக் கல்வி இல்லாமல் கள ஆய்வு செய்து எழுதப்பட்ட நூலொன்றில் காணப்படும் தவறுகளுள் இரண்டையும் காட்டுகளாகப் பார்க்கலாம்.

காமராசர் மாவட்டத்தில் குடைவரைக் கோயில்களைக் கொண்டிருக்கும் மிசச் சில சிற்றூர்களுள் செவல் பட்டியும் ஒன்று. இராசபாளையத்திலிருந்து திருவேங்கடம் வழியாக ஏறத்தாழ நாற்பத்து நான்கு கிலோ மீட்டர் பயணித்தால் செவல்பட்டியை அடையலாம். ஏறுவோரை வடக்கு நோக்கிய குடைவரை நேயத்தோடு வரவேற்கிறது. முற்காலப் பாண்டியர் காலத்தான இக்குடைவரையின் கிழக்குச் சுவரில் சிவபெருமானின் ஆடல் கரணச் சிற்பம் ஒன்று வடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

சிவபெருமான் அர்த்த ஸ்வஸ்திகக் கரணத்தில் காட்சி தரும் இந்த ஆடல் தோற்றம் மிக அருமையானதாகும். இந்தக் கரணத்தில் குன்றக்குடி குடைவரையிலும் காஞ்சிபுரம் ராசசிம்மேசுவரத்திலும் சிவபெருமானுக்குச் சிற்பங்கள் உண்டு.

இங்குள்ள சிற்பத்தில் இடப்பாதம் முழுமையாகச் செதுக்கப்படாத நிலையில் பார்க்கவத்தில் உள்ளது. கணுக்காலில் அழகுபடக் கோத்த மணிச் சலங்கையுடன் கூடிய வலப்பாதம், இடக்காலின் பின்புறத்தே ஸ்வஸ்திகத்தில் அக்ரதல சஞ்சாரமாய் உள்ளது. இடையில் திருமுறை ஆசிரியர்கள் பரக்கப் பாடும் கீள். முன் கைகளில் இடக்கை காக்கும் குறிப்பில், வலக்கை அர்த்த ரேசித்தில், பின் கைகளில் இடப்புறம் தியகல், வலப்புறம் நாட்டிய வேதமாய் ஓலைச்சுவடி, செவிகளில் கனத்த பனையோலைக் குண்டலங்களும் கழுத்தில் அட்டிகையும், ருத்திராக்க வளைகளுமாய் ஆடும் பெருமானின் சடைபாரம், மிக நேர்த்தியாய் வடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. முகக் குறிப்பிலும் இதழ்ப்பிதுக்கமாய் விரியும் இளநகையிலும் உடல் வளைவுகளிலும் ஆடல் அமைப்பின் நிறைவிலும் இந்த எழிலார்ந்த ஆடற்சிற்பம் தன்னிகரற்றுத் திகழ்வதால் தமிழகத்தில் கிடைக்கும் சிவபெருமானின் தொடக்கக் கால ஆடற் சிற்பங்களுள் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க ஒன்றாய் இதைக் கொள்ளலாம். அண்மையில் மறுபதிப்பாக வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ள 'Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature, என்ற புத்தகத்தில் அதன் ஆசிரியர் சிவபெருமானின் இந்த ஆடல் தோற்றத்தைப் பற்றிப் பதினைந்து வரிகள் எழுதியுள்ளார். அதில் ஒன்பது பிழைகள் உள்ளன.

ஊரின் பெயர், இந்த ஆடல் தோற்றம் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ள குடைவரைப் பகுதியின் பெயர், அணிகலன்கள், பாத அமைப்பு, கை நிலை, கையிலுள்ள கருவிகள், தலைக்கோலம் கொண்டு எடுக்கப்பட்ட தோற்றம் பற்றிய முடிவு என அனைத்தும் தவறாக உள்ளன.

சிவபெருமானின் வலப்பின் கையில் நாட்டிய வேதமாய் ஓலைச் சுவடிகள் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதை உடுக்கை என்கிறார் நூலாசிரியர். சிவபெருமானின் இரண்டு செவிகளிலும் பனையோலைக் குண்டலங்கள் உள்ளன. நூலாசிரியரோ இடச் செவியில் மட்டும் குண்டலம் இருப்பதாகவும், வலச் செவியில்

இல்லையென்றும் கூறுகிறார். இதன் அடிப்படையில் இத்தோற்றத்தை அர்த்த நாரீசுவரக் கோலமாக வேறு அறிமுகப்படுத்துகிறார். சிவபெருமானின் சடைபாரத் தலைக்கோல அமைப்பை மட்டும் கருத்தில் கொண்டு இச்சிற்பம் கிழக்குச் சுவரில் வெட்டப்பட்டிருந்த போதும் இது நாட்டிய தட்சிணா மூர்த்தியைக் குறிப்பதாக எழுதியுள்ளார். தட்சிணம் என்றாலே தெற்கு. தெற்கிலுள்ள மூர்த்தியை மட்டுமே தட்சிணா மூர்த்தி என்று அழைக்க வேண்டும். வேறெந்த திசையிலுள்ள மூர்த்தியையும் தட்சிணாமூர்த்தி என்றழைப்பது பொருந்தாது. கிழக்கில் வெட்டப்பட்டு மேற்குப் பார்வையாக இருக்கும் சிவபெருமானின் ஆடல் தோற்றத்தை தட்சிணாமூர்த்தி என்பது பெரும் பிழையாகும்.

இந்நூலாசிரியர் இது போன்ற பிழைகளைத் தம் நூலில் பல இடங்களில் செய்துள்ளனர். பத்தே கைகள் உள்ள மேலைக் கடம்பூர் அமிர்த கடேசுவரர் திருக்கோயில் பாலா நடராசர் படிமத்திற்குப் பதினாறு கைகள் இருப்பதாகப் பட்டியலிட்டுள்ளார்.

களங்களுக்குச் செல்லாமல் ஒளிப்படங்களைப் பார்த்தே நூலெழுதியதுதான் இவ்வறிஞர் பெருமானின் இத்தனைப் பிழைகளுக்கும் காரணம். ஒளிப்படங்கள் எடுக்கப்படும் கோணத்தைப் பொறுத்தும், கிடைக்கும் வெளிச்சத்தைப் பொறுத்தும் எந்த வடிவத்தை எடுக்கிறோமோ அந்த வடிவத்தில் பல மாறுதல்களைத் தோற்றுவிக்க வல்லன. அதனால் எழுத விரும்பும் இடத்தை அல்லது வடிவத்தை நேரில் சென்று பார்க்காமல் அவற்றின் படங்களை மட்டும் பார்த்து எழுதுவதென்பது எழுதும் அறிஞரைப் பேராபத்தில் சிக்க வைத்து விடும். இது கலை, எண்ணம். இலக்கியத்தில் நடராசர் என்னும் நூல் வழி நாம் பெறும் படிப்பிணையாகும்.

தென்னகக் குடைவரைக் கோயில்கள், தமிழகக் குடைவரைக் கோயில்கள் என்று இரு நூல்கள் அண்மைக் காலத்தில் வெளிவந்துள்ளன. இவ்விரண்டு நூல்களையும் எழுதிய ஆசிரியர் களங்களுக்கு நேரே சென்று குடைவரைகளையெல்லாம் பார்த்த பிறகே நூலெழுதியுள்ளார். ஆயினும் ஒவ்வொரு கட்டுரையிலும் பிழைகள் மலிந்துள்ளன. போதுமான கோயிற்கலைக் கல்வி பெறாமையும் அறிவியல் நோக்கற்ற கள ஆய்வுமே இவற்றுக்குக் காரணம். தமக்கு முன் இக்குடைவரைகளைப்பற்றி எழுதியுள்ளவர்தம் நூல்களைப் பெரும்பாலும் அப்படியே பின்பற்றியிருக்கும் இவர் அவர்கள் செய்த பிழைகளைத் தாமும் செய்துள்ளார்.

குன்றக் குடியிலுள்ள மூன்று குடைவரைக் கோயில்களைப்பற்றித் தம்முடைய தமிழகக் குடைவரைக் கோயில்கள் நூலில் இப்பெருமகனார் கட்டுரையொன்று எழுதியுள்ளார். இக்குடைவரையில் மலைக்கொழுந்து நாதர் குடைவரையைப் பற்றிப் பேசுமிடத்தில் இக்குடைவரையிலுள்ள கருவறைக்கு இருபுறமும் வாயிற்காப்போர் இரு கைகளுடன் திரிபங்க நிலையில் காணப்படுகின்றனர். இவர்களுடைய தலையில் கொம்பு இல்லை. இவர்களின் ஒருகை கதை மீதும் மற்றொரு கை இடுப்பில் ஊன்றியும் இருக்கின்றன. பாம்பு கதையைச் சுற்றிக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவர்களும் நேராக நின்ற நிலையில் உருவாக்கப்பட்டுள்ளனர். ஆடையின் மடிப்பு தெளிவாக விளங்கும்படி காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது என்று விரிவாகப் பேசியுள்ளார். இத்தனை

வண்ணனையும் கருவறை வாயிலின் புறத்தே இருபுறமும் உள்ளதாக நூலாசிரியர் குறிப்பிடும் வாயிற்காப்போர் பற்றியதென்பதை மறக்க வேண்டாம்.

இந்தக் குடைவரையின் பின் சுவரில் கருவறை குடையப்பட்டுள்ளது. இக்கருவறையின் புறத்தே வாயிற்காப்போர் சிற்பங்களே கிடையாது. வாயிலின் வலப்புறம் லிங்கோத்பவர் தொகுதியும் இடப்புறம் கொற்றவை, சங்கர நாராயணர் சிற்பங்களும் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. நூலாசிரியர் இவற்றையும் குறிப்பிடுகிறார் என்றாலும் இல்லாத இரண்டு சிற்பங்களையும் இருப்பதாக எழுதி, அவற்றை வண்ணனை வேறு செய்துள்ளார். கள ஆய்வை முறையாகச் செய்யாமையினால், குறிப்புகளைப் பார்க்காமல் கட்டுரை அமைத்தமையால் இப்பிழை நேர்ந்துள்ளது.

கள ஆய்வுகளில் குறிப்பெடுப்பது மட்டும் போதாது. அந்தக் குறிப்புகள் அனைத்தையும் களத்தை நீங்கும் முன் மறுமுறை சரிபார்த்துக் கொள்வது அதனினும் இன்றியமையாதது.

போதிய கலைக் கல்வி பெறாமைக்குக் குடைவரை அதிட்டானங்களை இவர் வண்ணிக்கும். முறையே சான்றாக நிற்கிறது. வரி, வரிமானம் என்ற சொற்களால் அதிட்டான அடுக்குகளைக் குறிக்கிறார். இது இவர் பிழையல்ல. திரு.எஸ்.ஆர். பாலசுப்பிரமணியம் தம்முடைய சோழர் கோயில்கள் என்ற நூலில் பல இடங்களில் இச்சொற்களை ஆண்டுள்ளார். முறையான கலைச் சொற்களை அறியாத காரணத்தால் பிழையான இச்சொற்களைப் பல இடங்களில் கையாண்டுள்ளார் இந்நூலாசிரியர்.

தமிழகக் கலை வரலாறு பேசும் அண்மைக் கால நூல்கள், கட்டுரைகள் பற்றிய இந்த ஆய்வு கலை வரலாறு எழுத நினைப்போர்க்குள்ள கடமைகளை நினைவூட்டுவதாய் அமைகிறது. அடிப்படைக் கலைக் கல்வியும் முறையான கள ஆய்வுகளும் இல்லாமல் கலை வரலாறு எழுத முனைவது இனியேனும் தவிர்க்கப்படல் வேண்டும். பிழைகள் மலிந்த நூறு நூல்களை விடச் சரியாக அமையும் ஒரு கட்டுரை மதிப்புடையது.

கட்டுரையில் காட்டுகளாக இடம் பெற்ற கட்டுரைகளும் நூல்களும்

1. Raju Kalidas, The Malaiyadippati Cave Temples South Asian Studies, Vol. IV, 1988.
2. கி. ஸ்ரீதரன், சி. முனுசாமி, வே.இராமன், கோயிலும் குடியிருப்பும் (கட்டுரை), தமிழர் நாகரிகம், முதல் தொகுதி (பதிப்பாசிரியர் நடனகாசிநாதன்), தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத் துறை வெளியீடு, சென்னை 600 113, 1994.
3. C.Sivaramamurhti, Nataraja in Art Thought and Literature, Publication Division, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1994.
4. தி. இராசமாணிக்கம், தமிழகக் குடைவரைக் கோயில்கள், கழக வெளியீடு, 1984.

TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS

(Regd. No. 266 of 1993)

List of Patron, Donors and Life Members

PATRONS

1. Thiru. R. VENKATARAMAN
Former President of India
2. Dr. N. Mahalingam
Chairman
Sakthi Group of Companies
101, Mount Road, Guindy
Madras-600 032
3. Sri N. Sethuraman
Director,
Raman & Raman Private Limited
1, Thiruvudaimaruthur Road,
Kumbakonam - 612 001
4. Dr. A. Surya Kumari
Professor & Head, Dept of History
Mother Theresa Women's University,
Kodaikanal
5. Thiru. Pon. Elango
18, Park View Apartments
3-A, Prakasam Road,
T.Nagar, Madras - 600 017
6. Dr. A. Subramanian
6, North Sammandapuram
Rajapalayam - 626 117.
7. Dr. Nandita C. Krishna
Director
C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer Foundation
No.1, Eldams Road,
Alwarpet, Madras - 18.
8. Krishnamurthy Mr.
Editor
Dinamalar
161 Anna Salai
Madras 600 002
9. Thiru Iravatham Mahadevan I.A.S. (Retd)
Door No - 18A. IV Seaward Road
Valmikinagar, Tiruvanmiyur 600 041

1. Mahalingam N. Dr.
Chairman
Sakthi Group Of Companies
Mount Road
Guindy
Madras 600 032.
2. Sethuraman N. Sri.
Director
Raman & Raman Pvt. Ltd.,
Thiruvudaimaruthur Road
Kumbakonam 612 001.
3. Surya Kumari A. Dr.
Professor & Head
Dept. Of History
Mother Theresa Women's
University
Kodaikanal.
4. Pon Elango Thiru.
18, Park View Apartments
3-A, Prakasam Road
T. Nagar
Madras 600 017.
5. Subramanian A. Dr.
6, North Sammandapuram
Rajapalayam 626 117.
6. Nanditha C. Krishna Dr.
Director
C.P.Ramaswamy Aiyer Foundation
No. 1, Eldams Road
Alwarpet
Madras 600 018.
7. Chittibabu S.V. Dr.
4, Main Road
Rajaram Mehta Nagar
Madras 600 029.
8. Hanumanthan K.R. Dr.
8a, 1st Cross Street
Seethamma Colony
Madras 600 018.
9. Raman K.V. Dr.
34,5th Trust Cross Street
Mandavelipakkam
Madras 600 028.
10. Deivasigamani P.A. Mr.
'Manimehala' Plot-271
3rd Avenue, C Sector
Anna Nagar West
Madras 600 101.
11. Shanmugam P. Dr.
D1/25, Anand Apartments
50. Lattice Bridge Road
Thiruvannamiyur
Madras 600 041.
12. Sudhakar G.J. Dr.
1, Selli Amman Koil Street
Irumbuliyur
Tambaram
Madras 600 059.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>13. Ramanathan B. Prof.
D-4, Tnhb Quarters
A.P. Patro Salai
K.K. Nagar
Madras 600 078.</p> <p>14. Balambal V. Dr.
Professor
Dept. Of Indian History
University Of Madras
Madras 600 005.</p> <p>15. Premalatha P.N. Dr.
18, Usha Nagar Ii Street
Madipakkam (P.O)
Madras 600 092.</p> <p>16. Venkataraman G. Dr.
Lecturer
Indian History Department
University Of Madras
Madras 600 005.</p> <p>17. Subbarayalu Y. Dr.
Professor & Head
Dept. Of Epigraphy
Tamil University
Thanjavur 613 005.</p> <p>18. Ponnusamy R. Dr.
Excavation Incharge
Dept. Of Ancient History &
Archaeology
University Of Madras
Madras 600 005.</p> | <p>19. Edmunds T. Dr.
Tehovah Shalom
No.2, Lutheran Church Street
Land, Kadaperi
Tambaram
Madras 600 059.</p> <p>20. Mira Devi T.S. Dr.
2/1-13th Cross Street
Sastri Nagar
Adyar
Madras 600 020.</p> <p>21. Asadullahkhan Dr.
2, North Tank Street
Royapettah
Madras 600 014.</p> <p>22. Mohan P.E. Dr.
89,2nd South Cross Street
Mariappa Nagar
Annamalai Nagar
S.A. District 608 002.</p> <p>23. Rao K.V.R. Dr.
10, Venkatachala Iyer St.
West Mambalam
Madras 600 033.</p> <p>24. Ramachandra Rao T.G. Dr.
2/4, Estate - Quarters
Avadi
Madras 600 054.</p> |
|---|--|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>25. Leela Simon Prof.
5a, Owners Court
Montieth Lane
Egmore
Madras 600 008.</p> | <p>31. Kandasamy P. Prof.
9, Nalla Thambi Mudali St
Triplicane
Madras 600 005.</p> |
| <p>26. Munuswamy U. Prof.
201, Lakshmi Ammal Street
Ayyavu Naidu Colony
Aminjikarai
Madras 600 029.</p> | <p>32. Rajalakshmi V. Prof.
Ah 210/3, 8th Main Road
Anna Nagar
Madras 600 040.</p> |
| <p>27. Lalitha P.M. Dr.
16, 4th Street
Lakshmi Nagar
Nanganallur
Madras 600 061.</p> | <p>33. Anbukodi S. (Tmt) Prof.
318/3, Belly Area
Anna Nagar
Madras 600 040.</p> |
| <p>28. Balasundaram S.N. Prof.
C/21-Brown Stone Apartments
S. Usman Road Extension
Mahalingapuram
Madras 600 034.</p> | <p>34. Bharathi R. Mrs. Prof.
137, Pedariyar Koil Street
Madras 600 001.</p> |
| <p>29. Bhanumathi Dharmarajan
Plot No.16, Meena Apartments
27, Appar Street
Mylapore
Madras 600 004.</p> | <p>35. Sambandam S. Prof.
896, Syndicate Bank
Staff Colony
Madras 600 001.</p> |
| <p>30. Narayanan N.K. Prof.
R.52, M.M.D.A Colony
Maraimalaiadigal Street
Arumbakkam
Madras 600 106.</p> | <p>36. Balakrishnan G. Mr.
Secretary & Correspondent
S.B.O.A. School
West Anna Nagar
Madras 600 101.</p> |

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>37. Lakshmi S.G. Miss.
70, Prasanthi Nilayam
Pudupet Main Road
Rajaji Nagar
Pondicherry - 8.</p> | <p>44. Gopalakrishnan S. Dr.
50, Prakasam Nagar
S.V. University Campus
Tirupati 517 502
Andhra Pradesh.</p> |
| <p>38. Ananthakrishnan S. Mr.
15-5-1, Murugesan Street
Kodambakkam
Madras 600 024.</p> | <p>45. Gary J. Hausman
44, Narmanegan Court
Cranford
New Jersey 07016 - 1514
U.S.A.</p> |
| <p>39. Mahadevan C.S. Dr.
C/O.Mr. Pic. Venugopal
48, Vaidyar Annamalai Street
Mylapore
Madras 600 004.</p> | <p>46. Gary J. Hausman
80, 100th Street Ii Floor
15th Sector
K.K. Nagar
Madras 600 078.</p> |
| <p>40. Narayanaswamy R.S. Mr.
61, Seethamma Colony
Alwarpet
Madras 600 018.</p> | <p>47. Periasami C. Mr.
31, Gandhipuram
Attur (P.O)
Pin. 636 102
Salem District.</p> |
| <p>41. Krishnakumari M. Prof.
10-51, 11, Chalukya
Waltair Uplands
Visakhapatnam 530 003.</p> | <p>48. Ramaswamy P.P. Thiru.
Am-3, Todhunter Nagar
Saidapet
Madras 600 015.</p> |
| <p>42. Salem S. Jayalakshmi Dr.
5, 3rd Cross Street
Karpagam Gardens
Adyar
Madras 600 020.</p> | <p>49. Chakravarthy P. Dr.
8, Venkatesan Street
Velacheri Road
Tambaram East
Madras 600 059.</p> |
| <p>43. Rukmani P. Dr.
Sampath Kumar
11, First Raghava Reddy Colony
Madras 600 083.</p> | <p>50. Ratna Natarajan Prof.
8, Asiriyar Nagar
Thirupattur 635 601
N.A.District.</p> |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| 51. | Lalitha V.
8, Viswanathan Street
Srinivasa Avenue
R.A. Puram P.O.
Madras 600 090. | 59. | Krishna C.S. Dr.
19, 18th Street
Nanganallur
Madras 600 061. |
| 52. | Nagaswamy R. Dr.
22, 22nd Cross Street
Besant Nagar
Madras 600 090. | 60. | Md. Suhail M. Prof.
467, Haji Street
Fort, Vaniyambadi
N.A.A. District 635 751. |
| 53. | Vijayalakshmi S. Dr.
Vasant Apartments
87/43, Mundakanniamman KoilSt
Mylapore
Madras 600 004. | 61. | Komalavalli Prof.
10, Teacher's Colony
Ganesapuram
Post Office
Namakkal 637 002
Salem District. |
| 54. | Kadhirvel S. Dr.
H-55/1, 3rd Main Road
Thiruvannmiyur
Madras 600 041. | 62. | Mani M.M. Prof.
2a, Raja Nagar
Court Road
Salem 636 007. |
| 55. | Muthukumaran S. Dr.
T,64-A, 32nd Cross Street
Besant Nagar
Madras 600 090. | 63. | Muthian S. Mr.
Vijaya Gardens 2f, I Cross Street
Vijayaragavachari Road
T. Nagar
Madras 600 017. |
| 56. | Seetharaman A. Thiru.
11, Uma Nagar
Co-Operative Colony
Thanjavur 613 007. | 64. | Arunachalam N. Prof.
Professor Of History
St. Joseph's College
Tiruchirapalli - 2. |
| 57. | Alphonse.S.J. M. Mr.
Jesult Residence
Loyola College
Madras 600 034. | 65. | Janaki D. Prof.
Lecturer In History
Q.M.G.A.C. (W)
Mount Road
Madras 600 002. |
| 58. | Shaik Hussain Mustafakam
21, Esa Pallivasal Street
Ramanathapuram 623 501. | 66. | Kailasam T. Prof.
D/200
K.V.K. Sampath Nagar
Erode 638 011. |

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>67. Suma Bala M.P. Ms.
11, Varadappan Street
West Mambalam
Madras 600 033.</p> | <p>73. Natanasundaram V. Prof.
9, 5th Cross Street
C.I.T. Nagar East
Nandanam
Madras 600 035.</p> |
| <p>68. Thanancheyan R. Mr.
Research Scholar
Dept. Of Indian History
University Of Madras
Madras 600 005.</p> | <p>74. Balakrishnan C. Dr.
18, Mig Flats
Second Avenue
Indira Nagar
Adyar
Madras 600 020.</p> |
| <p>69. Prema Kasturi Dr.
1, Viswanathan Street
Srinivasa Avenue Colony
Madras 600 028.</p> | <p>75. Onnamarannan N.
6/13 B, Azad Street
Arcot (P.O.)
Pir - 632 503
N.A.A. District.</p> |
| <p>70. Rajayyan K. Dr.
University Road
Rajambadi
Madurai 625 021.</p> | <p>76. Premavathy N. Miss.
19, Ponnappa Mudali Street
Purasavakkam
Madras 600 084.</p> |
| <p>71. Amirthajothi C. Prof.
'Gurukripa'
15 B, Sree Nagar
Coimbatore 641 045.</p> | <p>77. Menaha A.R. Tmt.
S-10, Vi Avenue
Lecturer In History
Government Arts College
Chengalpattu.</p> |
| <p>72. Brinda N. Prof.
D 15. Bay View Apartments
Besant Nagar
Madras 600 090.</p> | <p>78. Gomathinayakam P. Mr.
132, Thambapillai Street
Rajapalayam</p> |

79. Neelayathakshi N.
Ram Nagar
Koneripatti Extension
Rasipuram
Salem District 637 408.

85. Chandrasekaran C. Dr.
8, Ponnappa Chetty Street
Triplicane
Madras 600 005.

80. Shahul Hameed H. Mr.
Rm. R. Manion
13/3, New Street
Sivaganga 623 560
Pasumpon District.

86. Mani K. Prof.
34-1, Pillayar Koil Street
Vadapalani
Madras 600 026.

81. Leela Palaniappan Mrs.
6, Chandra Bagh Avenue
Mylapore
Madras 600 004.

87. Dhanushkodi M. Prof.
9, 18th Avenue
Ashok Nagar
Madras 600 083.

82. Kalavathy C.B. Mrs.
3/217, State Bank Colony
Walajapet
N.A. District.

88. Krishnan G. Prof.
7/14, Peters Colony
Madras 600 014.

83. Kuppuswami T.V. Prof.
Flat No. 53, Plot No. 5
Uttaranchal Apartments
Patparganj
New Delhi 110 092

89. Thilagavathi Jagadesan Dr
13, Ii Cross
T.N.G.O. Colony
Adambakkam
Madras 600 088.

84. Venkatasubramanian T.K. Dr
Flat No. 53, Plot No. 5
Uttaranchal Apartments
Patparganj
New Delhi 110 092.

90. Mohamed Iqbal K.K. Mr.
20, Perie Malayappan Street
Royapettah
Madras 600 014

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>91. Kumaresan T.M. Dr.
66, Mayor Basudev Street
Washermanpet
Madras 600 021.</p> | <p>98. Natchathiram V. Thiru.
8, Mottai Garden Iii Land
Old Washermanpet
Madras 600 051.</p> |
| <p>92. Indrani Sreedharan Dr.
Principal
Ethiraj College
Madras 600 105.</p> | <p>99. Venugopal R. Mr.
5/1 Sidco Avenue
Kavi Arasu Kannadasn Nagar
Madras 600 051.</p> |
| <p>93. Trishla Tandon Mrs.Prof.
165, Agaram Road
Tambaram
Madras 600 059.</p> | <p>100. Nirmala Arulprakash Dr.
76, V.M. Street
Mylapore
Madras 600 004.</p> |
| <p>94. Revathy G. Dr.
88, Aspiran Garden
Kilpauk
Madras 600 010.</p> | <p>101. Michael Bruce Mc Farland Mr.
American Inst.Of Ind.Studies
9 Fourth Cross Street Cit Colony
Mylapore - Madras 600004</p> |
| <p>95. Innocent Rakkini D.
C/O. Mrs. Revathy Girish
88, Aspiran Garden
Kilpauk
Madras 600 010.</p> | <p>102. Arunachalam N.Dr
Appollo House
C 116,11th B Cross
Thillai Nagar
Thiruchirapalli 620018</p> |
| <p>96. Subramanya Raju D. Dr.
44, Motilal Street
Trivellore 602 001
Chengai Mgr District.</p> | <p>103. Kamala Arvind Mrs. Dr.
G Lecturer In History
Stella Mary's College
Madras.</p> |
| <p>97. Anbalagan G. Thiru.
H-1, 5th Block
Shanthi Colony
12 & 13, G.A. Road
Madras 600 021.</p> | <p>104. Gowri T.S. Tmt. Prof.
Alagappan Maistry Street
Chintadripet
Madras 600 002.</p> |

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| 105. | Venugopalan D.P.Mr
53-D Bajanai Koil Street
Choolaimedu
Madras 600034 | 113. | Lakshmi Kanthan Mr.
68, Thiru Vi Ka Nagar
Teacher's Colony
North Erode 638 011. |
| 106. | Ramachandra Reddy A.R.Dr.
Reader
Dept.Of History
Sri Venkateswara University
College Of Arts & Sciencees
Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh. | 114. | Sulochana Krishnamoorthy Mrs.
A 1702, Minor Minar Veera
Desai Road
Andheri (W)
Bombay, Maharashtra. |
| 107. | Swaminathan A. Dr.
Controller Of Examinations
Teachers Recruitment Board
Madras. | 115. | Kumbali N. Dr.
Reader Dept. Of History
Calicut University
Calicut 673 635. |
| 108. | Sathyarani G.A.L.
Lecturer In History
Mother Theresa Women's
University
Kodaikanal. | 116. | Soma Sundar Rao C. Prof.
Dept. Of History
Andhra University
Waltair
Andhra Pradesh. |
| 109. | Arulpitchai Narayanan M.Dr.
Kalakshetra Colony
Besant Nagar
Madras 600 090. | 117. | Sreelatha Vasudevan Mr.
Poes Garden
Madras 600 086. |
| 110. | Dakshinamurthi D. Mr.
5, Pulla Avenue
Shenoy Nagar
Madras 600 030. | 118. | Kalaikovan R. Dr.
Director, Rajamanickanar History
Research Centre
48, Puthur High Road
Tiruchirapalli 620 017. |
| 111. | Amba Shankari J. Mr.
Research Officer
Tamilnadu Archives
Egmore, Madras 600 008. | 119. | Nalini M. Ms.
Epigraphist, Rajamanickanar
History Research Centre
48, Puthur High Road
Tiruchirapalli 620 017. |
| 112. | Vinod K.
21, Ramanathan Street
T. Nagar
Madras 600 017. | 120. | Balaji P.O. Dr.
Dept. Of Ancient History
& Archaeology
University Of Madras
Madras 600 005. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>121. Mari K. (Mrs.) Dr.
54, Cruzpuram
Tuticorin 628 001.</p> | <p>128. Malathi Ramanathan Dr.
11, Kedar Co-Op. Housing
Society Road B Wagle Estate
Thane 400 004 Maharashtra</p> |
| <p>122. Misro R. Dr.
Reader In History
Berhampur Unit
Banja Bihar
Berhampur
760 007</p> | <p>129. Babu R.S. Mr.
12, Hari Seva Street
Kiddirpore
Calcutta - 23</p> |
| <p>123. Ramachandran A. Dr.
Senior Lecturer Dept. Of History
Pondy cherry University 605 014</p> | <p>130. Natana Kasinathan Dr.
Director Of Archaeology
Govt. Of Tamil Nadu
Iii Cross Street, Cit Campus
Taramani, Madras 600 113</p> |
| <p>124. Pandian R. Mr.
Lsg. Dept. Of History
Gtn Arts College
Dindigul
624 001</p> | <p>131. Dr. B. Alalasundaram
11, Kailasnagar, II nd Street
Lawspet, S.O
Pondicherry - 605008.</p> |
| <p>125. Alagappan N. Dr.
Reader In History
H. Vilangi Amman Koil Street
Chidambaram
608 001</p> | <p>132. Thiru. A.M.M. Khader Buksh
Hussein Town Kazi House
4/67 Middle St
Kilakarai - 623 517</p> |
| <p>126. Gousalya Dr.
Prof. Of History
St. Mary's College
Tuticorin</p> | <p>133. Dr. Mrs. A. J. Thinakaran
2.41 Kavimani Street
Narayanapuram,
Madurai 625 014</p> |
| <p>127. Sivaprakasam C.K. Dr
128. Abiramapuram (Ezhil Nagar)
Thanjavur
613 007</p> | <p>134. Dr. M.S. Govindaswamy
2, 13th Street, Canal Road,
Indira Nagar, Madras 600 020</p> |

135. Sri. S.P. Amirthalingam
37/9 Maligai Colony
West Nagar, Madras - 600 039
136. Dr. N. Subramanian
137. Prof. T.R. Ramachandran
37, 8th Cross St, (West)
Shenoynagar
Madras - 600 030

Institutional Member

1. Lakshmi S.Dr
Principal
Sri Saradha College For Women
Fairlands
Salem 636016