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TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Proceedings of the Third Session

7th & 8th September, 1996



**BHARATHIDASAN UNIVERSITY
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI**

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Editor

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EDITORIAL

Publishing the Third Proceedings Volume of the Tamil Nadu History Congress is a dream come true situation for the Editor, General Secretary as well as the Local Secretary of the 3rd session which was held in Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli under the auspices of the Centre for History [now Department of History] nearly 19 years ago. The original manuscripts could not be traced after the passing away of Prof. K.R. Hanumanthan who was at the helm of affairs then. However, a promise has been made a year ago to the General Body of the TNHC that the unpublished volume of the 3rd Session will be brought out during the 21st session of the TNHC. The promise has been kept and the only gap that existed in the long successive publication of the Proceeding volumes has been fulfilled. However, it has been achieved only with some effort. Here, I must place on record the untiring efforts of all the sectional presidents who have readily agreed to update their presentations so also all the other paper presenters. The present volume contains articles which have been updated and revised in the light of the new developments in their respective area of study.

On this occasion I sincerely thank all those who have readily responded to our call and submitted the revised version. I also would like to thank Thiru K.Marimuthu, Thiru. V. Murali, research scholars in the Department of History, Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli and the printers for bringing out the volume in time.

I also thank the Executive Committee of the TNHC and the General Body for their constant encouragement.


N.Rajendran

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GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS - 1996

Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan*

Esteemed President Dr. Veeramuthu Karuppan, the Vice-Chancellor who has taken a personal interest in organizing this conference by looking into the minutest details, in fact I heard even day before yesterday, that he was coming and inspecting the building of this hall and he wanted to have the conference in this hall and so he was very particular about it. In this way he was very scrupulous in attending to the smallest and the minute details of the organization and therefore we are very thankful to the Vice-Chancellor for his efforts to make this conference a glorious success and he also engaged one and all by this humility, dignity and duty consciousness. Dr. Eugene Irishick, Professor, University of California, a famous historian who has taken special interest in the History of South India and written a number of books on Indian Problems such as Non- Brahmin Movement. Dr. S.V.Chittybabu, former Vice-Chairman of State Council for Higher Education and the President and Kingpin of the organization. Without him we cannot think of the congress at all. He is the President and the Kingpin of our organization.

Dr. C. Thangamuthu, the Registrar of this University, who has made excellent arrangements and comfortable stay of the delegates. And Dr.N. Rajendran, the dynamic and efficient Local Secretary, but for his hard work and selfless service, this Congress wouldn't have been seeing the light of the day. Last year, I had great pleasure in releasing the Proceedings of the Second Annual Session held at Annamalai Nagar. We had a very smooth sailing in the publications of the proceedings of the First Annual Session. Thanks to the munificence of Dr.Mahalingam, who agreed to meet the entire cost of the production of our publication. But during this year we had to run from pillar to post for getting donations for the publications of the proceedings. Through the good Officers of Dr. K. V. Raman, Chitra Krishnan, we got some money from the TVS Group

of Companies and Mr. R. Krishnamurthy, Editor *Dinamalar*, gave us very generous donation. But this was not enough for publications, so we thought of postponing the publication for next year. At that time, I got a letter from Dr. Shukla, the Deputy Director of ICHR, New Delhi and the council has approved sanction of the publication grant but who is to undertake the publications on the basis of the promised grant, this promise we don't know whether it will come or not, Dr. Subbian was complaining that the grant applied for last year has not yet come, so who is to publish on the basis of this promise, no publisher was willing to take this risk. We lost all our hopes. At that time, Dr. Nanditha Krishna, Director of C.P.Ramaswami Aiyer Indological Research Foundation came to our rescue. Like a guardian angel, she arranged for the earliest typing of all the articles by a team of typists in her foundation and gave it for printing in the press owned by C.P.R. Environmental Educational Centre. It is all done in a record time of a month. We are immensely hardly indebted to Dr. Nanditha Krishnan for timely help.

Dr. S. Manickam, appointed editor, Prof. of Medieval History, School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, that work has been completed within 20 days. We had to seek help of the local scholar to edit the proceedings. Dr. T.N.Edmunds, Former Professor of History, T. B. M. L. College, Poraiyar, reading to agree to the editing work. We are immensely thankful to him also. Therefore all is well that ends well. The publication has been completed and is now ready for being distributed among patrons, life members and delegates who attended the Second Session. Just now when I was talking to Dr. Irishick, he was telling publish or perish is the slogan in USA and that has become the slogan in India also; without publication nobody gets promotion, without publication nobody gets recruited into the Government Services as Professors. Therefore we wanted to publish all the

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This is posthumously published

West provided Tamil Nadu and the rest of India with the categories that came to be the basis of this discussion. The Subalternists conclude that there is only one way to write the history of India and Tamil Nadu and that is by what they called writing back. "We must look to the values of the Subalterns as a way to discover so as to speak the resistance of the agency that is really is ours that is Indians as a Community. From this point of view of this group of people, our main-role as historians is to get away from the nationalist history of Tamil Nadu as has it has been pursued because it is a result of the way in which colonialism has captured or serviced our mind. Another historical school, this is the second phase, offers a somewhat longer period, has disagreed with their counterparts. This group consists of people from England and America. We can call this group 'Revisionists'. According to the Revisionists long before the coming of the Europeans, Indian Society began to admire colonialism. This group argues that before the colonialists, the Indian society was able to develop through its own resources a kind of society and economic structure that made colonial innovations relatively easier. They point to changes in Bengal, in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere that illustrate many years prior to the coming of the British local societies all over India were in the process of creating social and economic environment that made coming of colonialism relatively unimportant.

These Revisionists are all highly historicists that they base their argument on specific historical materials, periods to contest the ideas of the Subalternists. The Revisionists to say that subalterns are entirely a historical, that they write history as they wanted to have been written rather than how it really happened. One colleague of mine, a Revisionist, told me as Mr. Eugene "the Subalternists write history that never happened". The Subalternists write back by saying that the Revisionists write as though nothing has happened as a result of colonialism, but all about pristine and sweetness and the like.

The Revisionists say that they are basing their writing of Indian history entirely on material that they derived from the archives and historical record and that they are not imaging what they write. I have put forth these two perspectives because

they are of importance to us as historians of Tamil Nadu.

You and I must come to terms with the possibility that what we have written and what we are writing is largely or entirely the result of theories and categories that were produced in the West. We have also to deal with the fact that if we adopt this point of view we will have to admit that the ideas and agency of the Tamils has been squashed by the superior knowledge dominant local position of the west or we will have to say that the impact of social and political development in Tamil Nadu society is much more complex than the arguments of either of these historical schools.

We will have to admit that it may be true that colonial institutions made it difficult for local groups to operate except in terms of the English colonialist values. People had to learn English in order to survive the colonialist regime and in the process adopted about many of the English other western categories, about the way Tamil history should be written.

Even if people did not learn English in the British administration in their desire for position and authority accept in terms of how society could be represented in political terms. Without the desire of the British administration for precisely defined groups to do their work in the legislature, the Non-Brahmin Movement may have had to develop the way it did. At the same time we should be aware long before the coming the British into the Tamil Country, there was a very distinct feeling about the superiority of Tamil or Sanskrit. Many years before British domination, in what came to be called as Madras Presidency, the Brahmins began a very distinct movement into the cities and into the bureaucracy, employment. Therefore, it is not possible to say that the cause of "this kind of structure that is Non-Brahmin Movement was opposed to colonialism as development".

Historians in the West, many of whom affected by the ideas of a French philosopher Michel Foucault argued that thier are no processes in history what you and I describe as historical activity from their point of view is the way in which individuals and groups fit into prevailing movements and

projects that are underway in the world. According to this point of view, it is not possible to say that any individual initiates or does anything on his or her own. What individuals do according to this point of view is to perform activities that are already set forth by the movement that already exists and is in operation.

To historicize this, we could say that nobody in the Non-Brahmin movement did anything. All they did was to fulfill certain kinds of certain historical forms set for them by the times in which they lived. According to this view, even the way in which the state and form of the behaviour of the Madras administration operated was set forth by the demands of the historical situation. These perspectives make it very difficult to say that there are persecutions and victims.

This point of view says that there is very little a person can do to extricate himself from a situation in which he may find himself. This perspective makes individuals as robots fulfilling historical requirements. The problem with this approach of Michel Foucault is that it denies the individual any agency; it argues that nobody as a single individual has the capacity even to admit the way this colonialism project operates.

The only thing that we can do is to watch she or he is implicated into projects over which they have no controls. You feel better that if I suggest another approach that enables us to understand the way in which the Tamil Society moved systematically. That process I described in my work; according to this argument, I suggest that any environment into which a colonizing society comes is already a very active scene from the point of view of the production of meaning is not applied straight on to which any power no matter how economically powerful can impose its own categories.

In my most recent published work, I hold the impression as to how an increasingly dominant administration, British administration, interacts with local society in what we used to call Chingleput District; it is to produce the necessary space for Tamil Culture that I take Chingleput district for my research because I felt that there are important connections between the definition of *kaniyatchi* or *mirasi* lands and definition of Tamil culture. That

definition became clearer and clearer the more local society of Chingleput district settled down.

I found that previous to the coming of the Europeans, the villagers in this area were moving around like they feel the way they did in response to war and diseases or their need for water or for work. This meant that individuals identified themselves with specific villages particularly *mirasi* lands. What I discovered was that as the population became more self-generic this gave way to much discussion on the part of both Europeans and local towns about the nature of Tamil culture. This question, where the *kaniyatchi* system was introduced into that area is of importance in that it represent Tamil Culture as described by Dr. Nagasamy and others. In my work, argue that it was impossible to conceive that the settling down process or the construction of Tamil Culture was imposed on local society by the British. This is very much against the argument that the people like the subalterns feels that the state has the capacity to impose things on the whole society. Rather what I suggest is that this process was interactive in such a way so that they forced their ways into Tamil mythology and were produced on the world stage. And that was not possible to bring this production to any specific individual or group either here in India or abroad.

I take the view that Tamil culture or Tamil nationalism therefore is not 'Co-directive' as some historians would like to say. But apart from these dialogical activities in my thinking, the production of Tamil culture was not speculative result of foreigners. In fact, my suggestion is that many of these scholars such as Bishop Caldwell, G.U. Pope or Francis White Ellis became very much affected by Tamil Culture. Many of the missionaries who are considered to be quintessential for colonial agents as admitting their own teaching and preaching Christianity was fanatically after their study of Siva Siddhantha and Tamil Bhakthi.

The other question that we must confront concerns the way we approach the sources we use. Facts are collected by people who have various biases. It is very important that we understand these biases. In other words, there is no such thing as objective history, as the way in which they are written or by the way they are strung together is

biased. If we accept these notions, we have to deal with the other problem. The first of those has to do with our own likes and dislikes. Our own interest is duly reflected in what we choose to study. They also will be reflected in the approach that we take to what we write. Those who hate colonialism and love nationalism will present a very distinct point of view. Those who love colonialism and hate nationalism will have different perspectives and there are people in both of these diehard camps. However, both of these groups will have great difficulty in dealing with materials and working with, and with the way they approach, human agency.

I am suggesting that it is very difficult to write history that looked at the biases of sources and am also aware of what the importance of writing history is. Many writers kept abreast themselves with this problem; they have concluded that what

was most important was that we are engaged in what we study. Well, at the same time, understanding our own thinking, our own biases and the thinking of the sources that we use. The course I am taking in my work has been severely criticized by several scholars mostly Malayalis and scholars from Delhi as has been totally naive. They say that my approach does not take into consideration the degree to which the British could force people to adopt certain kinds of categories and behaviours by virtually dominant political position. Since the British had mastered violence, they could determine or whatever they needed to do to make the local people according to their own requirements. This was the basis of colonialism and this is how the Tamil Culture was created, they say.

I hope that you and I will continue to be active in helping us solve these problems.

Vannakam (Thank You).

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

EVOLUTION OF UNTOUCHABILITY IN TAMIL NADU

Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan*

Meaning of the Term Untouchability

"Untouchability", a unique feature of Indian society, has been subjected to different interpretations by various authors. According to Dr.A. Aivappan, the term untouchability¹ denotes: "the socio-religious practice by which Hindus keep large numbers of the lower castes from touching or coming near their persons, houses, temples, tanks and sometimes even public roads. He calls it 'contact taboo-' by which "persons by reason of their birth or physiological or ritual state ... act as carriers of pollution and induce temporarily a similar state in others by their contact, either directly or within a prescribed distance, which impurity has to be removed by ritual means to restore those polluted, to "their original condition"². As Dr. B.R. Ambedkar puts it, untouchability underlies: "the notion of defilement, pollution and contamination and the ways and means of getting rid of that defilement"³.

The concept of pollution is denoted by the term "*asparsva* in Sankrit, "*pule*" in Canarese and Malayalam and "*teettu*" in Tamil. This pollution is of two kinds, temporary and permanent. In Hindu society, a person becomes temporarily untouchable if he touches or even goes near a corpse, a menstruating woman or a woman who has just delivered a child. In such cases, he becomes pure after taking a ceremonial bath. But in the case of an untouchable, untouchability is permanent. It is something which is inherited by birth. Once a man is born an untouchable, he carries the disability to the grave and no expiatory ceremony will enable him to get rid of it. Untouchables are isolated permanently from the high caste Hindus and forced to live separately outside the habitations of the former. As Dr. Ambedkar points out: "It is a case of territorial segregation and of a cordon sanitaire putting the people inside a barbed wire into a sort of cage"⁴. Interdining and intermarriage with them are scrupulously avoided by the caste Hindus. Louis

Dumont, a modern author on caste, defines untouchability in the way that is most current, by the segregation into distinct hamlets or quarters of the most impure categories⁵.

The phenomenon of untouchability in the Indian context is nothing but a by-product of the *caturvama* system prevailing in ancient Hindu society. According to this system, society is vertically divided into four *varnas*: brahmanas (priests) *ksalhvās* (warriors) vaisyas (traders and cultivators) and sudras (slaves or labourers). In this system, brahmanas occupy the top most position and sudras stand at the bottom of the social ladder. The four *varnas* are placed in two categories: *dvijas* (twice-born) because they are supposed to be born again at the time of the *upanayana* ceremony when they are initiated into the study of scriptures and chanting of the *gavatri mantra*. At the time of initiation, they are adorned with *vajnopavita* or sacred thread. The *ekajas* are sudras who are not initiated but are prohibited from reading religious scriptures. They are not allowed to wear the sacred thread. However, they are also included in the *catravarna system*, in which all the four classes (which later on became castes) are known as *savarnas*. The aborigines and others who are not included in the *four-varna* system were termed as *avarnas* who in fact became untouchables to the *savarnas*.

The untouchables are usually termed *candalas* in later Vedic literature such as the *Brahmanas*, *Dharmasutras* and *Dharmasastras*. *Candalas* are of two kinds, *karma candalas* and *janma candalas*, that is, *candalas* by bad conduct and *candalas* by birth. According to Vasistha, 'The atheist, the miser, the ungrateful, and the one who cherishes anger for long - these are the four *candalas* by conduct and only the fifth is by birth'⁶. Manu states that "those who are guilty of a brahmana's murder, theft of a brahmana's gold or drinking of

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spirituous liquors should be excommunicated"⁷. Kane⁸ has pointed out that besides born untouchables like the *candalas* and others, there are five kinds of *karma candalas*:

1. Persons who commit great crimes such as murdering a brahmana.
2. Persons belonging to heretical sects (such as Jain, Buddhist or Tantric).
3. Persons who act against their caste *dharma* (duties), for example, a brahmana selling herbs.
4. Persons who touch dead bodies, a woman in her periods or after delivery and
5. Persons living beyond *Aravarta* (the habitation of Aryans).

1. The above description accounts for the proliferation of untouchability in society.

Hindu

The Jain texts⁹ also speak of *jati jungitas* (born untouchables), *karma jungitas* (untouchables by conduct) and *sareera jungitas* (untouchables in body). Hunters, painters, fishermen, tailors and acrobats are classified into *jungitas* by birth. Those who rear birds like peacocks and fowls or animals like pigs, those who practise hunting, acrobatic exercises and barber's work as avocations are called *jungitas* by conduct. Dumb, crippled and hunch-backed persons, dwarfs and one-eyed persons are classified as *jungitas* in body. All these people are to be shunned as untouchables by a holy Jain. Buddhist works¹⁰ also speak of *hina/atis* or degraded castes such as *candalas*, *venas* (basket makers), *nisadas* (hunters), *rathakaras* (chariot makers) and *pukkakas* (hunters). Thus the idea of *candalas* by birth and by conduct found in the *Dharmasutras* is corroborated also by the Buddhist and Jain texts. The doctrine of *ahimsa*¹¹ seems to have played an important role in the proliferation of untouchable castes in India. Evidently, various taboos¹² which existed among the Indians of ancient times - Hindu, Buddhist and Jain - were the basis of the growth of untouchability in India.

Untouchability in Tamil Nadu during the Cankam age

Let us find out whether the practice of untouchability as delineated in the foregoing

paragraphs, actually existed in Tamil Nadu during the *Cankam* age. In order to do so, we must see whether the *caturvarna* system of society as depicted in ancient Sanskrit literature, existed in early Tamil society, as revealed from the *Cankam* classics, which are the earliest literary sources for the construction of the early social history of Tamil Nadu. The *Cankam* age is generally believed to cover the first three centuries AD. The period from the third century AD. to the sixth century AD. is known as the *post-Cankam* age. The *Cankam* classics are also classified as early *Cankam* literature and later *Cankam* literature belonging to the first three centuries AD. and from the third century AD. to the sixth century AD. respectively. The early *Cankam* literature consists of *Ettutokai* or eight anthologies and *Pattupattu* (Ten Idylls). *Tolkappiam*, the earliest Tamil grammar, is also said to belong to this literature. The scholars assign it to the *post-Cankam* age. The *post-Cankam* literature consists of the two epics *Cilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* and also *Patinenkilkanakku* or eighteen ethical works.

The society depicted in the early *Cankam* literature, *Ettutokai* and *Pattupattu* is a simple one, consisting of various groups, divided horizontally on a regional and professional basis. The whole Tamil country was divided into four geographical regions, *kurinci*, *mullai marutam* and *neital*, which represented the hilly, forest, plain and littoral regions. The dry and arid region (which may exist in any one of the four regions) was known as *palai* (desert)¹³. The inhabitants of these regions practised those professions which were suited to each one of them. Thus people living in the *kurinci* region, naturally took to *vettai* (hunting) and were called *vettuvār*¹⁴ (hunters) *evinar*¹⁵ (those who hunted a kind of pig known as *eyman* and *mulavuma*, a kind of deer). Thus their castes were named after their professions. They were also named after the region they occupied, that is *kunravar* or *kuravar* (*kunru* means hill) and *kanavar*¹⁶ (*kanam* means forest). They used bows and arrows for hunting¹⁷.

People who lived in the *mullai* or forest region were naturally engaged in sheep and cattle rearing and were called *kovalar*¹⁸ (protectors of ko or cow), *antar*¹⁹ (cowherds) and *itaiyar*²⁰ (those who maintained *kitai* or /to/, meaning sheepfold).

Therefore, they were named after their professions or regions of habitation. Those who inhabited the *marutam* or plain region practiced cultivation and were known as *ulavar*²¹ (cultivators: *ulavu* means ploughing). The *neital* region was peopled by *paratavar*²² or *meenavar* (those who indulged in fishing; *meen* means fish) or those who went out on the sea; (*paravai* means sea). The *palai* or arid region was occupied by martial races such as *maravar*²³ (battle heroes, *maram* means heroism), *mallar*²⁴ (wrestlers: *mat* means wrestling) and *malavar*²⁵ (*mallavar* means horse soldiers). But all these people are never spoken of as untouchables or segregated from other groups.

There were some social groups which were engaged in fine arts. The *panar*²⁶ (*pan* means musical note) were those who practised music with the help of a *yal*, a musical instrument. The *patini* (*patu* means song) was a female singer and *virali*²⁷ was a dancer. They sang in praise of kings and received gifts in return. *Koottiyar*²⁸ (*koottu* means drama) were skilful dramatists. They were also known as *ponmar*. Those who beat a drum called *tuti* and announced the declaration of war were called *tutiar*²⁹. Those who made royal announcements by beating a drum called *parai* or *murasu* were called *paraiyar*³⁰ or *valluvar*. There were also brahmanas who chanted Vedas and performed sacrifices. They were called *antanar parppar* and *irupirappalar* (twice born or *dviyas*)³¹.

None of the social groups mentioned above are denoted as untouchables. Of course, some of them such as *tutias* are described as *pulaiyas* meaning impure persons³². They are also spoken of as *ilicinan*³³ and *ilipirappalan*.³⁴ The word *ilicinan* is derived from the word *ilisu* meaning sliding the drum-stick up and down the drum. The word *ilipirappalan* means one who is low born. But it does not mean that he was an untouchable. The term *pulaiya* is adduced to those who plaited the straps of cots or handled dead bodies and performed funeral obsequies.³⁵ The womenfolk who were engaged in washing clothes were called *pulaiittis*.³⁶ Though some groups of people in the *Cankam* age are spoken of as impure and low born there is nothing to indicate that they formed separate units and were segregated as untouchables.

On the other hand we have ample evidence to show that some of the social groups which were treated as untouchables during the later periods were virtually occupying dignified positions in the *Cankam* society. For example the *paratavas*, who later on became untouchables to the caste Hindus, owing to their fishing avocation, are spoken of as an independent tribe with their own chieftains. A *Cankam* poet Unpoti Pacunkutaiyar praises the Cola king *Ilancetcenni* as one who vanquished the *paratavar*.³⁷ So also another poet Mankuti Marutanar praises the Pandyan king Nedunchelian as a lion in the battle against the *paratavas*.³⁸ A king of the *paratavas* called Matti is praised in *Akananuru* as the ruler of a territory known as Kalar, situated at the confluence of the river Kaveri with the sea.³⁹

The *kuravar* who were considered as an untouchable criminal tribes by the British, during later times, occupied an honoured place in the *Cankam* age. They were quite literate and there was a *kurava* poetess by the name of *Ilaveyiniyar*⁴⁰ who composed a poem in praise of *Eraikkon* who was a great *kurava* chieftain. They possessed magical powers so as to bring forth rain by performing a dance called *Karavai-Koottu*.⁴¹

The *maravas* and *kallars* who were also regarded as criminal tribes by the British and semi-untouchables by caste Hindus for a long time, are described as the most ancient people of Tamil Nadu, who originated there after a deluge, each with a sword in hand, even before the stone and earth appeared.⁴² *Marava* ladies are described as the ancient wise women.⁴³ When the Pandyan armies in which they were soldiers were dispersed they seem to have taken to thieving and robbery (as they did not know any job other than fighting) which gave them the appellation of criminal tribes.

The *mallar* and *malavar* were also other martial groups of ancient Tamil Nadu. In *Cankam* literature, *malavar* are described as cavalry men who marched into the battlefield on horses.⁴⁴ A chieftain called *Mavallori*, is described as a famous *malava*.⁴⁵ Cola kings like *Tondaiman Ilantirayan* and *Kopperunarkilli* have been praised by poets as *mallar*.⁴⁶ among *mallars*. A Cera king *Kalankai Kanni* is addressed by a poet as a *malla* lion.⁴⁷

If even kings could be addressed as *mallas* then it must be presumed *mallar* must have occupied an honoured place in the *Cankam* society. But later on, the very same people were called *pallar* meaning low class people and treated as untouchables. In *Pallu* literature, the hero and heroine are *pallets* who are described as the descendants of *mallas* ⁴⁸

The *kurumpar*, who became an untouchable tribe in *Kerala* and *Karnataka* are described as independent tribes having their own kings and forts. *Avvaiyar*, a poetess of the *Cankam* age praises king *Netumanri* as one who conquered many forts of the *kurumpas* ⁴⁹

The *panas*, who were considered untouchables in modern times in *Kerala* and *Madurai* in *Tamil Nadu* were occupying an enviable status in *Cankam* society. They served as minstrels of kings and chieftains and received many gifts from them. A king presented a *pana* with a garland of golden lotus flowers. ⁵⁰ They rode in chariots drawn by four horses with their wives wearing garlands of golden lotuses. ⁵¹ They were given delicious food when they visited the houses of *antanas* ⁵² (brahmanas; Killivalavan, a Cola king, sat along with the *panas* and took dinner ⁵³ with them. They also participated in the drinking bouts of kings. ⁵⁴ They lived in permanent settlements situated at river ports with parks full of fragrant flowers. ⁵⁵

The *paraivas* who formed a major section of the untouchables in modern *Tamil Nadu* are spoken of as one among the four great clans of the *mullai* region. The other three clans were *panan*, *tutiyar* and *katampan* who all became untouchables during later times. The *valluvars*, a section of the *paraivas*, regarded as untouchables during ⁵⁶ later periods were the royal heralds and court priests during the *Cankam* period. ⁵⁷

Cankam society was flexible enough to allow inter-marriage and inter-dining between different social groups. We have already seen how *panas* dined with kings. The kings married the daughters of *velirs* or cultivators. The *vellalas* of the *marutam* region married the daughters of *kurava* chieftains of the *kurinci* region and participated in the feasts held by them. ⁵⁸ During the *Cankam* period, secret courtship between unmarried girls and young men was allowed. *Akananuru*, a *Cankam* anthology,

describes many such courtships called *kalavu* which ultimately ended in marriage called *karpū*. In one of the poems of *Kuruntokai*, a young man who falls in love with a girl at first sight exclaims "Oh! my dear! we don't know who are our mothers and who are our fathers! We don't know our ancestry! Yet our hearts are united by love and have become one even as rainwater when mixed with red soil becomes red". ⁵⁹ When such love marriages were allowed, there was indeed ample scope for intermarriage irrespective of caste or creed. War conditions and barter economy further necessitated the intermingling of social groups.

The *caturvarna* system of social stratification is rarely mentioned in early *Cankam* literature. Only the brahmanas are spoken of as *irupirappalar* ⁶⁰ or twice born *dvijas* tending the three sacred fires. ⁶¹ The other three *varnas* are not mentioned at all. In one poem, the fourfold caste system is mentioned only to be condemned. A king named *Ariyappatai Katanta* *Netunchelian* declares thus, "Among the four castes based on differences if the low born is learned, the high born shall pay obeisance to him" ⁶² Therefore the status of a man in the *Cankam* society was based on education and character and not on birth alone.

Brahmanas mostly lived in towns, in separate streets. The other caste groups also lived side by side in separate streets. *Perumpanarrupatai*. ⁶³ a *Cankam* work, while describing the city of *Kanci*, states that the brahmana quarters were in the heart of the town, flanked by the streets of fishermen, *palli*, *itaiyas* and *mallas*. Next to the *malla* street, there was the temple of *Thiruverka* and the royal palace. Beyond all these quarters, the *eyinas* or hunters lived in isolated *ceris*. From this description some scholars inferred the existence of untouchability in the *Cankam* age as there were different streets for different castes and a *ceri* outside the city. ⁶⁴ But the word *ceri* simply means a place where a particular group of people were gathered together. There were *ceris* for both high and low castes. Only in later times, the term *ceri* denoted the slums occupied by the untouchables. We hear of *antana cens* ⁶⁵ in post *Cankam* literature. Further, in the above description of the city we find the existence of the streets of fishermen and *mallas* or *pallas* who were regarded as untouchables during later times. *Eiyanas* or

hunters lived outside the city so that they could easily get into the nearby forests for hunting. Although different occupational groups lived in separate streets, there seems to have been no professional taboo and segregation of the low castes during the early *Cankam* period.

The society depicted in the *Tolkappiam*, which is considered to be the earliest Tamil grammar, is not very different from the society described in the early *Cankam* classics. The usual classification of the land into four regions *kurinci*, *mullai*, *marutam*, *neital* and the division of the people living in those regions according to their natural professions such as hunting, cattle and sheep rearing, cultivation and fishing, as *kuravar*, *itaiyar*, *ulavar* and *paratavar*, respectively, is also found in this grammatical work.⁶⁶ While describing the city population Tolkappiar talks of four classes namely *antanar*⁶⁷ (hermits), *arasar*⁶⁸ (royal families), *vaisigar*⁶⁹ (traders) and *velanmantar*⁷⁰ (agriculturists). *Antanars* are described as those who always came with them *nool* (books and not sacred thread), *karagam* (a vessel to receive alms) and *mukkolmanai* (a wooden seat with three legs) which are said to be their special emblems. This description is more appropriate to hermits or saints than to brahmanas with whom they are identified by later commentators (twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD). The emblems of royalty according to Tolkappiar are army, flag, umbrella, war-drum, horse, elephant, chariot, farland and crown. Trading and cultivation are said to be the special characteristics of *vaisigar* and *velanmantar* respectively. Although these groups could be found in any society, Hindu, Jain and Buddhist in general, some authors try to identify it with the⁷¹ *caturvarna* system described in Sanskrit literature. Of course there is apparent similarity between both the classifications. But a close analysis will reveal the fallacy of such an assumption, because while in Vedic society sudras, the fourth *varna*, are depicted as slaves who performed menial services to the other three higher *varnas*, whereas in the *Tolkappiam*, *velanmantar* the fourth caste, is described as those whose only occupation is cultivation. Early Tamil society being essentially agricultural, the peasants were regarded in high esteem by all the others.

According to *Tirukkural*, another *Cankam* work, the *ulavas* are the only people who could be really considered as leading independent lives, while all the rest are those who eke out their livelihood by bowing before others.⁷² It is again said that even kings ought to come under the protective umbrella of cultivators⁷³ who therefore can be considered the pivot around which the whole world revolves.⁷⁴ Therefore the *velanmantar* could never be identified with the sudras of the *caturvarna* system by any stretch of imagination. Such identification is really most inappropriate and unfortunate and is the handiwork of later commentators who were influenced by the Dharmasastric injunctions. Of course, Tolkappiar speaks of *ativavar* (slaves or servants), *viinaivalar* (artisans), *panar* (musicians), *koothar* (dancers), *viraliar* (dancing ladies) and *velans* (priests), but they are not spoken of as untouchables. For example, the *panas*⁷⁵ who became untouchables during later times are described as messengers of love between young men and women. Therefore, the concept of the vertical division of society into four *varnas* as *savarnas* and segregation of all the others as *avarnas* or untouchables seems to be quite foreign to the spirit of the *Tolkappiam*. Even if the verses mentioning the four castes are based upon the Vedic *varna* system they are considered to be an interpolation by modern scholars.⁷⁶ Thus, we may assert that untouchability can be found during the early *Cankam* period.

Even in the later *Cankam* literature, we do not find much evidence for the existence of untouchability. The *nalvanina* (*nal* means four) or *calnrvaruna* system is of course mentioned here and there, but at the same time it is stated categorically that the higher and lower status in society is determined not by birth but only by merit.

Tirukkural, a didactic work of international fame, and one among the eighteen ethical treatises in Tamil, declares that "by birth all are equal. Merit differs only according to the differences in the performance of one's avocation"⁷⁷ Superior status in society is decided by one's character. Even a high-born will be considered as low-born if he swerves away from the path of morality.⁷⁸ If a brahmana forgets the scriptures, he can read and recollect them again, but if he loses his character he will automatically lose his status in society.⁷⁹

Nalatiyar, another didactic work, declares: -Merely talking of good and bad caste is of no use. The criteria of a high caste are austerity, education and perseverance.⁸⁰ In this work, a boatman is called *katai varunattan* meaning a man of lowest caste⁸¹ (evidently a *sudra*). The oil presser is designated as low born as he killed thousands of oil seeds, while extracting oil from them. The influence of the *Dharmasastras*⁸² is discerned here. The impact of the *ahimsa* doctrine of Jainism and Buddhism can also be discovered in such descriptions.

In *Mammekalai*, an epic of the later *Cankam* period, Aputtiran, the son of a brahmana lady and a *sudra* male is called a *pulaimahan*⁸⁴ (the son of a *pulaiya*) and brahmanas are exhorted not to touch him lest they should be polluted. Here, we find the influence of the *Dharmasutras* which declare that the offspring of a brahmana lady and a *sudra* male is a *candala* or untouchable. The profession of harlots is described as *pukrithozhil*⁸⁵ meaning impure profession. In *Tirukkural* butchers are styled as *pulaivinava*⁸⁶ (those who performed impure work). Thus the word *pulai* meaning impurity is being used often in later *Cankam* literature. But untouchability of such *pulaiyas* is not mentioned.

In *Cilappatikaram*, another great epic of the later *Cankam* period, the existence of untouchability or rather unapproachability is hinted at, since the *kammala* (goldsmith) who took Kovalan, the hero of the epic to the Pandyan king is said to have walked at a distance from the latter all along the way "Kammalas were of course treated as semi-untouchables during medieval times. But whether they were treated so during the later *Cankam* age is rather doubtful because in *Purananuru*, a *Cankam* anthology, they are described as *masilkammiar*⁸⁸ meaning spotless or pure *kammalas*. Therefore, it is quite probable that the *kammala* walked at a distance from Kovalan a high caste (*cett* or merchant) out of reverence⁸⁹ for his wealth and nobility rather than because of notions of untouchability.

The *valluvers* who were called *muthal paraiyans* (first among *paraiyars*) during medieval times, and included in the list of scheduled castes during modern times are described in glowing terms in *Perunkatm*, a Join literary work. There, they are

described as royal heralds who announced significant news and events to the public such as royal weddings, the birth of a child to the king, the beginning of a war and roval festivals. While making the announcement through the roval drum called *murasu*, the *valluvar* rode on an elephant, dressed in a spotless silken white cloth, with sandalwood paste applied on his forehead and a white garland around his neck. A small contingent of soldiers called *celvacenai* always followed him. Before taking out the war drum or *murasu* he performed *puja* to Korravai, the goddess of victory.⁹⁰ Even now, he acts as a priest to *paraiyas* and *pallas*. It is to be noted that the author of the *Tirukural* of international fame hailed from the *valluvar* caste.

The *panas*, the later day untouchables, also enjoyed an enviable status in the later *Cankam* period. They are said to have acted as messengers of love, carrying tidings of love to prospective brides and bridegrooms, or messages of reconciliation between estranged lovers of high castes.⁹¹ They helped some heroes to win the hearts of attractive harlots called *parattaiyar*.⁹² They were here, there and everywhere in the later *Cankam* society, at times singing the praise of a king, later inspiring a hero in the battle-field or uniting long separated lovers or consummating marriages of youngsters in love. Far from being untouchables, they formed an essential cog in the wheel of society.

The wives of farmers are called *kataisiyar*,⁹³ meaning women of the last caste. Perhaps this meant that they were the wives of *velanmantar* occupying the fourth rank in the hierarchy mentioned by Tolkappiar. But they are not notified as untouchables. The wives of *pallas* who became untouchables in course of time are known as *kataisivars*.

Those who washed dirty clothes and made baskets out of reeds are termed *pulaitis*⁹⁴ meaning impure ladies. But they do not seem to have been treated as untouchables. On the other hand, they are described as favourites of Lord Muruga who often possessed and spoke through them. The jumping of bulls is compared with the jumping of *pulaitis* possessed by the spirit of Muruga.⁹⁵ When they could act as fit mediums of God, they could not have been treated as untouchables. But the low status of the *pulaiya* in society is often hinted at. The cringing look of a lover

towards his love is compared to the look of a *pulaiya*⁹⁶ From this it may be inferred that *pulaiya* saluted his master with a cringing look; Yet the *pulaiya* is not referred to as an untouchable in the *Kalittogai*.

Only in the *Acarakkovai* which is supposed to be a very late work among the *Cankam* literature, notions of pollution and untouchability of *pulaiyas* can be traced here and there. There it is mentioned that water touched by a *pulaiya* is defiled and thereby becomes unfit for drinking by high caste people, for whom even a glance at a *pulaiya* leads to pollution⁹⁷ High caste people are exhorted not to give the *pulaiyas* even the remnants of food lest they should be polluted⁹⁸ and not to consult them with regard to auspicious days.⁹⁹ Of the ten situations in which a man should take a ceremonial bath in order to purify himself, one is said to be the touching of the body of the low-born.¹⁰⁰ Low caste people are asked to keep away from the brahmanas and tappers (ascetics) and step down from the path and give way to them if they happen to meet them on the way, so that the latter could escape pollution.¹⁰¹ One is advised and low-born people.¹⁰² Thus, the idea of ceremonial purity of brahmanas and the practice of untouchability by them seems to have sprouted during the later *Cankam* society of the Tamils.

Untouchability A.D. 575-900 Tamil The Pallava Period

During the period of the Pallavas which followed the later *Cankam* age, the caste system and untouchability seem to have been taken deeper. The Pallava kings who traced their descent from a brahmana *bharadvaja gotra*, naturally patronized the brahmanas and Vedic propounded by them. One of the Pallava kings, Parameswara Varman (700) openly espoused the cause of the *varnasrama* system of society and enacted laws to preserve the *caturvarna* system.¹⁰³ which implies the division of society superior *savarna* castes and inferior *avarna* castes which were untouchable to the former. Moreover, it was the Pallavas who brought a number of brahmana families into Tamil Nadu from places like Magadha in the north, granted them tax-free lands and settled them in separate villages called *caturvedi mangalams*.¹⁰⁴

The brahmanas who were settled in the *caturvedi mangalams*, were well versed in Sanskrit

scriptures such as *Brahmanas*, *Dharmasutras* and *Dharmasastras* and ruthlessly applied their injunctions to the society in which they lived. The newly settled brahmanas finding that there was no well demarcated *ksatriya* and *vaisya varnas* or castes duly initiated into Vedic *mantras* and reciting them with sacred thread over their shoulders simply designated all the non-brahmanas as *sudras*. Those who were practicing certain menial jobs which were a taboo for brahmana priests, according to the *Dharmasastras*, were treated as *candalas* or untouchables. For example, the *Ezhavas* who were toddy tappers were prohibited from toddy-tapping from the palmyra trees situated in *caturvedi mangalams* inhabited by brahmanas.¹⁰⁵ Here, we can discern the influence of the *Dharmasastras* on brahmanas, for according to *Manu Dharmasastra* and *Yajnavalkya Smṛiti*, the consumption of liquor is one among the five great crimes or *pancamahapatakas*.¹⁰⁶ According to the *Dharmasutras*, even a *sudra* becomes a *patita* (outcaste) by consuming liquor.¹⁰⁷ The *Ezhavas* whose sole profession was toddy tapping were therefore not allowed into the brahmana settlements called *caturvedi mangalams*. The *Ezhavas* and *Tiyas* of Kerala, the *Canars* of Tamil Nadu, the *Idigas* of Andhra Pradesh and the *Pasirs* of Madhya Pradesh seem to have become untouchables to the caste Hindus only because of the taboo against liquor prescribed in the *Dharmasastras*.

The Pallava period witnessed the heyday of the *Bhakti* Movement in Tamil Nadu, which was manifested in the form of Saivism and Vaisnavism. The leaders of the movement known as *Nayanmars* (Saivites) and *Alvars* (Vaisnavites) have left behind them thousands of thrilling devotional songs, in which we also get a glimpse of the social conditions prevailing during that period. Their catholic attitude prompted them to condemn outright the rigid caste system and untouchability which they found around them. For example, *Appar* or *Tirunavukkarasar* (seventh century AD.) who is said to have converted the Pallava King *Mahendravarman* from Jainism to Saivism declares in one of his songs that he would worship a sincere devotee of *Siva* as a veritable God even if he happened to be a *pulaiya* infested with leprosy and who revels in skinning the cow and eating its flesh.¹⁰⁸ From this song, we understand

that *pidaiyas* were engaged in killing and skinning cows which was indeed a taboo to an orthodox Hindu especially a Saivite. Further, they were guilty of eating its meat, which is a prohibited food for all Hindus, inasmuch as the cow is regarded as *gomata* (mother cow) sacred to the Hindus and the bull as the vehicle of Lord Siva. The *Apastamba Dharma Sutra* and *Satapatha Brahmana* vehemently condemn beef-eating, especially the flesh of a cow.¹⁰⁹ Those who ate beef were characterized as *antyajas* (last in society or lowest born) by the *Veda-Vyasa Smṛti* and other scriptures. It is clear that the aversion against beef-eating had percolated deeply into Tamil society during the Pallava period. But in Saivism, even the low born untouchables were freely admitted into it during the Pallava period. Appar declares that even the lowest born will be raised to the position of the highest-born if only he chanted the holy name of Siva.¹¹⁰

Cambantar (seventh century AD), one of the three great *Tevaram* hymnists took along with him a *pana* by name Tiruneelakanta Yalppanar so that he could play on his *yal* (a kind of lyre) whenever a song was sung by Chambantar. *Panas* seem to have been considered untouchables during this period. Therefore, when he took his disciple into the house of an orthodox devotee called Tirunilanakkar, there was some hesitation on the part of the host to admit him into the house especially near the sacrificial mound. But Cambantar insisted that his disciple should be admitted. It is said that when the *pana* went near the sacrificial mound, the fire began to glow from right to left (an auspicious sign) rather than from left to right as usual.¹¹¹ This incident reveals that God was pleased to have an untouchable near the sacrificial fire. In another episode, Yalppanar, who was initially refused entry into the Meenakshi Temple at Madurai, was later on admitted when Lord Lokanata, the temple God, appeared in the dream of the temple priest and ordered him to admit the *pana* devotee into the sanctum sanctorum. So also at Tiruvurur, he was admitted into the temple by God who opened for him the northern gate, which was closed by the priests.¹¹² These stories whether true or not reveal the fact that *pulaiyas* and *panas* were untouchables who were denied admission into the temples.

Manikkavacakar, an illustrious saint of this period, calls himself a *pulaiya* with a head infested with creeping worms and who was shortening his life by uttering numberless lies.¹¹³ In another poem, he calls himself a *pulaiya* blessed by Lord Siva while lying outside the temple walls and wailing.¹¹⁴ He sings of the greatness of God Siva who rescued him from the whirlpool of caste (*kula*) and subcaste (*gotra*)¹¹⁵ From all these utterances, it is clear that the *pulaiyas* were considered impure outcastes who were not allowed into the temples.

Of the 63 Nayanmars whose statues are being erected in all Siva temples, many of them belonged to the lowest untouchable castes. Enati Nayanar of *canar* (toddy tapper) caste, Kannappa Nayanar of *vettuvār* (hunter) caste, Atipattar of *nulavar* (fisherman) caste, *anayar* and Tirumular of *itaiyar* (shepherd) caste, Kaliyar from the *cekkar* (oil pressers) caste, Tirukurippu Tontar from *ekali* caste (washermen) and Nantanar from *pulaiya* or *paraiya* (drumbeaters) caste are all worshipped in Siva temples. Of these Nayanmars, the most famous was Kannappar¹¹⁶ a hunter who applied his own eyes to the bleeding eyes of Lord Siva's *vighraha* (idol) and Nantanar¹¹⁷ who was admitted into the Nataraja temple of Cidambaram due to the mercy of God. In another case, Siva appeared in the form of a *paraiva* with a hide on the back, in *ayagasalai* (sacrificial mound) which made all the brahmanas run away while Somasi Nayanar¹¹⁸ recognized him, offered *hems* (ghee) to God in the form of a *paraiya* and got his blessings. Thus, the early Saivite tradition reveals the utter absence of the caste feeling and notions of untouchability at least among the devotees of God.

The early Vaisnavite Alvars were not a whit behind the early Saivite Nayanmars in their catholic attitude towards caste and untouchability. In fact, many of the Alvars hailed from the *sudra* or even untouchable castes. Nammalvar, the most celebrated among them, was a *sudra*, Tiruppanalvar, a *pana* outcaste and Tirumangai Alvar, a tribal chief. Later commentators have declared that Lord Visnu purposely manifested himself in low castes as Alvars, in order to humble the pride of high castes and to demonstrate the truth that caste is not a barrier for the attainment of salvation.¹¹⁹ In support of their view they point out how Visnu manifested Himself

as Krsna in the *itaiya*, a *sudra* caste and as¹²⁰ *varaha* (pig) a low despised animal.

Tontaratippoti Alvar exhorts the brahmanas to worship a devotee even if he belongs to a degraded caste and warns them that if they insulted such devotees, then they would become *pulaiyas*, or untouchables, the moment they do so.¹²¹ Nammalvar, declares that a devotee is to be worshipped, even if he is a *candala* among *candalas* and born in a caste much lower than the four higher castes.¹²² When Tirupspanalvar was not allowed entry into the temple of Lord Ranganatha of Srirangam, God is said to have appeared in the dream of Lokacaranka Munivar, a brahmana sage, and ordered him to take the Alvar into the temple by carrying him on his shoulders. Lokacaranka obeyed the Lord's command and carried the Alvar on his shoulders into the temple. Thereafter the Alvar came to be called Munivahana or rider of a sage.¹²³ Thus, temple entry seems to have been allowed to the untouchables by the Vaisnavites long before the advent of the Temple-entry Movement of modern times. Tirumalaisai Alvar, although he was the son of a *rsi* or seer, was brought up in the family of a low caste *piramban* called Tiruvalan. Even then he was adored with great respect by Perumpuliur Atikal¹²⁴ who belonged to a high caste.¹²⁵ Tirumangai Alvar though a robber by birth became one of the celebrated Alvars because of his sincere faith and devotion of Lord Visnu.¹²⁶

Thus, during the early medieval period (up to the tenth century AD.) that is, that of the Pallavas, we find that untouchability had come to stay in Tamil society and was practiced towards the *pulaiyas* who were not normally allowed into the temples but were allowed only on the intercession of God. Although untouchability was condemned in unequivocal terms by Alvars and Nayanmars, the phenomenon of untouchability came to be practised in Tamil society during the Pallava rule in the Tamil country.

III

Untouchability in Tamil Nadu during Vijayanagara Periods (A.D. 900 - A.D. 1600)

The Pallavas were followed by the Imperial Cola, Pandya and Vijayanagara rulers, under whose regime a rigid caste system and untouchability took deeper roots in Tamil society, as most of them were

great patrons of brahmanas and the Vedic *caturvarna* system of which untouchability is only a by-product. They held the brahmana *rajagurus* and priests in high esteem, because they recognized them as ksatriyas of the Suryakula (solar race) or Candrakula (lunar race). In return for this recognition, they and their kinsmen were rewarded with tax-free lands called *caturvedi mangalams* where the four *varna* system was strictly enforced and some groups of people who were indulging in certain impure and tabooed jobs were regarded as *avarnas* and segregated from the regular settlements. There is a tradition that Rajendra I Cola brought a large number of Saivite brahmanas from the banks of the Ganges and settled them in the Kaveri basin¹²⁷ in villages called *caturvedi mangalams*.

Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-50) is described as the protector and preserver of the laws of castes as well as the sacred law.¹²⁸ The Pandyas took special pleasure and pride in creating *brahmadeya* (tax free) villages for brahmanas. Sundara Pandya I connected a number of villages and created the "Sundarapandya *caturvedi mangalam*" comprising of 200 *veli* of land.¹²⁹ Vikrama Pandya brought into existence created Vikrama Pandya *caturvedi mangalam*. Like this, there were nine more *caturvedi mangalams* in the Pandyan empire.¹³⁰ The Vijayanagara empire was created under the inspiration of sage Vidyaranya with the sole aim of protecting and preserving the Hindu *sanatana dharma* (including *varnasrama dharma*) from the onslaught of Muslims. The Nayakas of Madura took special care in protecting the caste system. According to Sathianathaier "The Brahmins enjoyed special privileges and were highly venerated during this time. The caste system was carried sacrosanct and there were occasions of royal interference to check breaches of the rules".¹³¹

Medieval Tamil literature abounds with references to the *caturvarna* system of society and untouchability. *Civakacintamani*, a Jain epic of the tenth century A.D. refers to the high position enjoyed by brahmanas in society. They were so imbued with the sense of ceremonial purity and pollution that some of them killed a dog for its impurity, by simply stoning it.¹³² *Pulaiyar* are spoken of with contempt since they performed funeral rites and offered food cooked without salt to the departed souls.¹³³ But

valluvar, a branch of the *paraiyas* are spoken of with respect, as experts in astrology and the drawing of almanacs.¹³⁴ The text condemns butchery and says that it is better to be born in a superior caste which does not engage in the slaughter of animals.¹³⁵ But it denounces the habit of looking upon mere birth as the basis of superiority and inferiority.¹³⁶

Periapuranam, a Saivite literary text of the Cola period is full of references to the *caturvarnas* (four castes) of which the sudra *vellalas* were the last.¹³⁷ Cekkilar, the author of *Periapuranam*, was patronized by Cola Kulottunga II who jealously guarded the Vedic *caturvarnas*. *Periapuranam* gives a graphic picture of the filthy and unhealthy nature of the *ceri* (village) where Nantanar, the *paraiya* Navanmar lived and it clearly indicates the segregation of the *pulaiyas* or *paraiyas* in slums outside the regular villages.¹³⁹ Beef-eating and dealing with leather seem to be the factors behind the untouchability of Nantanar who was first denied admission into the Chidambaram temple and later admitted due to divine intercession and hailed as Nayanmar (preceptor).

The great *acarya* (preceptor) Ramanuja (eleventh century A.D.) set an example to his followers in the condemnation of caste and untouchability. It is said that when his wife practised untouchability towards his guru (master) Tirukkacci, Nambi (*a vaisya*), he sent her away to her parents home and became a *sanyasi*¹⁴⁰ (hermit). He used to go to the river Kaveri for his daily bath, supporting himself on the arms of a brahmana disciple and return from the river by supporting himself on the shoulders of a sudra disciple called Urankavilli Tasar.¹⁴¹ He became a victim of persecution at the hands of Kulottunga I (1078-79) and therefore took asylum in Kamataka. While staying there, he recovered an image of Visnu from a Muslim chieftain at Delhi and brought it to Melkote where he built a temple for that deity. Since the *pancamas* (untouchables) helped him in the recovery of the image, he ordered that they must be allowed into the Melkote temple for three days in a year.¹⁴² Thus, he became the champion of temple entry for the untouchables even in the eleventh century A.D. More than that, he admitted a number of *pancamas* (*paraiyar* and *pulaiyar*) into the Vaisnavite fold, by giving them the holy *mantra*,

sacred thread and applying *namam* (Vaisnavite symbol) to their foreheads. He gave them the tilte "Tirukulathar", meaning people of pure and holy caste. At Srirangam, the Mecca of Srivaisnavites, he allowed a number of low caste people like *tasas* to perform a number of temple services. Maraner Nambi, a disciple of Yamunacarya although a *pancama* by birth, received at the time of his death all the high funeral honours due to a brahmana.¹⁴³

Acarya Hirutayam, a great Vaisnavite literary text written by Pinnalakia Mamunikal, proclaims that "Even a person born of a low caste becomes a Brahmana by devotion to God and if any Brahmana (by birth) ridicules such devotees, he at once becomes a *Candala*."¹⁴⁴ Further, it declares "one who is a devotee of Visnu, even though he is a consumer of dog's flesh, is superior to Brahmana (by birth) and one who lacks such a devotion even if he is a *sanyasi*, is inferior to a dog-eating low caste person."¹⁴⁵ It describes *Tiruvaymoli*, the Tamil hymnal of Vaisnavism as a gold pot which can be touched by all, irrespective of caste, while Sanskrit scriptures are like mud-pots which are polluted by the touch of low-castes and cannot be used by the high-castes thereafter.¹⁴⁶ The concept of pollution and untouchability practised towards some low castes hinted at in the above passage. Thus, it is clear that equality among castes is preached only for devotees of Visnu and not for others and that there were some untouchables in the society who could raise their status only by devotion to God.

The *Siddha* school of Saivite philosophy which flourished in Tamil Nadu during the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries is very vehement in its condemnation of the caste system and untouchability. They even expose the fallacy behind the notions of purity and pollution (*madi* and *pida*). Sivavakkiar, a *Siddha*, addresses the brahmanas as follows "Ye, Vetiyas, you recite the Vedas all the time. But can you tell me where is caste and what is Veda? You talk of pollution caused by menstrual blood; but don't you know that the child itself is made up of that polluting stuff? Then how do these differences come about?"¹⁴⁷ In another poem, he argues in favour of intermarriage between various castes thus: "If a male buffaloe cohabits with a cow, a hybrid which does not belong to either of

the species is born. But when a brahmana has intercourse with a *pulaiya* lady, we get only a normal human offspring. When such is the case why all these social distinctions occur" ¹⁴⁸ He further declares: "It is true that the *vetiyars* do not eat fish then and now. But do they not drink the water in which the fishes live and take bath in it. It is true you do not eat venison. But do you not use the skin of a deer for sitting during *tapas* (meditation)". ¹⁴⁹ Turning to those who consider beef eating as a taboo, he asks "you idiotic Saivites, you condemn beef as polluting stuff. But, have you forgotten that your body itself has grown out of cow's milk taken during childhood". ¹⁵⁰ To those who talk of impurity caused by saliva (*ecchil*), he asks the question, "Is it not a fact that the flowers with which you offer *puja* to God and the honey you drink have been already polluted by the saliva of bees? Has not the milk you drink already been polluted by the saliva of the calf?" ¹⁵¹ In spite of these formidable arguments against caste and untouchability, it continued to be practiced in Tamil society. Kailar, another Siddha of this period, condemns the rigid caste system in unequivocal terms and declares that the brahmanas were solely responsible for imposing the fourfold caste system on Tamil society. ¹⁵²

Inscriptions of this period refer to *paraiyas*, *pallets* and *cakkilians* as belonging to low castes but it cannot be definitely asserted that they were treated as untouchables. The *paraiyas* seem to have lived in separate *ceris* outside the villages. In an inscription of Rajaraja Cola I (AD. 1014), separate *ceris* and burial grounds are mentioned for *paraiyas*, toddy tappers, goldsmiths, etc. ¹⁵³ *Paraiceris* are mentioned even in the period of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I ¹⁵⁴ (1216-1238). It is clearly stated in an inscription of Rajaraja I that tax exemption was granted to certain *ceris* known as *tintaceris* meaning untouchable *ceris*. ¹⁵⁵ In another inscription also *tintaceri* is mentioned separately. ¹⁵⁶ Since *paraiceri* and *tintaceri* are mentioned separately in the same line of the inscription, we are led to suspect that the untouchables were different from the *paraiyas*. It is quite probable that only a few sections among *paraiyas* were considered as untouchables while the others were treated with dignity.

While describing the different kinds of people who attended a village assembly it is said in

an inscription that from the topmost antana (brahmana) to the lowest *arippan* (one section of the *paraiyas*) all the castes were present. All these castes thus assembled took a vow that they should unite themselves against the enemy of their chieftain and if they allied with the enemy of their chief, they would incur the ignominy of giving their daughters in marriage to *pulluparikkira paraiyas*, that is, those *paraiyas* who gathered grass for the horses of *vannivars* or that of becoming the husbands of their own mothers. ¹⁵⁷ But in the same inscription, the names of *panar*, *paraiyar* and *paraimutali* (foremost among *paraiyas*) are found along with Sivabrahmanas, *cakkilis*, etc. Therefore, we are led to think that not all the *paraiyas* were considered as the lowest untouchables and only certain sections of them such as *arippan* and grass cutting *paraiyas* were treated as the lowest while the others were regarded as somewhat higher in society. But they seem to be definitely lower in status to the *vellalas* and brahmanas who employed them as their field labourers. *Paraiyar*, *panar*, *Cakkilis*, and *irulas* are spoken of as low castes in the same inscription. In another inscription two persons promising loyalty to their master swear that if they run away from their master they would suffer the same ignominy as that of offering their wives to a *cakkilian* and watching them without taking any action. ¹⁵⁸ Thus *cakkilians* and some *paraiyas* seem to have been regarded as low and untouchable castes in the medieval Tamil society. Beef-eating seems to be the cause of their untouchability. In an inscription of Rajaraja III, the imprecation for violating the injunction of the inscription was to acquire the sin of eating the flesh of a cow. ¹⁵⁹ In another inscription, it is declared that violation of its injunction would bring on the violator the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of Ganges. ¹⁶⁰ Such being the veneration of the cow, it is but natural that those who consumed carrion or beef out of economic necessity or otherwise became untouchables to those who abstained from beef eating. Moreover giving equality to the farm labourers would not be in the interests of *vellala* and brahmana landlords, who naturally kept the *paraiyas*, *pallas* and *cakkilians* as slaves in order to extract maximum work from them with minimum expenditure. They and their wives were sold as chattels along with lands. According to an inscription

of the former Travancore State (A.D. 922-923), a *pulaiyan* was also sold along with the lands granted whenever such lands were transferred to a third person.¹⁶¹

Many sections of the *paraiyas* seem to have enjoyed certain privileges during the Cola and Vijayanagara periods. When the paddy was removed from the straw, it was to be measured only by a *paraiyan*¹⁶² to whom perquisites were to be paid. Those who worked in the fields were called *ulaparaiyar* who lived in separate *ceris* which were exempted from taxation. An inscription of Rajaraja I dated A.D. 1014 speaks of the *ceris* of the *ulaparaiyar* situated on the eastern and western end of the main village being exempted from taxation.¹⁶³ Some of the *paraiyars* served as *talaiyaris* or supervisors in the villages and earned some amount as wages. A tax known as *talaivarikkanam* or *vetti* was imposed on them. In some cases, exemption was granted from this tax. An inscription of Sundara Cola and Rajaraja Cola (985-1014) speak of the exemption of such a tax from a gifted village.¹⁶⁴ Certain *ceris* of *paraiyar* were rich enough to be taxed. Thus, we hear of a gift of the income from a *paraiceri* to a Siva temple during the period of Immadi Bukkaraya (A.D. 1394).¹⁶⁵ Individual *paraiyas* seem to have been rich enough to endow lighting of temples. We hear of such an endowment made by a *paraiyatiyan* to the temple at Tirukalukunram.¹⁶⁶ During the period of Rajaraja I a *paraiva* name Urparaivan Martal Comanatan made a similar endowment to a temple.¹⁶⁷ Some of the *paraiyas* took to the profession of weaving and therefore were called *necavu paraiyas* (*necavu* means weaving) having separate looms called *paraittari*. A tax called *paraittariyirai* was levied on them. In sarvamanya villages (villages gifted outright) of the Colas, in the thirteenth century, the remission of a number of taxes including the taxes on *paraitari* and *saliyatari* (*saliyas* are another section of *paraiyas* included in the scheduled castes list). Many of them took up the profession of beating drums (*parai*) on festive occasions, marriages and funerals. Such persons were to pay a tax called *paraiyirai*, which is mentioned in an inscription of Rajaraj III.¹⁶⁸ The *paraivas* at times quarrelled with the other castes and refused to beat drums for them. We hear of one such quarrel between *paraiyas* and

the residents of 24 villages during the reign of Virapantiadeva (A.D. 1376) in which there was some bloodshed on both sides. Kankaarayan, an officer of the king intervened and effected an amicable settlement between them, according to which the *paraiyas* should compulsorily beat the drums for the caste Hindus on all occasions good and bad and receive in turn a *patakk* (a measure) of paddy and a fowl as wages for their services. Sometimes, rent free land called *paraititaimai* were granted to such *paraiyas*.

The *paraiyas* enjoyed some privileges from the king, which they zealously guarded. An inscription of the year AD. 1665¹⁷⁰ refers to a quarrel between the *paraiyas* and *kurumpans* (Pallas who are included in the Scheduled Castes list) over the enjoyment of and privileges. The *paraiyas* of the village of Srivilluputtur claimed the same privileges as the *kutumpans* of the village that is the right to use a white horse, to wear a white parasol and *keratti*, the right to carry torches in daytime, to wear a *pavatai* (under garment), a pair of *cilambu* (anklet) and two *kotukhi* (another ornament), to construct a sixteen pillared *pantal* (a canopy resting on bamboos) on festive occasions, to use three *ters* (chariots) and eighteen kinds of musical instruments during funeral processions. This was disputed by the *kutumpans* whose leaders waited on the king and represented their case. It was then decided, on the authority of certain copper plate grants which have been issued previously that the *paraivas* were to enjoy only a few privileges such as erection of a three-pillared *pantal* on festive occasions, wearing of one *kotukku* and one *cilambu*, use of the *mappu* (white cloth under *pantal*) and one *pantam* (torch), building a house without a second floor and payment of a fee for services during funerals.

Some of the *paraiyans* did selfless service to the state and were duly honoured for such acts. It is stated that one Kaliviriva Muttarayan a *Valluvan* of Kakkalur in Eyil Natu, died fighting against the thieves on behalf of the *perumakkal* (dignified residents) of the village, who rewarded his son with a grant of land.¹⁷¹ We hear of one Poovan Paraivan who provided irrigation facilities to a wasteland, by his hard work and made it into a cultivable land. For this service, he was awarded the title of *araiyan*

*anukkan*¹⁷² Only officers and soldiers of repute used to be given the title of *araiyan* during the Cola period. An inscription of Rajaraja III, found at Kiranur at Kulattur taluk, Pudukkottai District, says that two *paraiyan* called Annoorru *Paraiyan* and Kidarangonda *Paraiyan* possessed the titles of *per araiyan* and *natu araiyan*. Some of them served as soldiers in the army. Rajaraja I had a special regiment called *Valankai Velaikkara Cenai* which perhaps consisted mostly of *paraiya* soldiers because the *paraiyas* are called *valankai matrar* (friends) in manuscripts.¹⁷³ Those prominent among the *paraivar* were also included in the village assemblies and were denoted as *paramutah*,¹⁷⁴ *Mutali* means the primary person or first among equals, who sat along with other castes and offered judgements. Some of the *paraiyas* were educated enough to sign their names in documents which were later engraved on stones as inscriptions. Among the signatories of some of the inscriptions found at Pudukottai are Ennankalakki *Paraiyan*. Uttamacola *Paraiyan*, Kanattu *Paraiyan* and Aracar *Mikamaparaivan*¹⁷⁵ (pilot in a ship).

Thus we find that the *paraiyas* of the Cola period engaged in multifarious useful tasks such as field labourers, drum beaters, weavers, performers of funeral rites, watchers in villages etc. They seem to have possessed property of their own and paid taxes. At least some of them were educated and participated in village assemblies. Some of them of course were segregated and settled in separate *ceris* called *tintaceris* or untouchable slums. But only during the later Pandya and Vijayanagara periods, their position in society seems to have deteriorated so much as to be dubbed as an untouchable caste as a whole.

The *pallets* who form another major portion of the untouchables in Tamil Nadu at present, seem to have enjoyed a dignified status during the Cola period. They are referred to as *kiitumpan* in inscriptions which means head of the *kittumpu* or variant, the unit of the local administration in the villages. Members of the *pancayat* were elected by a system of lots (*kutavolai* system) in which the *kutumpart* played a significant role. They are referred to as those who did women service to the village through *kutumpu*. Even at present *pallas* possess the title *Kutumpart* in the Pandyan and Kongu regions. They practise the *kutumpu* system of

elections for their *pancayats* even today. They trace their origin to Indra, the God of the *marutam* region and call themselves *devendrakula vellalar*. According to an inscription of Kanvalamvanta Nallur issued during the Navaka rule *devendra kulattar* were allowed to possess royal insignia such as a white elephant, white umbrella, double *cilambu*, double *kotukku*, torch during daytime, two chariots, eighteen drums and pantal supported by sixteen wooden legs.¹⁷⁶ When *paraiyas* also claimed the same privileges and picked up quarrels, *devendra kulattar* appealed to Tirumalai Nayaka, who after consulting old copper plates decreed that the *paraivas* could enjoy only the privilege of wearing double *cilambu* and single *kotukku*, and possessing one torch, one *pavatai* and one house without a storey. We have seen how similar privileges were bestowed on them by the inscription found at Srivilliputhur.¹⁷⁷ Even in modern times, temple priests used to go with an elephant, drums and garlands and invite the *pallas* to come and initiate the dragging of the temple car by touching the rope. This practice is adopted at Karivalamvanta Nallur, Perur near Coimbatore, Maturai, Colavantan etc.¹⁷⁸

During the period of Cola and Vijayajagara rule, in Tamil Nadu, a peculiar system of classification arose, according to which there were 98 *Valankai* (right hand) and 98 *Itankai* (left hand) castes. According to *Colon purva pattavam*, a manuscript of Kulottunga Cola III each of the four *varnas* that is brahmana, ksatriya, vaisya and sudra was divided into four castes and each of the four castes was further divided into six sub castes thus bringing the total to 24 castes for each *varna* and altogether 96 castes, to which the low *paraiya* caste was added to *Valankai* and *matiga* to the left hand castes, raising the number of castes to 98¹⁷⁹. In general, vellalas (agriculturists) and their associates belonged to the *Valankai* and *kammalar* (artisans) and their associates to the *Itankai* classes. Frequently they quarrelled among themselves over the sole enjoyment of certain petty privileges such as wearing jasmine flowers in the hair, using drums or umbrellas during processions and so on. Such quarrels¹⁸⁰ arose only between low caste untouchables such as *paraiyar* and *cakkilians*¹⁸¹ (cobblers) or *paraiyas* and *pallas*¹⁸² The *pallas* as non beef eaters considered themselves superior to the *paraiyas* who

in turn considered the *cakkilians* as inferior to them as they came from the Andhra region and became rivals to them. The *kammalars* were relegated to the position of untouchables even to the *paraiyas* and *cakkilians*, since they called themselves the direct descendants of Brahma and claimed superiority to the brahmanas who are said to have sprung only from the face of Brahma. Whenever the *kammalars* claimed certain special privileges for themselves, it was the *paraiyas* who picked up quarrels with them.¹⁸³

During the period of Vijayanagara rule (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD.), Viswanatha Nayaka, a Viceroy of Vijayanagara in Tamil Nadu, introduced the *palayam* system (a kind of feudal system) by which the whole of Tamil Nadu was divided into 72 *palayams*. Telugu nobles who helped him in his expeditions were made zamindars of rich and fertile lands while drylands were allotted to the Marava chieftains who helped them against the Pandyas. Ariyanatha Mudaliar, a vellala appointed by Viswanatha Nayaka as the chieftain of Tinnevely region, brought a number of vellalar from Tondaimandalam and settled them in the Pandyam region. The lands which were owned by the allies of the Pandyas, that is the *nattars* (*canars*), *paraiyas* and *pallas* were confiscated and given to the followers of the Nayakas. Landless *canars*, *paraiyas* and *pallas* naturally became agrestic serfs and untouchables in course of time, to the Vellala Marava and Telugu landlords.

In conclusion, it may be said that untouchability did not rear its ugly head in the early Tamil society at least till the end of the early *Cankam* age (up to the third century A.D.). During the later *Cankam* age, due to the puristic and *ahimsa* doctrines of Buddhism and Jainism the concept of pollution and untouchability is hinted at in works like *Manimekalai* and *Acarakovai*. But strong condemnation of superiority based on birth is made by most of the poets of this period and religious leaders such as Nayanmars and Alvars of the Pallava period, who of course accept the theory of untouchability of some castes such as *pulaiyas*, *paraiyas* and *panas*. Only during definite mention of untouchable villages called *mtaceris* in inscriptions, and literature like the *Penapuramam*. During the period of Vijayanagara rule the list of untouchable castes seem to have increased further.

The *cakkilians*, brought by them into Tamil Nadu became untouchables owing to their association with scavenging, leather work and beef eating. The *paraiyas* and *pulaiyas* were already untouchables owing to their beef eating (a tabooed food) and leather work (a tabooed profession). The *vettians* who handled dead bodies (a tabooed profession) the *vannans* who washed impure clothes, the *navthitan* who shaved human hair (tabooed objects) became untouchables to the other castes. The non-beef eating *pallas* were relegated to the position of agricultural slaves after the disbandment of the armies of the Pandyas and were treated as untouchables, perhaps due to their loyalty to the Pandyas and stiff opposition to the Vijayanagara Nayakas. The *nattars* or *canars* also suffered the same fate due to their loyalty to the Pandvas and their opposition to the Nayakas of Madurai. But many of them chose to eke out their livelihood by toddy tapping, a tabooed profession and became untouchables to brahmanas and their allies. The *kammalars* who occupied a honourable position in the society during the Cola and earlier period, came to be identified with *rathakaras* of *anuloma* caste and treated as untouchables perhaps owing to their claim of superiority over brahmanas themselves. The idea of the *caturvarna* system seems to have touched only the fringe of Tamil society during the period under our survey. People came to be divided only horizontally according to their professions. Superiority based on birth was never accepted in Tamil Nadu. Although trading classes like *komuttis* and *chettians* assumed the title of *danavaisyas* and martial classes like *pallor*, *paths*, *nattars* and *maravars* assumed the titles of *vanniakidaksatrivas*, *Pandvas* and *tevars*. agricultural castes like the *vellalars* called themselves *sat-sudras*, 'there were no *varnas* in reality in Tamil Nadu. Orthodox Brahmanas never recognized them, and performed the *Upanayana* ceremony for them or initiated them into Vedic studies after adorning them with sacred thread. But gradually, it created a sense of superiority and inferiority among the various castes which led to the relegation of some castes, as untouchables. Thus untouchability in Tamil Nadu seems to be the result of the unholy alliance between the indigenous social differentiation based on profession and the *caturvarna* system of the north, a hierarchy based on birth and imaginary purity or impurity.

Notes & References

- * This paper is based on my Ph.D., thesis, "Untouchability A Historical Study upto AD. 1500" with Special Reference to Tamil Nadu Madras University, 1974.
- * This paper is based on my Ph.D., thesis, "Untouchability A Historical Study upto AD. 1500" with Special Reference to Tamil Nadu Madras University, 1974.
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- 16. *Malaipatukalam*. 300-30, *Pattuppattu*.
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ENDOWMENT LECTURE

SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF TAMILAKAM

(Reflections on Theoretical issues and Structural Enquiries)

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I thank the President and Members of the Executive Committee of the TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS for providing this prestigious opportunity.

A historian "concerned professionally with the past" is often confronted with theory-oriented, speculative and sometimes ideological history. Gramscis shows that the "Idea of the hegemony of intellect has a major point of interest autonomous functioning of ideology includes, religion, folk-lore, and philosophy".¹ This foreboding is the source of inspiration for the choice of the theme.

In historical assessments, religio-philosophic modifications function as ideologies. Max Weber, for instance, explicitly compares CASTE (a social component) to tribe, guild, sib and status group.² 'CASTE' as a social institution is a localised phenomenon. David Mandelbaum, in a stimulating paper, describes a "caste-like independence of four montane groups - the Kotas, Badagas, Todas and Kurumbas."³ Stephen Fuchs sheds light on 'Untouchability' from the tribal end.⁴ These authors show that every major achievement of mankind can be traced directly or ultimately to the influence of an organic community who see people related by biological link or by common culture, tradition and ideals and who have ecological roots in the land whence they derive their means of subsistence. The ecological community has an innate design which seeks to sustain the laws, energy and process of life. A peasant (for instance), living in the midst of nature, operates as a natural force himself. Man's interaction is therefore a crucial question of relatively independent research significance, depending on an analysis of social factors.

'Caste', the characteristic social institution of India, claims greater attention, as a component of society. Megasthenes, the greek enthographer and explored remarked on the way in which CASTE restricted the choice of a spouse and of an

occupation. The "Discovery of Sanskrit" by the Westerners led to the translation of many Sanskrit works into English and German. Use of such material prompted researchers to accept as axiomatic the view that "modern multiplicity of castes grew out of the Vedic four-fold division of society".⁵ British administrators have tried to establish the "Relation between CASTE and RACE", "CASTE and OCCUPATION", etc., by providing ethnic data.⁶ The assumption that the four-fold varna system is the framework of social organisation is drawn from brahmanical sastra texts. VARNA is a rigid theoretical framework. Its utility is limited for discussion of social stratification in a region like Tamilakam. Negating regional identities under the rubric of pan-Indian historiography had proved counter productive. In the regions, criteria like occupation, status, political authority and to an extent tribal descent, determine stratification of society. Varna framework does not include social and empirical realities.⁷

'Macrocosmic and speculative' methodology was later overtaken by adoption of field studies. The focus shifted from VARNA to JATI. At the regional levels, analysis of JATI gained a march over VARNA. M.N.Srinivas ushered in the concept of "Sanskritisation"; and Redfield of "Great tradition and Little tradition". D.F.Pocock treated "Dynamics of Caste" as a "process of inclusion and exclusion". A large number of treatises followed in quick succession.⁸ In these works, the concept of JATI is intertwined with VARNA.⁹ Blind spots in visions of caste are symptomatic common to anthropological treatment of cultures. They often ignore "structure variation" among different castes. Hence "Applied/Action researches" superceded field research.

II

Conventional historiography of Tamilakam assumes that aspects of socio-political organisation

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are isolated categories. Long-span of years are taken as single units. Pioneer works on Sangam period remain as authoritative political histories. Literary evidences (provided by anthologies) suggest that stratification of early Tamil society had not evolved on VARNA basis. The TINAI classification provides clues to the understanding of different levels of socio-economic organisation.¹⁰ Some later scholars conceive CASTE in early Tamilakam against the background of the findings on the nature of contemporary division of labour." That 'Varna' type of caste division had not monopolised Sangam society came to be established.

Tamil society before advent of the Romans is conceived as "Transitional" by C.Maloney. This transitional society is of diverse clans slowly dissolving in to households with a political organisation not different from the 'Chieftaincies'.¹² What Maloney endeavoured to establish is the "Cultural typification of Caste" and this is made patent in another of his works.¹³ Relying on literary evidences (Sangam Anthologies) T.K.Venkatasubramanian feels that these evidences do not give the impression that the Overseas' demand for the goods was enough for generating relations for non-kinship labour in the production (manufacturing) sector.¹⁴

In his doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Pennsylvania (1968), Maloney discusses the effect of early coastal sea-traffic on the development of social life. The role of long-distance trade in stimulating social change are sought to be established on the basis of information provided by the Anthologies as well as other available evidences. "Evolution of Urban societies" is an important offshoot and a legacy. Most of the writers treat TRADE as a timeless phenomenon without growth.¹⁵ Beginnings of 'Urban life' mark a major social change in any society. Clarence Maloney showed the importance of trade in the emergence of urban centres in early Tamilakam.

'Kalabra interlude' in Tamil history is invariably interpreted as a kind of 'social crisis'. The discovery of the rock inscription at Pulankurichi (Late fourth century A.D.(?)) confirms the existence of Brahmadeya villages during the period. This discovery indicates a crucial phase in the development of individual brahmana households into corporate settlements.¹⁶

Nascent Bhakti-ideology plays the role of "legitimiser" - "In order to legitimise their power in Tondaimandalam, the Pallavas had to adopt several methods.. They attempted to link historical reality of the ruling lineage with mythical lineages and in a curious manner claimed origins from BRAHMA, and as BRAHMA KSHATRIYAS. 'Tower' and 'Authority' were thus sought to be combined".¹⁷

The formation of mature Chola-state (Tanjore) coincides with the evolution of macro-region and 'regional culture'. A new dimension namely 'study of culture-regions' is added to the study of societies. Western scholars evinced great interest in such studies. Burton Stein and his team provide a conceptual framework for the rich empirical data available.¹⁸ This had-led to a "virtual battle for the past". Circumscription of the domain, perspective, function and role of caste eludes historical definition of perspective. The points at bay can be summarised:-

- 1) When the society drifts from 'pre-state' to 'state' [Legitimation process], distinction between "Temporal" and "Sacred" domains is inevitable." In the regional context, it involves analysis of the regional and group perception of the sacred domain.²⁰
- 2) Anthropological models are used to explain STATE and SOCIETY. Burton Stein and his followers question conventional historiography which lacks socio-economic orientation. But Stein himself overlooks the heterogeneous character of peasantry.
- 3) Many scholars take interest in assessing the role of productive forces in social formulation.²¹

The Japanese team with the collaboration of Indian scholars provides basic data for testing theories and concepts. They are micro-level studies and hence the scope is circumscribed. Brahmadeya and

Vellanyakai villages are their test-materials.²² They attempt establishing the changes in society, - that is the communal nature the organisation in the pre-Chola period to a stratified caste-based society under the centralised (?) Chola state. Feudalisation of society after the collapse of Chola power (13th century) is highlighted.

This team sets aside 'NADU', the peasant micro-region of Stein. Kenneth Hall speaks of "NAKARAM" as the marketing centre of NADU.²³ In his study on Kaikkolars, Matison Mines shows concern over "spatially segmented organisation" - the "Seventy-two Nadu system" extending throughout Tamilnadu and the contrast between this organisation and that of Agrarian Castes'.²⁴ According to Mines, the contrast between "Kaikkolar" and 'Agrarian Castes' lies in different economic specialisations. The interaction of the Kaikkolar caste within the seventy-two nadus tended to be territorially segmented. Mine's proposition is that individual traders formed micro-castes (sub Jatis) within the Kaikkolar cycle.

"Jatis" have seen fission and fusion and at the same time tribal groups have been steadily absorbed into the caste-stream.²⁵ A patent omission in the research works pertaining to emergence of caste prior to the advent of the British is the manner in which members of sub-castes filled themselves during the transition. It is made out that prior to the late nineteenth century, Castes constituted unintegrated clusters of localised endogamous sub-castes.²⁶

Washbrook develops a model of "comparative ethnicity" and "social stratification". He emphasises that nineteenth-twentieth century modernisation of caste represents a continuation of seventeenth-eighteenth century processes. Pre-colonial identity, according to him, fits more or less with standard model of caste-society. Evolution of 'caste-cluster' into an ethnic group within a racially stratified system is a complex POLITICAL process. Tamilian caste-bases are unique and do not lend themselves for such an analysis. They defy the concept of "Mono-typification". Washbrook had taken into consideration "Cultural variations" but had overlooked "Social variables".

L.Dumont and N.Dirks provide a vertex of triangular discourse on castes.²⁷ Dumont's work establishes the importance of "Status-hierarchy" and "Marriage alliance" as twin principles. He affirms that "conformity to the dual ordering is holistic" - that is, any member with a different ideology is "Individualistic". This hypothesis, is however an overgeneralisation. Nicholas B.Dirks asserts that

Dumont's study of Pramalai Kallars portrays them "as a ritually marginal group that exemplified the Dravidian isolation of kinship from the influence of caste-hierarchy". Dirk's approach is from the anthropological angle.

Robert L.Hardgrave's work creates the impression that caste-identity has been shaped into a vague canopy that covers a range of potential-moral linkages and that it entails no specific rights or obligations among people who share a common caste.²⁸ The impression gained is that a Quasi group [Nadars] had been mobilised by politicians - Did they all interact with respect to occupational, affinal and marital considerations (?). A deeper probe is certainly called for.

The efforts of Kathleen Gough are "applications of theoretical concepts".²⁹ Kathleen has chosen Tanjore as the field - [historically significant]. The findings claim that differences in kinship systems stem from differences in caste-status. Changes in alignment of political structure (power in the alignment of castes) result in redistribution of landed property. "Caste" possesses a high potential for adaptations to new conditions.

David Ludden and Christopher J.Baker enquire into "agricultural production and land-revenue".³⁰ Incidentally, they construct a social-ecology of caste and deal with "Agrarian Castes" - their distribution into respective landscapes (Valley, Plain and so on). This methodology brings into relief the link between kinship-based "Tribal-formations", control over dry-farming plains; and kinship-based "Ritual-state formations" centred over wet-farming valleys. Ludden and Baker highlight the adaptive variability in social organisation of different castes.

III

Random sample survey of the research output shows that here is a field of investigation that demands the combined efforts of the historian, sociologist and anthropologist. "Religion and Caste" during various well-defined political epochs of Tamil history, if established depending on empirical data is bound to give a rich crop of historical truths. In order to meet the challenge of the "Problematic":

- a) The need to establish relations between CASTE and CLASS.

- b) The need to establish CASTE-CLASS relationships in rural and urban sectors
- c) The need to estimate effects of CASTE-changes in political life, including the role of Trade-unions
- d) The need to study in detail the effect of "Social ranking" in urban centres due to vicissitudes of wealth distribution (includes study of hypergamous castes)
- e) The need to assess interchangeable (co-operative) influence of "Purity and Pollution" during each epoch of Tamil history - are inevitable requisites.

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POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

THE PLACE OF TIRUVALLUVAR, PERIYAR E.V.R., ARIGNAR ANNA, AND KALAIKARNAR IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF HISTORIANS

A. Subbian*

Mr. President, Fellow Members, Ladies and Gentlemen. I feel honoured in having been called upon to preside over the Political and Administrative History of the Third Annual Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. I am thankful to the members of the Executive Committee for electing me. I am deeply conscious of my limitations, little knowledge of the subject and the capacity to add something new to the quantum of the existing knowledge. Nevertheless, the choice has been yours, you will have to bear me for a while. This, indeed, is a great honour.

Nearly thirty years ago I thought of the political history of Tamil Nadu for doctoral research with special reference to the immortal and world fame *Tirukkural*. But I was soon asked by an international scholar and Statesman, whether if I am prepared "to spend a life time on the project"¹. Since my means were not matched to my aspiration, I decided to confine myself to the study of a "Native State". The rediscovery of its political and metapolitical history with special reference to Tiruvalluvar, Periyar E.V.R., Arignar Anna and Dr. Kalaignar was made all the more important by this historiographical consideration and historicity. "It is a mistake to think that the historian who is concerned with the contemporary should restrict his attention to recent history"².

Mankind might well despair of the science of criticism had not advanced further, since the days Tiruvalluvar. "Why study history at all? Why concern ourselves with anything beyond the range of our own time and place?" Professor A.J. Toynbee asked. He answered the questions. "We live mental time stream, remembering the past and looking forward-with hope of with fear-to an oncoming future. When one is studying the present and the

past, to turn a blind eye to the future would be impossible, and if it were possible, it would be preserve"³.

The literatures of Tamil Nadu Politics alone is already rich and extensive; yet behind it and around it lies an even vaster store of political writing and analysis, the fruit of a century and rich cultures.

Thinking of the awe inspiring lapse of ages since Tiruvalluvar, one of the first and great political scientists and political sociologist wrote down his pregnant thoughts and of the greatest literature concerned with human government that has been produced since taught generation after generation of Tamil students of human affairs, I felt again a great thankfulness, for the inventions of writing and of printing, which help disseminate the ideas of greatmen.

For today, in any good library, we can refresh ourselves with the living thoughts, of outstanding political thinkers of all recorded time. Alongside the literature of religion and philosophy, of drama, story, and poetry, stands the literature of human aspirations in government and politics, one of the most possessions in the hands of men.

There is about it a certain timeless quality, since all writers, in their different lands and times, have really been discussing the same questions. We the Tamilians do possess "and to present to the world the great *Tirukkural* which is a code of conduct for the entire humanity are something about which we can have pardonable pride and pleasure"⁴. As Albert Schweitzer has said in his book, *Indian Thought*, "with sure strokes the *Kural* draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world, its utterances are characterised by

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nobility and good sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much *lofty* wisdom" ⁵. There is about it too an uplifting quality, since they have taken us up to high places to survey the whole scene of human efforts to achieve justice, equity, efficient government and human public policies.

Scanning again some parts of this great literature, embodying its ageless debate on the best government for man, I could imagine myself at one end of the long corridor of time, listening in on the discussion of wise men. At the far end of the hall, Tiruvalluvar was saying that Aram (justice) is the purpose of state action, but that justice can be achieved only if every man is assigned to do the work for which he is best fitted. Voices nearer to me said that this sounded very much like the efficiency doctrines of modern students of public administration.

Many voices insisted that men are by nature equal, or so nearly equal that the differences are less important than the points of equality, and that all should have some part in rulership. So the debate continued, moving now in this direction, now in that, but always adding something to our knowledge, opening new vistas to thought, developing ever further the interrelations of men and institutions and approaching a fuller understanding of problems of human government.

Some of the voices were bland, urbane and philosophical, like those of Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Montesquieu and Madison. Others were tense and fiery, like those of Rousseau, Paine and Marx. Machiavelli and Hamilton seemed hard and cynical, yet coldly logical. Some like the great Saint Ramalinga of Vadalur and Mahatma Gandhi were motivated by high religious and moral purpose, while others took the scientific approach and said: "First let us look at the facts and see how they fit together." Saint Ramalinga, author of the *Tiru Arutpa* (The songs of Divine Grace) and Sekkizhar, author of *Periyapuranam* were motivated by high religious and moral purpose of the state, while others took the scientific approach. The discussion was at a high level throughout, for no grander secular theme is possible than that of human government and no greater thinkers than these have ever lived.

Naturally I could hear and understand better the voices that were spoken near the end of the hall where I stood. Not far away, were Periyar E.V.R., Arignar Anna, Dr. A.R. Mudaliar, Prof. M. Rathinasamy spanning a whole century, and still nearer K. Kamaraj, Rajaji and ... not to mention any of the masters who still dwell among us. Their speech was practical, searching, and timely yet, it had always a quality that no ravages of time could wholly obliterate. They digressed now and then into other paths, but mainly they dealt with the question of understanding and strengthening the Tamil Nadu Polity and the Indian system of democratic government. In so doing, they showed how their own thoughts about political parties, public opinion, pressure groups, local government, public administration, legislation, and foreign policy could open new and fruitful avenues of study to those who would follow them.

As I listened and heard developed one phase after another of the whole problem of human government, I began to feel a new pride in Tamil Nadu Political Science. What have been the factors that have made possible this rich flowering of political studies in Tamil Nadu. First, we may mention the existence of conditions in which religious institutions have been dominated over all aspects of social life. We of the present generation have been the fortunate inheritors of an unusual measures of social and economic liberty. The constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion, speech, and press have all been ours. Closely associated with these have been the benefits of a developing system of popular government that has held forth unrivaled opportunities for the political participation, training and experience of every citizen and for the observations of the scholar.

As Arignar Anna said: "Our problem is not want of a system - in any branch of knowledge. We have fine specimens in all spheres. We claim also - and that rightly - immortality for our systems, but we have not succeeded in keeping them fresh and young, effective and energetic for we have allowed them to decay".

In short, we are the beneficiaries not only of a great political science tradition and literature from Tiruvalluvar to the present - Periyar E.V.R., Anna and Dr. Kalaignar not only of a set of conditions that

have made possible the following of our subject here as in no other land, but also of the devoted and capable labours of hundreds of Tamil statesman and scholars who for at least two hundred years have been adding significant works to the increasing and improving literature of political history. Let us think of ourselves, therefore, as united with all the ages. We are the stewards of a noble estate, the trustees of a great tradition.

The first and most comprehensive obligation of historians as historians to do what they can to understand, describe and explain those forms and principles of government that provide a maximum freedom for the human spirit, and citizens to do all that they are capable of to ensure and preserve those principles.

In our day, this means defending to the utmost the essentials of responsible popular government and the constitutional provisions that guarantee freedom of religion, speech and press. The preservation of human freedom is the greatest immediate goal for democracy, and the counting obligation of all men and women of good will.

Historians find today that their obligations as historians and as citizens are so nearly in accord as to be practically indistinguishable. As best as they can, they must show how popular government should be organized and operated to ensure victory in the present battle for freedom, and to guarantee that the fruits of victory shall not be lost in the years to come.

In a sense, this merely states a broad goal for all historical studies. At the same time, it is not the only goal of our activities. Very few will be satisfied merely to preserve existing human rights and form of government. They wish to see improvements made, to see rights extended and freedom enlarged, not only here but throughout the world. Democratic government has not yet reached the peak of its efficiency, or gone as far as it can in promoting human well-being.

The necessary changes and improvements in government may well be conceded, but is it still true that the real goal in human welfare? Is not man himself the measure of the success of any government? If improvement is made, is it not

measurable only in the morality, health, education, freedom, initiative and general sturdiness and viability of the people?

As I read the record political scene or political history or administration is not primarily interested in making the state powerful or efficient, or in extending the scope of government activity. These things may be necessary or desirable instrumentally, as means for perfecting men, but not as ends in themselves. Tirukkural states: It is the good life for men that is the time goal, and that implies the building up in man himself of character, intelligence and a sense of public responsibility.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF HISTORIANS

Toward the attainment of his broad goal, what are the specific responsibilities- of historians, especially Tamil Nadu Historians. It is the burden of my argument that we have certain special obligations, an integrated cluster of duties, that we cannot shift to others, Economists, political scientists, and sociologists -lawyers, judges, legislators, public administrators, journalists and politicians - all have their own important work to do in relation to government, but it is not that same as ours, although it impinges upon us, our own specific functions may be grouped under *four heads*:

In the first place, most of us are directly, and all of us are indirectly teachers. Like Tiruvalluvar, Periyar E.V.R., Anna and many others of our distinguished forerunners, to Dr. Karunanithi and into our own time, we are responsible for teaching our fellow citizens the principles and the methods of free and popular government.

As no other group, we have the golden opportunity to teach and train men and women for the service of the state. In helping as largely as we do to teach citizens the principles and process of government, we are helping to mould the government itself as it is to be ten or twenty years hence.

As we face the classes, we should never fail to remind ourselves that any one of these students may be a future cabinet Minister both state and central, another an M.P., or representative in an assembly that one or mote many become lawyers, judges, academics and that others will participate directly in public administration.

Of our responsibility as teachers, there are atleast two distinct phases. By many persons, we are looked upon as teachers of citizenship and community responsibility in a very general way. Somehow it is thought that the instruction of college undergraduates, and even of high school students, in government-ancient or modern-or history is identical with instruction in citizenship.

Every citizen needs considerable knowledge of the government of his country both past and present and of government in general. That knowledge, we historians endeavour to impart. This is, indeed, one of our special functions.

But instruction in the responsibilities of citizenship generally is a much broader thing. It involves many, if not all, aspects of life. It is taught incidentally in courses in philosophy, ethics, political science, economics, sociology, literatures and many others. It is a joint responsibility of the home, the school, the church, the temple, the mosque, the community and of many disciplines in higher education. It cannot be borne by historians alone, nor simply at the University/College level.

The problem of citizenship-training in our time is quite unlike that which Tiruvalluvar, confronted. In those ancient states, where only a small part of the people had participatory citizenship, the members who needed to be taught the obligations of citizenship were relatively small, and the education given was at the same time training for the public service. *Tirukkural* defined the citizen's "character, which includes work efficiency, truthfulness and purity of mind, is the keystone of the arch both in individual life and in national life. Individuals make or mar the nation. "Good citizenship includes not only every obligation the law lays down but also many duties which the law does not speak of, but which one's own 'inner voice' utters. It is not mere absention from uncivil conduct." "Tiruvalluvar says: Consistency (of thought, word and deed) and fear (of sin) are conjointly natural only to the high born." *Kural* : 951.

இல் பிறந்தார் கண் அல்லது இல்லை, இயல்பாகச்
செய்யும் நானும் ஒருங்கு.

"Individual honestly must be brought into beings before we can hope for improvement of our

national affairs. It is the drops that makes the rain" 7. It is the totality of character of each citizen that makes what we call national character which in turn becomes the Keystone of the arch of national prosperity. In India much of "business is dirty politics and much of politics is dirty business". And so, they will remain until a public philosophy enters both.

What India needs today is a new attitude of responsible citizenship in its intellectuals and the general intelligentsia, in its University men, in business executives and businessmen, and in the entire spheres of administration. Tiruvalluvar places the greatest importance on honour (*V*^o*D*). "Even for the sake of glory men who aspire for greatness will not do dishonourable things. Those who aspire (to maintain their) honour, will surely do nothing dishonourable, even for the sake of fame." (*Kural* : 962)

சீரினும் சீரல்ல செய்யாரே, சீரோடு
பேராண்மை வேண்டு பவர்.

Even if they could gain crores upon crores they will not do what is derogatory. The world abides for "worthy men its weight sustain. Where it not so, it would fall to dust again. (*Kural* : 996)

பண்புடையார் பட்டுஉண்டு உலகம் . அது இன்றில்
மண்புக்கு மாய்வுது மன்

High-minded, large-hearted great souls are the strength of the state, and without them even the earth cannot bear its burden. Wrong policies based on untruth and dishonesty are more harmful than even imperfection in polity. The metapolitical virtues of principles and policies are more important than mere forms of government or social order. The inner strength is the purity of men's minds and actions. Tiruvalluvar does not consider an ideal man or citizen as one who is merely pure and good himself, but one who wants to function in society and be a man of action, transforming others also into men of good, useful and purposeful actions. This is the perfect answer to the question, "who is a good citizen?"

According to Periyar E.V.R.

திராவிடர் கழகம் திருவள்ளுவர் குறையைப் பின்பற்றி
நடந்து வரும் கழகம் ... அதற்கு குறள் தான் வழிகாட்டி.
நீ என்ன மதம்? என்றால் குறள் மதம் மனித தர்ம மதம்
என்று சொல்லப் பழக வேண்டும்.
மக்கள் யாவரும் ஒரே சாதி என்கிறது குறள்...

அறிவினால் உய்த்துணர்ந்து ஒப்புக் கொள்ள ஸ்டியனஸும், இயற்கையோடு விஞ்ஞானத்திற்கு ஒப்ப இயைந்திருக்கக் ஸ்டியனஸும் ஆன கருத்துகளையே கொண்டு இயங்குகிறது வள்ளுவர் குறள். திருக்குறளில் காணப்படும் நீதிகள், அறிவுரைகள் நடக்கக் ஸ்டியனஸும் நடந்தால் உற்றபயன் தரக் ஸ்டியனஸும் ஏற்கக் ஸ்டியனஸும் இன்று நம்மால் நடத்திக் காட்டக் ஸ்டியனஸவயாகும் இருக்கின்றன.

திருவள்ளுவர் கூறியுள்ள கருத்துகளுள் ஒன்றேனும் ஒழுக்கக் குறைபாடுள்ளதாகக் காணப்படாது. அறிவுள்ளவர் யாரும் மறுக்க முடியாத வெறுக்க முடியாத கருத்துகளை அமைத்துதான் அவர் குறளை இயற்றியுள்ளார். குறளை ஊன்றிக் படிப்பவர்கள் எல்லோரும் நிச்சயம் சுயமரியாதை உணர்ச்சி பெறுவார்கள். அரசியல் ஞானம், சமூக ஞானம், பொருளாதார ஞானம் ஆகிய சகலமும் அதில் அடங்கிவிடுகிறது.

மனித சமுதாயத்தில் நல்வழிகாட்டி, நன்னெறியூட்டி, நற்பண்புகளையும் ஒழுக்கங்களையும் கற்பிக்கும் வகையில் எழுதப்பட்டது தான் திருக்குறள்.⁸

According to Arignar Anna

அறநெறி என்று கூறப்படுவது, மந்திர உச்சாடனச் சொல் அல்ல. ஓமகுண்டத்தருகே உலவுவதல்ல! கள்ளமில்லா உள்ளத்திலே பூத்துக் காய்த்துப் பழுத்திடும், பயனும் கவையும் உள்ள கனி. அது வெறும் பொருள் பகிர்ந்து கொள்ளும் முறைமட்டுமல்ல - தொழில் அமைப்புத் திட்டம் மட்டுமல்ல - இவைகளுடன் கூட மக்கள். எவ்வகையிலே இழிவாலும் கொடுமையாலும் தாக்கப்பட்டாலும், அவர்களை மீட்டிவும், அத்தகைய தாக்குதல் மக்களுக்கு நேரிடாதபடி முறை வகுத்தலும், ஆகிய எல்லாம் சேர்ந்த பொதுவான, பொறுப்பான வாழ்க்கை அமைப்புத்திட்டம் அறநெறி எனவே தான், மனிதகுலம், குறங்கு நிலையிலிருந்து, கோயில் கூட்டிக் கும்பிடும் நிலை அளவுக்கு வளர்ந்தும், எந்த இன்பமும் கிடைக்கவில்லையோ, அந்த இன்பத்தைப் பெறுவதற்கு, வள்ளுவர் அறநெறியைக் காட்டியிருக்கிறார். அறுதியிட்டுக் கூறியிருக்கிறார். அறுத்தால் வருவதே இன்பம்⁹.

வள்ளுவர் கூறிய அறம், ஆரிய முறைப்படி நம்மவருக்கு அறிவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள தான தருமம் அல்ல - மக்களின் வாழ்விலே, உள்ள பொறுப்புக்களுக்கும் கடமைகளுக்கும் ஏற்றபடி, வாழ்க்கைத் திட்டம் அமைய வேண்டும் - ஒருவர் வாழ்வை மதித்து மற்றவர் நடத்தல் வேண்டும் - வாழ உரிமை கொண்டோரே மக்கள் அனைவரும் என்ற பொது நீதியை அழிக்காதிருக்க வேண்டும். இது அறநெறி - இதனை அறிந்து நடந்தால் தான் இன்பம் வரும் என்று, கூறிய வள்ளுவர் வாக்கை -- மனிதர் கொண்டு, அந்த அறநெறி தழைத்திடும்

அரும்பணியாற்ற உள்ள உரம் கொள்ளக் கோருகிறோம். வள்ளுவர் வாழ்ந்த தமிழக மக்களை, வாழ்க! தமிழ்த்திரு நாடு வளர்க அறநெறி¹⁰.

கடமை அழைக்கும்போது காலத்தினால் விளையும் தொல்லையைச் சாக்காகக் கூறித் தப்பித்துக் கொள்வது மன்னிக்க முடியாத குற்றமாகும்.¹¹

ஒரே காரணம் :

சாதி பேதம் கூடாது என்பதற்கு ஆயிரத்தெட்டுக் காரணங்கள் வேண்டாம்! தமிழ் மொழியில், சாதி என்ற சொல்லே இல்லை? அந்த ஒரு காரணமே போதும்! சாதி வேண்டாம்! என்றவன் தமிழன் வள்ளுவப் பெருந்தகை ஈராயிரம் ஆண்டுக்கு முன்பே. பிறப்போக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் என்றார்! வள்ளுவர் வழி நடக்காமல் தமிழ்ப்படித்து என்ன பயன்? ¹²

According to Dr. Kalaignar

தமிழக சட்டமன்றத்தில் சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம்

தமிழக சட்டமன்றத்தில் நம்பிக்கையில்லாத் தீர்மானத்தின் மீது பேசிய ஒரு எதிர்க்கட்சி உறுப்பினர் அமைச்சரவைக்கு சுயமரியாதை இருந்தால் என்று குறிப்பிட்ட போது முதல்வர் கலைஞர் குறிக்கிட்டுப் பதிலளித்தார்.

சுய மரியாதை எங்கள் சொத்து. நாங்கள் தந்தை பெரியார் அவர்களின் பிள்ளைகள் முழுக்க முழுக்க சுயமரியாதை இயக்கத்திலேயே வளர்ந்தவர்கள் தான் என்று கலைஞர் குறிப்பிட்டார். ¹³

பெரியவர்களை மதிக்கும் பண்பா இது?

ஆலயத்திலே அரசனத் தோழனை அழைத்துச் செல்ல வேண்டுமென்று காந்தியடிகள் சொல்லுகிறாரா? அவர் மகாத்மா - அவரால் செய்யமுடியும்! நாம் மனித ஆத்மாக்கள் - நம்மால் இயலுமா? என்று சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள்! சொன்னவர்களை உயர்த்திவிட்டு, அவர்கள் சொன்ன கருத்துகளைத் தாழ்த்துவதிலே - நம் நாட்டிலே பல சாமர்த்தியக்காரர்கள், பல்வேறு கடங்களிலே வெற்றியினைப் பெற்று வந்திருக்கிறார்கள்!

அதைப்போலத்தான் இராமலிங்க அடிகளை உயர்த்திவிட்டு, இராமலிங்க அடிகள் சொல்லலாம் -- நாம் சொல்ல முடியுமா? நம்மை அந்த அளவுக்கு உயர்த்திக் கொண்டு அந்தக் கருத்துகளை ஏற்றுக் கொள்வது நலமா? என்று கேட்டக் கருத்துகளின் சொந்தகாரர்களுக்கு மட்டும் புகழரையும், போற்றலும் அளித்துவிட்டு -- கருத்துகளை அழிப்பதிலே நாம் காலாகாலமாக வெற்றியினைப் பெற்று வருகிறோம்.!

இனிமேலாவது கருத்துகளின் சொந்தகாரர்களை மதிப்பது இருந்தாலும் - இல்லாவிட்டாலும், அவர்கள் சொன்ன கருத்துகளை மதிப்பதிலே நாம் தனிக் கவனத்தைச் செலுத்தியாக வேண்டும். ¹⁴

வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக்கே தந்து
வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு

என்று பாரதியார் பெருமிதத்தோடு பாடிச் சென்றார்.

ஆனால் அந்த வள்ளுவன் வாய்மொழிகளை, வைர வரிகளை தங்கள் உள்ளத்திலே பதிய வைத்துக் கொண்டு அவற்றின் வழி நடப்போர் எத்தனை பேர் என எண்ணிப்பார்த்தால் ஏமாற்றமே மிகும!

பகுத்தறிவுப் பெட்டகமாய், பண்பாட்டின் விளைநிலமாய்ப் பிறர் வகுத்தறிவா நெறியையெல்லாம் வகைப்படுத்திய பெருங்கணக்காய் வையம் முழுமைக்குமே வழிகாட்டும் ஒளிவிளக்கே வள்ளுவம்! அது தரணியெங்கும் பவனி வருவது ஒருபுறமிருக்க, முதலில் தமிழகத்திலாவது வலம் வந்தால் அது எத்தனை பேருடைய வாழ்விலே ஒளியினை ஏற்றி வைக்கும் என்று நான் எண்ணினேன்.

தெருவெல்லாம் திருவள்ளுவர் சிந்தனை முழங்கிடத் திருக்குறள் வரிகள் பரவிட மிகுந்த பயனுள்ள கருவியாக எனக்குட்பட்டது. எனவே, ஒவ்வோரு அரசுப் பேருந்து வண்டியிலும் பயணம் புரிவோரின் பார்வையை ஈர்த்திடும் வகையில், திருக்குறள் பொறிக்கப்பட்ட பலகையும், திருவள்ளுவர் படமும் வைப்பதற்கு ஆவன செய்தேன். அன்னைத்துமிழிடம் பற்றுக் கொண்ட அனைவராலுமே இத்திட்டம் வெகுவாகப் பாராட்டப் பெற்றது. ¹⁵

எப்பொருள் யார்யார் வாய்க்கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு

இந்த குறள் வழி நின்று தான் பகுத்தறிவு இயக்கமே மலர்ந்தது. அந்த இயக்கத்தின் கொள்கைப் பரப்பும் பணிக்குக் குறள் ஒரு பெருந்துணை எனில் அது மிகையாகது. ¹⁶

திருக்குறளின் சிறப்பினைக் கூறும் நூல்கள் தமிழில் எழுதப் படுவது போல், பெருமளவிற்கு ஆங்கிலத்திலும் எழுதப் பெற வேண்டும். அப்பொழுது தான் அது உலகம் முழுவதும் பரவிட முயும். அரசாங்கம் தான் இந்தப்பணியினைச் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று அறிஞர் பெருமக்களும், கல்வி நிறுவனங்களும் வாளா விருத்தல் கூடாது. ¹⁷

Moreover, Tiruvalluvar, Tamil Poet Avvaiyar, Sekkizhar, Kambar or St. Ramalinga Subramaniya Bharathi taught only small groups of men, kept them a long time in their schools, and tried to cover with them the entire curriculum. They were trying to educate men in all arts and sciences in order to produce philosophers who could be rulers and ideal, administrators.

We are in our departments of history - universities and colleges - are responsible for only a small part of the curriculum -and we have most of our students for but a short time. We must not fail to remind our colleagues in other departments, therefore, that while they have no duty to teach the principles of government as such, they share with us the responsibility of teaching the ethics of citizenship, objectivity in judgment and social responsibility in general⁸.

At this point our teaching needs to be far more technical and detailed. There are many ways in which the work of government can be made more effective and economical, and many ways in which public administration in practice falls short of the ideal.

Speed, efficiency, streamlining are not the only tests of good administration in a democracy. Transcending them all in importance is the preservation of popular government itself. That is the first principle for the student of political and administrative history to learn.

A second major obligation of the historian is that of direct service to the government: Specific studies into problems of every day government, including politics and administration and inter-governmental relations and a habit of taking broad and responsible view in public affairs make the historian political and administrative history peculiarly valuable in certain advisor-and technical consultant capacities in government.

We have unquestionably an obligation to give whatever we can of our knowledge counsel when called upon by responsible public officials, and the direct contacts thus made with practical public questions are very important for every historian. But it is unfortunate that the talents of first-rate scholars in history often come to be taken up with routine and important work. With all our rising numbers, there are not too many of us engaged in the essential research and thinking that are needed to push forward the boundaries of knowledge in historical studies. It is often questionable, too, whether any particular scholar in our discipline would not be serving his nation and his discipline, for better by holding a more detached

position, one close to, outside of, the government. This is a question that even an individual needs to ponder and to answer for himself¹⁹.

Then, too, we can often, with a little effort, see to it that some agencies are established intelligent practices of record keeping and publication for the benefit of scholars now and in the future. And finally, it is to be hoped that some of them will take the time and expend the energy needed to write down for later publication their own inside observations on government and administration in action. There are in Tamilnadu, all too few first-rate political and administrative autobiographies, biographies and anthologies.

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11. கலைஞர் மு. கருணாநிதி நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதி

In our direct services to the government and the community, as well as in our capacity as historians, we have, in the *third place opportunities for political invention*, and for the installation and observation of such inventions. To put it in another way, there are many times when we can conduct genuine experiments in politics and administration. I refer in this connection to such recent innovation in Panchayat Raj, *Manuneethi*, State planning, state budgeting, improved methods of training and recruitment for the public service, public planning, administrative reorganisation, legislative and judicial councils, and recently a Cabinet Minister in Tamil Nadu for Tamil Language and its development. How much historians have had to do with inventing, developing, propagating, observing, and reporting upon such new devices it would be hard to say, but certainly it has been a great deal. More than any other learned profession, we have been participants in the making of many of these experiments. History is not simply a propaganda for any of these promising innovations. When historians help to introduce any one of them into their own institution or locality, it is not only because they think the change will do some good and advance the cause of better government and administration. That is certainly an important motivation, but in addition even true professional historians among us look upon the innovation as an experiment that must be watched and reported upon to the ends that still further improvements may be made, knowledge may be extended, and the cause of better government may be advanced²⁰.

This reference to political invention and experimentation brings us directly to our fourth group of functions, our inescapable obligations as historians. It is an organisation of historians and generalists that our Tamil Nadu History Congress will stand. Our specific function in this regard cannot be too often repeated.

First, I would name the observation, analysis and criticism of the organisations and institutions that carry on, or that affect in some important way, the government of the people. What are these institutions? How do they work? Do they promote or retard Man's struggle towards such goals as justice and freedom? This work of observation and analysis must center itself in, but cannot limit itself to, those institutions that are strictly

governmental. Great private aggregations like pressure groups, political parties, trade unions, the public press and Temples, churches, have immeasurable influence on the functioning of government. The study must be a continuous one, because we can never be sure but that at the very time when things seem to be going most smoothly, disturbing but undetected changes are not taking place. Few though we be, we must serve as sentinels to give warning and true description of political and governmental changes that are taking place²¹.

Dr. A. Ramasamy Mudaliar through his editorials in 'JUSTICE' English Daily in the year 1927 had done much better by all people as he had accurately described the "The Madras Swarajists." The "Law Member," "Social Problems," "The Public Service Commission," "Judicial Recruitment," - "Constitutional Problems", etc., etc..

Periyar E.V.R. through his speeches and writings published in *Kudiarasu*, and *Viduthalai* had done much better by all people as he had accurately described the Congress Organisation, Particular class domination etc.

Anna had done much better by all people as he had done much better by all people as he had accurately explained the tyranny of Government with such clarity and depth, in his time in *Dravidanadu*. and *Kanchi*, *Homeland* and *Homerule*.

Kalaingar Dr. M. Karunanidhi an unequalled administrator, parliamentarian, writer, the present matchless leader of the Dravidian Movement is doing much greater service-by all people as he has accurately described social reforms, the language issue, reservation for backward and scheduled castes and tribes; state autonomy etc., through his columns in *Murasoli*, (and earlier in *Namnadu*)²².

Closely related to these things are the analysis and criticism of the broad policies of governments, parties and men in public life. We are engaged in studying something that is alive and in action.

It is a government of parties and men as well as of laws and institutions. The general policies of public men, women and political parties may well be dangerous to the institutions and the final goals of the community. They must not go unexamined.

This does not imply that the historian as such should step down into the political arena to make attacks upon public men, or that he is to concern himself with all the smaller acts of governments. His true role is to be impersonal and objective, to consider the broader phases of public policy, to discuss issues as issues, and to be the teacher of leaders and public officials as well as of citizens.

Then, too, there are the political *ideas* that are *put* forth from time to time-good ideas, bad ideas, nostrums, panaceas. Some are the products of the careful thought and study of intelligent men of good will. Others are the well camouflaged designs of sinister, self-seeking interests. Many are just the dizzy speculations of irresponsible and inexperienced dreamers. All must be examined, tested, ventilated, and exposed for what they are. If we did nothing more than this, our work not be in vain²³

But while we are examining the political ideas and policies, we must not fail to examine closely our own methodology. We have a number of basic assumptions that affect our thinking and our methods. Out of all our questionings, studies and analyses, the public and the scientific world in general not unreasonably expect that we will steadily develop and perfect a body of knowledge and generalisations that may be called the principles of political and administrative history, and that will actually serve the statesman and the citizen. Intelligent men will not expect from us a body of precepts having the accuracy of those in physics or chemistry; for, as Tiruvalluvar says.

When even men, who have studied the most difficult works and who are free from faults are (carefully) examined, it is a rare thing to find them without ignorance. (*Kural* : 503)

அரியகற்று ஆசற்றார் கண்ணும் தெரியுங்கால்
இன்மை அரிதே வெளிறு.

Nevertheless, we shall have no acceptable excuse or defense if we fail to make the most of our materials and opportunities.

As I survey the works of recent writers in our field, it has surprised me that so few have written books that attempt to state systematically the principles of political and administrative history

especially post independent Tamil Nadu. Although many other disciplines have evidenced the same tendency, this charge cannot be made as forcefully against economists, sociologists or natural scientists within their respective fields. There is a great dearth of books in political and administrative history. Are we suffering from undue modesty? Is our subject too vast to be summarised in one treatise? Are we permitting our preoccupation with particular subjects to prevent us from at least attempting to recapitulate the main principles of political and administrative history? The questions are important ones because our fellow-citizens have a right to expect us to perform this essential task. And if we do not do this work scientifically, there are many others who are willing to, and who do, undertake it unscientifically²⁴.

With respect to the scope of the subject to be surveyed in such a book of principles, Tiruvalluvar, Periyar E.V.R., Anna and Kalaigarnar discussed these questions in their respective ways, that a very wide view of the subject is essential. Periyar E.V.R. urged and traversed that men dealt with questions in government broadly, in their relations to other things. Anna in effect argued that the total situation should be appraised, and that the answers to questions should be pursued in any and every direction where pertinent and significant data could be found. If asked what limit to set to an investigation, C.R. would reply, "No limit."

Some of us Tamil Nadu Historians need, I might suggest, a more comprehensive view of our subject. A purely Tamil Nadu political and administrative history is just as impossible as a distinctly Tamil Nadu Science of Chemistry. Political authority exists everywhere that men are found throughout the world. It has existed at least since the beginnings of recorded time.

But that is not all. There is evidence, too, that we have construed too narrowly the term "political". Very few or nil have attempted in significant ways with the economic factors and forces in politics. Despite the development of ever-closer relations between the Tamil Nadu State and the economic order, and the steady rise of a new political economy at least since the turn of the 20th century. We in general continue to neglect this area except, for example, in descriptive books on

government regulation of business and no books on pressure groups. This subject, along with such crucial questions as fiscal policy, public budgeting, monetary and banking policy in relation to Tamil Nadu state, and the role of labour and agriculture in politics, caste, and community in politics, role of science and Technology in administration role of ideas in history, intellectual forces in the making of history, are conspicuous only by their almost complete absence from such books as we have on the elements of political and administrative history. To venture into the study of these fields requires both imagination and courage; yet, what are these but the very hallmarks of the fertile scientific mind?

Here, too, it is not amiss to reemphasise another aspect of our responsibility. It is that of trying to see things whole, or to see the things we are studying in its significant relations to all other things. Other sciences may appropriately be more analytical and abstract, each dealing with a phase or a part of nature. It is the function of political and administrative history to integrate, to synthesise, and to show things in proper balance. It considers the good of man as a whole. Adverting again to Tiruvalluvar, this seems to be what he had in mind when he spoke of politics (state), followed by Periyar E.V.R., Anna and Dr. Kalaigarnar.

As moves the world so move the wise
In this with changing times and ways

[Kural: 426]

Thus, the goal of political history includes the specific ends of the other sciences. That is to say, since we are peculiarly responsible for studying government and politics, and since government affects the whole of human life, we cannot neglect any important relationship in human society.

Undemocratic forces and violent methods of raising an issue or fulfilling narrow minded wishes are enjoying a field day. In short, absence of strong leadership and moral safeguards bedevils the political and the social situation.

Ideals always exercised a great fascination over Periyar E.V.R., Anna and Kalaigarnar. There might have been ideas which did not elicit their agreement; also, there might have been opinions to which they found it difficult to extend their sympathy. Despite

disagreement and unacceptability, ideas interested them in themselves and they examined them without hostility.

Those of the ideas that had their roots deep in their distinguished social philosophy, invariably found their way into their speeches; Dr. Kalaignar popularised them among the people.

What Arignar Anna accomplished in the field of literature and journalism represents the evolution and ripening of his ideas that are lucidly reflected in his political as well as social philosophy. Any concern with ethos of normal life and the needs of the common man in Tamil Nadu, in the decades after the Independence, cannot afford to ignore the part, social as well as political, played by the Charismatic personality of Anna²⁵.

Bryce had much the same thing in his thoughts when he said he would set no limit to any political study. Various psychologists have stressed the necessity of seeing total situations, and Mary Parker Follett had pleaded for "undepartmentalized thinking," and for "emphasis on the whole as a unit of study."

The importance of the particular thing one studies is not, then, what determines the importance of the study itself. One may study the work of a single wardheeler, of a small field, the party election, of a party, or a Cabinet, or a legislative assembly, and yet so study the thing as to see all its relations or, or if you will, its universal aspects, and make a significant contribution. It is not the point at which one starts but the circumference of the circle at which one ends, and what one has done over the whole area within the circle that determine the value of political history and of any study.

The need to see politics, government and society as a whole, and to take an integrating and synthesizing view of things presents many difficulties. We often appear to the world about us as vague generalists rather than useful specialists. This is the more strikingly true because our subject political and administrative history-is one that truly belongs to all men and women. We are under the necessity of dealing with common things and in a language that all men and women can understand. We must meet and understand men and women on

the basis of their common needs and characteristics, and still be scientific.

This apparent weakness has also its elements of strength. By staying close to the common man and woman in our study and thinking, by retaining something of the common touch, by trying to see life whole from a human point of view, we in fact acquire a kinship with men, and an ability to see more deeply into Tamil Nadu political and administrative history.

The insight and understanding thus gained into the post independent Tamil Nadu history and aspirations of our people should give us indispensable aid toward the understanding of Tamil Nadu politics, government and the elements of the general welfare. Thus, in turn, should make us better scholars and teachers in our field, better advisers for political leaders and administrators²⁶.

But I can hear the voices of a few doubters earnestly objecting. We are so few, they say, when compared with the tens of thousands in such professions as law and medicine. How can we exert substantial influence? Besides, they say, we are hardly known.

Even our colleagues in the Universities fail to understand our function and our field of work. To those I would say: Be of good cheer !

Remeber the classical references - TirukKural:

The hidden words of the men whose words are full of effect, will show their greatness to the world. (Kural.28)

நிறைமொழி மாந்தர் பெருமை நிலத்து
மறை மொழி காட்டி விடும்..

Because there are few who practise, austerity and many who do not, there are many destitute and few rich in this world. (Kural 270).

இலாபவர் ஆகியகாரணம் நோற்பார்
சிலர்; பலர் நோனாதவர்

As, in its use, the arrow is crooked, and the curved lute is straight. So by their deeds, (and not by their appearance) let (the uprightness or crookedness of) men due estimated. [Kural 279).

கணைகொடிது, யாழ்கொடு செவ்விது ஆங்கு அன்ன
வினைபடு பாலால் கொளல்

Heaven is nearer than the earth they stand on to the enlightened who have feed themselves from the entanglements of doubt: (Kural 353).

ஐயத்தின் நீங்கித் தெளிந்தார்க்கு வையத்தின்
வானம் நணியது உடைத்து.

Let none be despised for (their) size; for the world has those who resemble the linch-pin of the big rolling car. [Kural 667].

உருவுகண்டு எள்ளாமை வேண்டும்;

உருள்பெரும்ந்தோர்க்கு

அச்சாணி அன்னார் உடைத்து.

Or if a more modern and scientific analogy be more acceptable, note how small and obscure are some of the glands that determine the life and growth and functioning of the whole human body. It is neither size nor visibility nor the public's full understanding of us that determines our importance. It is rather the function that we are performing and its significance to the body politic that we serve.

WEALTH AND WELFARE

Love and benevolence, the ruling traits of virtuous individuals are as well the basis of a civilised society. The moral conduct of individuals in relation to society is therefore dealt with in greater detail under this section "Porul" or wealth, the pervading theme of which is political economy. As social and political scientists Tiruvalluvar, Periyar E.V.R., Anna and Dr. Kalaignar have primarily concerned with this world and interested in the proper and harmonious development of a society, ensuring social and economic welfare through social justice. According to them, "Personal ethics is not to be in conflict with social ethic?". In other words, society is an integrated arrangement, where is the good of the individual harmonises with that of the community, whose main concern is to obtain freedom from hunger, disease and fear of any kind.²⁷

This is the basis for his concept of political economy.

உறுபசியும் ஓவாப்பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
சேரா தியல்வது நாடு.

a good country is one that is free from extreme poverty, endemic diseases and external aggressions. (Kural 734).

For obtaining this threefold freedoms acquisition of wealth is of utmost importance. It is the very life breath of a living and growing society.

பொருளென்னும் பொய்யா விளக்கம் இருளறுக்கும்
எண்ணிய தேயத்துச் சென்று.

Waneless wealth is light that goes

To every land and gloom removes. (Kural 753).

valluvar has also illustrated the relation of wealth to love and benevolence by a beautiful comparison in the undernoted couplet.

அருளென்னும் அன்பின் குழவி பொருளென்னும்
செல்வச் செவிலியால் உண்டு.

"Grace the child of love is nourished By the Wet - nurse of wealth cherished." (Kural 757).

Valluvar, Periyar E.V.R and Anna who set much store by virtue naturally insist that the acquisition and development of wealth should be both legally correct and morally proper and beyond and reproach. Wealth obtained by honest means alone, they assert, can form the basis for virtue and well-being.

அறன்ஈனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள்.

The wealth acquired with knowledge of the proper means and without foul practices will yield virtue and happiness. (Kural 754).

அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராய் பொளாக்கம்
புல்லர் புறள் விடல்.

Kings (leaders) should rather avoid than seek the accumulation of wealth which does not flow in with mercy and love (Rural 755)

பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயர் ஓம்புதல் நாலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை. (குறள் 321)

But wealth by itself is no good to Valluvar unless it is equated in terms of social welfare. It is only a means to an end. He puts this idea neatly in the couplet reading:

தாளாற்றித் தந்த பொருளெல்லாம் தக்கார்க்கு
வேளான்மை செய்துப் பொருட்டு

All the wealth acquired with perseverance
by the worthy is for the exercise of benevolence.
[Kural : 212]

Valluvar, therefore, dubs hoarding as
antisocial and very graphically compares the hoarded
wealth to the fading bloom on the cheeks of a fair
lonely maid.

அற்றார்க் கொன்று ஆற்றாதான் செல்வம் மிக நலம்
பெற்றாள் தமயன் மூத்தற்று.

The wealth of him who never bestows
anything on the destitute is like a woman of beauty
growing old without a husband. (Kural : 1007)

Valluvar goes even a little further and says
that such unshared wealth will prove a positive
danger to the common good of the people, even as
“the fruits of poisonous tree in the heart of a village.”

நச்சப் படாதவன் செல்வம் நடுவுருள்
நச்சு மரம் பழுத்தற்று.

The wealth of him who is disliked (by all) is
like the fruit-bearing of the the *etty* tree in the midst
of a town. (Kural 1008).

CALL FOR WELFARE STATE

Valluvar is rightly indignant with a society,
where even begging is considered a normal way of
eking out one's existence. His horror is very fiercely
expressed in the undernoted couplet:

இரந்தும் உயிர் வாழ்தல் வேண்டின் பரந்து
கெடுக உலகியற்றி யான்.

If the creator of the world has decreed even
begging as a means of livelihood, may be too go
abegging and perish. (Kural 1062).

Obviously, Valluvar, Periyar E.V.R., Anna
and Dr. Kalaignar feel that it is the imperative duty of
a civilised society to ensure that poverty is
eliminated by providing ample opportunities for
employment and honest living by initiating such
measures as are very necessary from time to time.
They assert that poverty is not god-made but
definitely man-made. It is man's inhumanity to man
that makes countless thousands mourn. It is the

uniquitous development of the social order over the
centuries that is really responsible for this economic
debacle and this certainly needs rectification. Hence
their clarion call to people to work for the evolution
of a welfare state, where everyone should work and
nobody is permitted to beg, if necessary by
legislation, thus ensuing the dignity and the
economic freedom of man consistent, of course, with
the general welfare of the society.²⁸ In their view, no
socio-economic welfare state can endure if people
do not put forth their best efforts. They, therefore,
exhort them to work with unflagging energy, which
alone mark out the prosperous from the poor. In this
view, “The idle rich are indeed really poor from a
social and spiritual point of view”.

உடைய ரெனப்படுவது உனக்கம் அஃதிலார்
உடையது உடையரோ மற்று.

To own is to own energy. All others own
but lethargy. [Kural 591]. Valluvar is positive that
industry alone constitutes real wealth.

உள்ளம் உடைமை உடைமை பொருளுடைமை
நில்லாது நீங்கி விடும்.

The possession of (energy of) mind is true property;
the possession of wealth passes away and abides
not. (Kural 592)

There can not be better examples than that
of Germany and Japan, which after world War II
started from scratch and soon attained pre-eminent
place in the industrial map of the world.

Valluvar wants people to eschew idleness
and to help themselves and others through manly
efforts.

குடிமறந்து குற்றம் பெருகும் மடிமறந்து
மாண்ட உகுற்றி லவர்க்கு.

Family (greatness) will be destroyed, and
faults will increase, in those men who give way to
laziness, and put forth no dignified exertions. (Kural
604).

Labour will produce wealth; idleness will
bring poverty

முயற்சி தீருவினையாக்கும் முயற்றின்மை
இன்மை புகுத்தி விடும்.

Valluvar also wants people not to loose hope but work hard like bulls despite temporary mishaps, as life in this world is not "one bed of roses". (Kural 616).

மடுத்துவா யெல்லாம் பகடன்னான் உற்ற
இடுக்கண் இடர்பாடு உடைத்து.

Troubles will vanish (i.e. will be troubled) before the man who (struggles against difficulties! as a buffalo (drawing a cart) through deep mine. (Kural 624).

Valluvar, Periyar E.V.R., Anna and Dr. Kalaignar feel that it is not good making everybody poor by soaking the affluent or not so affluent to succour the poor, but people as a whole must be prepared to work hard and produce in abundance. It is impossible to have socio-economic justice without a sustained economic growth. No country could afford to eat its cake and yet keep it without developing the capacity to make more and more cakes to eliminate poverty. If poverty is not eliminated in time, Valluvar, Periyar and Anna warned that untold miseries will overtake the human race.

நல்குரவு என்னும் இடும்பையுள் பல்குரைத்
துன்பங்கள் சென்று படும்.

The misery of poverty brings in its train many (more) miseries. (Kural 1045)

NEED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Despite the clear warning-given by Valluvar some two thousand years ago, there has been a continuous iniquitous development of social order over the centuries, resulting in utter disregard of human values. Valluvar, Periyar E.V.R. Anna and Dr. Kalaignar no doubt rely largely on individual values to bring about social happiness, when they exclaimed that the world goes on smoothly because of men of courtesy and goodwill and but for them all the harmony would be dead and buried in the dust.

பண்புடையார் பட்டுண்டு உலகம் அதுஇன்றேல்
மண்புக்கு மாய்வது மன்.

The world rests with mannered best Or it crumbles and falls to dust. [Kural 996).

But, as we have noted already, Valluvar, Periyar. Anna and Kalaignar not altogether rule out

state interventions to evolve an egalitarian society, if endeavors of individuals tend towards utter selfishness resulting in widespread distress. While on this point, it must be clearly understood that Valluvar does not give any set of rules for instant application to any problem. He is no stickler to rules and code of conduct irrespective of their effects on man and society. However, all the three's outlook is essentially humanistic intensely concerned with the total happiness and welfare of the people. Valluvar is therefore, averse to expose them "to unnecessary misery and suffering for the sake of the mere upholding of a moral idea". This pragmatic approach to the human problem can as well be inferred from the undernoted Kural:

பொய்மையும் வாய்மையிடத்த புரை தீர்ந்த
நன்மை பயக்கும் எனின்.

Even falsehood partakes of the nature of a truth But only if it produced just a harmless good in sooth". (Kural 292).

Presumably to Valluvar, no written constitution is sacrosanct, nor could it be impervious to the changing times calling for socio-economic reforms. Valluvar, Periyar, Anna, Kalaignar take care to enunciate certain cardinal principles which help individuals to develop their moral insight as they get along and their institutions in tune with the times. In other words, they make them furiously think on the lines of their universal principles with a view to evolve a just society rid of poverty and glaring disparity in wealth by adopting such measures as occasions demand. Here, one should necessarily be guided by certain expressions used by Valluvar which are so replete with meaning that they are easily interpreted in terms of modern requirements of man and society. It is no question of foisting any new fangled ideas on his *Rural* but a sensible reading of them, which are so subtly couched as to anticipate even the later day developments - especially in Tamil nadu. In other words, the universal principles enunciated by him in his inimitable way enlarge a man's understanding and enable him to view them in relation to contemporary thought and technology. All told, when efforts of individuals to bring about social happiness are either halting, perverse or dried up, Valluvar feels, that

collective wisdom alone can correct the lapses and bring about the necessary social change.²⁹

The three great leaders of Tamil Nadu emphasised Valluvar's thoughts. They were :

1. For Valluvar, life is an integrated whole. *Tirukkural* is the postulation of philosophy as a way of life and a way of living according to philosophy. It is pragmatic idealism.
2. In justifying the demands of the Ideal to the needs of the pragmatic, Tiruvalluvar knew no contradictions or inconsistencies, the contradictions and inconsistencies are more appearances than real. In this, he is in company of the greatest world teachers like Jesus Christ, Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Mahatma Gandhi.
3. *Tirukkural* is a work of synthesis. Tiruvalluvar sought to synthesise the two eternal tendencies in human history, life affirmation and life negation.
4. As these two tendencies are eternally recurring in a rhythm all through history, and among all nations and peoples, the synthesis acquires a permanent and pervasive significance.
5. Yet the work must have an immediate purpose; to lead his people back to a positive way of life, without losing the values that the negative way of life had to teach.
6. His was a democratic mission. *Kural* was not intended merely for the chosen few. Valluvar was a democrat in life and thought and *Kural* is democratic in form, content and appeal.
7. The choice of form was deliberative and purposive. It was the one that could best serve the Democratic purpose.³⁰

This revival of interest in covering the entire known history of Tamil Nadu does not preclude closer attention being paid to some specific periods that have been researched in more detail. The reason for this are not all purely objective; an interest in times closer to us, for instance, stems from more committed motivations, such as the need to apprehend events that still have an influence on us, or the need to remove misunderstandings and resolve controversies. Much research has focussed on the period of the Second World War, the Freedom struggle, the Dravidian Movement and Political personalities.

In choosing to devote the whole or a part of their research to this period, historians become part of a larger movement which goes against the grain of earlier tendencies. Historians of previous generations would not only have discredited the possibility of writing a scientific history of the times that they had themselves lived through, but in their eyes it would have been above all a travesty of a historian's duty. For, firstly they believed that the difficulty of accessing administrative archives (kept protected till a significant time has elapsed) would make it impossible to establish the truth; and secondly, the proximity in time appeared to present an insurmountable obstacle to the objectivity which they aimed at; according to their way of thinking, only the passage of time, by allowing passions to subside, could lead to such an objectivity.³¹

The historians of today are not dissuaded by these objections. They believe that there are sources of information other than archival documents.

That function is truly possible only in free and democratic societies, and at the same time it is indispensable to them. To do the things that we must do, we need freedom of thought academic freedom - and speech, public support, and security of position. Tyranny dare not permit then untrammelled and objective study of the institutions and policies of government but democracies cannot live without it. In every land, it is the holders of irresponsible power, the possessors of vested interests and those fear of a genuine government of the people, who are the first to attempt to suppress the free discussion of political questions. Liberal constitutional democracies that know their true interests protect and promote the unrestricted study of political institutions-both past and present-and methods, because their own welfare and progress depend upon it.

And so I say : Be of good cheer, but be also of great courage. The prospects of historical research at higher level in general and of the political and administrative history in particular in post-independent Tamil Nadu are none too bright. There will be periods and phases of reaction when we shall not escape some measure of adverse criticism. This will be evidence of the fact that there are great maladjustments to be corrected, and that the work

lies before us will be more that arduous,³² more searching of all our abilities than anything we have done in the past. Man and women in all areas need the research, the inventions and the integrated thinking of political history as never before in our history. And one thing is certain, that if we perform our functions to the utmost of our capabilities, the political and social institutions that have survived in order to preserve free and responsible popular government will in due time give even greater

recognition to the indispensable functions that we perform.

Let us, then in the hard years that lie ahead, out-master the masters of our science who have gone before. Let us make our science both more searchingly scientific and more practical than ever. Let us prove to the Tamil Nadu people and to the nation that the scientific study of Tamil Nadu political and administrative history is indispensable to the good government of democracy.³³

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CITY OF MADRAS IN 1857 – READINGS ON REVERBERATIONS

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The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 disturbed many parts of North India and threw the mighty British power into a whirlwind of confusion. According to V.D. Savarkar, it was an organised national movement. Ashok Mehta, a nationalist politician, supports this view on the basis of the fact that the number of civilians killed was as large as that of the Sepoys. Besides, the rapidity with which the Mutiny spread in many parts of North India clearly shows how in some areas it enjoyed a strong mass support. The Hindu-Muslim harmony which the Mutiny depicted also points towards the same direction. According to Outram, it was no national uprising. It was rather, in his view, a Muslim conspiracy which made capital of the Hindu grievances and was precipitated by the incident of cartridge. Sir John Lawrence held the view that it was essentially a sepoy uprising. Rawlinson also supports it and states that it was wholly impatriotic and selfish sepoy mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support. P. E. Roberts and R.C.Majumdar also endorse this view.

It has often been argued by the early Post-Independence generation that the Anglo-Indian War of 1857 was the precursor of the nationalist movement, though many western historians regard it as scattered revolts by peasant landowners with no sense of solidarity against a common enemy. On the other hand, the Marxist historian sees it as a class war against the land-lords and the Colonial State. C.A. Bayly, Professor of History at Cambridge states that Whatever the school of thought may be, the Indian Rebellion was certainly, "the First War of Independence that some scholars of the 1950s incautiously proclaimed".¹

It is also the opinion of many that the Mutiny failed because the whole of India did not participate in the Mutiny and those who participated had no solidarity among themselves. The territories affected by the mutiny were only a part of the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rohilkhand, Oudh, the territories between the Narmada and Chambal rivers and western part of Bihar and Bengal, while the territories of Rajputana, Central and Eastern Bengal and the south of the Narmada, all remained undisturbed.

During this period of revolt, Sind was loyal, Nepal did not remain behind in this respect. Not a single ruling chief of some importance joined the mutineers. Large civil population which included the intellectuals as a class remained quiet because they were not motivated by national feeling at that time. The Sikhs were not only kept aloof from the mutineers by diplomacy, rewards and threats but also were made to render all kinds of help against the participants of the revolt. Further, many like Raja of Sind, Patiala, Naba and Kapurtala supplied troops to the British and took field against the mutineers. Nodoubt Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh and Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi showed some organizational skills and rose against the imperialists in line with the uprisings of the sepoys. But their campaigns were mostly local, and they also failed to have a regular contact with one another. Their armies too failed to combine together.

In such a state of affairs during the mutiny of 1857, there was no general appeal to peasants, workers and the common men of the nation to join the revolt. In Rajasthan, for instance, there were no large-scale uprisings because here the ground was

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not adequately prepared by a successful rising of the sepoys. There were also no large-scale uprisings among the Marathas. Though the Marathas had recently suffered at the hands of the English, there were no sepoy outbreaks in their midst.

Further, the Chiefs of various States had not developed well-knit plans to rise in revolt against the mighty British power. Nor did they have any regular contact with one another. Also, there was a complete absence of co-ordination among the Chiefs of the States. Most of them were inspired by their self interests or conditioned only by local causes. Many Chiefs and thousands of land lords remained loyal to the authorities of the English East India Company. Nor every province rose in arms. Thus, it is very clear that it was not a national movement based on patriotic sentiments or on any well-knit organisation or on some enlightened principles of national independence.²

This was the case in the Northern parts of India which bore the brunt of severe oppression of the imperial rule. Southern India, far away from the nerve centre of India, had not much experienced the trauma of the mutiny. Nor did it have that kind of serious troubles experienced by the northern parts. Nothing serious took place during this period in the Madras State. Some copies of a proclamation of letters urging the Nizam and his minister to begin a holy war against the English were seized from some Muslims in Madras city. Some minor disturbances mostly by private disputes occurred in Rajamundry which were suppressed easily. A green flag and a proclamation urging the slaughter of the English were also seized from some Muslims in Masulipatnam. Also, a few disturbances occurred in a few places in the Krishna, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. These were by Rohillas who intruded Nizam's territories for plunder. A Moplah rising was nipped in the bud and a Maratha inroad which was made in Kanara was repelled. These were the only political disturbances in South India.³ But these were not a sequel of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 of North India.

It is to be noted that throughout the course of the disturbances in Northern India, the people from Madras State, in particular the citizens of Madras city, sent loyal addresses to the government deploring and condemning the acts of violence committed in the north by the sepoys. Some even sent subscriptions

in aid of the relief of sufferers. But this loyalty to the constituted authority did not by any means make them blind to their political advancement. They welcomed the abolition of the East India Company's rule and hailed the direct assumption of the Government of India by Queen Victoria. But they never lost sight of their main demand, namely that of responsible government and pressed for it whenever opportunities came in their way.⁴

Also, Madras sent out English as well as Indian troops to Northern India on a summons from Canning, the Governor-General. These troops embarked without a least murmur and played an important role in the military operations in the north against the mutineers. However, one troop alone of the Madras Army, the 8th Light Native Cavalry showed some disaffection on their march from Bangalore to Madras. The soldiers of the troop first showed their hesitation and finally absolutely refused to embark unless they were granted the old rates of pay and pension which had been altered in 1833. But this troop was disbanded. Its disaffection arose not due to political reasons but due to mercenary considerations.⁵

There were also a few reports about a few minor disturbances near Amir Mahal, the palace of Arcot Nawab in Madras city and in a few places. But these were not the repercussions of the Mutiny in the north. It is also reported that coastal regions such as Madras and Chengalput and other inland areas such as Coimbatore, North Arcot and Salem were considered disturbed during 1857. It was also stated in Reports that seditious meetings were held, proclamations against the English were distributed, statements were made against the colonial authorities and pledges were taken to end the alien rule. The Reports further added that tension and commotion prevailed in these places. But the so-called insurgency or a serious uprising in Chengalput area on 31 July 1857 reported by the Magistrate of Chengalput did not seem to have seriously disturbed the Government of Madras.⁶ The horrors which were reported in North India were undoubtedly very grave in nature, and the government was more concerned about that situation in the North.

Thus, in Tamil Nadu, particularly in Madras, the situation was not that serious as to warrant immediate attention of the government authorities. There was peace and tranquility in general.

A few scholars aver that there were a few people with surging emotions who were vehemently intent on rising against the imperial authorities in Madras city and outside. But it is to be remembered that these emotions did not find any manifestations. It is because that the Tamil country had already received a big blow of a very serious nature in the previous century. During the eighteenth century, the overbearing nature of the Europeans and their extortion of "Kist" from local chieftains (Poligars) enraged the local Chiefs very much that they were determined to break the relations with these aliens who by force of circumstances acquired territories and became their masters. Those who protested the aliens were exterminated. The Chiefs of the Palayams of Southern India and a few others such as Veeran Alagumuthukone, Pulithevan, Veerapandia Kattabomman, Marudu Brothers and Veera Mangai Velu Nachiar were all overpowered and destroyed for their resistance against the alien rule. The Chiefs who protested were hanged without mercy. Similarly, the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 in which the Mysore ruler Tipu Sultan's men showed their gallant resistance to English designs shook the English authorities greatly and this was also suppressed with a strong

hand. The English thus struck terror in the minds of the people of the Tamil country that they were completely and brutally chastised. Consequently, the people of the Tamil country and the people of Madras in particular were determined to be docile and their spirits became dormant.

It was due to these developments that Surendra Nath Sen in his work *Eighteen Fifty Seven* says:

The presidency of Madras remained unaffected all through, though some slight signs of restlessness were perceived in the army.⁷

Also some referred to Madras as "benighted Madras", for its silence during the early half of the 19th century. But gradually from the middle of the nineteenth century the people of the Presidency were awakened by intellectuals, educated elites and organizations like Madras Native Association, Madras Maha Jana Sabha and Madras Hindu Debating Society and were exhorted by them to plunge into action against the British authorities. This had a remarkable effect on the people of Madras and in the other parts of the State who soon afterwards greatly involved themselves in all nationalist activities which had become a legend in the history of India.

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THE DESTINY OF MADURAI NAYAK KINGDOM AFTER MEENAKSHI

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Any political history is written from a dawn of an empire till its dusk. Meanwhile, it is not uncommon to history in focusing its attention much on the prominent rulers of the dynasty and with an eminent ruler.

One should understand that any empire cannot reach its end abruptly with a ruler. It fades away gradually and the place will be occupied by another powerful usher per of a new dynasty.

But the historians slipped out to recognize the importance of the last ruler of a reign. Thus the successors are retreated back; hence the next important leading ruler of other dynasty comes in their place. The destiny of the Madurai Nayak kingdom after Meenakshi is a good example here. The great historian R. Sathianatha Aiyer has never hesitated to end the chapter in the history of Madurai Nayak up to Meenakshi.

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Madurai Nayak period can be historically recognised as the interregnum between Muslim and British rule. As far as the history of the Nayaks of Madurai is concerned, it comprises roughly a period of two hundred years from the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The political condition of Madurai kingdom was so critical when Viswanatha Nayaka was made the king that he as the founder of Nayak rule had to play a major role in solving the internal and external conflicts. As such, the duty of preserving the peace and prestige of the kingdom was trusted on Thirumalai Nayaka the next great king and his followers. He stabilised the situation and raised the status of his country to the pinnacle of glory. The Nayak rule slowly declined during the period of later kings. But, however, we find some welcome lightning in the social, economic and cultural fields of this period.

During the days of decline the historians put an end to the Nayak rule beyond Meenakshi become imperative. Taking the evidences from the Vamsavalees of the palayagars, other literary sources and Telugu local records the Nayak rule has been extended for another four generations of substantial kings whose periods of reign were beset with danger and difficulties. Due to the territorial invasions and conflicts the era of Nayak dynasty was mentioned that it was ended with the rule of Meenakshi in 1736 A.D. But the reign of Nayak dynasty can be extended from 1736 A.D. to 1801 A.D. from the source materials available. After going through these Telugu local records, the Nayak reign breathed after Meenakshi with four successors. The four rulers were:

Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka,
Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka,
Raja Viswanatha Nayaka
Vijaya Kumara Viswanatha Bangaru Thirumala
Nayaka.

The death of Meenakshi, the last ruler, in 1736 A.D. brought about the practical extinction of the ruler of Nayaks of Madurai. Her successors were not only weak but became victims of the circumstances. The kingdom was frequently attacked by the Muslims and Marattahs. This particular period of decline is a remarkable phase of Palayagar's loyalty, when the feudal lords endeavored with their maximum effort to restore the lost glory of the Nayak

kings. At certain times, the lord was escorted to Madurai by the palayagars and he was reinstated to the throne with full honour and customary tradition. If it was not possible, the lord was crowned in the forest area and was anointed as "Forest king". Some times he was entitled to enjoy mock sovereignty with the possession of a small territories.

Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka

Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka was the son of Kumara Muthu the younger brother of Thirumala Nayaka. Since Meenakshi had no male issue, she adopted the son of Bangaru Thirumala. In this formal pact of family relation, Bangaru Thirumala succeeded after Meenakshi in 1736 A.D. Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka made Tiruchirapally as his capital, as Madurai was occupied by Chanda Sahib. Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka ruled for four years. Later in 1740 A.D., Chanda Sahib captured Tiruchirapally. At this critical situation, Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka with his son Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka left the palace and proceeded to Sivaganga and was received cordially by the palayagar Sasivarma Tevar of Sivaganga and Kutta Tevar Sethupathy of Ramnad. Meanwhile, the Marattah King Santho Singu Ragoji Bosala concluded a friendly alliance with Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka by granting his help against Chanda Sahib. Then Chanda Sahib was imprisoned and was taken to the king of Marattah. Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka accepted to pay ten lakhs of rupees annually for three years as demanded by the Marattah king. But the Nawab Abbas Shah of Arcot declaring Madurai as the subah/territory of Arcot and did not want the king of Marattah to enjoy the revenue due to the Nawab. Murari Rao the general of Marattah king was quite unable to cope with an antagonist so formidable as the Nawab and gave up the fort at once. Nawab demanded thirty lakhs of rupees from Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka. Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka and the crown prince Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka were given assurance by the Nawab that they would be restored to their kingdom. But he utilized their services against the ruler of Venkatagiri and Kalahasthi. In this triangular clash among Chanda Sahib, Marattah king and Arcot Nawab, Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka was severely wounded and he was treacherously and was treacherously murdered the Nawab. In this situation, the crown prince was

escorted and helped to escape to Vellicurichi of Sivaganga.

Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka:

The Vamsavali records that he was crowned in the presence of all palayagars as **FOREST KING**. It is said that the daughter of Sasivarma Tevar of Sivaganga was given to Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala in marriage alliance. Is interesting the address made by the Sethupathy when he first met Raja Vijaya Kumar Muthu Thirumala Nayaka

Translation:

'Now you are the only valuable heir remaining for the Nayak dynasty .It is good thing that you have escaped If any ruler can justify your legitimacy through equitable enquiry your kingdom will revert to you'

Thus even at times of war, the lords were saved and kept in a most protected and concealed place where opponents could not easily trace them out.

Meanwhile, a great change took place at Madurai. Chanda Sahib was released by the Marratah and he marched towards Arcot . He then sought the help of the French Army and proceeded towards Thiruchirapally. In course of war, Chanda Sahib was killed. Alam Khan one of Chanda Sahib's adherents who was appointed at Madurai wanted to restore the Carnatak Monarch once again to the throne of Madurai and then to get from them suitable jagirs. For this purpose, one of his representative proceeded to Ramnad and from there with the help of the Pradani Velliyeen Servicaren of Sethupathy approached the Pradani Tandavaraya Pillai of Sivaganga. They guided them both to Vellicurichi where the crown prince was residing under protection.

Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka and the palayagars marched towards Madurai with pomp and splendor. According to their tradition, the coronation was performed and the honourable scepter was kept in the blessed hands of Goddess Meenakshi and was traditionally given to the king before the images of the divine couple Lord Sundareswara and Goddess Meenakshi. A spectacular procession of the king on an elephant was taken out. After performing the public entry, he was crowned. He ruled for two years.

All the untold pains taken by the palayagars in reinstating the lord were frustrated by the treacherous acts of the Nawab. Knowing the situation, Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka was escorted to a newly constructed palace at Darbhasainam near Ramnad by the Sethupathy by confirming that Vellicurichi was not a safe place for protecting the king as the place was near Madurai. He gave the king the villages called Virasoren in Ramnad, Vellicurichi in Sivaganga, Sellucurichi in Bodinaikenoor and Tekampatti in Kandappanaickenoor. But the Nawab attacked Ramnad and Sivaganga. The palayagars took adhoc precautions to protect their lord. On the night itself, they reached the palayam Mailanadlu of Thirumalai Kandappa Nayaka. He invited them cordially and showered flowers of gold and silver at his lord's feet, then prostrated and paid homage. He said:

Translation:

'My lord this district is the gift of yours only Therefore you may remain here itself'

A residence was constructed for him and the village Tekkampatti was allotted to him. Thus, the palayagar was always conscious of his bounden duties. Katta Tevar of Ramnad, Sasivarma Tevar of Sivaganga and Thirumala Kandappa Nayaka of Mailanadlu decided to approach Lord Piggot of East India Company for legal justice. Meenakshi Nayaka the Dalaway of Thirumala Kandappa Nayaka along with a dubash Muthukrishnappa Mudaliar met Lord Piggot and explained everything that happened to the heir apparent Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka in his claim to the throne of Madurai. Lord Piggot promised to restore him once again to the throne of Madurai. But due to the political treacheries Lord Piggot died. Raja Vijaya Kumara Muthu Thirumala Nayaka died on 8th January, 1777 A.D. His son Raja Viswanatha Nayaka succeeded him at Mailanadlu.

Raja Viswanatha Nayaka:

In 1777 A.D., he was anointed by the palayagars according to the ordinances of the capital in Mailanadlu. They paid their usual customary ceremonies and prostrated before him in modesty. He remained there and enjoyed a mock sovereignty for six years. He was succeeded by his son, Raja Vijayakumara Viswanatha Bangaru Thirumala Nayaka:

He succeeded his father in 1784 A.D. at Mailanadlu. In 1801 A.D., East India Company made him as the Zamindar of Vellicurichi.

Thus the dark age in Nayak dynasty between 1736 A.D. to 1800 A.D. after Meenakshi was flashed with four more rulers through Telugu Manuscripts. They were coroneted at Madurai with usual customary traditions. But, they were driven

away by the Marattahs and Muslims. Though they were the rulers of small territories, the palayagars offered them the same honour and respect which they once paid to them when they were a great kings at Madurai. Thus, the complete cultural traditional and customary rites followed by the palayagars towards their lords are well brought out by the Telugu local records, manuscripts, Vamsavlees and Kaifeeyaths.

Notes & References

1. Taylor William, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* – Vol. I & II
2. C.P. Brown, *Local records*.
3. Charithra, *Madurai Thirumala Rayani*
4. Ramanatha Puramsethupathy Samsthanam Vallu Rajyapalana Konni Poorvotharamu
5. Sivaganga Samsthana Palayapattu
6. Velliyakunda Palayapattu Vamsavali
7. Some Telugu Paper Manuscripts – Vamsavalees & Kaifeeyaths

KUTTAN SETHUPATI COPPER PLATES - A STUDY IN THE RAMESWARAM TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION

C.K. Sivaprakasam*

The copper plates issued by the Setupatis of Ramnad form class among themselves and provide a mine of information to the socio-cultural history of Tamilnadu. Kuttan Sethupati, one of the rulers of Ramnad (1622-1635 A.D) issued six copper plates which are very much significant in the religio-cultural history of Tamil Nadu. These plates, Dearing on some of the aspects of the day-to-day affairs of Ramanathasamy temple at Rameshwaram, afford a good scope for the study temple administration. An attempt is made in this paper to depict how setupatis systematised the administration of Rameshwaram temple, one of the great Saiva institutions of Tamilnadu, the process of which was initiated by kuttan Setupati.

Setupatis' proven interest for Rameshwaram is a subject of interest to any student of history of Ramnad. The past tradition and their connection with Lord Rama and Rameswaram made the setupati rulers of the 17th and 18th Centuries dedicated to the protection of the region setu and the development of Ramanathasamy temple at Rameshwaram.¹ The reign period of Kuttan Setupati, the second in the

line of independent Setupati dynasty, though of uneventful politically, was significant from the point of view of the developments in Rameswaram temple. The temple received very personal attention of Kuttan Setupati and was endowed elaborately and maintained perfectly. His Copper plates of 1627 (one only), 1631 (2 plates) and 1632 (3 records) are noticed. Of these two record, the village donation² made by the king to the temple. The third one,³ which is also of donatives in character deserves our special attention as it records the grant of right to pearl fishing in the state's noticed areas in the coast and to use the proceeds from there in for the maintenance of the temple. The recipient of the grant was one Ramanatha Pandaram. The remaining three records confine to the aspects of temple affairs and administration.

The record of 1627 A.D.⁴ registers the order of the king to maintain the king's endowment for worship and offering (Udayavar kattalai) separately. It indicates that the king arranged the offerings of pitchipu and pachaipal for the abisheka of the Lord in arthasama puja. Kuttan was very keen in

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maintaining the purity in the offerings. Hence, he ordered that the offerings made by others should not be mixed with his own during the implementation of his arrangement (Kattalai). He further ordered that the offerings of the people should be added to Ulthurai Kattalai.⁵

The record of 1631 A.D.⁶ is very significant from the point of view of rituals in the temple. It records an agreement (isaivu muri) made in 1631 by the members of the Gurukkal Sabaiyar and Tamil Aryans. These two groups of priests agreed to perform perfectly the temple rituals daily. The agreement extracted by the Kuttan Setupati construed the interest that the king had in the temple routines. It clearly signalizes the three tier system in the administration of the ritual routines. The members of the Gurukkal sabai were the migrants known as Pancha desathu Aryargal. They were also known commonly as Maratha Brahmins and enjoyed the right of performing worship in the main shrines of the temple. The body of Gurukkal sabai included pujakar and sabaiyar. The pujakar had the special right of performing pujas in the temples. They could only perform puja rituals in the shrines of Anumesura, Ramanathasamy, Malaivalar Kathali, Spadiga Linga, Utsava murti of Ramanathasamy, Tandesurar, Tevai Ambalavanar, Vellai Durga etc. They also had the right of executing the jewel offering (tiruvabaranam chattutal). One third of the offerings of food, kinds and cash went to them.

They continued to be important in the temple even today. The sabaiyar also referred to as sthanikar were second in the rank in the three tier hierarchy of ritual officials of the temple. They rendered assistance to the Gurukkal (pujakar) during the execution of the puja rituals. They were also paid in kind (a part of food offerings and cash). The Tamil Aryans who formed third in the system performed several other services of lesser importance. The copper plate which refers to the shares of food offerings to which pujakar and sabaiyar were entitled makes no such reference in the case of Tamil Aryans. The above agreement of 1631 (isaivu muri) more or less reflecting the orders of the Setupati king kuttan respected the tradition⁷ and in consequence there of the ritual administration of the temple had become the prerogative of the Panchadesathu Brahmin priests. Thereafter, the dominance of these priests

was a fact accomplished, particularly during the period of kilavan setupati (1674 – 1710 A.D)

More significant development took place in 1632 A.D. The extensive endowments and their proper maintenance required a separate supervisory executive for the temple. As such, kuttan entrusted the supervision of the temple to one Ramanatha pandaram. The term pandaram is used in a loose manner to refer to non-brahmin pontiffs of different categories. Though the copper plates of Setupatis make no reference to any saiva matha or adeenam attached to the Rameshwaram temple, Ramanatha pandaram in all probability might have been the head of the monastic institution therein. Ramanatha pandaram finds his first mention in a record of Sadaikkan Setupati 1607 A.D.). He had been entrusted with the endowment of five villages for the puja offerings of the main deities of the temple.⁸ In 1632 A.D., Kuttan Setupati developed powers to Ramanatha pandaram. His record of 1632 A.D.⁹ envisaged severe punishments on temple criminals. Ramanatha pandaram, the pontiff himself, was vested with the authority in punishing them. This devolution of judicial powers was only with regard to temple cases. Ramanatha pandaram was entrusted with the jurisdiction of controlling and punishing the temple servants in cases of Siva droha and Koil droha. He had the power of dealing with the cases of dereliction of duty, misappropriation of funds, theft of the temple properties and punishing officials according to the crimes.¹⁰ He even had the power of hand cutting and fining the erring temple servants and criminals. Thus the pontiff was an important functionary who combined in himself the executive and judicial powers.

In the above context, it can be noted that Saiva Adinans of Tiruvavaduthurai, Darumapuram and Tiruppanandal were monastic institutions in Thanjavur region originated in the 15th and 16th centuries and are headed by the non – Brahmin Saiva Vellalas. It is a point of interest to note that these adheenams were the outcome of a socio – cultural change in which saiva monastic authority was transferred from acharyas to Saiva mudaliyars.¹¹ The origin of monastic activity in Rameshwaram was in tune with the above development. The devolution of temple powers to the pandaram by Kuttan was also a sequel to the then development that were

taking place in the period of the Nayaks and thereafter. Thanjavur adheenams had close nexus with Siva temples around them and had a key role in the management of these temples. The Adheenakartas or pandara sannati were gaining more power and were wielding greater influence in the temples and the society,¹² Accordingly, Ramanatha pandaram also wielded greater influence in Rameshwaram. He was found referred to in the records of Tirumalai Ragnunatha Setupati (1647- 1672) but thereafter no concrete reference to him in the records of Kilavan Setupati and others. This must be viewed in the light of the ascendancy of the dominance of Martha priests in the temple affairs, particularly, during the period of Kilavan Setupati. In this period, one Ragnunatha Gurukkal (of pujakar) was not only made in charge of non-ritual administration but also granted the right of respect and privileges on par with the king which he could enjoy as hereditary kaniyatchi. He was even awarded with a separate village for his personal use.¹³ The absence of the reference to pandaram during the period of Kilavan Setupati and thereafter his reappearance only in 1745 makes us to surmise that there could have been a clash of interest over the power jurisdiction between the managers of the ritual functions and non-ritual supervisory executive, that is, the Maratha priest and Ramanatha Pandaram overacting with each other in day to day affairs.

The above surmise can be further strengthened in the light of the nature of pandaram. Ramanatha pandaram in all probability had not only been a non – Brahmin (like pandarams of Thanjavur adheenams) but also a non – Vellala (unlike Thanjavur case), probably a Marava. Scholars like S. Kadirvel point out that pandara maravas formed one of the

sub sects (Kilais) of the Marava community. The Ceylonse Tamil Scholar A. Veluppillai refers to the fact that some Yalppanam kings also had names like periya pandaram and Puviraja Pandaram¹⁴. There could have been encouragement then to a Saive Saint of Marava origin who might have had an unsullied devotion to Saivism and an undoubted dedication to Rameshwaram temple. Kuttan would have appointed such a person as Ramanatha pandaram. The very nature of his community enabled Ramanatha Pandaram, when endowed with judicial powers, to demonate and act promptly leading to a clash of power interest between the pontiff and the priest. Also there could have even been a conflict between the pontiff and the ruler himself. As a sequel Kilavan Setupati encouraged Ragnunatha Gurukkal by making him incharge of even non – ritual affairs of the temple. Only in 1772, when the young king, Muthu Ramalinga Setupati was arrested, Ramnad region was politically disturbed and rituals were affected in the temple; Ramanatha pandaram asserted his position and made an agreement with Arya Mahajanana that he would supervise the temple. However, in 1857, the post of pandaram was put to an end when Bhaskara Setupati himself took care of the temple administration.¹⁵

To conclude, the devolution of temple powers to Ramanatha pandaram by Kuttan Setupati was, one of the developments, sequel to the Marava political settlement of 1604. Besides, the other factors, the Marava settlement was also motivated by the persistent demand for protection of pilgrims to Rameshwaram. On the same lines, Kuttan devolved powers to a Saiva monk of Marava origin who only could protect the temple properties and effect proper supervision of the temple in the trouble form Marava region.

Notes & References

1. The contemporary copper plates atleast to the development of Rameshwaram temple as a result of huge endowments made by the setupatis. The text of copper plates eighty eight in number are published. See S. Kamal. Setupati Mannar Cheppedigal (Tamil) (Ramanathapuram: 1992).
2. Setupati Copper Plates, Nos. 8 and 9 (1631 A.D. and 1632 A.D.)
3. *Ibid.*, No. 4 (1632 A.D.)
4. *Ibid.*, No.6
5. *Ibid.*, 11 – 32 – 36:
நம்முடைய கட்டளைக்கு நமது சொந்த தீர்வியம் கொண்டு அபிஷேக, கைநவேத்தியம், உச்சவம் நடப்பித்து, அதன் பின் நம்மை வந்து சாருகிறேயல்லைமல், பிறத்தியாருடைய தீர்வியம் பாவத்திரயமாக இருக்கும் ஆனபடியாலே, நம்முடைய கட்டளையில் வாங்கி நடப்பிக்கத் தேவையில்லை.
6. *Ibid.*, no. 7
7. The presence of Panchadesathu Brahmin priests were already noticed in the 15th century.

8. Setupati Copper plates, No.1
9. *Ibid.*, no.5
10. Officials like Manikkaram, kanakkan, Parisu battar, gardener, officer incharge of groves and orchards came under the jurisdiction of pandarams judicial powers.
11. C.K. Sivaprakasam, "Socio - Cultural change in the 13th Century Thanjavur", a paper presented in the X Session of the S.I.H. Congress, held at Rajapalayam, 1988.
12. G.A. Oddio, 'The Non - Brahman movement in South India : Notes and comments on a continuing debate' in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference - Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Mauritius, Dec. 1989, published in Jan. 1995, pp. 299 - 312.
13. Setupati Copper plates. No. 27 (1678 A.D.)
14. A. Velupillai, "Some Notes on Maravar connections with Northern Ilankai". *Special Souvenir of the Eighth World Tamil Conference*, Thanjavur. January 1995, pp. E. 75 - E. 82.
15. R. Srinivasa Iyer, *Brief notes on traditions and History relating to Rameswaram, 1914*, p.14.

THE ROWLETT ACT AND THE PUBLIC RESPONSE THROUGH THE PRINT MEDIA

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The Nationalist Newspapers played a vital role during the Indian Freedom struggle by giving wide publicity to the political situation for creating awareness and educating the people. They have given good coverage. Following the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Council in India, the Nationalist oriented papers made detailed coverage about their effects through their columns and opposed those Bills. They tried to create a favourable atmosphere to convince the British to withdraw the Bills. But the British did not give any consideration to the voice raised by the Newspapers and the Rowlatt Act was passed subsequently. However, the nationalist Newspapers tried to motivate the people to organize the passive resistance by supporting the satyagraha movement under Gandhiji. In this study, an attempt is made to highlight the attitude of the Newspapers published in the Madras Presidency towards the Rowlatt Bills with special reference to their role in motivating the people to observe passive resistance through satyagraha against the Rowlatt Law.

During the First World war, Indians supported the British hoping to get right to form self - government after the war. But the British decided to prevent any attempt adopted by the Indians for self government. The British appointed a committee under chairmanship of Rowlatt, a judge of the High Court of Justice in England on 10 December 1917

with the task of investigating and reporting on the nature and extent of Criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India and to advise to introduce necessary legislation to deal effectively with them. The committee met various groups in camera, and submitted its report on 25th April 1918. The Rowlatt Committee in its report informed to the Viceroy - in - Council that the plot had been hatched in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, Uttarpradesh and the Central province to overthrow the British rule in India by force.¹ On the basis of this report, the Government of India prepared two bills known as the Rowlatt Bills and introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council in India for discussion and approval. The primary object of the bills was to secure a speedy conviction to the accused. Another notable feature of these bills was that the possession of the seditious documents as an offence. Any document containing matter likely to intimidate an official would be also considered a seditious document. The possession of a seditious document would be liable to imprisonment for two years.² A special court from whose judgment could not be appealed and consideration evidence not admissible by the law of evidence were provided for this purpose. In spite of this, there were strong protests from almost all sides, the Council passed the bill into law and it came into force from 21 March 1919.

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The Barbarous Law

Considering the nature of the Act, a few newspapers argued that it was a barbarous one. The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 21 January 1919, Madras, said that one of the provisions was related to the amendments to the Penal Code, which rendered the possession of a seditious document as an offence. It said that if a person in India received a seditious letter or book from the enemies of the British King, that would be considered as serious offence. Another is that any document containing matter likely to intimidate an official was also a seditious document.³ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 13 February 1919 commenting the claim of the British that the law would be in force only for three years; it said that if a stray case of sedition should occur anywhere during these three years the authorities might consider it as a reason to have the term extended further. They might also say that they had received some information from the police secretly justifying its renewal. So, there was no guarantee that new law would not be renewed at the expiry of three years, the duration for which it was fixed. Hence, the paper urged the non-official members out of respect for the country's wishes and to safeguard the rights and privileges of the people to oppose those bills with one unanimous voice.⁴ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 11 February 1919, publishing the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League on 5th February 1919, it appealed to the government to postpone the enactment of those bills as law for one year, if total abandonment was not possible.⁵ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 24th January 1919 said that the Rowlatt bills were based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee Report, which was in turn based on the evidence of the police. The Rowlatt Committee's proposals were intended only to drafting new laws in the place of the Defence of India Act. It was only an imaginary fear that others could disturb the Government or the public peace. Hence the bills were introduced.⁶ Thus the *Swadesamitran* considers it as a barbarous law⁷.

Regarding this, *Desabhaktan* of 24th January 1919 argues that "a law passed for hunting animals cannot be so mean as these bills.... We do not know what sin we have committed that such barbarous laws should be introduced in India, where

truth and virtue reign supreme. Even an idiot will laugh at the principle enunciated in these Bills that the mere possession of seditious document will render one liable to imprisonment for two years".⁷ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 12 February 1919, referring to Rowlatt Bill No.1, remarked that the British said that if it was passed into law, it would be in force only for three years, But the British did not give guarantee that it would not be made permanent later on.⁸ Referring to the Rowlatt Bill No.2, the same paper said that it was also provided in the Bill that the person possessing seditious publication should prove that he/she kept it for a legitimate purpose. Thus, if a person kept such a publication in his possession, through ignorance, he would be punished for the same. Thus on account of these provisions the educated and the uneducated and the wise and the ignorant would suffer at the hands of the police. Thus it was both unfair and unjust to pass those Bills in to law.⁹ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 28th January 1919 wrote that while the whole world was steeped in the joy of liberty, it was nothing short of barbarism to the subjects of India alone to have different kinds of cruel laws. "The Indians have now well understood the ways and tactics of the bureaucrats. Let them know that it will be impossible hereafter to govern the Indians by means of repression."¹⁰ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 19 March 1919 said that it was a barbarous and rude law because it punishes the people without any trial and would be subject to a new bondage along with the existing laws.¹¹ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 8th February 1919 added that instead of taking steps to relieve the distress of the lakhs and lakhs of people who were suffering in India for want of food and clothing, the British were trying to pass the cruel laws to put down patriots that came forward to work for the poor.¹² The *Desbhaktan*, dt. 10 Feb. 1919, wrote "No responsible government is armed with a cruel law. It is only an irresponsible government that will resort to such a barbarous piece of legislation" – This is the time for non-official members to show that they were true Indians and defeat these bills.¹³

The *Sampad Abhyudaya* published on 15th March 1919 remarked "the passing of these laws amounts to asking them to drink the blood of their own people".¹⁴ The *Pauran*, Quilon (January – March 1919) wrote that when the great powers were trying

to establish peace in the world and to protect freedom of nations, the government of India thought to introduce an Act which would enable the executive to imprison the persons suspected of sedition without trial.¹⁵ The *Desabhimani*, Guntur, dt. March 1919 wrote that if any person was found to be in possession of any lectures of Lokamanya Tilak or any book containing extracts from those Lectures, he would become liable for prosecution.¹⁶ The *Dravidabhimani*, Salem, dt. 21 February 1919 observed that the innocent people might be subjected to the restrictions of this new law. If we demanded our rights, we had to do so in a calm tone with submissiveness.¹⁷ Soon after the passing of those bills into an Act was announced by the Viceroy, the hon'ble Mr. Sarma, the Andhra member of the Council submitted his resignation of his seat in the Council to the Viceroy. Regarding this *Desabhimani* dt. 19 March 1919 said that this, law was the cruelest and ferocious Act which roused the awe and fear of the people of India and submerged them in an ocean of sorrow.¹⁸ Thus the papers criticizing the Rowlatt bills and Act considered the Rowlatt Act was a barbarous one because it could imprison anybody for possessing the seditious document without any trail.

Infringes the Rights of Men

Another area the papers focused on the infringing the rights and liberty of men. Regarding this, *Desabhaktan* dt. 24th January 1919 said that though the Indians helped the British in terms of money and kind during the First World War, they were prepared to punish the Indians through an act for mere possessing seditious matters. Thus, *Desabhaktan* said, "The rising of the sun of liberty in the western countries synchronises with the introduction of an unjust and slavish law in India".¹⁹ This law would permit the police to search the places they suspected. Hence the proposed law might nullify the promise given by Queen Victoria in 1858 that no harm would be done to the property or rights of man. The paper warned that if those bills were implemented as an act "This will only convert good men into bad men and loyal people into seditionists, leading eventually to unrest and chaos"²⁰

The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 28th January 1919 said that if those bills would be made as law, it would

be difficult for an innocent person to escape, if he was suspected by the government. Thus, it would lead to the people losing their natural rights as subjects.²¹ The *Kistnapatrika*, Masullipatam, dt. 1 February 1919, said that while Mr. Montagu was busy in England in preparing the scheme of self-Government for India, the British in India was trying to enact repressive laws which cut at the root of the fundamental rights of man.²² The *Andrapatrika*, dt. 29 January 1919, Madras, wrote that the British failed to understand the secret lessons taught by the war, that sedition and revolution which were common in the countries, governed chiefly by coercive legislation. But, the countries having free and independent forms of government very rarely met the same. The Commission had recommended repressive laws for the whole of India in order to punish a few offenders. If those bills became law, they would cut at the very root of personal freedom of Indians.²³ The *Manorama*, dt. 4th February 1919, Calicut, pointed out that the Defence of India Act was passed as an emergency war measure. It would cease to be in force six months after the end of the war. But the Rowlatt Bills dispelled all such hopes. If the two Rowlatt Bills should be passed into law, they would rob the people of their personal liberty and would give more arbitrary powers to the Executive Officers to arrest and imprison people as they liked without permitting them the right to appeal.²⁴ As those bills were aimed to curtail the fundamental rights of the people, the *Manorama*, dt. 11 February 1919, prayed to the British parliament to intervene and prevent them passing into Act.²⁵

Responding to the statement of the Viceroy, the *Vaisyamitran*, dt. 10 February 1919, Karaikkudi, wrote that the rulers should understand that unrest could never be put an end to by repressive measures unless the grievances that caused the unrest were redressed. It was unnatural to repress the rights of man and no one could succeed in going against nature.²⁶ The *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut, dt. 12th February 1919, pointed out that the existing criminal law was enough for safeguarding the person and property of the people. In fact, if those bills would be passed in to law, which would provide ample opportunity to the government servants to arrest and imprison persons on suspicion of sedition, without allowing the accused any right to appeal.

Hence, it would cut away the freedom of the people.²⁷ The *Commonweal*, Madras, dt. 28 February 1919 observed that when those bills became Acts, liberty ceased to exist in India because the officials could punish anyone anywhere.²⁸ The *Indian Patriot*, Madras, dt. 4 March 1919 said that the provisions of those bills would be a grave menace to the liberties and rights of the people of India.²⁹ The *Madras Times* observed that the British government should understand that the only way of allaying public discontent was to withdraw altogether those repressive Bills which would infringe the birthrights of the people.³⁰ The *Malayali*, Quilon, dt. 15 March 1919, pointed out that it would be a standing disgrace to the British Empire if the government of India set about passing a measure to destroy the natural freedom of all Indians, instead of punishing the anarchists. "It is like burning a house to destroy the mice".³¹ The *Qaumi Report*, Madras, dt. 23 April 1919 wrote that the Rowlatt Act would be an unjust and autocratic one and it would curtail the liberty and right of the innocent people. Hence, it could not accomplish truly loyal and law-abiding one.³² Hence, the papers, which looking at the effect of the act on the human rights point of view, commented that when those bills would become an act that would infringe the natural, fundamental and legal rights of the people of India.

Leads to Bondage and Slavery

A few papers considered an effective implementation of the Rowlatt bills would lead to bondage and slavery. The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 29 January 1919, said that the Indians had supported England at a critical juncture only with the idea of strengthening the relationship between them. However, through an attempt to implement those bills, the British attempted to spoil the relationship.³³ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 19 March 1919 said that it was a barbarous and rude law because it punishes the people without any trial and would be subject to a new bondage along with the existing laws.³⁴ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 8th February 1919, added that instead of taking steps to relieve the distress of the lakhs and lakhs of people who were suffering in India for want of food and clothing, the British were trying to pass the cruel laws to put down patriots that came forward to work for the poor.³⁵ The *Desabhaktan*,

dt. 31 January 1919, said if those bills were passed into law, then the Indians whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated would be required to be under the police rule. Hence, the Indians should raise a hue and cry against these bills being passed and this cry should reach the public and His Majesty in England.³⁶ It added that "if the Rowlatt Bills are passed, India will be ever a country under bondage and slavery."³⁷

The *Manorama*, dt. 4 March 1919, observed "The moans of the mouse will not soften the cat's heart. For every cry for liberty for India, we receive a blow on the head". If those two bills were enacted, the people would become the slaves of the government officials.³⁸ The *Samadarsi*, Trivandrum, dt. 22 March 1919, wrote that as a result of the existing other laws, the Holy land of Bharata had become like a prison house of three hundred million slaves. This Rowlatt Act should provide the opportunity to the bureaucracy to punish without trial, without question and without any open procedure anyone would be suspected by them. Thus the freedom and peace of mind would disappear altogether from India. Hence, the Rowlatt Act would increase the ferocity of the bureaucracy and to reduce the people to a state of helplessness and bondage.³⁹ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 25th January 1919 said that the British were afraid of the political efforts of the people and hence, they were trying to strengthen the law of sedition.⁴⁰ The bills under discussion were aimed only at tightening the bondage of the Indians.⁴¹ Hence, some of the nationalist news papers in their columns wrote that the bills when they became law would strengthen the position of the police, curtail the voice of the people and increase the ferocity of the bureaucracy and thereby strengthen the bondage and slavery in India.

Affects the Glory of the British

The next important area dealt by the nationalist newspapers was questioning the glory of the British. The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 25th January 1919 said that the Rowlatt Bills were aimed to give up the jury system. Regarding this, the paper argued that if the government really wanted to put down anarchists, there was no harm in having trial by the Jury system.⁴² This paper added that the introduction of the Rowlatt bills would bring everlasting disgrace on the

Britishers who had won laurels in the World War. It is a mad Act on the part of the authorities because wantonly they were trying to discard the public opinion and thought of conducting administration as they pleased.⁴³ It added "O bureaucrats! Do not hurt the feelings of loyal Indians. You think that by repressive measures you can quell unrest and discontent in India. This is a wrong notion. You propose to reward the Indians with new repressive laws for their services during the war. We request you not to be ungrateful".⁴⁴ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 25th January 1919 criticising those bills said that "obedience to uncivilized laws is tantamount to murdering righteousness and justice."⁴⁵

The *Desabhimani*, Guntur, dt. 29 January 1919, said that such a repressive measure would be a menace to the freedom of the loyal people of India who had fought so bravely in the war. The Rowlatt bills would also violate the principle of English law, which laid down that the accused should be presumed to be innocent till his guilt was proved. On the other hand, the provision of these new bills denied the right of appeal to the convicted.⁴⁶ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 8 February 1919, Madras said that if those bills would become law it would discredit the immemorial glory of the British rule which prevailed in India for 150 years.⁴⁷ The *Malabar Islam*, Mattanoheri, dt. 7 February 1919, said that the new law would enable the government officers to deprive completely the accused of all opportunities to defend them. If the people's mouth were aged, the bureaucracy would become autocratic.⁴⁸ The *Andhrapatrika*, dt. 5th February 1919 added "It will be proper if the government abandon these repressive measures, especially at the present time when self-government is about to be introduced".⁴⁹ The *Andhrapatrika*, dt. 23rd January 1919 said that peace and permanent good could be promoted through the granting of self-government to India. But adoption of regressive measures by the Government would lead to unrest among the people and would not bring any useful effect.⁵⁰

The *Andhraprakasika*, Madras, dt. 10 February 1919 said that there was no country where such need-ness and unjust laws existed as they were productive of intense excitement and unrest among the people, which was subversive and destructive of sacred British statesmanship⁵¹ The *Lokopakari*,

Madras, dt. 24 March 1919, observed that the authorities would not have introduced the Rowlatt bills at the time when the country was very quiet and when the Indians were expecting to obtain the liberty. Thus the action of the Government of India was, in that matter against the just principles of the British government. So this law cut at the root of the confidence of the people that everyone could be sure of having justice under the British government irrespective of caste status.⁵² The government promised that it would not apply the provisions of those bills often. Regarding this, *Hindu Nesan*, dt. 28th January 1919, argued that once the bureaucracy is entrusted with the powers under those bills, they would surely exercise them on the slightest possible pretext. Hence, it exhorted the people throughout country to raise their voice against those bills being passed into law.⁵³ Thus, the nationalist news papers argued that when Indians were demanding self-government, denying the right to enjoy the jury system to the Indians would affect their glory.

The Jurisdiction of the Imperial Legislative Council

Criticising the jurisdiction of the Council, the *Hindu Nesan*, Madras, dt. 31 January 1919, said "It is essential to know impartially whether the Imperial Legislative Council is empowered to pass these two Bills". The question of passing those bills should be decided by the British Parliament as they involved many matters of vital importance.⁵⁴ In this connection, the *Desbhaktan*, dt. 1 February 1919 wrote that the Imperial Legislative Council had no power to pass those bills into law because the former was not a representative body of the people.⁵⁵ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 31 January 1919, also stated that the then Council had not represented the public and hence it did not have right to pass those Bills into law.⁵⁶ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 3 Feb. 1919, said that the British were trying to enact a law without realising the feelings of the people and even when they are realised without caring for them.⁵⁷ The *Hindu*, observed that the people of England would not brook the Indian Penal Code and asked when such an act was in force in India, what necessity was there for a more severe one.⁵⁸ It also further added that the authorities would exceed their powers in carrying out those acts into practice. It apprehended that if those Bills were passed, further unrests and disturbances might crop up.⁵⁹ The *Desabhaktan*,

questioned whether the Imperial Executive Council consisting the bureaucrats could have passed a law which aims at forfeiting the birthright of man.⁶⁰ It was the duty of the government to promote civilization and education yet they were determined to act otherwise.⁶¹ Thus the Nationalists papers said that as the Imperial Legislative Council was not represented by the people of India, and it passed an act which forfeits the birth-rights of men and thus questioned the jurisdiction of the Council.

Represent matter to the Paris Peace Conference

As the papers found that the British could not heed to the clarion call of the news papers, they appealed the Indians to represent the matter to the members of the Peace Conference held at Paris, France. In this connection, the *Lokopakari*, dt. 10 February 1919, Madras wrote that the British government declared that the human race could be happy only if the war came to an end successfully. The President of USA, Woodrow Wilson assured the world that the system of one nation ruling over another would cease with the war. The war had ended and peace proposals were progressing. However, in India, the authorities were bent upon enacting repressive laws paying no heed to the lessons of history and recent events in the world.⁶² The paper *Vaisyamitran*, dt 27th January 1919 published from Karaikudi said that those bills were the reward of the Indians for having sacrificed in the war. Hence, the same should be communicated to the representatives of different countries assembled at Peace Conference.⁶³

The *Swadesamitran* said that before the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council the government had enjoyed those powers mentioned in the Rowlatt Bills under the Defence of India Act. Commenting on the nature of the Rowlatt bills the *Swadesamitran* said, "It practically empowers the government to take away the rights of the subjects by a stroke of the pen, relying on the police". This paper further added that the principle of the self-determination was in the air in Europe, but the British made an attempt in India to deprive the right of the people enjoyed by them from time immortal and this made one doubt whether India did not form the part of the world. Hence, the result

of the provisions of those Bills would make the ordinary law ineffective and grant absolute powers to the government.⁶⁴ This paper further said that India extended all possible assistance to the Allies during the war. The Paris Peace was arranged to provide the privileges of determining its own form of government, but the British made an attempt to govern unwilling Indians by the force of arms. Thus, the officials would recognize the message of the Paris Peace Conference which was dominated by Woodrow Wilson and to withdraw those Bills and to allow the Indians to conduct the administration according to the wishes of the people.⁶⁵ The protest meetings should be held everywhere and resolutions should be communicated to the Secretary of State for India, the Prime Minister and the President of the Peace Conference. If it did not avail, we should resort to passive resistance.⁶⁶ The *Swadeshabhimani*, 31 January 1919, Mangalore, wrote that the provisions of those bills made it fully evident that the British intended to put an end to all popular liberty of speech and writing. Even words, signs, and expressions against the "public Servant" were to be regarded as sedition. As the *Hindu* suggested, the *Swadeshabhimani* also emphasised that the new Bills should be placed before the statesmen who met at the Paris Peace Conference in order to reveal them in what manner the British were going to reward poor Indians who had dutifully helped them in the war.⁶⁷

The *Desabhimani*, dt. 1. February 1919, Cuddalore, said that the war had inspired new hopes and faiths into all nations and the world was sought to be reconstituted on the basis of a League of Nations. India had participated in the war expecting the hopes and joys. The whole country was clamouring for the liberation of the political diction and looked to the inauguration of an era of greater confidence and faith in the Indian people. It would be most unfortunate, if anything was done that was calculated to create discontent and incite bitter feelings in the mind of the people.⁶⁸ Hence, the nationalist papers urged Indians to represent about the details of the bills to the Paris Peace Conference because they tried to seek international attention and intervention of the international powers to prevent the British from passing the Rowlatt Act.

Appealing to Passive Resistance and Satyagraha

Another solution identified by the nationalist papers to prevent the British from passing the act was to resort to passive resistance and Satyagraha. The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 29th January 1919, said "While we longed to secure political powers, we are faced by the danger of losing even the existing paltry privileges".⁶⁹ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 19 February 1919, wrote that if those bills were forcibly passed into law, it would strengthen the police and executive authorities and that would affect the liberties of all the people.⁷⁰ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 24th January 1919 further urged that in India, the rights and property of man was endangered and the birthright of man had been forfeited. The British were trying to fetter mother India who was already suffering much. It said "Is it fair on our part to see her fettered Wake up relieves the distress of mother India, who seeks your help".⁷¹ It further said "If we are careless now, the Bills will be passed into law and begin to oppress us".⁷² So this paper urged that unless the people throughout the country would join together and communicate their protests against those bills, even the existing happiness of the Indian community would be curtailed⁷³ and thus the people should resort to passive resistance.⁷⁴ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 15 March 1919 described that in Tamil language, passive resistance means the "force of the truth". This force was superior to brutal force and ordinary rudeness. The physical force and force of arms would not affect the soul – force. Thus this paper said that the passive resistance (force of the truth) would drive away all kinds of despotism and injustice and would lead India to complete victory.⁷⁵ *Swadesamitran* supported Satyagraha movement adopted by Gandhi because it would avoid secret conspiracies and attempts of riot and would make everything public and thereby the secret-working would disappear. Those who were resorting to Satyagraha would acquire an excellent character of self-renunciation. So there was no remedy in the existing political atmosphere other than participating in the Satyagraha movement⁷⁶ of Gandhiji to remove the fetters of law.⁷⁷

The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 31 January 1919, wrote that the proposed law was unjust and a cruel one and barbarous in character which would either contravene the laws of good or refute them.⁷⁸ The

Desabhaktan, dt. 6 February 1919, observed that the Rowlatt Bills were the most Venomous poison which India was about to swallow.⁷⁹ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 8 March 1919, said that the main principle of the British in India was on the policy of "divide and rule". If the Indian leaders supported the British to pass those bills, it would be amount to committing the sin of having murdered his mother and be condemned both in this and the next world.⁸⁰ Hearing that one of the two bills was passed into law, the *Desabhaktan*, dt. 19th March 1919, said that the Mother Bharata had already lost her crown and ornaments and was then suffering from the pinch of poverty. This law which resembled a deadly poison would hamper even her present condition.⁸¹ Hence it urged the Indian's "Brothers and Sisters! Bear in mind that the whole Indian Community will perish if the murderous Rowlatt Bills are passed. You should see that these Bills are not passed into law".⁸² The *Desabhaktan*, also added that the prison life was not so hard and for those who possessed soul force a prison was as good as any other place. It concluded "Mothers! Wish to send your sons to prison".⁸³ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 8 February 1919, observed, "Mother Bharata is now be waiting her lot and feels staggered. To count her is our duty. We need not care about the Rowlatt Bills at all. We should not desist from our agitation, through which we will attain success. O Mother Bharata! You will have good time and success will be secured in the war of Justice".⁸⁴

The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 17 March 1919, wrote that the path of liberty would not be a bed of roses and it would be full of thorns. It added "O brethren! If you are really anxious about the progress of your country, recognize Messrs. Gandhi and Tilak as your preceptors and be prepared to enter prison and suffer hardships". Passive resistance was the only suitable weapon for a weak race and sincere and true patriots should take the Satyagraha vow without delay.⁸⁵ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 18 March 1919, that Gandhiji thought that the Tamil land was famous for passive resistance for it was the Tamils that struggled valiantly in South Africa. So, it added that "O Madrasis! Therefore enlist in the army of passive resisters under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi," and those who refused to help Gandhi would not be called Indians. It added, "If you want to live in the world as men,

sign the Satyagraha vow of Mr. Gandhi. This is the time for saving the honour of mother Bharata. For her sake you can lose your honour and enter prison".⁸⁶ Regarding the significance of the passive resistance Movement, the *Desabhaktan*, dt. 14 March 1919, said, "The only thing that true Indians should resort to hereafter is passive resistance; Men have been created only to ensure suffering. One who endures suffering in this world for the sake of others attains salvation soon". This paper urged that the sisters and brethren to come and join the passive resistance movement to relieve our misery.⁸⁷ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 15 March 1919, said, "O brethren and Sisters of the Tamil land! Get up from your sleep! The war drum is sounding. O Sisters! Send your husbands and brothers to the war front of truth and follow Mr. Gandhi yourselves"⁸⁸ Hearing that one of the two bills was passed into law, the *Desabhaktan*, dt. 19th March 1919 said that the Mother Bharata had already lost her crown and ornaments and was now suffering the pinch of poverty. This law which resembled a deadly poison would hamper even her present life.⁸⁹ The Swadesamitran and Desabhaktan supported the passive resistance because it would be an effective weapon not only to get rid of the Rowlatt law but also to acquire swaraj.⁹⁰

The *Andhrapatrika*, Madras, dt. 12 March 1919 observed that there was no more effective weapon than passive resistance for Indians to combat at the Rowlatt Bills which were no better than a canker to individual freedom.⁹¹ The *Hindu Nesan*, dt. 12 March 1919, Madras wrote that a large number of people joined the Satyagraha movement and that the soul-force which was involved in the Satyagraha vow was superior to military strength. Without resorting to either of those forces, the Swaraj could never be achieved. "The Swaraj which has been secured without any efforts cannot be Swaraj at all". Hence, the people should not refrain from demonstrating the excellence of the soul-force through the Satyagraha vow.⁹² The *Samadasi*, Trivandrum, dt. 15 Feb. 1919, observed that the repression had never and nowhere succeeded. Repression would only motivate the people to agitate again and again.⁹³ The *Samadarsi*, dt. 22 March 1919, said that there was nothing in this world that could not be achieved by the passive resistance. If all Indians took the vow against the Rowlatt Act,

and support passive Resistance the British could be defeated.⁹⁴ The *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, dt. 15 March 1919, wrote that the Indians condemned the Act whole heartedly. There was no denying that the passive resistance movement was spreading like a wild fire and it was our honest belief that unless the government gave up their attitude the movement would be fraught with serious consequences.⁹⁵ The *Desabhimani*, Guntur, dt. 12th March 1919, said that no self-respecting Indian should consent to the passing of those bills which were subversive of the primary principles of law. Hence it requested all the Indians to sign the Satyagraha pledge and make the government to give up their uncalled for persistence.⁹⁶ The *Andhravani*, Berhampur, dt. 15th March 1919, observed that the Satyagraha movement was spreading all over the country and the people were determined to worship the goddess of dharma under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi. Thus the Indians were awakened and prepared for self-sacrifice.⁹⁷ The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, Mysore, dt. 14th March 1919 wrote that all classes of the people of India agreed in thinking that imprisonment without trial was contrary to all traditions of justice and therefore they were resorting to passive resistance. The enforcement of this measure was against the traditions of British justice. Further if it was enforced the people would not remain sincerely loyal to the British.⁹⁸

A few papers criticized the satyagraha movement. The *Wednesday Review*, Trichinopoly, for the week ending dt. 19 March 1919 wrote "As we anticipated the passive resistance movement is slowly fizzling out. As has happened before the movement has not spread beyond Mr. Gandhi and this is perhaps another instance of a movement being composed of one individual and one only We are really sorry that Mr. Gandhi is wasting his time and energy on spreading a movement which won't spread".⁹⁹ The *Commonweal*, dt. 21 March 1919 wrote that the motive of a real Satyagraha as conceived by Mr. Gandhi was noble and selfless. If the Satyagraha was widely adopted it would be civilly dangerous to the society.¹⁰⁰ Annie Besant opposed Gandhi with regards to Satyagraha.¹⁰¹ Thus the nationalist newspapers encouraged the people to resort to passive resistance and Satyagraha because the Satyagraha under Gandhiji was successful in South Africa and thought that it would

be more powerful than military force for attaining *Swaraj* for India.

Supported the Policy of the British

A few papers supported the policy of British. The *Dravidian*, dt. 4 Feb. 1919, wrote that the British introduced those bills to solve the intricate problem relating to the administration of the country and for safety of the government. It is also intended to save them against the unrest and keep the country in a good condition.¹⁰² The *Justice*, dt. 3rd March 1919, Madras, said that the Rowlatt Bills were aimed at the most dangerous of criminals. The passive resistance was a mischievous idea which enlightened public opinion should be condemned.¹⁰³ The *Dravidian*, Madras, dt. 6 March 1919, pointed out that the 'Passive resistance' was not in the least suited to the educated persons to adopt the practice commonly in vogue. Thus this paper disapproved the efforts for organizing the passive resistance. This paper added "It is our opinion that the Rowlatt Bills will be of very great use".¹⁰⁴ The *Dravidian*, dt. 7 March 1919, Madras under the heading "Active anarchism and passive resistance" remarked that the Rowlatt Bills had been introduced only for preventing crimes and not stifling political discussions and agitation on constitutional lines. Therefore, there was no room for opposing these bills. The passive resistance was not at all suited to the present civilized conditions and which was not a step in the right direction.¹⁰⁵ The British argued that these bills were intended to save the people from the cruelties of the wretched anarchists and that should be passed urgently. If they were not passed into law the new council which would be formed as a result of the

Montague-Chelmsford reform scheme would not accept this Bill.¹⁰⁶ In one of the meetings of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Viceroy spoke that these bills were essential for the peaceful conduct of the administration in India.¹⁰⁷

Some of the Moderates in Madras raised opposition to the adoption of the passive resistance movement of Gandhiji. So the Swadesamitran added that the names of the Madras moderates would be noted in red ink in the list of the sincere friends of the Government.¹⁰⁸ The *Swadesamitran*, dt. 18 March 1919 argued that the passive resistance movement would not wane by this.¹⁰⁹ The *Desabhaktan*, Madras, dt. 10 Feb. 1919 wrote that if any Indian yielded to the persuasion of the British and supported the bills, the Indians would deem him to be a traitor to the country.¹¹⁰ The *Desabhaktan*, dt. 19 March 1919 said that the Moderates were traitors to the country who killed the conscience for the sake of titles, and selfish people had signed a manifesto against passive resistance for the sake of securing appointments from the British.¹¹¹

Thus the nationalist newspapers opposed the Rowlatt bills and subsequently the Rowlatt Act on the ground that the act would infringe the natural and fundamental rights of the Indians, would destroy the right to jury system, would strengthen the position of the police and the executive and strengthen the bondage and slavery in India. Yet the the official journal of the justice Party and a few other newspapers supported the British attitude. The print media particularly the nationalist newspapers through their columns created awareness among the Indians and made the freedom movement a mass movement.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

REGIONALISM, NATIONALISM AND IDEOLOGY: A STUDY ON SOCIO-CULTURAL TRENDS IN TAMIL NADU

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A study of the Trend-setting Dimensions and New Identities in Tamilagam during the 20th Century has not so far been dealt with in a comprehensive and analytical way by scholars either Indian or foreign. A number of scholars in general have attempted to study that the Tamil Renaissance independently as the study of Revival of Tamil classics and its impact on the growth of Tamil Consciousness in the modern period. But no one has so far taken for study the Tamil Renaissance has also discovered the Dravidian Heritage and the synthesis of both concepts have opened up a trend setting of New Dimensions and new identities in the way of life and belief of the Tamils all over the world.

Therefore, an attempt is made to focus the attention on the peculiar character of the Tamil Renaissance and how its mind and heart played differently in making the Tamils not only to appreciate and imbibe the classical age but also take them to an age of new dimensions. This may perhaps be the reason for the tension and difference prevail in general in the modern Tamil society since the mid of 19th century.

The discovery of the Tamil classics surfaced in the mid of 19th century and the trend for new dimensions and identities reached to almost a full form during the mid of 20th century.

The closing of the 18th century and particularly the beginning of the 19th century witnessed the challenges posed by the Western ideologies and its modern institutions-political social and cultural. These were responded by the natives of India from the early decades of the 19th century. The responses were not uniform all over India, very particularly the Madras presidency in which the Tamils played a predominant role with a difference.

The rediscovery of the ancient Tamil classics by both the foreign and Tamil scholars

evolved a new dimension that is Resurgency of Dravidian heritage which is something beyond the concept of a mere Renaissance.

The above cultural development opened up with manifold dimension in all walks of life of the Tamils that is political, social, economic and cultural. This newly evolved concept played a very strong and intimate role in the making of the Tamils of the contemporary springboard for the years to follow.

The Aryanisation through the ages found to be a widespread cultural and social process among the natives in different parts of India. Aryanisation is the process by which people of all regions change their customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction and dominance of a high caste. Though Aryanisation is generally accompanied by and often results in upward mobility it results only in positional changes in the system and does not lead to any structural change, that is not disturbing the hierarchical order of the Casteism.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the translation of Sanskrit literary and philosophical works into English and German and a gradual unfolding of India's history and prehistory and the works of Western and Western-inspired scholars were published. By this, new elite were given a sense of pride in their country and its rich and ancient culture. Simultaneously with the stimulation of such cultural consciousness came communalism and casteism to pose serious problems for emergent India.

According to O'Malley, "Hindus were exhorted to abolish' the whole institution of caste, that is to say their whole system of civil polity as well as their fondest and most rooted religious tenets and resentment was roused by invective launched against the revered order of Brahmins.

The Western ideas which are the fruits of Renaissance, the Reformations, the Scientific

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inventions, the Industrial revolutions and the French revolution which were the great events that modernised Europe had their sharp exposure to the Indian natives through both secular and Christian institutions and started to create a schism in the Hindu society particularly from the beginning of the 19th century. Hence rapid and magnificent changes overtook Indian society 'coupled with slow erosion of certain traditional institutions and habits of the people'.

Westernisation, unlike Aryanisation is not confined to any particular section of the Indian population and its importance, both in the number of people it affects and the ways in which it affects them, is steadily increasing'. The complex intricacies between Aryanisation and Westernisation is the activities of challenge and response that makes the social history of Modern India, for India modernisation comes through Westernisation.

According to Daniel Lerner, "modernisation" includes a "disquieting positivist spirit "touching" public institutions as well as private aspirations". It signifies by growing urbanisation and its consequent spread of literacy which is associated with knowledge exposure resulting in wider economic and political participation.

"Modernisation also means social mobility. A mobile society has to encourage rationality for the calculus of choice shapes individual behavior and conditions its rewards. People come to see the social future as manipulable rather than ordained and their personal prospects in terms of achievement rather than heritage.

The reason for preferring the term 'Modernisation' to 'Westernisation' is that many educated people while wanting "the modern package" reacts allergically to "Westernisation". The hatred sown by anti-colonialism is harvested in the rejection of every appearance of foreign tutelage.

One reason for the enormous appeal of communism to non-Western countries is its hostility to the West, expressed in Communistic anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. Appearing as a humanitarian creed in its espousal of the cause of the underprivileged, the workers and the subject nations: and its forecast that capitalism and

imperialism are doomed to disappear and give way to a classless society wears the mask of science.

The composition of the new elite varies not only regionally but also over a period of time. The 'backward sections' of the population have also undergone Westernisation over the years; this is more true of some parts of the country, such as South India, than of others. Though the traditional elites were able to continue to dominate, modern situations gave rise to Backward class movements. Stirred by the equalitarian winds blowing across India, the lower castes wanted for a share in the new opportunities. This movement particularly in peninsular India, succeeded in obtaining for themselves concessions and privileges in education and employment in the administration.

By and large, there was spontaneity in borrowing the Western elements among the Indians. This humanitarianism with inclusive character of equalitarianism and secularism resulted more importantly in legal, political, educational and social institutions.

The introduction of a new civil, penal and procedural law by the British brought change in the existing jurisprudence of the native Hindus and Muslims. According to O'Malley, "the British judicial system brought two revolutionary changes. They were the establishment of the principle of equality and the creation of consciousness of positive rights. "The last was a plant of slow growth owing to the abject submissiveness of the lower classes which prevented them from taking advantage of the system of equal laws and vindicating their rights by legal action". In addition to their illiteracy and extreme poverty, the intricacies of highly complex and slow system of law, however, made it very difficult for the poor to get their rights enforced and grievances redressed.

Thus the British legal system effected change or abolition of customs of the natives since they failed to satisfy the test of reason and humanity. As the British rule progressed, nationality and humanitarianism became broader, deeper and more powerful.

The introduction of the printing press brought about in Indian life and thought a profound

and manysided changes. The books, journals and newspapers along with educational institutions such as schools and colleges facilitated the transmission of modern as well as traditional knowledge to large numbers of Indians and also made knowledge no longer be the privilege of a few hereditary groups.

In India, though the Renaissance was not marked by a flourishing of art such as what occurred in Europe, there were effective attempts to renew the study of the classics in Indian languages such as Tamil and Sanskrit.

The renaissance had two prime characteristics, namely critical of the existing beliefs and institutions, with the rise of intellectual awakening and reassertion of the traditional ideal and institution. The radicalists criticised the religious authority and tradition denounced superstitious practices and caste discriminations. With the stimulation of Western ideals, they criticised many aspects of Indian culture models and ceremony. The aim of these reformists was not only to revive the past but also radicalize to eliminate those elements of tradition repugnant to reason and human values.

The cultural affirmation of language loyalty and the political manifestation of language rivalry have assumed importance more consciously from the mid of nineteenth century in India. The best illustration of this phenomenon in the history of modern India was that of the Tamil languages and Dravidian cultural identity which made a strong emergence of the Age of Tamil Renaissance.

Certain factors play as the basis for basic elements for the making of Nationalism. They are common language, culture, religion, common government, historical traditions and experiences, conflict with common enemies. Thus, language may become a symbol of "Supralocal ethnic-cultural identification" as well as a symbol of contra national ethnic-cultural identification. In Tamil Nadu, while Tamil as the national language of the Tamils became a symbol of supra local ethnic-cultural identification, Sanskrit became a symbol of "Contra national ethnic-cultural identification".

Much of the Tamil region came under British rule between 1792 and 1801, and centuries of British administration gradually reinforce the linguistic unity

of the region. From early 20th century, the Tamil language began to exert a strong formative influence of local feeling. Thiru. Vi. Kaliyanacuntaranar (1883-1953), a scholar-politician (of Indian National Congress), in 1929 argued that Tamilnad constituted a Nation within the larger Indian nation. It was his view that the correct English equivalent to the Tamil word 'Nad' (natu) was Nation and not land. He explained that the early Tamils possessed their own government, language, culture and historical traditions, which were the prerequisites of a Nation.

It is mainly Tamil literature which conserves the well-springs of National inspiration in Tamilnad. Herein are included music, dance, dramas, the stories that recall the deeds of Tamil dynasties. The Tamil Renaissance therefore brought about a revival not only of Tamil language and literature but also of all aspects of Tamil culture, that is the Dravidian Culture

The rediscovery of the Tamil classics and their publication may be regarded as the beginning of the Tamil Renaissance, while Dravidian consciousness may be said to have originated after the publication in 1856 of Robert Caldwell's work on Dravidian philology: *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of Languages*.

A careful study of the renaissance of Tamil since the beginning of the 20th century would indicate the intimate relationship between the Tamil Renaissance and the ways in which Dravidian Consciousness arose. The political manifestation of that sentiment led to the starting of the Non-Brahmin Movement. There were also other social and economic factors which gave rise to the Non-Brahmin Movement. But the Dravidian ideology as such was formulated largely on the basis of the ancient glory of the Tamils as revealed through literature.

From the days of British rule in South India, the English language had in various ways influenced the Tamil language. With the development of the educational system based upon a knowledge of English, such influence increased more and more.

Caldwell himself anticipated it: "A virgin soil is now for the first time being ploughed, turned up to the air and light, and sown with the seed of life; and in process of time we may reasonably expect to reap a rich crop of intellectual and moral results".

To the Tamils, these classical works provided a revelation of the splendor of their heritage and soon Tamil scholars began to devote their attention to the task of elaborating the picture of an early and once widespread Dravidian civilisation, which came to be represented as of immense antiquity and as located in a hypothetical southern continent called Lemuria, now submerged beneath the ocean.

The publication of ancient Tamil classics stimulated a resurgence of interest in Tamil literature with an attempt to delve into the Tamil past to discover the origin, growth and decline of Tamil civilisation. The theory first outlined by Caldwell that Tamil culture had a separate and independent existence before the coming of Aryans into South India was widely interpreted more enthusiastically in the light of the rediscovered ancient Tamil literature.

Professor P. Sundaram Pillai (1855-1897) was perhaps the first non-Brahmin Tamil scholar to propagate the ideas concerning the antiquity and cultural self-sufficiency of the Dravidians.

In his book entitled "Some Mile Stones in the history of Tamil Literature" pointed out that "there was a period, lost altogether in hoary antiquity, when the native Dravidian religion... was alone in vogue. The first foreign influence brought to bear upon the primitive form of worship was that of the Vedic religion. From the 1880's onward, non-Brahmin Tamil scholars attempted to show that the Dravidian cultural system was distinctive and also superior to the teachings of the Vedas.

The Tamil Language, unlike the Sanskrit, was still a living tongue. The Tamilagam stood athwart the Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean commanding the South East Asia of classic civilisation and trade.

About twenty centuries appeared to fall away, and the age of Thruvalluvar, Ilango, Seethalai Chathanar seemed to be reborn. Style became more important, form triumphed, and the oratory of majestic rang in the halls of people and pedagogues. They envied and marveled at the freedom with which the ancient Tamils of classical age discussed the most crucial problems of religion and politics, human life etc.

This exhilarating sprit entered like an energizing yeast into the rising body of the Tamil's thought since 19th century.

'Mostly in forgotten corners that C.W. Thamothearam Pillai and U.Ve. Swaminatha Aiyar and others found the "cost" classier, "gentle prisoners" "held in captivity by barbarous jailers.'

Nor was it those manuscripts which heeded the mind and senses of the Renaissance, it was the secularism / humanism that came from the rise of the humanists, it was the growth of the Western education, of knowledge and philosophy, the realistic sharpening of minds by practicing arguments, the broadening of minds by wider acquaintance with the world. The dogmas of the Hindu religion, no longer frightened by the fear of hell the wrath of deities or Mantras and seeing the priests as exploiters epicurising the Renaissance, Tamilian liberated himself from the Brahminical Orthodoxy.

It was in the later half of the nineteenth century that the humanists captivated the mind of Tamilagam, turned it from religion to philosophy of humanism from heaven to earth, and revealed to an astonished generation the riches of classical Tamil beauty and thought.

The proper study of mankind was now to be man, in all the potential strength, in all the joy and pain of his senses and feelings, in all the frail majesty of his reason, and in there as most abundantly and perfectly revealed in the literature of ancient Tamilagam. This was humanism.

Ramalinga Adigal may be considered as "the first modern Tamilian as having- inaugurated in the mid of nineteenth century a tender feeling of humanism which was abundantly found in ancient Tamil Culture.

The definition of modernity is not merely rediscovering the classical world but replacing the supernatural with the natural as the focus of human concern.

In this sense too Ramalinga Adigal may deserve the epithet "modern" for though moderately pious, his interest fostered the Renaissance emphasis on Man and Humanism. In his "Thiru Aurtpa" he made himself the defender of a (secular) humanistic culture and egalitarian values.

By common consent at the dawn of the modern age, he was the first humanist, the first scholar to express with clarity and force the rights of man to concern himself with this life and equality before the Almighty. Thus perhaps he was the Father of the Tamil Renaissance.

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of organised Hindu Revivalism. On the other hand this awakened the senses of the non-Brahmin elites to think of having an organised effort for their social and political rights and status in the society.

The rise of the neo-Hindu spirit and the example set by the movements of Ramakrishna and Olcott had the effect of stirring each of the Chief Hindu sects defend itself and to take various efforts for the strengthening of the community. And all the leading Hindu sects, both Vaishnavite and Saivite have formed association for the defense of their sects and Jains, Buddhists, Parsess and Mohammadans followed their example in establishing their own institutions. And the revivalists, believed that the Indian culture and religion could be the bases of the future civilisations of the mankind.

With the launching of the Justice Party, soon after the first indications of the impending constitutional changes many non-Brahmans of standing flocked to its banner for it was pledged to promote the political aspirations of non-Brahman communities in the body-politic. More especially, talented non-Brahmans from middle class families saw in the positive policies of the Justice Party.

Political developments in the Madras Presidency between 1921 and 1937 were of special significance for, it was during this period that Dravidian Nationalism gained strength among non-Brahmins as a result of the activities of the Justice Party. The starting of the Self-Respect Movement by E.V.Ramasami in 1925 and his subsequent elevation to the leadership of the Justice Party formed the first stage. The stage was marked by the demand for a separate Dravidan and it revealed the militant character of Dravidian Nationalism during 1937-44.

The non-Brahmin leaders attempted to arouse the Dravidian consciousness of the people

by pointing to the antiquity of Dravidian civilisation, the glories of the early Tamil Kingdom and the splendour and richness of Dravidian tradition and Tamil culture. This resurrection of the Tamil past derived inspiration and strength from the various attempts that were being made ever since the beginning of the 20 Century.

One of the first acts of the Justice Ministry was to secure for non-Brahmins in the presidency a greater proportion of government posts. The Government issued the first Communal Government Order on 16 September 1921, extending the principle of distribution of appointments among various castes and communities.

Such an interpretation of the theory of "Social justice" as conceived by the leaders of the Justice Party provided the "rationale for a policy of preferential treatment of non-Brahmins and discrimination against Brahmins.

This required them to equip themselves educationally. Therefore Justice Party ministers, controlling Education, introduced in 1922 a Selection Board for each Government College "to see that in the matter of admissions there was no preponderance of students belonging to any one particular community".

Encouraged by the successful implementation of these measures, the Government issued a Second Communal G.O. on 15 August 1922, which extended the principle of proportionate representation for various communities in appointments to the realm of promotions also.

To the critics of the communal G.O. Dr. A.R. Mudaliar had argued that 'when we want Indianisation of the Services why not have communal representation?'

An important law which in the end enhanced the prestige of the Justice party during the tenure of its first two ministries (1920-23, 1923-26) was the Hindu Religious Endowment Act. The successful passage of the Bill and the wide support extended to it by non-Brahmins outside the legislature was yet another sign of growing non-Brahmin Dravidian consciousness.

During the debate over the Bill in the Legislative Council. C. Natesa Mudaliar, one of the

founder members of the party said that the temple fund 'had been taken charge of a particular community for purposes of feeding the unemployed in their midst and for benefiting the lawyers who were largely drawn from a particular community' He also contended that temple funds had been "utilised for running Patasalas where dead language like Sanskrit was taught, ignoring the claims of glorious language like Tamil all the time.

The Hindu Religious and Endowment Bill was successfully piloted through the Council and was passed in April 1923. The legislation was commended as "a well-devised and courageous effort to grapple with a situation that has defeated reformers for many years. The Viceroy gave his assent to the Bill in January 1925.

A great break-through in the history of social reform movement of India emerged when E.V. Ramasamy broke with Congress in 1925 and started the Self Respect Movement with a view of bringing about all-round change. He and his militant followers brought about a new approach to social problems and they were against almost to all the traditional institutions. Generally speaking, even the press in Madras Presidency was divided as those which are interested in social issues and others predominantly political in their objectives. With the coming into existence of the Justice Party and Self Respect Movement, the press in the Madras Presidency also came to be characterised a Brahmin and non-Brahmin press and the social reform activities were mainly taken up by the non-Brahmin press.

At this juncture, the catalyst which triggered the formation of non-Brahmin political organisation was the foundation of the Home Rule Movement by Mrs. Annie Besant. Already, the non-Brahmins looked with suspicion at Congress as a Brahmin controlled organisation. Their suspicion grew stronger when Mrs. Besant joined the Congress and began her work for Home Rule.

She was largely instrumental in arousing cultural and religious nationalism among the Brahmin politicians in Madras city. Mrs. Besant organised the Madras Hindu Association in January 1904. She justified the fourfold caste system, supporting her argument from Sanskrit literatures. Mrs. Besant

extended her activities of the Congress and initiated the Home Rule League in Madras in September 1916.

Therefore, the non-Brahmin leaders felt that there was greater need among them to unite and counteract Mrs. Besant's Home Rule Movement than ever before.

The South Indian People's Association issued the Non-Brahmin Manifesto in December 1916, to define the attitude of the non-Brahmin communities in the Madras Presidency towards the Home Rule Movement.

The Manifesto stated that the post-war scheme of Reforms should be such as to enable every class to get representation according to its number and acknowledged position in the country and exhorted the non-Brahmins to organize themselves in association and educate themselves.

The non-Brahmin sentiment had been there in the country 'for ages' and that it was openly expressed now because "Non-Brahmins were looking to the British Government for protection, to hold scales evenly and to mete out Justice, but when they saw a movement progressing whose object was to undermine British influence and power in this country, they thought it their duty to rally round the British Government and to support them.

The political party organised by the South Indian People's Association was named as South Indian Liberal Federation which later came to be popularly known as the Justice Party after its English daily JUSTICE. The Federation was organised in October 1917 and its objectives were defined as: "(a) to create and promote education, social, economic, political, material and moral progress of all communities in Southern India other than Brahmins, (b) to discuss public questions and make a true and timely representation to the Government of the views and interests of the people of Southern India with the object of safeguarding and promoting the interests of all communities other than Brahmins and (c) to disseminate by public lectures, by distribution of literature and by other means sound and liberal views in regard to public opinion.

The formation of the South India People's Association and the South India Liberal Federation and the publication of its three dailies soon brought

to the surface the latent Dravidian consciousness among the non-Brahmins. The founding of numerous Dravidian association in Madras city were an outward expression of this consciousness.

Non-Brahmins who remained loyal to the Congress began to think in terms of forming an organisation within the Congress to safeguard their interests in elections under the proposed reforms by seeking communal representation.

From the time of the formation of the Justice Party the term Dravidian applied to non-Brahmin castes in South India. The leaders of the Justice Party appealed to Dravidians, that is, those who spoke one of the Dravidian languages and who claimed to inherit a common racial heritage to unite them against the Aryan invaders from the North and the South Indian Brahmins.

From the time when Caldwell published his work, Dravidianism was up-held by Tamil-speakers, because Tamil was considered to be the most ancient of the Dravidian languages.

The leaders of the Self-Respect movement believed that the emergence of Brahmins as a status group came not from the public and civil positions they held but from the social, cultural and religious values prevalent in society. Therefore they said that the main task of the movement was to infuse into non-Brahmins a sense of pride in their own long-forgotten cultural tradition. The Self-Respecters insisted that the term 'non-Brahman' was a misnomer, and that they should in fact be called Dravidians, the inheritors of a proud cultural tradition, a tradition superior to that of Brahmins. Such a highly cultured community had been tricked into accepting the cultural values propagated by the Aryans when the latter arrived in the South.

When the Aryans invaded the South, they were struck by the Dravidians' advanced social and political systems and realised that such a progressive people could be subordinated only by deceitful methods. The chief weapon that the Aryans pressed into service to subdue the Dravidians was the complicated system of rituals which the Dravidian kings and the merchant communities naively accepted, believing that they would bring them immense benefits in mundane life. At that time they failed to realize that the rites were mere baits to reduce

them to a subservient position. Thus the Dravidians were led to believe in the many ceremonies of Brahmins, to accept the Brahmins as their religious mentors, to accord them a status far superior to their own and finally to accept their system of caste which in the long run reduced the entire Tamil community to the position of Sudras.

Ravana, who is characterised as a villain in the original, was acclaimed as the hero of the Dravidians, who fell a victim to the machinations of the Aryans. Likewise, the characters in the Mahabharata were charged with debauchery, adultery and sexual promiscuity.

To crown their anti-Brahman and anti-Aryan activities, the reformists burned copies of the law books of the Hindus the Manusmriti. At a Self-Respecters' meeting held at Lalgudi in Trichinopoly district in June 1928, T.S. Kannappan, the editor of Dravidan, made a public bonfire of copies of the Manusmriti.

Many Brahman leaders, including C.Rajagopalachari, were dismayed at these attempts to discredit 'the language, literature, the customs and the sacred books of Sanskrit including the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and viewed such acts as challenge to the traditional religious and social way of life.

The main aim was to liberate non-Brahman masses from cultural enslavement of Brahman. Unless this was done, the leaders of the Self-Respect movement believed there would not be any real progress for non-Brahmins even though they gained political power as envisaged by the Justice Party.

Within a year of inaugurating the Self-Respect movement, many branches sprang up all over the Tamil districts of the presidency. There were about sixty well-established branches: one branch for each district and several sub-branches for all important towns in a district.

To destroy the caste system root and branch, the Self-Respecters appealed to the government not to recognise caste distinction either in the administration or in the law of the country and also urged the popular representatives chosen by the people to legislate against the institution of caste. On their part, the Self-Respecters dropped the caste

appellations appended to their names, divested themselves of all caste symbols and encouraged inter-caste marriages. Secondly, they championed the cause of women. So the self-Respecters denounced child marriage, the dowry system, the prohibition of widow remarriage and the Devadasi system. They upheld women's rights to property and inheritance, to divorce, to practice the modern methods of birth control and to marry outside their caste group. Thirdly, the Self-Respecters thought that the Hindu religion gave Brahmans a sacerdotal position in society, religious institutions like the temples were the sources of their income.

The orthodox Brahmans' concern to stall the spread of atheism and their anxiety to preserve the traditional values were apparent when they convened a series of conferences on behalf of Varnashrama and Astiga Sangams.

In spite of some reasoning and evaluation by a few progressive Brahmans, the organizers of these conferences succeeded in passing resolutions to the contrary, reaffirming their faith in the validity of varnashrama dharma and in the sanctions against the scheduled castes. Though this showed their anxiety to preserve and maintain their cultural way of life, it also exposed their unwillingness to see that would be non-existent. This unwillingness became more apparent when they passed resolutions demanding the revocation of all social legislations aimed at rationalizing outmoded customs and practices.

The participation of the Justicites, the Ministerialists and even some Congressmen in the Chingleput Self-Respect conference proves that an important section of non-Brahmans, despite political and other differences, was unanimous in supporting the social aims of the movement. EVR's appeal to non-Brahmans to relinquish caste titles, to repudiate the concepts of purity and pollution attached to the caste system, to afford equal status to women in all sphere, to discard the services of rituals in social ceremonies and to appraise radically some of the then prevalent traditions in Tamil society, found support among many non-Brahman intellectuals. Never-theless, a majority of them spurned his call to renounce religious belief and worship as negative, and castigated him for spreading blatant atheism

among the people. This atheistic image of the Self-respect movement from its inception, perhaps was one of the main reasons for EVR's limited success, even in the social sphere.

Tamil Renaissance means not only the revival of the Tamil classics but also a great beginning of a war against the Sanskrit and Sanskritisation. Because the Tamils clearly believed that the Dark ages for the Tamil glory started by the Sanskritisation of Tamilagam during which time one could see a great decline of Tamil literature, Tamil, character and Tamil culture.

For example the Tamil literatures appear after the Aryanisation like Kambaramayana, otherwise great in their scholarship and poetic excellence are considered not Tamil literature reflecting Tamil Culture and Tamil Character but merely a literature in Tamil language.

Therefore, the revival of the ancient Tamil literatures helped the Tamil authors to recapture the music of style and to formulate the canons of taste and utterance that lifted the language to a classical form.

The great enlightening contributions of the Western and modern Tamil scholars in regard to the realisation of Tamil/Dravidian heritage and its historic preeminence, a Conducive atmosphere, the Western system of education and the liberal outlook it produced among the educated elite that paved the way for the secularisation of the institution of the majority community, the Tamils. It was this elite, which became a force for modernizing the Tamils in provoking new dimensions and identities in social and enthused life of the Tamils all over the world.

Humanism influenced art because it appealed rather to the admirers of Tamil mind Dravidian Culture. The period between the post Sangam and pre-Renaissance, Art and Architecture was almost dominated by the themes of Brahminical religion. The chief purpose of art was still to convey the Hindu story to the ignorance of common man, and to adorn the house of God. The Hindu deities such as Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, their wives, their children and some of the prominent saints and their manifold divine activities of Srungara (Romance) and Karuna (Mercy) remained the necessary subjects of

sculpture, painting and even in the theme of the performing arts such as dance and music.

The Renaissance was not a period in time but a mode of life and thought moving from Tamilagam through the Tamil-speaking South East Asian countries. The influence of humanists was the dominant factor in the intellectual life of Pan-Tamils. They taught writers a sharper sense of structure and form; they taught them also the artifices of rhetoric, the frills of language, the classical quotation and beauty of style.

Grammar, lexicography, archeology, rhetoric and the critical revision of classical texts were the literary glories of the time. The form, machinery and substance of modern erudition were established; a bridge was built by which the legacy of classical

Tamilagam passed into the modern mind that is contemporariness.

Since the days of the Sangam scholars had risen to so high a place in society and politics. The prestige of their learning and the fascination of their eloquence conquered Trans-Tamil South Asia at the very time when the forces of Indian National Congress and other national organisations in India were preparing to achieve political liberation for India.

Thus, so far as Tamilagam is concerned, the literacy and socio-cultural philosophical transformation had far profounder results for the human spirit and mind than the political freedom movement. For, it was the humanists, not the freedom fighters who liberated man from social anathema and degradation, and made the Tamil mind free.

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

C. Balakrishnan*

The Indian National Movement acquired a new dimension with the birth of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905. Swadeshim was not merely a technique of exerting economic pressure on the British administration by boycott of foreign goods. It was also designed to create a sense of awareness among the Indian masses to march towards economic self-reliance.

There appeared writers and thinkers in the Indian National Congress to foster economic nationalism. They included persons like Vital Das Thackersey, R.N.Dutt, D.E.Wacha, G.V.Hoshi, G.Subramania Iyer, Lajpat Rai, P.N.Bose, A.C.Sen, Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari and Dr.Nilratan Sirkar.¹ They played a key role in generating awareness on the industrial backwardness of India. They felt the need for holding Industrial Conferences every year in different parts of India. Such Conferences were held as an adjunct to the Indian National Congress Sessions. During the period of this study two such conferences were held in Madras, the fourth one in 1908 and the tenth one in 1914. The purposes of such Conferences were to a) review the industrial position of the country; b) critically look at the British industrial policy; c) create consciousness among the Indian business community to invest their capital in industries and finally d) criticize the British administration's failure to promote industries in India.

The birth of the Non-Brahmin movement was another episode in the Madras Presidency from 1916 and it also turned its attention to the industrial backwardness of the Presidency. The First World War, 1914-1918 had its own impact on the British attitude towards Indian industrial backwardness. It resulted in a lacklustre attempt on the part of British administration to introduce certain reforms in this part to promote light industries only to the detriment of the growth of any heavy and basic industries. It means small industries by private enterprises only were allowed to thrive.

This paper seeks to examine the influence of the national movement on British industrial policy during 1905 to 1922 in the Madras Presidency leaving aside the other 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 official stand and response to the demand of the Indian National Congress.

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, the most notable among them being the Madras Chrome Leather Industry Limited.²

The Madras Mahajana Sabha formed an Association styled as the National Fund and Industrial Association in March 1906. Its avowed aim was to encourage indigenous industries by training the Indians locally and in foreign countries.³ Such initiatives of the nationalist-minded Indians exercised a profound influence on the Madras Government under the British regime. Thus, it started certain measures to appease the Indians, which seemed the committal of the Government in promoting industrial development in the Presidency.

A.Chartterton, Professor of Engineering on special duty, was appointed as the Director of Industrial and Technical Inquiries in August, 1906.⁴ The colonial British records mention that the Government of Madras had committed itself to the pursuit of an active policy for the promotion of industries. But in actual practice-only such industries as handloom weaving, chrome leather manufacturing, making of motor pumps and borewell machines etc alone came up at that point of time compared to the speedy growth of modern industries in the West.

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The Government also created an Organisation for assisting private enterprise to install power-driven machinery and plants. But even such modest attempts could not be tolerated by the European commercial community in this region. They interpreted the very modest official attempts to encourage industrialization as a serious menace to private enterprise and as an unwarrantable intervention on the part of the State in matters beyond the sphere of the Government.⁵ There was a feeling that the Madras Government was caught between the devil and deep sea. Hence, it organized an Industrial Conference at Ootacamund in 1908 to decide on its industrial policy.⁶ In the same year, the Indian nationalists also conducted the Fourth Indian Industrial Conference at Madras.

Demand of the Nationalists

The nationalists demanded the creation of a Department of Industry under the Director of Industries in every Province of British India to deal with industrial questions and the setting up of 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 approval from the Secretary of State from London.⁷ He was to control pioneering enterprises and practical industrial education with the responsibility of establishing a Bureau of Industrial Information and Industrial Museum.

Secretary of State's Reaction

As pointed out earlier, the European business community was dead set against the intervention of the Madras Government in industrial matters. In consequence, therefore, Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, made a negative decision on the proposals of the Madras Government in a dispatch dated 29 July 1910.⁸ His Despatch condemned the Madras Government's policy of sympathetic co-operation with Indian attempts. He directed the Madras Government 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 at the Centre and the Secretary of State as to the functions of a separate Department of Industries.

Industries worthy of their names were fewer by far in Madras at that time. Excepting for a few cotton mills, tanneries with crude methods and workshops, there were no big factories and industrial establishments worthy of mention in the Madras Presidency by 1910. There was no free flow of capital for industrial enterprises in this part. It was due to the fact that the wealthy classes comprising the Zamindars, Nattukottai Chetties, Marwaris and Gujaratis, who were affluent at that time, considered investments on lands, houses and jewellery much safer than in investing in industries.⁹ Even now, investments in industries are not as much attractive as investments in real estate.

Creation of the Department of Industries

However, the persisting demand of the nationalists for the creation of the Department of Industries continued. Thus Lord Crewe, Lord Morley's successor as Secretary of State for India, could not prolong a decision on the creation of the Department of Industries. He favoured the constitution of it finally. As a result, the Department of Industries in the Madras Government 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 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 scale.¹⁰

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. The stark reality was that during the War Indians suffered a lot as they were to rely upon foreign manufactures for even such small things as match sticks, 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 unforeseen difficulties and the inability to obtain the required plants, and the services of suitable exports, 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 Africa.¹¹ 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 compelled the Government of India to appoint the First Indian Industrial Commission in May, 1916. The Commission was instructed, "*to examine and report on 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 the appointed bodies 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 also embodied a number of recommendations, the most important thereof being the recommendation 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. None the less, 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, 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 being vested with the Governor and his Executive Council under the Reserved Subject. Whitehall also discouraged the extension of Government subsidies to industries.¹⁴ This type of protective discrimination was one of the main reasons for the lopsided 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 1923.¹⁵ The Act was intended mainly to assist the establishment and development of industries that had an important bearing on the economic development of the Presidency.¹⁶ It made provision for the constitution of a Board of Industries with 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 education.¹⁷

Thus, the Madras Government turned out to be a puny pioneer in providing State Aid to Industry in India because their policy only led to the development of small industrial units as against big factories.¹⁸ Industries like Aluminium Factories, Breweries and Distilleries, Carpentry and Cabinet Making, Cashew nut Factories, Cement Works, Electrical Engineering 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. The Justice Party took pride in its role in committing the Government in Madras to the policy of industrial development with support from Public

Funds. The Act of 1923 was a landmark in the history of industrial growth and development of the Madras Presidency.¹⁹ There could be no doubt about the fact the Act played an objectively progressive role in the Presidency's efforts at industrialization.

Conclusion

The influence of the economic writers and thinkers in the Indian National Congress, during the Swadeshi Movement, was largely responsible for instilling a sense of economic nationalism among the Indians. Their demand and criticism of British attitude had resulted in the breaking of the ice of 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 aftermath of World War I and response, however, limited, to the demand of the time proved to be beneficial to the cause of industrial development of the Madras Presidency. The introduction of the Montford Reforms and the formation of partially responsible Government by the Justice Party paved the way for the gradual evolution of industrial policy in the Madras Presidency for the period of our survey.

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BRAHMADEYAS IN THE PALLAVA COUNTRY

P. Shanmugam*

The nature of brahmadeyas and aspects of administration of brahmadeya villages in South India were studied by several authorities earlier. K.V.Subrahmanya Aiyer¹ probably initiated the studies as early as 1917 and after half a century later² he made a detailed study on the administration of sabha of Uttaramerur. However, it was K. A. Nilakanta Sastry³ who made an elaborate study on the administration of village assemblies of the Chola period, particularly, the sabha of Uttaramerur in 1932. C. Minakshi⁴ projected her studies on the administration of brahmadeya villages in the Pallava country. These studies were followed by the works of T.V. Mahalingam⁵ and others. In recent decades, N. Karashima⁶ and Burton Stein⁷ analysed the Chola brahmadeyas. The brahmadeyas in Kerala,⁸ Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh⁹ were also studied. These studies have improved our knowledge on the village administration of the South Indian brahmadeyas but some areas like the formation of brahmadeya and related issues need to be further studied. The present study is restricted to a study of brahmadeyas in the ancient Tondai nadu (later Tondai mandalam), of the northern part of the Tamil country which was the core territory ruled by the Pallava kings.

A brahmadeya was generally considered as a type of land tenure endowed to brahmanas well versed in Vedas by a king for the performance of some religious functions. While giving the grant, the donees were given some special privileges not provided in other types of land grants. Though the taxes on these lands were exempted, the most important privilege seems to be that the donee's lands were protected from being entered by royal officials. In a brahmadeya village, most of lands were normally held by brahmanas. Their living quarters were also situated in the neighbourhood. The *sabha* (*alunganam* or *perunguri sabhai*) was the administrative body in which all the eligible brahmana land owners or share holders functioned as members.

One of the earliest brahmadeyas in South India was created by a Satavahana king, Vishnukada

Chutukulananda Satakarni. In A.D. 235, he granted the entire village Malavalli (Shimoga District, Karnataka) to a brahmana Kondamana of Takanchi with the income for the increase of his life, wealth and security.¹⁰ Another brahmadeya was established with a grant of the village of Kondamudi (Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) to 8 brahmanas by the king Jayavarman in A.D. 300 for his victory and long life.¹¹

In the Tamil country, the earliest reference to the establishment of a brahmadeya is found in an inscription from Pulankurichchi (Sivaganga District) datable to about 500 A.D. The inscription on a small hillock refers to the existence of brahmadeyas (*piramatayam*) in the Pandya country.¹² The Chirraiur brahmadeya and another one situated in the Kudalur nadu are mentioned in the inscription. It also refers to one village with the suffix, *mangalam* (Vellerran mangalam), generally used in all the names of brahmadeya villages. The record also mentions the chiefs of the brahmadeyam (*pirammadayak kilavar*). Another early brahmadeya that existed in the Pandya country is known from the Velvikudi plates of Pandya king Nedunjadaiyan.¹³ It refers to the regrant of Velvikudi village as a brahmadeya gift to one Narccingan of Korkai in A.D. 770 by the ruling Pandya king Nedunjadaiyan. However, it is significant to note that the village was earlier endowed to one of the ancestors of Narccingan, by Mudukudumi Peruvaluti, a ruler of the Sangam Pandya dynasty.

During the early Pallava rule (i.e., 3rd-4th century A.D.), the several copper plate grants provide the necessary evidence to the establishment of brahmadeyas. The early brahmadeyas were mostly created in the Andhra region and none in the Tamil country. The Hirahadahalli plates¹⁴ mention the establishment of a brahmadeya (Chillarekakodumga) by Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa (A.D. 355). Other brahmadeyas established during the early Pallava rule in the Andhra region are mentioned in the Mayidavolu (Viripuram),¹⁵ Omgadu 1 (Omgadu),¹⁶ Bhikira (Bikira)¹⁷ and other copper plates from A.D. 355.

There are very few references to the establishment of brahmadeys in Tondai mandalam

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in Tamil Nadu during the rule of the Pallavas. These references are known from few copper plates issued by them. On the other hand, the numerous stone inscriptions interestingly provide many names of brahmadeyas, supposed to have been created during the Pallava rule. It is from the suffixes like *mangalam* or *caturvedimangalam* used in the names of brahmadeya villages we can reasonably identify the existence of a brahmadeya. The early Chola inscriptions also provide several names of brahmadeya villages and on analysis some of them could be related to the Pallava period, though the date of establishment could not be ascertained. For example, the brahmadeya village Paramesvara mangalam is known from an inscription of A.D. 1219. Since no Chola king has borne the name, Paramesvaravarman, we can reasonably decide that the brahmadeya was a creation of the Pallava king Paramesvaravarman. The brahmadeya seems to have survived in the later Chola period also.

As said earlier most of the brahmadeya villages are identified on the basis of suffixes¹⁸ like *mangalam*, *caturvedi mangalam*, and *nallur* used as a suffix in the names of villages. Further, we can also include those villages having an administrative body like *sabha*, *alunganam* or *perunguri sabha* as brahmadeya, since the above institutions functioned only in brahmadeya type of villages. These aspects are considered in the preparation of the list of brahmadeya villages given at the end.

The earliest brahmadeya in Tondai nadu seems to have been established by the early Pallava king Nandhivarman I, sometime before A.D. 496. The village Kanchivayil and 4 pieces of forest land in Adaiyaru Rashtra were granted to a brahmana, Kula Sarman as Brahmadeya and the granted village was renamed as Udayachandra mangalam,¹⁹ which could be identified with Udayendram, a village in Gudiyattam taluk of the Vellore District. For another one century, we do not find evidence of creation of any brahmadeya village in Tondai nadu region. This absence of brahmadeyas could be easily explained as to the paucity of inscriptional materials during this period. However, on the basis of later evidence, we can suggest the creation of at least one brahmadeya during the rule of Simhavishnu. The 7th regnal year inscription of Kampavarman (A.D. 876) mentions a brahmadeya with the name Simhavishnu Chaturvedi mangalam (Manali, Tiruvallur

District), obviously named after the Pallava king Simhavishnu (A.D. 586-610). During the 5th century A.D., the Pallava king Kumaravishnu established one brahmadeya at Sendalur (Ongole, Nellore District) in the Andhra region.²⁰

An analysis of the Chronological distribution of the brahmadeyas during the Pallava rule in Tondai nadu, (Table 1) suggests that about 4 brahmadeyas were established upto A.D. 700. During this period in Tondai nadu, very few records were found and due to this we find very insignificant number of brahmadeyas. From A.D. 700 onwards the number increases. During the rule of the three kings, namely Kampavarman (10), Nandivarman III (8) and Nripatungavarman (6), as many as 24 brahmadeyas were established in Tondai nadu.

Table 1

Period	No of brahmadeyas
upto 500	1
501-600	0
601-700	3
701-800	14
801-900	24
after 900	9
Total	51

It is generally believed that creation of a brahmadeya was for attaining religious merit. However, the Pallava copper plates mention the following as the reasons for the creation of brahmadeyas: 1. long life, 2. strength, 3. victory, 4. dharma, 5. wealth, and 5. greatness. Brahmadeyas seem to have been created for other reasons also. In order to reward Udayachandra, the old village Kumaramangala Vellattur was granted to 108 brahmanas and the brahmadeya village Udayachandra mangalam was established by Nandivarman II (A.D. 738),

While creating a brahmadeya village, sometimes the whole village or pieces of lands were endowed to a single donee as *ekabhoga* or to many brahmanas. In the case of *ekabhoga* grant, the land right was held by single donee only. Probably this led to the emergence of landlords among the brahmanas. The donee can distribute lands to his own men if he so desired but no evidence from the Tondai nadu area refers to the distribution of lands by a single donee. In the case of the brahmadeya

village Udayendram, the whole village Kanchivayil and the four pieces of forest land were granted to Kula Sarman for his own enjoyment. From Kasakudi plates, we learn that the two *pattis* of land named as Ekadhira mangalam was endowed to a single donee, Chettiranga Somayaji. Similarly the Skandasishya mangalam was also granted to a single donee, Madhava Sarma Bhattar by the king Skandasishya. In this type of brahmadeya i.e., owned by single person, the administrative body like the *sabha* or *alunganam* could not be found.

There are several cases where the land rights within a brahmadeya village were distributed among a group of brahmanas by the original doner, namely the king. The entire land in the village was divided into plots and they were distributed among the brahmanas. The land rights held by each of the persons were called *pangu* (share). In this exercise of distribution of land rights, all brahmanas were not given equal share in the village land. Depending upon their importance, more than one share was given to some persons and most of the brahmanas were allotted one share only. In the case of Nayadhira mangalam, out of the total shares amounting to 132, one brahmana alone held 15 shares and 99 persons were given one share only. In the Udayachandra mangalam, 11 persons held 3 shares while 48 persons were allotted 2 shares. We may suggest that this unequal distribution of lands among the Brahmanas led to the emergence of two or three levels among the land owners at least in brahmana-dominated society during the Pallava period. Perhaps we may suggest, the emergence of landlordism in the Pallava period in the Tamil country. The following table (Table 2) represents the pattern of distribution of the land shares among the brahmanas in the two brahmadeyas.

Table 2

Brahmadeya	Shares	Persons	Total shares
Nayadhira mangalam	15	1	132
	4	1	
	2	7	
	1	99	
Udayachandra mangalam ²¹	3	11	133
	2	48	
	1	4	

Some of the brahmadeyas were created by clubbing a few neighbouring old villages. In the case of Videlvudugu caturvedimangalam, the 3 villages Ainbuni, Vilattur and Amaranri mangalam were clubbed together and made into a big brahmadeya.

It is significant that the old brahmadeya, Amaranri mangalam became a part of the big brahmadeya could suggest the king's prerogative in the creation or reformation of brahmadeya villages under his control. Similar formation of a brahmadeya village was known during the Aparajita's time (A.D.904), when the two villages, namely Pudur and Velanjeri were clubbed together into a new brahmadeya called Meliruncherru.

In the creation of a brahmadeya village, the real nature of the land transfers could not be assessed properly. Some of the old brahmadeyas were removed from the brahmadeya status to facilitate the creation of a new village or a brahmadeya.

For example, in A.D. 877, while granting lands to Bahur Vidyasthana, one old brahmadeya was removed from its status by the king. In the above, we have no reference to the purchase of the lands or grant of compensation to the Brahman land lords or share holders from whom the lands were taken.

Perhaps this could suggest the king's right over the brahmadeya land and we can suggest that the ownership right on brahmadeya land ultimately rested with the king.²²

The brahmadeyas were created by granting some privileges. The most important privilege was that the royal officers were prevented from entering into a brahmadeya village.

This has led to the suggestion that the state's powers were curtailed with regard to brahmadeya and it led to the "surrender of the administrative power of the state"²³. The donees of the granted lands were exempted from payment of taxes to the state. They were also provided with irrigation rights.

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APPENDIX: 1

LIST OF BRAHMADEYA VILLAGES IN TONDAINADU

Name of brahmadeya	Date	Modern name (District)	Reference
Adambakkam (Tiruvorriyur purattu)	899	Tiruvorriyur (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 12, 87.
Adhiyaraiya mangalam	877	Uttaramallur (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 6, 287.
Amaninarayana cvm. (Avaninarayana cvm.)	886	Kuram (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 7, 33.
Anitira mangalam (Madambakkam)	952	Tiruvadandai (Madambakkam) (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 13, 43.
Aniyur	894	Anur (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 12, 109.
Aparajita cvm. (Poruntappuram)	911	Parandur (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 19, 353.
Arivili mangalam (?)	894	Anur (Kanchipuram)	<i>SII</i> , 12, 109.

Chandraditya mangalam (Varikkiyam)	935	Gudiyattam (Vellore)	ARE.1921-180, 186.
Cvm. (name damaged)	887	Kavandandalam (Kanchipuram)	SII. 7, 421.
Cvm. (name not found - Kavandandalam ?)	883	Kavandandalam (Kanchipuram)	SII. 7, 420.
Ekadira mangalam	753	Palur (?) (Kanchipuram)	SII. 2, pp.342-361.
Kamalanarayana cvm. (Kayar)	955	Tirupporur (Kayar), (Kanchipuram)	SII. 13, 157.
Kilinallur	974	Kilinallur (Villupuram)	SII. 13, 284.
Korramangalam	615	Mondukuli (Dharmapuri)	DK. I, 1974-77, p. 66.
Kuram (Vidyavinita cvm.)	808	Kuram (Kanchipuram)	SII. 7, 36.
Madevi mangalam	909	Tenmahadevi mangalam (Tiruvallore)	SII., 13, 173A.
Meliruncherru	904	Velanjeri (Tiruvallore)	Velanjeri plates, (R. Nagasamy), pp. 35-44.
Mukkuttur	648	Kilmuttukur (Vellore)	EI. 4, 22 a.
Nalli mangalam	983	Tirumalpuram (Vellore)	SII. 19, 318.
Nandhi kampa cvm.	982	Palikonda (Vellore)	SII. 19, 310.
Narasimha cvm. (Vaniyambadi <i>alias</i> Madhurantaka cvm.)	980 ?	Vaniyambadi (Vellore)	ARE.1964-181.
Nayadhira mangalam	879	Pullur (Vellore)	PCM. pp.181-204.
Nripatunga jeyatangi cvm.	1005	Ayyankovilpattu (Villupuram)	ARE.1948-34.
Pallavamalla cvm. (Urogadam)	1006	Urogadam (Kanchipuram)	ARE.1913-252.
Pallavanarayana cvm.	886	Kuram (Kanchipuram)	SII. 7, 33.
Parameccura mangalam,	678	Paramesvara Mangalam (Kanchipuram)	SII. I, pp. 144-145.
Paramesvara cvm.	954	Pullalur (Kanchipuram)	SII. 13, 121.
Paramesvara cvm.	961	Vengalattur (Tiruvannamalai)	ARE.1921-93.
Paramesvara mangalam	1219	Paramesvaramangalam (Nattam) (Kanchipuram)	ARE.1912-214.
Peringur (Tirumunaippadi)	955	Perangiyur (Villupuram)	SII. 13, 131.
Perumulai ur	880	Tiruvalangadu (Vellore)	SII. 12, 64.
Poygainallur	915?	Poyyanur (Vellore)	SII. 12, 113.
Pukalalai mangalam	781	Tiruppanmalai (Kanchipuram)	EI. 4, 14 a.
Pulvelur	884	Tiruvalangadu (Vellore)	SII. 12, 66.
Rajamalla cvm. (Tiruvegambapurattu)	889	Brahmadeyam (Vellore)	SII. 12, 107.
Samudradatta cvm.	736	Udayendram (Vellore)	SII. II, pp. 361-374.
Singavishnu cvm. (Manali-tiruvorriyur purattu)	876	Tiruvorriyur (Kanchipuram)	SII. 12, 99.
Siyapuram	893	Tirumukkudal (Kanchipuram)	SII. 12, 75.
Skandasishya mangalam	745	(Vellore)	EI. V, pp. 49-51.
Tiruttanial	913	Tiruttani (Kanchipuram)	SII. 12, 95.
Tiruvatandai (Tiruvidandai)	951	Tiruvidandai (Kanchipuram)	SII. 13, 43.

Tiruvipirambedu	869	Gudimallam (Chittoor)	El. 9, 22 a.
Udayachandra mangalam	736	Udayendram (Vellore)	SII. 2, pp. 361-374.
Udayachandra mangalam (Kanchivayil)	496	Udayendram (Vellore)	El. III, p. 142.
Utkar	879	Ukkal (Vellore)	SII. 3, 8.
Uttarameru cvm.	754	Uttaramallur (Kanchipuram)	SII. 6, 356.
Valivilakka mangalam	886	Tippasamudram (Tiruvannamalai)	El. 33, 2.
Venkunram	852	Vandavasi (Tiruvannamalai)	SII. 7, 80.
Videlveidugu cvm.	879	Kaverippakkam (Vellore)	SII. 12, 82.
Videlveidugu cvm. Amarunri mangalam)	748	Tiruvallam (Vellore)	SII. 3, 43.
Vilangattuk kaduvanur ?	877	Bahur (?) (Puduchcheri)	El. XVIII, pp. 5-15.

SOCIAL LEGISLATIONS FOR WOMEN: MYTH OR REALITY?

K. Vijaya*

Social legislation refers to a set of legal provisions meant for promoting social welfare, social security, social justice and gender equality. It is considered to be the main agency for planned social change and hence removal of various form of discrimination against women has been attempted through legal provisions. The framers of the Constitution had been at pains to incorporate in the document whatever was considered rational, liberal and enlightened to promote status of women to that of equality in the governance of the country. Social legislations mark the beginning of desirable change. They are the effective means for the achievement of a welfare state which is the ultimate objective of every democracy.

Social legislation can be an effective means of social change only when the existing social norm is given a legal sanction. A number of social legislations were made in India both before and after independence with a view to bringing about social change. In pre-Independent India, social legislations such as — The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, Female Infanticide Prevention Act of 1870, the Special Marriage Act of 1872 (which made marriage a civil marriage free from religious barriers), Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929, etc., could attain success and pave the way for changes in society because they were in tune with the trends and tides of the time. Some of these could achieve success

while a few others still remain as dead letters. Law being a reflection of a normative structure becomes a potent tool for preventing the oppression of women. Hence, this paper endeavours to critically analyse certain provisions in the personal laws of Hindu women pertaining to marriage, divorce, inheritance, dowry etc., enacted in Independent India.

Constitutional and legal provisions

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The Constitution visualises an egalitarian society founded on democratic principles. It not only ensures equality to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. Within the framework of a *democratic polity, our laws, Development policies, Plans and programmes* have aimed at women's advancement in different spheres. India has also ratified various *International Conventions and Human Rights instruments committed* to secure equal rights of women. Despite the constitutional guarantee, women in India are still subjected to many disadvantages in the society. The traditional social structure, cultural norms and value systems continue to place women in the secondary position. The social status of women is shrouded by a variety of institutional complexes. Therefore social legislations pertaining to marriage, divorce,

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inheritance, dowry, etc., are enacted for the betterment of women in free India.

Marriage:

Marriage, since ancient times, has been one of the most important social institutions in human society. It has always existed in one form or another in every culture, ensuring social sanction to a physical union between man and woman and laying the foundation for building up of the family-the basic unit of society. In India, the family rather than the individual is looked upon as the basic unit of the social organisation. Hence the role and status of women are to be judged from the background of a family. The most important element affecting the relationship between the daughter and rest of the family is the question of marriage. In Indian society, marriage determines the status of women to a great extent. Marriage was glorified as binding two persons- man and woman to build a strong edifice of family life. But it is a pity that women in India are always made to lose their individuality and were enslaved through the institution of marriage.¹

Though the institution of marriage has developed in the historical context, yet there is a wide gap between the ideal and the reality. To codify the laws relating to Hindu marriage, the Hindu Marriage Act was passed in 1955 enforcing monogamy and permitting judicial separation and divorce. The Hindu Marriage Act recognises the absolute equality between Hindu male and female and the rule of polygamy was legally prohibited.² In spite of this fact, Bigamous Marriages in Hindu society are still prevalent. The Committee on the Status of Women in India also records: "We are of the firm view that there can be no compromise on the basic policy of monogamy being the rule for all communities in India; any compromise in this regard will only perpetrate the existing inequalities in the status of women."³

The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 could bring about a number of social changes. This is an Act to amend and codify the law relating to marriage among Hindus. This enactment of 1955 has been subsequently amended eight times from 1956 to 2003⁴. The Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act, 1976 has brought about considerable changes in the original Act. The Hindu Marriage Act applies to Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs. The Act of 1955 provided

for four types of matrimonial relief: (i) restitution of conjugal rights, (ii) judicial separation, (iii) declaration of nullity and annulment, and (iv) divorce. The Act abolished all caste restrictions as a necessary requirement for marriage⁵. The Act provides for a secular outlook with respect to marriage and enables the registration of marriage. It provides equal rights for both to get judicial separation and divorce on proper legal grounds. It paves the way for bringing about a uniform Civil Code for all the citizens of India.

On the other hand, the registration of marriage has been made obligatory by the Section (8) of the Act. Thus, the Act brought the same age old customs and regulations governing the Institution of marriage on a contractual basis. The minimum age at marriage for girls and boys has been raised by the clause (iii) of Section 5 of the Act⁶. However, if a woman wants to have equal rights in the society, she must acquire a respectable level of education which cannot be achieved by the legally sanctioned age of 18 years for marriage. Hence, women should be given enough time to complete at least the higher education so as to attain the real maturity to lead an independent, matured life.

Section-5 of the Act abolished polygamy and polyandry and introduced monogamy for all Hindus, as clause (i) to section 5 provides that "neither party should have a spouse living at the time of marriage" and section-11 renders bigamous marriage void⁷. But in practice, Hindu bigamists often go scot free because "the courts can do little until there's a formal complaint." And this is not always possible because in many cases, the two wives don't even know of each other's existence. Sometimes due to fear and prestige, they wish to hide such kind of incidence. The law has ineffective effect because there are number of cases both reported and unreported on illegal bigamous marriage in India. In 1974, a government survey found upper-caste Hindus accounting for 5.8% of all bigamous marriages. According to a survey conducted by Mumbai's Institute of Islamic Studies, polygamy was higher in South India than in the north and more so among rich and middle-class Hindus than the poorer sections⁸. The main reason behind this is the social criticism and stigma attached to bring such cases to the court.

The Tamilnadu Act (21) of 1967 by an amendment has inserted section (7A) into the Hindu Marriage Act for the legislation of Suyamariyadhai or Seerthirutha Marriage advocated by Periyar E.V.R.⁹. This kind of marriage is neither traditional nor sacramental but simpler than any other form of marriage which recognises the equality of man and women, who fail to attain high popularity in the tradition-bound Tamil society.

Divorce:

Divorce (or the dissolution of marriage) is the termination of a marital union, the cancelling and/or reorganising of the legal duties and responsibilities of marriage, thus dissolving the bonds of matrimony between a married couple under the rule of law of the particular country and/or state. Divorce, death and violence-themselves caused by social and ecological factors-are major causes of family disorganisation. The greatest havoc wrought by divorce is the disruption of family life. The status of women in the family and society is another factor to be considered. The modern woman, because of her opportunities for education, training and employment and creative activity, has developed into a self-dependent and self-confident individual. This can lead to difficulties in adjustment in marriages, especially for women who have lived an independent and creative life before marriage. The scope for material prosperity has shifted social values from the spiritual and moral to the material. This change in values has encroached into the realm of marriage too. The wave of progressive liberalism and individualism has made insipid and outmoded the feelings of faithfulness and loyalty. The mass media has played an important role in changing such values. The influence of cinema, television and other media on the younger generation indirectly affects divorce rates. Besides social and cultural differences between the partners, infertility and the social stigma attached to it, is also a cause for divorce.

The most important step in securing social justice to women is the question of divorce. Various communities are governed by specific marital legislation, distinct to Hindu Marriage Act, and consequently have their own divorce laws: Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936, Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939, Foreign Marriage Act,

1969¹⁰. The Hindu Marriage Act under Section 13(1) confers an equal right upon a wife to obtain divorce on the ground of husband committing adultery, insanity, venereal diseases, etc. Further, Section 13(2) of this Act allowed additional grounds to obtain a divorce if he has been guilty of rape, sodomy or bestiality etc¹¹. The guilt or offence theory of divorce is essentially a nineteenth century concept where the society abhorred divorce as an evil, as devil's mischief, and therefore that society could agree for divorce only on that basis that one of the parties has committed some sin, some very heinous offence against marriage.

The Act is silent on the question of discretion of courts to grant a decree for divorce on the ground of irretrievable breakdown of marriage as a ground for divorce. However, an amendment to the marriage laws to allow divorce based on "irretrievable breakdown of marriage" (as alleged by one of the spouses) was highlighted in the Marriage Laws (Amendment) Bill 2010. The Union Cabinet of India on 23 March 2012 approved the redrafted Marriage laws (Amendment) Bill, 2010. The Government accepted the irretrievable break down of marriage as a ground of divorce. Further, it has accepted the recommendation of the parliamentary committee that women should have a share in the property of her husband in case of a divorce, but the quantum of share will be decided by the courts on case-by-case basis¹². Amendments recognizing women's right to property is a positive step but the government should have taken it a step further and made it part of the law rather than leave it for the courts to decide.

Another impediment in obtaining divorce is the enormous delay in getting reliefs in courts and tribunals. It takes several years before the proceedings in the Trial Court and in the Appellate Courts to terminate and until then, the person who has obtained the decree cannot remarry. Added to this is the heavy cost of litigation. In spite of setting up of Family Courts, the cost and delay in litigation remain insurmountable.

In the present social setup, divorce hits the women harder. Despite the legal provision, the divorce is regarded by many as a social outcast. A divorced man can move freely but not a divorced woman. It was a general notion that a woman after

her divorce becomes socially and economically insecure because there is no provision in law enabling women to continue to stay in the matrimonial home after obtaining divorce. The divorce rate in India ranks lowest among all the countries of the world. Statistics shows that only 1 out of 100 Indian marriages end up to a divorce which is quite low in comparison to other countries. (Sweden – 54.9% ,United States – 54.8%,Russia – 43.3% ,United Kingdom – 42.6 ,Germany – 39.4% ,Israel – 14.8% ,Singapore – 17.2% ,Japan – 1.9% ,Srilanka – 1.5% and India – 1.1%) . But the rate of divorce in India was even low in the previous decade, where only 7.40 marriages out of 1,000 marriages were annulled¹³.

Even though India boasts that nearly hundred percent of the marriages are a success, rapid urbanization and awareness of various rights are now instigating the divorce rate to shoot up. Empowerment of women has initiated the dissolution of marriage in urban areas as financially educated women are now open to the option of ending the relationship rather than to bear lifelong abuses silently. A survey states that over the past four years the divorce rate in Delhi, the capital city of India has almost doubled and is projected to be 12000 by the year 2008¹⁴. Thus in the current scenario, the increasing acceptance of divorce has dramatically altered the marriage situation. The vast majority of those divorced remarry, and the second marriage tends to last for the remainder of their lives. There are many in our society who believes that easy marriage and divorce cheapen the institution of marriage and threaten the structure of the family. This may or may not be true, but either way, laws in reality have very little impact on the rates of marriage and divorce. Laws are a reflection of people's needs; they make it easier for people to live with each other and try to ensure that everyone gets fair treatment. Society cannot dictate social and moral behaviour through its laws.

Inheritance and Succession:

In the absence of social security and adequate opportunities for employment, rights to inherit the property provide economic security and prevent destitution to women. In earlier times, a Hindu daughter's right to inherit paternal property had generally not been recognised. The laws passed

before independence could not do any concrete effort in this direction. The Free India enacted the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, which made some radical changes. The most remarkable feature of the Act are the recognition of the right of women to inherit equally with men and the abolition of the life estate of female heirs. Section – 14 of this Act made a Hindu women absolute owner of the property which she acquired and possessed before and after the enforcement of this Act¹⁵.

The major defect which has contributed to the primary cause of continuing inequality is the retention of the Mitakshara Coparcenaries whose membership is confined only to males. Accordingly, in the ancestral properties the son is entitled to a share equal to that of father. Under the Act, only the father's interest that is half share in the properties will devolve equally on the son and daughter. The result is that daughter gets one-fourth share and the son gets three-fourth, one half by virtue of right by birth and one fourth by succession under the Act.

A discriminatory provision in the Act is the one relating to the right of inheritance to a dwelling house. Female heirs are entitled only to the right of residence, which is of course restricted to unmarried and widowed daughters. The Government of Tamil Nadu amended this Act in 1989 according to which women have the right to equal share in the property inheritance¹⁶. Unfortunately majority of women in Tamil Nadu are still very far from enjoying the property rights because the early marriage prevent them to realise the right conferred upon and to claim for the same. Further, even if they realise the parental affection prevent them to claim for their rights.

Dowry:

One of the burning problems of the Society connected with marriage and inheritance, giving birth to untold miseries to married women is the system of dowry. Dowry is a common phenomenon all over India and this traditional practice has now attained alarming dimensions. The legal protection was ensured through the Dowry Prohibition act of 1961. Section (1) of the Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) provides "If any person, after the commencement of this Act, gives or takes or abets the giving or taking dowry, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall be less than five years and with a

fine of Rs.15,000/- or the amount of value of such dowry whichever is more. The Act amended in 1984, demanded for the list of presents given at the time of marriage to the bride and bridegroom”¹⁷.

But these legislations failed to achieve the desired effect. Section(2) of the Act runs as, “Dowry means any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly by one party to other party or by the parents of either party to marriage¹⁸ which goes contrary to the very objective. It looks as if the Act was enacted to pacify the vociferous section demanding for the abolition of the system.

The act contains an explanation under Section-2 which takes away the teeth of the law and nullifies the objective for which it was enacted. In terms of the said explanation, the presents in the form cash, ornaments, clothes and other articles are not to be deemed as dowry unless they are made “as consideration for the marriage “ of the said parties. It is highly impossible to prove that the presents so made were as consideration for the marriage for the obvious reason that the giver that is the presents or the guardian of the bride, would not, in the interest of the girl, say so. Hence the Section (2) of this Act goes contrary to the object of prohibition of dowry and will perpetuate giving and demanding of dowry in the form of presents.

Secondly, the Act virtually lacks enforcement. The court which is competent to try offences under Section 7(a) of this Act cannot take cognizance of any offence except on a complaint made within one year from the date of the offence¹⁹. It is true that any person who is aware of the offence and not necessarily the aggrieved party can lodge a complaint. It is equally futile to expect even the aggrieved party to set the law in motion since the bride’s parents, who are usually the victims would be reluctant to lodge a complaint because of the fear that their daughter could be victimised. Fragrant violation of the Act was made by almost everyone in the society. National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) figures state that 8,233 dowry deaths were reported in 2012 from various states. The statistics work out to one death per hour. The number of deaths under this category of crime against women was 8,618 in 2011 but the overall conviction rate was 35.8 per

cent, slightly above the 32 per cent conviction rate recorded in the latest data for 2012²⁰.

An interesting feature of the dowry phenomenon is that in most of the cases, the trouble is created by women themselves. The attitude of a woman as a mother of the bride is different from that as mother-in-law. Besides, even the educated daughters themselves want their parents to spend a lot of money on their wedding. One reason could be their aspiration for a higher status in the husband’s family. If the share of the daughter is ensured in the father’s property, this along with her financial independence before marriage would discourage dowry to a greater extent. The social norms, in other words, have not been affected by this law, and hence the society follows the social norms rather than legal norms in these fields. Mere threat of punishment will not be effective.

Conclusion:

By analysing the above personal laws of women in India, this study reveals that “Legislation is an essential and necessary tool but it cannot by itself normally solve deep-rooted social problems”. A careful analysis of the role of legislation in social change would reveal two things. Through legislations, the state and society try to bring the legal norms in line with the existing social norms. Legislations are also used to improve social norms on the basis of new legal norms. Social legislation can be an effective means of social change only when the existing social norm is given a legal sanction. No legislation by itself can substitute one norm with another.

The process of social change sets into motion a series of changes in values, in customs, in ways of living, in roles of different people. Technological changes have led to urbanization. Urban society is highly heterogeneous as well as individualistic. The urban attitude is one of non-interference in the affairs of other people. Thus, the social life of urban people also exposes them to a variety of situations that can retract from the bond of attachment to the family.

In the name of modernizations people are prone to develop wrong *notions and* attitudes towards marriage and family. Neither the high levels

of education nor *the* affluence have solved the problem of divorce. *In* so far as the woman of Tamil Nadu is concerned "Divorce as a cure is far worse than the disease". The creative talents of a woman would be crushed under the juggernaut of social ostracism, insecurity and loneliness. The phenomenon of divorce has assumed ominous dimensions. The trauma of divorce can *indeed* up break a family apart, but it is the children that are scarred for life. Divorced women have a very hard time because of gender bias. The fear is that a liberal divorce Law works against the interests of women. Studies consistently show greater distress among widowed/separated/divorced men and women. Greater distress is seen among married women as compared to married men, and greater distress in single women as compared to single men.

It is important to recognise that although the legislation provides the constitutional and legal perspectives and sets standards for cases being settled through the process of law, the social problems of this nature have to be worked through

and resolved in many other ways. Legislation is necessary, but the promotive and harmony-seeking approaches are equally important, and indeed are more likely to be useful. There is a necessity to accelerate the process of change by deliberate and planned efforts to change the attitude of the people. As our traditions are very deep-rooted, a miraculous change cannot be expected overnight but only in due course of time. Though the existing legislative measures initiated and induced changes in the traditional outlook of women and provided new atmospheres for transition, due to the lack of enforcement and also due to some of the defective provisions, these legislations failed to achieve the desired effect. Thus, women should be more assertive to fight for their legal rights. If women have to fight for their legitimate place in society, they will have to educate themselves and be familiar with various legislations enacted by the Government. What is essential is appended social awareness and radical changes in the social and cultural norms in the society along with the participation of women to face the challenges for their overall development.

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THE STATUS OF WOMEN UNDER THE NAYAKS

K. Mari*

The establishment of the Vijayanagar rule over Tamilnadu marked the inception of a new era in the history of Tamilnadu. The advent of the Telegus greatly influenced the Tamil culture. The status of women under the Nayaks made a definite improvement over the previous period. Royal women like Mangammal and Meenakshi assumed the reins of government. This privilege was denied to the royal women of the Pre-Vijayanagar period. Ramabhadramba and Rangajamma of great literary merit rose to prominence under the Nayaks of Tanjore. The confinement of sati to royal women, absence of any reference to infanticide, the privileges extended to women and the construction of innumerable shrines dedicated to female deities firmly assert the view that women were held in high esteem. But a close study of the Nayak period reveals that even women of high ranks could not save themselves from the evil impact of patriarchal society.

As the sources mainly speak about royal ladies and courtesans, it is assumed that they played a significant role in the society. The Nayaks of Tamil country practised polygamy. The Jesuit letters contain references to the harems of the Nayaks. Tirumalai Nayak had 200 wives.¹ According to Raghunathabhyudayam and sahityaratnakara, Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore had a number of wives. Eventhough a Nayak had many wives, only one or two were able to enjoy the status of Queens. Raghunathabhyudaya Natakam of Vijayaraghava Nayak calls Kalavathi the Pattampurani of Raghunatha Nayak.²

Ushaparinayam says that his Queens were Chenchu Lakshmamba and Kalavathi." Tirumalai Nayaks two chief Queens were Rudrapathi Ammai and Tholiammal.³ The inner shrine of Meenakshiamman Temple at Madurai is surrounded by three Mantapas. Near the south may be seen the fairly recent but well-painted figures of Tirumalai Nayak and two of his wives.

The wives of the Nayaks were highly respected and venerated. From the sculptures and the paintings of the Nayaks, it is known that the

Nayaks are represented with their wives. Tirumalai Nayak and Raghunatha Nayak are depicted with their Queens. There are the statues of Tirumalai and two of his wives in the Garuda Mantapa of Sriranganatha temple, Srirangam, in the Maha Mantapa of Sri Andal temple, Srivilliputtur and Pudu Mantapa at Madurai.

Royal Ladies took part in all religious ceremonies and festivals. Rangajamma in her Mannarudasa Vilalam says that when Raghunatha was praying along with his wives Mannaru the family deity appeared before him in vision and blessed him with a birth of a son.⁴ The wives of the Nayaks exercised a lot of influence upon them. The Nayaks acted in accordance with the advice of their wives. It is attested by Proenza's letter of 1659 which states that the greatest obstacle of Tirumalai Nayak's conversion to Christianity came from his two hundred wives.⁵

There existed rivalry and envy among these royal women. According to Maduraittalavaralaru, Queen Meenakshi the first of the eight wives of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha crowned herself and ruled after his death. The other seven wives of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha neither wanted to live under the rule of their rival nor liked to violate the existing custom, committed sati⁶

Each one of royal woman had enormous wealth and jewels. They lived in royal apartments. The Queen's apartments were located to the west of Swargavilasa of Tirumalai Nayak palace. The Queens used to listen to music and took part in literary discourses. According to another tradition, there was a Natakasala or a theatre where the king accompanied by his Queens and guests used to witness dances in the evening by beautiful damsels well-versed in the arts⁷

The institution of the royal harem appears to have been largely due to the Mohammodan influence. The women of the royal harem were women of high position. Barbosa says that the fairest and most healthy were sought throughout the Kingdom for doing service to the king. These women afforded

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great pleasure to the ruler by singing and playing. No male child was allowed to remain with these women after attaining the age of few. Abdur Razzak says that when any beautiful girl was found in any part of the kingdom, she was purchased with the consent of her parents. No one could see her after she was brought to the harem. But she was treated with great consideration⁸. As there is no reference to the above mentioned details in the Nayak period, it is assumed that the Nayaks might have adopted the same methods of their overlords, the Vijayanagar rulers in recruiting the in-mates of the harem and maintaining it. Eunuchs guarded the royal harem.

The women adorned themselves with ear rings of gold, bracelets of gold and precious stones and armlets of coral beads. Flowers along with perfumes were used by them. Women viz the courtesans and wives of nobles wore garments of fiveyard length. According to Barbosa they wore white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colour. When Vanni the nephew of Sadaikka died, his wife wore a blue silk saree and entered into the fire

வண்ணியிட தேவி

நிலவாண் படகுத்தி

கொட்டு முழங்குடனே குளித்தாலே அக்கினியில்⁹

The Ramaswami temple at Kumbakonam also has sculptures belonging to this period. There is a damsel standing against a pillar elegantly dressed in a saree. Rani Mangammal appeared in her royal dress even after the demise of her husband and it served to inspire respect in the minds of the people around her¹⁰.

There was no bar to female succession. The notable example is Queen Meenakshi. When Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayak died without a heir to succeed him, his Queen Meenakshi crowned herself and ruled over Madurai Nayakdom.¹¹ The most outstanding regent of Madurai Nayakdom was Queen Mangammal. When Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was three months old, he was crowned and Mangammal became the regent.¹² She achieved a reputation as the greatest maker of roads, planter of avenues, digger of wells and builder of choultries. She was charitable not only to the Hindus, Brahmins but also to the non-Brahmin Hindus and Muslims.

Queen Mangammal was known for her charity, chivalry and wisdom.¹³ She entered into an alliance with Tanjore to invade Mysore in order to punish Chikkadevaraya, the ruler of Mysore who constructed a new dam across the river Kaveri and thereby prevented the free flow of it into Tamil country. But she abandoned the Mysore expedition when the news of the breach of the dam reached her.¹⁴ Queen Meenakshi also made many endowments. The Mantapa in the second prakara of the Ranganatha temple was erected by Queen Meenakshi. It is said that as the Queen was cured of a disease by a Fakir she endowed the mosque at Samayapuram Village in order to show her gratitude.¹⁵ The reigns of Queen Mangammal and Meenakshi prove the fact that these royal women played a vital role in the political history of Tamilnadu.

Such mighty women like Mangammal and Meenakshi were not allowed to enjoy peace during their last days. Mangammal became unpopular because of her scandalous relationship with her minister Achchaiya. She was arrested, imprisoned and starved to death.¹⁶ Eventhough she was above fifty five years old, she was suspected of having illicit contact with her minister and tortured to death. Queen Meenakshi was opposed by Vijaya Kumara and Bangaru Tirumala and was driven to seek the help of Chanda Saheb who took a false oath of support on a false koran and deceived her. Chanda saheb not only arrested her but also thought of murdering her. When Meenakshi came to know about it, she committed suicide¹⁷. The royal women were allowed to ascend the throne and rule freely without restrictions. But when they were deposed, they were enslaved and humiliated. The unfavourable circumstances culminated in the unnatural death of Queen Mangammal and Queen Meenakshi. The harassment of Royal women was unprecedented in the pre-Nayak period.

All the Nayaks were not polygamists. Muthu Virappa Nayak was unique in personal character among the Nayaks. It is said that he was a strict monogamist and that he dispensed with the royal harem. Thus the royal harem disappeared in 1682¹⁸.

The practice of polygamy received a setback due to the spread of Christianity. There was

one Tiriya Devar, a member of the Ramnad royal family came under the influence of John De Britto. He embraced Christianity when he was cured of a terrible disease by John De Britto. The new faith did not permit polygamy. So, he resolved to divorce all except one. The ladies of Tnya Devars harem were taken aback and implored him not to desert them. But Tiriya Devar would not listen to their pleading.¹⁹

Dowry system and child marriage were in vogue. Kanyadana was the only form of marriage that was popular. Andhra Rajula Charitramu and also Tanjavuri vari charitram say that Sevappa the first Nayak of Tanjore got it from the Vijayanagar Emperor as stridhana for his wife Muritimamba the younger sister of Tirumalamba one of the consorts of Achyuta Raya.²⁰

Infanticide was not in vogue. At the time of Ranga Krishna Muthu Virappa Nayak's death, his Queen named Muttammal was in advanced stage of pregnancy. She wanted to burn herself with the deadbody of her husband. Mangammal the mother-in-law of Muthammal warned her that if she did so it would be a dreadful crime of infanticide.²¹ From this, it is inferred that infanticide of both female and male was condemned.

Sati was confined to royal women and Brahmin widows. When Tirumalai Nayak died, his two hundred wives performed sati. All the forty seven wives of Kilavan setupati committed sati on his death.²² It is stated in Ramayyan Ammanai that when Kumaran and Alagan were butchered to death by Ramappaiyyan the general of Tirumala Nayak, their wives died of broken heart²³. Sati was voluntary but sometimes it was postponed as in the case of Muttammal who was in advanced stage of pregnancy at the time of her husband's death. She was persuaded to postpone it till the birth of a child. When Muttammal gave birth to a son, she thought that she would not be allowed to perform sati. So she drank rose water without the knowledge of others and thus subjugated herself to a severe cold and later obtained Vaikuntha.²⁴ Sometimes sati was totally abandoned. When Chokkanatha died, Mangammal did not commit sati as she was a political minded woman to whom affairs of the state mattered more than the satisfaction of a popular sentiment.²⁵ According to Maduraittalavaralaru, Queen

Meenakshi the wife of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha did not commit sati on his death and she crowned herself and ruled for nine years.

Divorce was permissible among certain communities. It is said that a man dismissed his wife by giving her some money and calling her his sister.

It is evident that education of women was not neglected. Vico's letter of 1626 alludes to a female neophyte who astonished him by the extent of her knowledge and solidity of her judgement. She spoke sandkrit with elegance and facility.²⁶ Two great women poets of rare merit adorned the court of Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore. They were Ramabhadramba and Madhuravani. Ramabhadramba is the author of Regunathabhyudayam and it deals with the life and achievements of Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore. She was a gifted and talented scholar and writer who was favoured by the king. She bore the distinguishing titles of satalekhini, one who could write a hundred verses,²⁷ Samasamayalekhini and Astabhashalekhini, one who knows and one who could write in eight languages and one who had ascended the seat of literary domain. Madhuravani a talented lady in the court of Raghunatha wrote a kavya on Ramayana in fourteen cantos at the instance of the king. She tells us that the king was keen in getting a Sanskrit Kavya written on the lines of his Andhra Ramayana and he was directed by God in his dream to entrust the work to Madhuravani²⁸

The name of Rangajamma figures prominent among numerous poetesses in the court of Vijayaraghava. She calls herself a wife of Vijayaraghava and prides herself as being able to compose a hundred verses at a time. She wrote Ramayana and Bhagavata saram. Vijayaraghava in appreciation of her scholarship and versatile learning is said to have honoured her by performing a Kanakabhi-shekam on her. The Mannaru dasa Vilasam mentions Champakavalli, Kasturi, Sasireka, Mohanamurti and others.²⁹

Vico's letter of 1620 mentions a convention which expected everyone to be attached to a single woman and to observe conjugal fidelity. He viciously observes that chastity was a virtue much more admired than practised by the Indians.³⁰ Concubinage was

practised by the people, chiefly the officials and the rich. They kept two or three harlots by whom they have sometimes sixteen or eighteen children.³¹ Visits to brothels were not regarded as disreputable. The courtesans themselves appear to have consisted of two groups namely 1. One independently living and 2. Dancing girls attached to temples. Ramabhadramba and Yagnanarayana Dikshita refer to the presence of courtesans who formed a part of the society. Rambahadramba also mentions skilled women artists who were pastmasters in the art of dancing. There were also women who could play on the musical instruments such as Veena and Mridanga and to the accompaniment of which the palace dancers danced in the presence of the king.³² Professional dancing girls were very much respected. Kolattam and Kummi were practised by them. Some dancing girls who had received high education became worthy scholars. Proenza's letter of 1659 narrates the story of Sandai, a lady of high status who was still more famous for the range of her knowledge, the lustre of her beauty, the charm of her voice and skill in dance and music. She handled her guitar with perfection.³³ The Devadasis were called the servants of God. According to Vico the Devadasis or the dancing girls attached to the temple of Madurai were unfortunate creatures dedicated to the shame of most beastly passions. It proves that the Devadasi system lost its original sanctity and degenerated into a integral part of the prostitution.

An important development in the temple worship during this period when Non-Brahmins began to have influential place was the full

emergence of goodess - Amman or Devi worship. From the 13th century temples were constructed to include a shrine for a female deity whose identity was linked to the major deity of the temple. Moreover these shrines were added to many of the temples which had been constructed before that time. The temple of both Siva and Vishnu deities came to include a shrine for a goodess appropriately named for her association with the principal male deity for example, Peruvudaiyar and Periyanyaki in Tanjore, Ranganatha and Ranganayaki in Srirangam, Sundaresvara and Meenakshi in Madurai³⁴.

The Number of Amman shrines began to increase in different parts of Tamilagam. The worship of female deities is an indication of their respect for women. Certain festivals like Navaratri festival and sceptre festival were celebrated with pomp and grandeur. These festivals glorified the might and greatness of female deities like Durga and Meenakshi. The credit of popularising the worship of female deities must go the Vijayanagar rulers and the Nayaks.

It is obvious from the above description that the women of the Nayak period were held in high esteem and given due respect and that women were allowed to assume the reigns of Government. Mangammal is regarded as the best example of the exemplary rulers of the Nayak period. There were some stray incidents of violence and humiliation on women on account of political vendatta and personal animosity. It can be concluded that the status of women was not at all maligned but held venerable.

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ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

ECO-FEMINISM

A. Surya Kumari*

Introduction

Ecofeminism grows from the idea that a woman's ethics are closer to nature than a man's and it revalues feminine traits. Women are seen in sync with nature, working in union with it, while men have a hierarchical relationship with nature in which their actions try to dominate it. This view poses the idea that men's control over nature has created an ecological crisis in much of the world today. Ecofeminists look for non-violent solutions to world problems. They consider feminine values necessary for survival in the conditions of the world's patriarchy. And while Ecofeminists may subscribe to liberal, radical, or Marxist/socialist thought, their main focus is ecology-both of nature and human systems.

The term Ecofeminism, coined by French feminist Françoise's' Eaubonne in 1974, looks at cultural and social concerns dealing with the relationship that the oppression of women has with the degradation of nature. Oppression of women and the environment have been "twin subordinations" rising some 5,000 years ago with the emergence of Western patriarchy. Patriarchy was based on "dualism", a concept that separates the body from the mind, male from females, humans from nature. By forcefully dividing these entities into two, a power imbalance is created; giving rise to the abstract "other" that is then discriminated against. The belief also places more importance on linear, mechanistic and analytical thinking, rather than emotional, earthy qualities which are perceived as passive and weak, and essentially "feminine". And so raised the concept of Ecofeminism. One of the main reasons for its success is that it aims to connect politics with spiritualism. These divergent areas have never before been connected, giving Ecofeminism a fresh, interdisciplinary approach. However, there are also those like Rush Limbaugh who make frequent disparaging comments about Eco-feminists usually referring to them as "eco-feminizes".

Ecofeminism-A Movement

Academic writings are predisposed to calling Ecofeminism a movement. Many contributors directly state that Ecofeminism is a social movement. A movement is a powerful, global, well-organized phenomenon that not only captures the attention of the media, but also that of policy makers, students, and academic, but most importantly of the masses.

Ecology and Feminism

A common language Ecofeminism has contributed a great deal both to activist struggle and to theorising links between women's oppression and the domination of nature over the last two decades. In some ways, it has engaged various forms of exploitation such as gender, race, class and nature. The simultaneous emergence of women and environmental movements raises question about the relationships between feminists and ecology. Ecology and feminism have an integrated lexis, and hence similar policy goals.

All parts of a system have equal value. Ecology assigns equal importance to all organic and inorganic components in the structure of an ecosystem. Similarly, feminism asserts the equality of men and women and sees intellectual differences as human differences, rather than gender or race specific. The lower position of women stems from culture, rather than nature. Thus policy goals should be directed towards achieving educational, economic and political equity for all. Sociologists and feminists assign equal value to all parts of the human-nature system and take care to examine the long and short range consequences of decisions affecting an individual, group or species.

The Earth is a Home

The Earth is a habitat for living organisms, while houses are habitats for groups of humans. For ecologists and feminists the Earth's house and the

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human house are habitats to be cherished. Chemicals and all forms of energy that are life defeating and leads to sickness on the planet or in the home are not tolerated. Both try to restore the health of both indoor and outdoor environments.

The first law of thermodynamics which is also the first law of ecology, asserts the conservation of energy in an ecosystem, as energy is changed and exchanged in its constant flow through the interconnected parts. All components are parts of steady process of growth and development, death, and decay. The natural processes of the planet are cyclical, balanced by cybernetic, stabilizing feedback mechanisms. Any stress on these dynamic processes of nature has implications for human societies. Therefore, an appropriate goal for both environmentalists and feminists is to have open dialogues in which ecologists, technologists, lawyers, workers, men and women participate as equals.

Ecological feminism tells us that it is no accident that this world is dominated by men. Women as a group have a common interest to escape this ancient domination but ecological feminism is more than the connection of women who happen to be green. There is a romantic conception in the way women and nature are seen. Women have special powers and the capacities of nurturance, empathy and closeness to nature which are unsharable by men and which justify their special treatment, which of course nearly always turns to be an inferior treatment. One essential feature of ecological feminism is that it gives a positive value to a connection of women with nature which was previously in the West given negative cultural value and which was the main ground of women's devaluation and oppression.

Women and Environment: Is there a connection?

Women worldwide, are often the first ones to notice environmental degradation. Women are the first ones to notice when the water they cook with and bathe the children in, smells peculiar they are the first to know when the supply of water starts to dry up. Women are the first to know when the children come home with stories of mysterious barrels dumped in the creek they are the first to know when children develop mysterious ailments

Ecological Movements and the role of Women:

High technology of agriculture and forestry in the third world, which is ecologically destructive, also strengthens control of elites and structural social inequality increasing, for example, control over the economy, especially at the expense of women. Water and air being free goods for the common become unfit to sustain life as privatized. They become a privilege for those who can afford to pay for them. All those who can afford to pay for them. All those who are without market power (especially the poor, women and children) become the losers and the issue of human justice and destruction of nature converge.

The feminist critics of the "steam roller" effect of Technological modernization and global capitalism drew attention to the threat to both women and environment from so-called "development". They showed how women were experiencing particular hardship as commercial farming, logging, and mining invaded their traditional way of life as they were drawn into holly exploitative and health threatening forms of production.

What is common to women's campaigns is their vulnerability to environment problems and their lack of access to the centers of decision making which cause them. Men having positions of power and influence make women suffer the consequences of government, military industrial and commercial decisions without being in a position to influence them

Even though Ecofeminism explicitly focuses on the relationship between women, society and nature, it would be wrong to limit the description of female perspectives on the environment and society to this feminist approach. The portrayal of Ecofeminism makes it clear that the effect of women's participation on a national and international level depends to a large extent on their participation in political organisations and scientific institutions, as well as in other areas of public life.

Kama River

A few inspiring movements of Ecofeminism includes the Green Belt Movement in Kenya started by Wangare Maathai in which rural women planted

trees as part of a soil conservation effort to avert desertification of their land. The Greening of Harlem initiated by Bunadette Cozat a gardener and founder who organises diverse community groups in Harlem to transform vacant garbage strewn lots into food and flower gardens'; Sister Rivers performance ritual in which Japanese women placed rice, seeds and soil from Hiroshima and Nagasaki in pillow covers and then floated the artwork down the Kama river, the exposure of love the Love Canal as a toxic waste site set off by Louis Gibb, and her environmental groups. The experiences of the residents of Love Canal have come to represent the fears of people in industrial societies about the hidden dangers that surround them. However, it was not until women had vandalised a construction site, burned an effigy of the mayor and been arrested in a blockade that government officials began to notice.

Chipko Movement-India

The forest is our mother's home, we will defend it with all our might was the call of the women in the village of Reni in the Garhwal Mountains, Himalayan Range.

The Chipko Resistance Movement, originating in the Garhwal hills of north west India, where women in villages clung to trees to save them from state-authorized loggers, became emblematic of an international Ecofeminists movement eager to showcase the subordination of women and nature and women environmental consciousness; Vandana Shiva portrays the poor rural women of chipko as the redeemed of the environment "who as leaders and activists, had put up the life of the forests above their own and, with their actions had stated that nature is indispensable to survival".

Interestingly, feminist environmentalists in India do not call themselves Ecofeminists, even though they critique the state and the globalised model of economic growth that disempowers poor women's lives in the name of development.

Green Belt Movement-Kenya

The Kenyan Green Belt Movement (GBM), unlike Chipko, was not a spontaneous action on the part of women. In fact, thousands of them were inspired in 1977 by the initiative of Professor

Wangari Maathi (recipient of Noble Peace Prize 2004) to launch a rural tree planting programme. Its aim was to solve the fuel problem in rural areas as well as preventing creeping desertification and soil erosion by surrounding each village with a "green belt" of at least a thousand trees. The movement both reduces the effects of deforestation and provides a forum for women to be creative and effective leaders. Working with Green Belt gives women the ability to change their environment and make their own decisions. The movement also involves the transfer of technology from experts to the people, turning small-scale farmers into agro-foresters. Ideally, public awareness is raised on issues related to environment and development, and meetings related to tree planting activities encompass discussions on the relationships between food, population and energy.

Involving women as equal participants and developers of the Green Belt leads to a positive self image for women, and consequently provides models of significant female achievement. Trained to properly plant and cultivate seedlings, women both assist in reforestation and generate a source of income for themselves. Through GB, women's image has been enhanced through public exposure and public awareness of environmental issues has also increased, confirming the essential connections between the improvement of women's condition and the needs of society as a whole. This movement has without question become an inspiration for ecofeminist internationally.

Women and Trees-Bangladesh

"Do sons look after their mothers? No, It is the trees which are more reliable than the sons. If you have a tree you can be sure that at the time of 'nidankal' (the time of death the funeral cost will be met by the tree)", said an old woman to the researchers of UBINIG who were instigating the role of women in tree, planting and their relation to trees in general in Bangladesh. How are women linked to the preservation of the environment through trees? The role of women in tree planting in general and their relationship with trees in trees in particular in Bangladesh is an important step towards environmentalism. Earlier, women's issues and concerns were virtually absent in most studies on forestry and trees, but now with publishing houses

like Narigrantha Prabartana, the first and the only Feminist Publishing House in Bangladesh, organizations like UBINIG and activists like Farida Akhter, this has changed.

Conclusion

It is clear that the small movements like the Love Canal and the GBM quickly gained momentum and successfully led to the formation of Organisations and projects in their home countries based on the ideals and actions of those two movements. Both had strong women leaders who started their campaigns, walks, demos etc. Sadly, while Chipko received wide media attention at the time, the so-called ecofeminist "movements" has slowly but surely died away. The reason perhaps

who is missing is that one spark from women like Maathai or Gibbs.

There may be motion there, but what is needed is "emotion". The ecofeminist perspective may not be singularly defined, but there is a sense of unity in common goal of restoring the quality of the natural environment and for the people and other living and non-living inhabitants of the planet. This perspective has at least shed light on why Eurocentric societies, as well as those in their global sphere of influence are now enmeshed in environmental crises and economic systems that require continuing the ecocide and the dynamics of exploitation. Sadly, it is the gap between philosophy and action which keeps Ecofeminism tenuous and peripheral as a movement.

HISTORY OF PEARL AND CHANK DIVING PRACTICE AT MANNAR GULF

N. Athiyaman*

Even before the Christian era, pearl and chank goods from Korkai, the ancient Pandya port in the gulf of Mannar were considered as the important export commodities. Much has been written about the pearl fishing industry and related trade. But none has focused special attention on the practice of diving and diving community. Diving for pearl requires good physique and mental caliber which ancient Tamils had. The superstitious belief on Shark charming locally called *kadal kattu* also added their mental strength. This paper mainly discusses the diving methods and the people who dived for pearl and chank from 1st c. BC onwards till the British period.

Introduction

It is a well - known fact that even before Christian era the pearls and chanks obtained from Mannar Gulf of Indian and Ceylon coast enjoyed the position as the important export commodities to various parts of the world. It is attested by the Travelers accounts of ancient times, Sangam literature and the archaeological excavations conducted at the ancient port towns of TamilNadu and Ceylon. Pearl and chank trade in huge volume

requires a big industry to produce the commodity. The pearl oysters which live at a depth between 4 and 12 fathoms are to be brought up for processing. This involves the operation of diving, collecting the oysters, bringing over board and to shore. Diving undersea requires good physique and mental caliber. It is a team work and must be done carefully to avoid any accident or loss of life. From earliest times, the diving community had a set of diving procedures and the same are followed till recently with negligible changes. The procedures followed by the divers at Mannar gulf of Ceylon and Indian coast from ancient times are discussed here based mainly on the literary evidences and Traveler's accounts.

Science In Diving

Before one goes in detail about the procedure of diving, it is essential to know the science involved in this practice, so that the practice of traditional diving could be understood well.

Pressure

The absolute pressure at the surface of sea level is 1 bar and for every descendants of 10 meters

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in the water the pressure increases by 1 bar. The increment of pressure from the water surface is gradual. The pressure at 10m depth is 2 bars, 20m depth is 3 bars, 30m depth is 4 bars and so on.

The full lung capacity of human being is about 6 to 7 litres and that of residue is 1.5 litres. When a man descends from the top at full breath, at 10m water depth his lung size will become half the size that is. 3 litres, 20m will be one third that is. 2 liters and that of 30m is 1.5 litres. Beyond which a lung can not contract and if a man descends more than this depth lung squeeze results. Hence, the limit of depth for free diving (diving without any external breathing aids) is about 30 metres (100 feet or 18 fathoms) only.

Buoyancy

Buoyancy is the upward force experienced by an object in a fluid. The magnitude of force depends on the amount of water displaced by the object. If an object displaces water more than its weight, it floats (positive buoyancy) and if it is less, the object sinks (negative buoyancy). A neutrally buoyant body will stay at any depth wherever it is being placed. Man is essentially positively buoyant and so he requires high energy to go down. This can be supplemented by tying some weight to his body (Excerpts from NOAA diving Manual).

Diving Procedure

Diving for chank and pearl oysters without any breathing aids have been practiced even now at Mannar Gulf of Indian and Ceylon coast. The earliest account of pearl and chank fishery in TamilNadu coast is by Megasthenes (3rd c. BC)(Arunachalam 1952:23). He mentions that the pearl-yielding oysters are fished for with nets. In many of the Sangam literature the pearl and chank and the people who dived for fishing them are mentioned. But the method of diving is not adequately recorded. Except in *Kalithogai* (131:22) which mentions that the pearl is got from the deepsea and *agananuru* (150:10-11) talks of the fishing community namely *parathvar* who charmed the sharks and dived for right whorled chank. But in contrast to this, the Travelers' accounts had the references on pearl fishery, as for them, the pearls were of immense importance in terms of trade. Almost all the Traveler's who visited Mannar gulf

region of India and Ceylon coast have said about the pearls derived from the sea off Korkai, during Sangam age. But only *The Periplus of Erythraean Sea* (60 AD) mentions that at Kolkhai (Korkai) condemned criminals are employed in this service(McCrindle 1984:140).

The first clear mentioning of pearl diving procedure came from the Chinese Chau Ju Kua (1225 AD) the author of '*Chu Fan Chi*' who wrote about the trade in Arabia and China has talked on the pearl fishery of South India during the rule of later Pandyas (Arunachalam 1952:67-68). Marco Polo (1260-1300AD) the Venetian Traveler mentioned about the pearl fishery and diving procedure of Mannar gulf of Indian and Ceylon coast (Caldwel 1982:39). Later, Wang Ta Yuan(1330-1340 AD), a Chinese Traveler vividly explains about the procedure of diving for pearl at Mannar Gulf (Sastri 1971:291-92). After Wang Ta Yuan we get clear information on diving in 16th century under Portuguese rule only. The record came from Caesar Frederic(1563-1581 AD) a Venetian merchant (Caldwel 1982:73) and Van Linschoten who traveled in India between 1576 and 1592 AD (Arunachalam 1952:106). The description of the conduct of the fishery by Juan Ribeyro in his "*History of Ceylon*" dated 1685 is one of the detailed account available now (Hornell 1922:20). The next glimpse we get of a pearl fishery off the Tuticorin coast is in the period of Dutch rule. Father Martin, a Jesuit missionary, gives graphic description about the diving conducted in 1700 AD (Hornell 1922:30). During the British Period, Thurston who superintended the pearl and chank fisheries off Mannar Gulf in the year 1889 AD gives an account of the chank fishery at Tuticorin (Arunachalam 1952:163).

The 600 years records between 13th century to 19th century have not shown any remarkable change in the pearl and chank diving procedure as they have not used any scientific equipments. Considering all the accounts available by leaving the exaggeration and deviation from the facts, the common diving procedure adopted right from the Sangam period can be collated in the following manner. The pearl fishers take their great and small vessel numbered about forty or fifty sail to the depth of 4 to 12 fathoms or sometimes even up to 18 fathoms. Reaching the potential spot, they cast their anchor and in the small boats with minimum of

five crews to maximum of a dozen set ready for diving. The stone weighing about 60 lbs is tied by means of rope at the one end as the same is tied around the diver's leg or waist. The other end is with the men on board. A net or a bamboo ring at its mouth for wide opening or a basket or a sack is attached by means of rope with the diver. The stone is dropped down as soon as the diver gets into the water. He goes down rapidly due to the weight of the stone. As soon as he reaches the floor he gathers as much of pearl oyster and put in to the basket. He gives the signal on completion of job to the man onboard by pulling the rope tied around him. The men on the boat haul him on to the boat along with the collected oyster or chank. As soon as the first set of divers had come up, the second set goes down. After some interval with minimum of five minutes gap the first set went down again and the process is repeated. The work is so exhausting and the strongest can dive only seven or eight times a day. Therefore the diving is generally finished always before noon.

In case of chank fishing, there is a slight variation in the method of diving as the chanks are scattered about, and not aggregated together in cluster like those of pearl oysters; the divers have to move around in search of them. So the stone is not tied with the diver for going to bottom, instead he places a foot over the stone and holds the rope till he reaches the bottom. After the collection (with the net tied) is over, he comes on his own because the chank he collected in one dive may not be many and heavy.

Thurston observes that in chank fishing the divers usually stay beneath the water surface from forty to fifty seconds and the maximum time observed was fifty four seconds. This will hold good for pearl fishing also. The area covered in each dive for pearl oyster is about three square yards at a depth of six fathoms (Southwell and Kerkham 1909:148). As the depth increases, the area covered decreases. An interesting and only record is that of Father Martinin 1700 AD which says that pulley fixed on the boat has been used to haul the diver up.

Some of incorrect accounts are also given by some of the above said Travelers due to lack of physical observation. Chau Ju Kua mentions that ears and nose are stopped with wax before one goes down. He also accounts the depth of water at diving

spot as "two hundred or three hundred or more feet" which itself leads to a conclusion that it was recorded as a heresy. Caesar Frederic also quotes that ears were blocked and body was anointed with oil. It is worth noting that Chau Ju Kua had an idea of diving at Persian Gulf also. According to Masudi, the Arab geographer from the very early times, the divers of the pearl fishery in the Persian Gulf used, cotton steeped in oil to fill the ears and a piece of tortoise shell to compress the nostrils. But the divers of the Indian and Ceylon fisheries till today reject all these expedients. The native skill of the Indian divers do not allow them to use the artificial means either to descend or to protect their ears and nostrils from water getting in (Arunachalam 1952:157). Hence, the accounts of Chau Ju Kua and Caesar Frederic holds true only in the case of diving procedure but not in protecting the nose or ear with some external aids.

Sea Dangers

The collected pearl oyster and the stone tied with the diver increase the diver's weight and it is almost impossible for him to come on his own. Hence he gives a signal by pulling the rope to haul him up. Whenever this is not seriously taken or if the diver with over confidence on his endurance gives signal little late it might cost a life. Here one could recall the record of Thurston that due to over loading of his net with chank, a diver was unable to rise to the surface.

Shark Charming

It is possible that number of accidents occurred due to the attack of shark. This is evidenced from the accounts of Chau Ju Kua and Wang ta Yuan. It is worth noting that the Sangam literature "Agananuru (150:10) mentions about the 'parathava' community who fish and dive for pearl knows how to charm the sharks. Marco Polo mentions about the sea binders known as 'kadal katti' who could charm the shark. In his own words,

"Of all produce first they have to pay the king, as his royalty, the tenth part. And they must also pay those who charms the great fishes to prevent them from injuring the divers while engaged in seeking pearls under water, one-twentieth part of all that they take. These fish-charmers are called *Abraiaman* and their charm so holds good for that

day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. These Abraiamaans know also how to charm beasts and birds and every living thing".

Though Chau Ju Kua (1225 AD) prior to Marco Polo has not mentioned about the sea binders, but they would have been existing as part and parcel of the diving activity from ancient periods also. Though Wang-Ta-Yaun (1330-1340 AD) has not mentioned about the shark charmers he mentions about a ceremony in that the chief kills a human being and some animals to the gods of the sea and then they make choice of the day, the boat, and the men, together the pearls. Further, we could recall the accounts by Thurston.

"I can find no record of death, in recent years, of the divers at the hands of the shark; but dread of sharks still clings to the divers and I read in the *'Times of Ceylon'* during the recent pearl fishery that at present there are said to be 150 boats with their full compliment of men, all waiting at Kilakarai in readiness to proceed to Dutch Bay, but they will not leave until after some festivities which occur on the 15th instant, when it is customary for them to pray for protection from sharks etc. while engaged in diving."

It is remarkable that when Tennent (19th century) who wrote on Ceylon, mentions that not more than one authenticated accident from the sharks had taken place, during the whole period of the British occupation. Some people considered the shark-charming as purely superstitious and advised

the divers accordingly. But the divers whether Hindu, Muslim or Christians, refused to take advice. They had, and still continue to have implicit faith in the shark charmers and believed that their safety inside the sea lay in their charm to bind the sharks (Arunachalam 1952:76). It is worth noting that Hornell (1922:25) referred a Muslim Shark charmer of Kilakarai named Ahmed Jalalludin Marakaiyar. Tennent says that only the black skin, and not the shark charming, protects the divers of the Indian pearl fisheries from accident. Several species of shark attack man, though, but the reasons of attack and under what circumstances are far from certain. Divers have had face to face encounters with sharks and escaped unhurt. They have also been attacked with no provocation. It is generally assumed that the motive of attack is hunger, shark by nature fish eaters, not regular consumers of human flesh. Blood in water has a maddening effect on them. They spend longtime circling before they attack (Ommannney 1977:81-83). A study done by scientists from California shows that attacks have occurred both in shallow and deep water and between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m (Rajkumar 1996). It is worth noting that accounts on pearl fisheries suggests that the fishing generally gets over by the afternoon and they return to shore by evening. Occasionally, that too if they happened to stay all the day and if they come across the shark, the probability of attack could have been more. The sharks would have got attracted if a diver get bruised with the sea floor leading to bleeding. From this above discussion, it is clear that the attack of sharks on divers is mostly accidental and is never intentional.

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குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ள மன்னன் முதலாம் சுந்தரபாண்டியனாக இருக்கலாம். இப்படயம் வெளியிடப்படுவதற்கு சுமார் 100 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பே இந்தக் கிராமத்திற்கான எல்லைகள் எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது என்பது குறிப்பிலிருந்து விளங்குகின்றது. என்றாலும் இதே போன்ற ஊர் பல்லவர் கல்வெட்டுகளில் வழங்கிவந்துள்ளது.

பட்டயத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ள விருதராச பயங்கர வள நாடாகிய காண்டான சிங்ககுல காரானார் நாடான ராசவெச்சனிக வளநாடு என்ற நாட்டுப் பெயர் புதிதாக உள்ளது. சோழர் ஆட்சிக் காலத்தில், செயசிங்ககுலகால வளநாட்டுத் தானவ நாடு என்று இருந்தது. பட்டயத்தில் தானவ என்பது தானம என பெயர் மாற்றம் பெற்றிருப்பதுடன் வளநாடு என்றும் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இச் செப்புப்பட்டயத்தில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ள எட்டுக்கரைப் பிரிவுகள் இன்றும் அப்படியே நிலைபெற்றுள்ளன. சுமார் 500 அல்லது 600 ஆண்டுகளுக்குப் பின்னரும் இக்கரை அமைப்பு மாற்றங்கள் நிகழாமல் இருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

இந்த எட்டுக்கரைப் பிரிவுகள் சோழர் ஆட்சிக் காலத்திலேயே இருந்திருக்க வாய்ப்புகள் உள்ளன. அதாவது சோழர் உள்ளாட்சி முறையின் எச்ச சொச்சங்களாகவே இதைக் கருத இடமுண்டு. ஏனெனில், கரைகள் சோழர்காலச் சபையைப்போல் செயல்பட்டு வந்தன. மேலும், இவ்வூர் மங்கலம் என முடிவடைவது சோழர் உள்ளாட்சி முறையையே நினைவுபடுத்துகின்றது. இதன் மூலம் 'சபை' என்ற உள்ளாட்சி முறை இருந்ததை அறிய முடிகின்றது என்றாலும் பிராமணர் தற்போது இவ்வூரில் இல்லை என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

பட்டயத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளவாறு சவுந்திர பாண்டியன் (சுந்தர பாண்டியன்) குதிரை ஏரி கடடிய எல்லைகளுக்குட்பட்டதாகவே இன்றும் கொத்தமங்கலம் கிராமம் உள்ளது. பட்டயத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்பட்ட எல்லை வரையறையுடன் குறிப்பிடப்பட்ட ஊர்களில் சேந்தமங்கலம் என்பது சேந்தன்குடி என்றும், பனமங்கலம் என்பது பனங்குளம் என்றும் மரமடக்கி என்பது அதே பெயருடனும் வழங்கி வருகின்றன.

கிடைத்திருக்கும் சான்றுகளின் மூலமாக கொத்தமங்கலம் கிராமம் 700 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு மேல் பழமையானது என்பதையும், எட்டுக்கரைப் பிரிவுகள் கொண்ட சமூக அமைப்பும் அதன் வரையறுக்கப்பட்ட எல்லை ஆகியவைகள் நாயக்கர் ஆட்சிக்குப் பின்னர் வந்த மராட்டியர்/பாளையக்காரர் ஆட்சியின் போதும் மாற்றம் ஏதும் இன்றி இன்றைய தினங்களிலும் கரைப் பிரிவினைக் கொண்டதாகவே கொத்தமங்கலம் கிராமம் விளங்குகின்றது.

தற்காலக் கிராமச் சமூக அமைப்பு

நவீன காலத்தில் தமிழகத்தின் நகரங்களின் சமூக அமைப்பு பல மாற்றங்களைப் பெற்று வந்த போதிலும் கிராமங்கள் பல நூற்றாண்டுக் காலமாக ஒரே சமூக அமைப்பைப் பெற்றுள்ளன. சமூகக் கட்டுப்பாடுகளை மக்கள் மதித்து அதற்குக் கட்டுப்பட்டு இருந்ததால் சமூக அமைப்பில் மாற்றம் நிகழா வண்ணம் பல நூற்றாண்டுகளாக அவை நிலைத்திருக்கின்றன. இந்தச் சமூக அமைப்புகளே பல பேரரசுகள் எளிதில் ஆட்சி செய்ய பேருதவியாக இருந்திருக்கின்றன என்பது தமிழக வரலாற்றில் மறுக்க முடியாத உண்மை. இச்சமூக அமைப்பு என்பதும் நாட்டுக்கு நாடு, பிரேதசங்களுக்குப் பிரேதம், ஊருக்கு ஊர் தனித் தன்மைகளைக் கொண்டு இருந்திருக்கின்றன. கிதனடிப்படையில் கொத்தமங்கலத்தில் சமூக அமைப்பு 500 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன் எப்படி இருந்தது என்பதைக் கண்டோம்.

தானவ நாட்டின் தாய்கிராமம் என அழைக்கப்பட்டு வரும் கொத்தமங்கலம், புதுக்கோட்டை மாவட்டம், ஆலங்குடி வட்டத்திலுள்ள ஒரு வருவாய் கிராமமாகும். இப் பட்டயத்தின் மூலம் கொத்தமங்கலம் கிராமத்தில் சமூக அமைப்பை நோக்கினோமெனில் பல செய்திகள் கிடைக்கின்றன. தற்காலத்தில் இக்கரைப்பிரிவுகளில் சில மாற்றங்கள் தவிர அப்படியே உள்ளன. அவைகளின் பட்டியல்,

1. மணவாளன் (மணவாளன், தானன், கோணன், பளுவான், சந்திரன், எழுவன், கட்டப்பெரியான், தூங்கன் - இவர்கள் எட்டுப்பங்காளிகள் என வழங்கிவருகின்றனர்)
2. கருவாடன் (கருப்பன் கருவாடன், சிலம்பன் கருவாடன்/இவர்களுடன், இவர்களுக்குப் பங்காளி உறவு முறை தில்லாத மாமன் முறையுடைய மோகன், சாளுவன் இவர்களுடன் சேர்த்து வழங்கப்படுகின்றார்கள். உண்மையில் இவர்கள் பெண்ணடிக்காணியாட்சியாக வந்தவர்களாகலாம்)
3. நானம்பெரியான்
4. வெள்ளையமூர்த்தி
5. சுண்டாங்கி
6. சுனாரி
7. கொங்கன்
8. சங்கரன் (கோடியன், சங்கரன், தீர்த்தான்)
9. நகரத்தார் (செட்டியார்)

மேற்கண்டவாறு 1 முதல் 8 வரை உள்ள கரைப் பிரிவுகள் பெயர்களில் சில நடைமுறை மாற்றங்கள் ஏற்பட்டிருப்பதுடன் ஒவ்வொரு கரையுடனும் தொற்றிநின்ற முத்திரையன் என்னும் சாதிப்பெயரை நடைமுறையில் மக்கள்

பயன்படுத்துவதில்லை. மேலும் தற்காலத்தில் ஒன்பதாவது கரை ஒன்று கொத்தமங்கலம் கிராமச் சமூக அமைப்பில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. இந்தப் புதிய கரைச்சேர்ப்பு என்பது 20 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் தொடக்கத்தில் நடைபெற்றிருக்கலாம். அதற்குமுன் இந்நகரத்தார்கள் இவ்வூரில் முக்கியத்துவம் பெறாதவர்களாக இருந்திருக்கலாம். இவர்கள் காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினத்தில் இருந்து இவ்வூருக்கு குடி பெயர்ந்தவர்கள் என செவிவழியான செய்திகள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. மேற்கண்ட எட்டுக் கரைப்பிரிவுகளைச் சேந்தவர்கள் அனைவரும் முத்தரையர் சமூகத்தைச் சேர்ந்திருந்த போதிலும் அச்சமூகத்தைச் சேராத நகரத்தார் கரையினருக்கு, அவர்கள் இவ்வூரில் பங்குபெற்ற முக்கியத்துவத்தை உணர்ந்து, எட்டுக்கரைக்காரர்களும் முன்வந்து ஒரு கரைப்பிரிவைப் புதிதாக ஏற்றுக் கொண்டனர் எனத் தெரியவருகிறது.

விசய நகரப் பேரரசின் ஆட்சிக் காலத்தில் கொத்தமங்கலத்தைச் சேர்ந்த எட்டுக் கரைக் கந்திரிமார்கள் அதே கிராமத்தை ஆட்சிசெய்தனர். இந்த அமைப்பு தற்போதைய அரசியல் அமைப்பினின்று வேறுபட்டு சிறப்பான மக்களாட்சி முறையாக விளங்குகிறது. இந்த அமைப்பில் எதிர்கட்சி போன்ற மரபுகள் பின்பற்றப்படவில்லை. ஆனால் எட்டுக்கரை கந்திரிமார்கள் கிராமத்தை ஆட்சிசெய்யும் முறையானது. சோழர்களின் ஆட்சி போன பின்பும் அவர்களின் உள்ளாட்சி முறையின் எச்சங்களாகவே தென்படுகின்றன. ஒவ்வொரு அரசியல் மற்றும் சமூகச் செயல்பாடுகள் கரை அமைப்பின் மூலமாகவே செயல்படுத்தப் பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். கிராமங்களின் ஒவ்வொரு ஆட்சியாளருக்கும் கரையே பொறுப்பேற்றுக் கொண்டது. இதனால் பிற்காலத்தில் அரசின் நேரடித் தலையீடுகளே இக்கிராமத்தில் தடைபட்டு வந்திருக்கின்றது. புதிதாக சேர்க்கப்பட்ட நகரத்தார் கரை உண்பான பின், ஒன்பது கரைக்கூடும் இதன்மூலம் மரபுவழியாக நடைபெற்று வருவது கண்ணாடு. இந்தக் கரை அமைப்பானது வடகாடு போன்ற ஊர்களில் பட்டி என்றும், மற்றும் சில ஊர்களில் புரம் என்றும் வழங்கி வருகின்றன என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

கொத்தமங்கலம் செம்புப்பட்டயம்

முதல் பக்கம்

1. ஸ்ரீ மகாமண்டலத்தி சுபரன் அரி
2. ய தளவிபாடன் கண்டநாடு கொண்டு
3. கொண்டநாடு குடாதான் பாண்டமண்ட
4. லத்தார் பஞ்சாளன்னாச்சிரியார் தொ
5. ண்டலப்பிற தெச்சன்னாச்சிரியார் தொ

6. ண்டைமண்டலப் பிரதாபன் காடாரி சா
7. ளுவன் செட்டாரியுடையான் ராசாதி
8. ராசன் ராசமார்த்தாண்டன் ராசவீ
9. ர வசந்தராயர் மல்லிகச்சிராயர் அச
10. பதி சிஷபதி நரபதி தெச்சன்னாதிபி
11. றதீவராச்சிய பரிபாரம் பண்ணியரு
12. ளாய் நின்ற சாலிவாகன சகாத்தம்
13. 1405 க்கு மேல் செல்லாயிற்றே வி
14. சைய அற்பபி மீ 10ல் விருதாச பயங்
15. கர வளநாடாகிய கானாடான ஷெய
16. சிங்ககூல காறானூர் நாடான ரா
17. ச லைச்சணிகவளா நாடு ஆன தன
18. ம வளநாடு தென்ற்தானம்பு நாடு கொ
19. த்தமங்கலம் பங்களிக்கு நித்தரச
20. காருகாத்த வெள்ளாள வாணாதராயர்க
21. ள் ஒன்று குடுத்த அருகுடிக்காடு
22. 37810 குலி சமுதாயம் 92 தேவதா
23. ன.. நாடு 2104 இத்தலையூராகிய
24. பானலூரு பாண்டியர்புரம் ஆதலூர்
25. கூத்தம் காருகாத்த வெள்ளாள வாணா
26. தராயர் உள்ளிட்டாரும் கூடிக்கொடுத்த காணி
27. யாச்சி கொத்தமங்கலம் கரைபிரியலு
28. க்கு வந்தவன் முன்னடிமை சாதினமான தந்தி
29. ரிமாரில் மண்ணுக்கு முண்டன் மணவாளன்
30. முத்திரியன் உள்ளிட்டார் கொம்புலி கருவான்
31. டன் முத்திரியன் நன்னபெரியான் முத்திரி
32. யன்.

கிரண்டாம் பக்கம்

33. மாலாண்டி வெள்ளியன் முத்திரியன் ஆனவகை
34. க்கு மேலத்தெருவில் நிற்பது கீழத்தெரு கி
35. முக்கு கண்டங்கி முத்திரியன் குளுநரி முத்திரியன் கொ
36. ந்குராயன் முத்திரியன் சங்கரவிசயாலையன் முத்தி
37. ரியன் ஆனவகை 4க்கு கீழத்தெரு நிற்பது ஆனவகை
38. ண்டுக்கு கரை 8க்கு குடுத்த காணியாச்சி கரைப்
39. பிரியல் கொத்தமங்கலத்துக்கு எல்லையாவது
40. ராராயமானியராய துரையவர்கள் சவுந்திரபா

41. ண்டியராசா அவர்கள் பரி ஏறி எல்லைகட்டி எல்
42. லைக்கல் நாட்டினபடிக்கி கீழ்பாற்க்கெல்லை சேந்
43. தமாங்கலம் எல்லை புள்ளடிக்கல்லு இதற்கு கொமையா
44. ன் பொட்டக் கல்லு இதற்கு தெற்கு செவல் புஞ்சை
45. க்கல்லு இதற்கு தெற்கு சீதனபுஞ்சைக் கல்லு இதற்கு
46. கீழற்சடைக்கல்லு முக்குட்டு நின்று மேற்புளி
47. யம்புஞ்சைக்கல்லு இதற்கு மேற்பாலைப்புஞ்சைக்
48. கல்லு இதற்கு மேற் வயல் மாம்புஞ்சைக்கல்லு இதற்கு மே
49. ற்மேற்கு செம்பிரக்கல்லு இதற்கு மேற் ஓடையில்
50. க்கல்லு இதற்கு மேற்மரமடக்கி முக்குட்டுக்கல்லு நின்
51. று வடற்சறளைக்கல்லு இதற்கு வடற்செவ்வலக்
52. கல்லு இதற்கு வடற்மொச்சியில் கல்லு இதற்கு வடற்நா
53. கன் புஞ்சைக்கல்லு இதற்கு வடற் பிலாப்புஞ்சைக்க
54. ல்லு இதற்கு வடற் காடன்புஞ்சைக்கல்லு இதற்கு வடக்
55. குப்புஞ்சைக்கல்லு இதற்கு வடக்கு பிராண்டி புஞ்சைக்கல்
56. லு இதற்கு வடற்முக்குட்டுக்கல்லு நின்று கிளற்காலசி
57. கல்லு இதற்கு கீழற்கு பொய்கைக்குடி கல்லு
58. படி கீழற்புள்ளிக்கல்லு இதற்கு கீழ்சண்டைய
59. யக்கல்லு இதற்கு கீழ்பாசிப்பெலக்கல்
60. லு இதற்கு கீழ்க்கு கீழற்முக்குட்டு
61. க்கல்லு நின்று தெற்குத்தாவ க்கல்
62. லு இதற்கு தென் சேந்தமங்கலமானவ
63. டக்கல்லுப் பொருதல் கீந்த நானங்கெல்
64. லைக்குள்ளாகியது மண்ணுமனை புகாறு வாறு
65. எம் அம்பலமிவம்பளம் யிடுகாடு படுதுறை பள்
66. ளுப்பறை பலதொளுளாளியலக்க வ உளாறுது
67. புரவல்ச் செய்யாக் காணியாச்சியிருந்த எட்டு
68. க்கரை தந்திரிமார் ஆண்டு கொள்வது கல்வெட்டு
69. காட்டா அடையார் காணா கொன்றிருபார் நரசி
70. நங்கபருமாள் கோவில் வரிக்கொப்பம் தாம்பு குடத்
71. தீ மூவேந்திர வேள் திருப்ப மெய்யநாத சிவாமி துணை அ
72. ய்ய உ அந்திவளதுதுணை உ.

குன்றாண்டார்கோயில் குடைவரை

மு. நளினி*

புதுக்கோட்டை மாவட்டம் கீரனூர் ஆதனூர்க்கோட்டைச் சாலையில் கீரனூரிலிருந்து பதினமூன்று கிலோமீட்டர் தொலைவில் அமைந்துள்ளது குன்றாண்டார்கோவில் கீரனூரில் இருந்து மலையடிப்படி, கிள்ளுக்கோட்டை வழியாகவும் இவ்வூரை அடையலாம். ஊரின் நடுவே படர்ந்திருக்கும் சிறியதொரு குன்றில் கீழ்க்குப் பார்வையாக அகழப்பட்டுள்ள குடைவரை, மண்டப வகையினதாகும். முன்புறம் முகப்பும் பின்சுவரின் நடுப்பகுதியில் கருவறையும் பெற்றுள்ள மண்டபத்தின் தென்சுவரில் ஒரு கோட்டமும் வடசுவரில் ஒரு கோட்டமும் அகழப்பட்டுள்ளன. தென்சுவர்க் கோட்டத்தில் பிள்ளையாரும் வடசுவர்க் கோட்டத்தில் சிவன்உமை இணையரும்² இடம்பெற்றுள்ளனர்.

முகப்பு

குடைவரைக்கு முன்னுள்ள தரையிலிருந்து 7 செ.மீ உயரத்தில், கீழ்க்கு மேற்காக 59 செ.மீ அகலம், தென்வடலாக 5.46 செ.மீ நீளம் கொண்டமைந்துள்ள முகப்புத் தளத்தின் நடுவில் இரண்டு முழுத்தூண்களும்

பக்கங்களை ஒட்டி இரண்டு அரைத்தூண்களும் வெட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன. சதுரம், கட்டு, சதுரம் என்ற அமைப்பிலுள்ள இத்தூண்களின் மீதமர்ந்த போதிகைகள், பட்டை பெற்ற வளைமுகத் தரங்கக் கைகளால் உத்திரம் தாங்க, மேலே வாஜனம் தரங்கங்களுள் திருப்பத் தரங்கம் அளவில் பெரியதாகக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. வாஜனம் தழுவியுள்ள கூரையின் நீட்சி வடிவமைக்கப்படாத கபோதமாக விரிந்து பரந்துள்ளது. அரைத்தூண்களை ஒட்டிய பாறைச் சுவர்கள் வடக்கிலும் தெற்கிலும் முறையே 1.40 மீ, 1.63மீ. அளவிற்கு நீண்டு மேலிருந்து கீழே அகலப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன.

வடக்குப் பாறைச்சுவர் முன்னுள்ள மண்டபத்தின் வடசுவருடன் நன்கு இணைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. தென்சுவரின் கீழ்க்கு முகத்தில் சிறிய அளவினான மண்டபக் குடைவரை ஒன்று அகழப்பட்டுள்ளது. முற்றுப்பெறாப் பணியாக அமைந்துள்ள அவ்வகழ்வின் வடக்கு இடைவழியின் முன்னிருக்குமாறு கட்டப்பட்டுள்ள சுவரமைப்பு, அதன் பிற இடைவழிகளைப் பார்வையிலிருந்து மறைக்கிறது. முதன்மைக் குடைவரைக்கு முன்னுள்ள பெருமண்டபத்தின்

*வரலாற்றுத்துறை, சீதாலெட்சுமி ராமசாமி கல்லூரி, திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி.

தெற்குச் சுவராக அமைந்துள்ள இச்சுவர் கிழக்காகத் திரும்புமிடத்தில் அமைந்துள்ள வாயில், பெருமண்டபத்தின் கிரண்டாம் வாயிலாகப் பூட்டப்பட்ட நிலையில் உள்ளது.

மண்டபம்

முகப்பிற்குப் பின்னுள்ள மண்டபம் கிழக்கு மேற்காக 3.23 மீ. அகலமும் தென்வடலாக 6.55 மீ. நீளமும் கொண்டுள்ளது³. தரையும் கூரையும் நன்கு சீரமைக்கப்பட்டு, சுவர்களின் அனைத்து மூலைகளிலும் உறுப்பு வேறுபாடற்ற நான்முக அரைத்தூண்கள் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன. அவற்றின் மீதுள்ள போதிகைகள் தாங்கக் கைகளால் உத்திரம் தாங்க, கூரையைத் தழுவி நாற்புறத்தும் வாஜனம் உள்ளது.

பின்சுவரின் நடுப்பகுதியில் மண்டபத்திற்குள் 28 செ.மீ. பிதுக்கமாக இருக்குமாறு குடையப்பட்டுள்ள கருவறை ஜகதி, உருள்குழத்தம், கம்புகளின் தழுவலில் பாதங்கள் பெற்ற கண்டம், பட்டிகை, மேற்கம்பு எனும் உறுப்புகளுடனான பாதபந்தத் தாங்குதளம் கொண்டுள்ளது. மேற்கம்பிற்கு உள்ளடங்கி எழும் சுவரின் நடுப்பகுதியில் 65 செ. மீ. அகலத்திற்கு 2.02 மீ. உயரத்திற்கு வாயில் திறக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

மண்டபத் தரையிலிருந்து கருவறைக்குச் செல்ல வாய்ப்பாக வாயிலின் முன் கிரண்டு பாறைப்படிகள் உள்ளன. வாயிலை அடுத்துக் காணப்படும் நிலையமைப்பு பின்னாளைய இணைப்பாகும். பக்க நிலைகள் மேல், கீழ் நிலைகள் பெற்ற விளங்கும் இந்நிலையமைப்பின் மேல், கீழ் நிலைகளின் முகப்பு, கம்புகள், தழுவிய பாதங்களுடனான கண்டமாக அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

வாயிலை அனைத்தவாறும் சுவரின் திருப்பங்களைத் தழுவியபடியும் பக்கத்திற்கு கிரண்டென நான்கு உறுப்பு வேறுபாடற்ற நான்முக அரைத்தூண்கள் கருவறை முன்சுவரை அலங்கரிக்கின்றன. இவ்வரைத்தூண்களின் மேலுள்ள போதிகைகள் விரிகோணத் தாங்கக் கைகளால் உத்திரம் தாங்க, மேலே வாஜனம், பட்டையற்ற தாங்கக் கைகளின் கீழ்ப்பகுதி சிறிய அளவினதாக அமைய, மேற்பகுதி பெரியதாக உள்ளது. தாங்கத் திருப்பத்தின் பக்கமுகத்தில் சுருள் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. மண்டபத் தென்சுவர் அணைவுத்தூண்களின் மேலுள்ள போதிகைகளிலும் முகப்புப் போதிகைகள் சிலவற்றிலும் காணப்படும் இச்சுருள் வடசுவர் அணைவுத்தூண்களின் போதிகைகளில் காணுமாறு இல்லை.

கருவறை முன்சுவர் தூண்களுக்கு இடைப்பட்ட கோட்டங்களில் வலப்புறம் சூலத்தேவரும் இடப்புறம் மழுவடியாரும் உள்ளனர். வலக்கோட்டம் 1.12 மீ. அகலம், 1.68 மீ. உயரம், 16 செ. மீ. ஆழம் பெற, இடக்கோட்டம் 1.11 மீ அகலம், 1.70 மீ உயரம், 19 செ. மீ. ஆழம் கொண்டுள்ளது.

கருவறையை அடுத்துள்ள மண்டபப் பின்சுவரின் வடபகுதி, கருவறைத் திருப்பத்திலிருந்து வடசுவர்வரை ஏறத்தாழ 1.09 மீ. அகலத்திற்குப் பிளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. கருவறையைச் சுற்றிவர வழியமைக்கத் தொடங்கப்பட்ட இம்முயற்சி தொடக்கத்திலேயே கைவிடப்பட்டுள்ளது.⁴ பிளப்பின் ஆழம் உச்ச நிலையில் 2.07 மீ. அளவிற்கு உட்சென்றுள்ளது. இது போன்ற உட்சுற்று முயற்சி மாமல்லபுரத்துக் குடைவரை ஒன்றிலும் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டுக் கைவிடப்பட்டமையை இங்கு நினைத்துப் பார்க்கலாம். மண்டபத் தென்சுவரின் நடுப்பகுதியில் 1.96 மீ. உயரம், 1.41 மீ அகலம், 42 செ.மீ ஆழத்திற்கு அணைவுத்தூண்களற்ற கோட்டம் அகழப்பட்டு அதில் பின்னையார் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளார். வட சுவரிலும் 1.35 மீ. உயரம், 1.35 மீ. அகலம், 14 செ.மீ. ஆழத்திற்குக் கோட்டம் அகழப்பட்டுள்ளது. அதில் சிவபெருமானும் உமையன்னையும் தோழிப்பெண் ஒருவரும் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளனர். தென்கோட்டம் போல் அல்லாது சிறப்புக்குரிய திருமுன் போல அலங்கரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள வடக்குக் கோட்டத்தின் கீழ், மண்டபத் தரையிலிருந்து எழுமாறு பாதபந்தத் தாங்குதளம் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

கோட்டத்தின் பக்கசுவர்களில் உள்ளடக்கமாக எழும் கிரண்டு உறுப்பு வேறுபாடற்ற நான்முக அரைத்தூண்களில் மீதுள்ள போதிகைகள் தங்கள் விரிகோணத் தாங்கக் கைகளால் உத்திரம் தாங்க, மேலே வாஜனம், வாஜனத்தை அடுத்துக் கோட்டக் கூரை கூடுகளற்ற கபோதமாக வடிவமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. நன்கு வளைந்திறங்கும் கபோதத்தின் மேலே பூமிதேசத்தின் உறுப்புகளான ஆவிங்கப்பட்டையும் அந்தரியும் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளன. புதுக்கோட்டை மாவட்டக் குடைவரைகளுள் பூமிதேசத்தின் இருப்பைக் காணக்கூடிய ஒரே குடைவரையாகக் குன்றாண்டளர்கோயில் அமைந்திருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. தாங்குதளத்தின் முன் படையல்கள் இருவதற்காக நீளமான மேடையொன்றை பின்னாளில் அமைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இது போன்ற தெற்குக் கோட்டத்தின் முன்னும் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளது.

கருவறை

கிழக்கு மேற்காக 2.96 மீ அகலம், தென்வடலாக 3.20 நீளம், 2.34 மீ. உயரமுள்ள கருவறையின் கூரைக்கு வாஜன அணைப்பு இல்லை. தரையில் தாய்ப்பாறையில் உருவான இலிங்கம்⁵ காட்சிதருகிறது. எண்கோணமாக அமைந்த அதன் ஆவுடையார் 57 செ.மீ உயரம் பெற, மேலுள்ள உருளைப் பாணம் 61 செ.மீ. உயரம் கொண்டுள்ளது. ஜகதி, உருள்குழத்தம், கம்புகள் தழுவப்பெற்ற பாதங்களுடனான கண்டம், வடிவமைக்கப்படாத தாமரைவரி, பட்டிகை, மேற்கம்பு எனப் பந்தயமாக உருவாக்கப்பட்டுள்ள ஆவுடையாரின் கோமுகம் மிகச் சிறிய

மழுவடியார்

சமபாதத்தில் நிற்கும் மழுவடியாரின் பாதங்களை இருத்தத் தனித் தளங்கள் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன. இரண்டு கைகளையும் கட்டிய நிலையில் உள்ளங்கைகள் எதிரெதிர் மேற்கைகளின் மேல் படர்ந்துள்ளன. சடைப்பாரம், பனையோலைக் குண்டலங்கள், மணிகளாலான சவடி, கிரட்டைமணிச்சூ முப்புரிநூல், தோள், கை வளைகள், கச்சம் பெற்ற கனத்த பட்டாடை, இடைக்கட்டு அணிந்துள்ள இவ்வடியாரின் சடைமுகப்பில் மழு காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவர்

போன்ற கைக்கட்டி அடியவர்களைக் குன்றத்தூர் முதற் குடைவரை, திருமலைக் குடைவரை இவற்றில் காணமுடிவது எண்ணத்தக்கது.

குடைவரைகளின் காலம்

பல்லவர் காலத்திலிருந்து தொடர்ந்து புரக்கப்பட்டு வந்திருக்கும் திருக்குடைவரையின் காலத்தை இங்குள்ள கல்வெட்டுகளின் அடிப்படையில் கி.பி. எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டின் முற்பகுதியாகக் கொள்ளலாம்.

அடிக்குறிப்புகள்

1. ஆய்வு நாட்கள்: 2.2.2008, 13.4.2008, 21.9.2008, 21.12.2008. இவ்வாய்வு பாக்டர் மா. கிராசுமணிச்சுமாரால் வரலாற்றாய்வு மையத்தின் வழிகாட்டிலில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
2. கே.வி. செளந்தராஜன் குன்றாண்டார் கோயில் பற்றிய தம் கட்டுரையில் இவ்விணையை யாண்டும் குறிப்பிடவில்லை. K.V. Soundarajan, Rock - cut Temple Styles, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1998, p. 105. ஆனால், தம் நூலின் பின்னிணைப்பில் உள்ள படத்தொகுப்பில் இச்சிற்ப இணையின் படத்தை வெளியிட்டு, இது திருமலைக் குடைவரைக் கருவறையின் பின்சுவர்ச் சிற்பமாக விளங்குவதாகக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். Plate XXXII.
3. குடைவரை மண்டத்தினுள் முகப்பிலிருக்குமாறு போல மற்றொரு வரிசைத் தூண்கள் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளன என்கிறார் கே.வி. செளந்தராஜன். மு.கு. நூல், ப.105. இதை அப்படியே வழிவழிபடுத்துள்ளனர் சு. கிராசுவேலும் அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரியும் சு. கிராசுவேல், அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரி, தமிழ்நாட்டுக் குடைவரைக் கோயில்கள், பண்பாட்டு வெளியீடகம், சென்னை, 2000, ப. 189.
4. 'It shows a full fledged sandhara cella which can be circumambulated' எனும் கே.வி. செளந்தராஜனின் கூற்றும் 'சாந்தார வகை அமைப்புப் பெற்ற திருக்குடைவரையின் கருவறையைச் சுற்றிவரத் திருச்சுற்று வழி காணப்படுகிறது' எனும் சு. கிராசுவேல், அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரி இவர்களின் கூற்றும் முற்றிலும் பிழையானவை மு.கு. நூல்கள், பக். 105, 189.
5. 'பாண்டியர்களுக்கே உரித்தான பாணியில் அமைந்த இலிங்கம்' என்று கூறும் சு. கிராசுவேலும் அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரியும் அந்த 'பாணி' எத்தகையது அல்லது எது என்பது பற்றி ஏதும் கூறவில்லை. பல கட்டுரையாளர்கள் இப்படிப் பல பாணிகளைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்கள். ஆனால்,

அந்த பாணி (கலைமுறை) என்பது எத்தகு கலைச்சுறுகளை உள்ளடக்கியது. அதன் சிறப்பியல்புகள் அல்லது தனித்தன்மைகள் எவை எவை என்று அவர்கள் வரிசைப்படுத்தவதும் இல்லை; விளக்குவதும் இல்லை.

கிராசுவேலும் சேஷாத்திரியும் குறிப்பிடும், 'பாண்டியர் பாணி' என்னோணமாக அமைந்துள்ள ஆவுடையார்தான் எனில், மலையக்கோயில் சிறிய குடைவரை, கிராயவரம் (ஆய்ங்குடி) மலைக்கொழுந்தீசுவரர் குடைவரை தவிர வேறெந்தப் பாண்டியர் பகுதி பாண்டியர்ப்பகுதித் தாய்ப்பாறை இலிங்கத் திருமேனிகளும் அத்தகு ஆவுடையார் கொள்ளாமை குறிக்கத்தக்கது.

6. இடது கையில் என்கிறார் ஜெ. ராஜாமுகமது மு. ஆவணம் 19, தமிழகத் தொல்லியல் கழகம், தஞ்சாவூர், ப.177
7. சிவன், உமை இருவர்தம் வலக்கைகளும் முழங்காலருகே இருப்பதால் இவ்வம்மை மகாராஜலீலாசனமாகவும் கொள்ளலாம். ஆனால், இதைத் தீரு. கிராசுமணிச்சும உத்தகுடி இருக்கை என்பது பிழையாகும். தென்னகக் குடைவரைக் கோயில்கள், கழகம், 1989, சென்னை, ப.45
8. 'முப்புரிநூலைப் பிடித்த நிலை' என்கின்றனர் சு. கிராசுவேலும் அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரியும் தி. கிராசுமணிச்சுமும் மு.கு. நூல்கள், பக். 189, 45
9. தொடைமீதுருப்பதாகக் கூறுகின்றனர். சு. கிராசுவேலும் அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரியும் தி. கிராசுமணிச்சுமும், மு.கு. நூல்கள், பக். 189, 45
10. 'அமர்ந்த நிலையில் உள்ள இவ்வுருவங்கள்' என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளனர் சு. கிராசுவேலும் அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரியும். மு.கு.நூல்கள், ப. 189
11. கிரீடம் என்கின்றனர் சு. கிராசுவேலும் அ.கி. சேஷாத்திரியும் தி. கிராசுமணிச்சுமும், மு.கு. நூல்கள், பக். 189, 44

HISTORIOGRAPHY

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

THE ANNALES SCHOOL OF HISTORY

K. Sadasivan *

The twenty years interwar period from 1919 to 1939 and thereafter upto 1968 was one of the most fascinating times in the production of historical research and reflection. It was the times of a new brand of French historians, who saw the past differently, thought differently and wrote differently. Treading a new path away from the conventional and traditional historical scholarship, they brought history down to the masses from palaces and castles. They broke away from the until then the dominant political, military, court and individual history to the socio-economic, cultural and collective or group history of the people, from event-oriented (*evenementielle*) history to the group mentality (*mentalities*) history.

They were none other than Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, Emmanuel Le Roy La Durie and many more French historians, who thought and wrote history differently from that of Leopold von Ranke or Oswald Spengler or Arnold Joseph Toynbee. They never even hesitated to differ from their mentors Emile Durkheim and Henri Berr or never failed to question the premises of fact-based history of Ranke or of positivist propositions or social determinism, or economic determinism or Historical materialism of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This address proposes to study the background of the emergence of this school of thought with particular reference to the name Annales, its major propositions, its method of approach, the historians and their contributions and reflections, their disciples and the ways of their derivations and deviations, if any, and the way of the deviations, their critics and their criticisms and the evolution of Total History or New History in the USA, and the emergence of qualitative and quantitative history or, more precisely, its impact on Cliometrics.

Background:

The Annales historians proposed to free history from the clutches of politics, administration,

military pursuits and expansion of territories and make history area parrot out of the cage, and, on the other hand, they wanted to pursue an independent path, mostly touching an untouched area, the peoples' history. Maurice Aymard and Harbans Mukhia say, "the established historiography of the time focused on the documented achievements and failures of ruling dynasties and took little cognisance of what had happened in the lives and minds of ordinary people. Bloch and Febvre held, however, that to understand how societies changed overtime, the historian's quest must encompass every facet of human existence". Thereby, the Annales historians worked to explore the economic and social structure of society through history. They include Bloch's seminal essay on the 'Advent and Triumph of the Watermill' and those of others on trade between and Spanish America, food prices and famines, the history of climate and Bloch's famous work on the 'Royal Touch' or 'Royal Healing Touch' and curing disease.

To recapture and recover the history of the masses is not that easy. They attempted to write a 'holistic history', a 'total history'. They, however, did not appear to have strictly adhered to any commonly well developed theory of history and are generally known as critical historians. Nevertheless, they have a kind of distinct philosophy of history, a system of analysis and explanation, literary style and above all, corporate loyalty to the founding fathers, namely, Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel. They have borrowed freely from the newly developed disciplines of the early twentieth century like sociology, economics, geography, law and psychology and ventured into tread a new path, i.e. to throw light on the hidden areas of people's history. They were not concerned with short event-based compartmentalised history. They, however, have integrated rather than synthesised history and rejected the narrow and isolated view of history.

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When the founders of *Annales* history Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch started writing, they came across five major strands of thought. They were the Rankean Objective School of history, Marxian – neo Marxian School of thought, the Positivist school of thought, the Sorbonnite School of thought and Lucien Febvre's mentor Henri Berr's thoughts on society and history. Though these thoughts made their lasting impression on the *Annalists*, however they were not carried away or they were not evolved by them. They differed from them in many ways and carved out a way for them. They began to see the past and the present history in the long duration and also tried to recapture the socio-economic, cultural, geographic, psychological and legal perspectives of history, which was until then unattempted.

During the evolution of the *Annales* School of history, the Prussian (German) school of history propounded by Leopold Von Ranke (1795-1886) was ruling the roost. Ranke interpreted historical events in their own past perspective. He laid much stress on the documents and prevented historians from interpreting events in their own contexts and perspective. He has frequently been called the father of 'scientific' or source-based history. According to Ranke, the duty of the historian is as 'it essentially was' or to depict history as 'it had happened'. Rankean method was one of analysing and presenting historical data, otherwise called 'fact-mindedness'. By such a process Ranke imparted to history the essential characteristic of an academic discipline. But critics denounced it as the fine art of embalming a corpse.

They have widely differed from the Marxian determinism or, to say, they have not given much attention to the neo-Marxian interpretation of historical events in the short duration. Karl Marx (1818-1883) saw history as a record of class struggle. Marx wrote: "The history of the hitherto existing society of the history of class struggle. In the 19th century political, industrial capitalist labour problematic environment Marx and Engels anticipated the establishment of the proletariat dictatorship. They, in the *Communist Manifesto* wrote: Workers of the Universe unite, you have nothing to lose, but something to gain" this class- based materialistic interpretation of history is deterministic.

He also thought that history as "the activity of men in pursuit of their ends". He interpreted history in the context of individuals and groups towards the achieving of their goals. While the Marxists contemplated on the problems of the industrial workers, the *Annales* historians invented the history of the people, the psychology of the Mass (*mentallite*). However, one can not summarily reject Marxian influence on Marc Bloch, for he wrote the famous work the *Feudal Society*, (It is originally from a Latin term *Ferendum* which in English becomes 'fief'), a concept Marx has elaborately discussed in his works.

But the corpse in the middle of the nineteenth century began to acquire the soul and movement. It began to move under the influence of Augustus Comte's Positivism and Darwin's theory of Evolution. Positivism strived for a unified view of world phenomena, both physical and human. It was conceived in polemical opposition to the metaphysical abstraction or deductive reasoning of philosophy. Auguste Comte in his work *Positive Philosophy*, a work of much scientific metaphysical, completed in 1843, greatly emphasised the necessity for a science of society, a stress that could impact upon historical research there upon.

The positive method stressed on : (i) the reliance on factual data as facts are things of immediate perception; (ii) the rigorous critique of sources i.e. inductive procedure, and (iii) the discovery of relations and uninformaties which means accent from particular to general without, of course, transcending and mutilating experience for achieving exactness and objectivity of natural sciences. By the inductive process, as followed in the natural and physical sciences, the positivists proposed the possibility of making laws in history. History was thus elevated to the status of a social science, whose primary objective was the investigation of "man in society".

Auguste Comte's positive philosophic method has attracted the attention of a sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), who is known for his research in suicides. He was born a year after the death of Auguste Comte in 1857, but took the positive method to newer heights, and, in fact, made history "a social science". It is well known that Comte laid

emphasis on the principles (positive) of explanation, which are understood in the empirical certainty and their phenomenal connections. Born of French Jewish parents and educated in France, Durkheim served as a link between the positivist thought and method and the *Annales* School of history. Being a brilliant transmitter of the positivistic conception of social sciences, Durkheim developed a fascination for the positivistic thought of Comte and formed the opinion that the individual can only be understood within the frame of society and that society manifests itself in concrete forms which can be observed from the outside very much like phenomena of nature. Durkheim coined the ideological phrase "social facts", which could directly be observed without the medium of written documents (just the opposite of Rankean method). Durkheim put the causal analysis over documented historical description and narration. He thus put the general over the unique and individual, the directly observable present over the unobservable past. (J.H.Plump in his *Death of the Past* tried to analyse) and the mastery of society over contemplation. Durkheim was thus the first thinker to shift the focus from the individual to the collective (groups). He was also the first to train his attack on the *evenementaille* (event-oriented) history.

Coming under the spell of the sociological periodical, *L'Année Sociologique*, Henri Berr and Lucien Febvre believed that history and sociology are not two watertight compartments, but mutually intertwined and, therefore, inseparable, not mutually exclusive but supplementing. Durkheim in his *Rules of Sociological Method* defined the methodology of sociology and provided a new dimension to the methodology of all social sciences, by ensuring elements of precision and objectivity. He put forward the idea that not action non environment or the milieu is the reality (Rene Descartes). In Durkheim opinion, facts are never given, they are always taken from the phenomena, and are subjected to scientific scrutiny. In this endeavour he stuck to a rigorous methodology, the details of which are not given here. Henri Berr, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch came under the spell of Durkheimian method of social research and rigorous training.

A senior contemporary of Febvre and Bloch was Henri Berr (1862-1955), a historian of the evolutionary history of humanity. Before the *Annales*

journal was launched, Henri Berr edited and brought out a journal, namely, the *Revue de Synthèse historique* in 1900. Berr tried to bring together the intellectual threads of the age to weave a projected full length history of humanity, a multi-volume i.e. hundred volumes history of mankind ('evolution of humanity'). To this projected volume, Berr sought the intellectual support of economists, geographers, sociologists, biologists and anthropologists. Lucien Febvre, an elder contemporary of Bloch became its collaborator in 1907 and Marc Bloch joining it in 1912. They were according to Lucien Febvre a "a group of active, lively, combative, conquering men". Their collective effort made men conscious of fundamental unity of human spirit. Febvre and Bloch collaborated with Henri Berr during the decade preceding *Annales* in 1929. Both these historians inherited his scholarship, patient and painstaking research and stylistic outpourings.

Another school of historical scholarship which the founders of the *Annales* School confronted was the *Sorbonnistes*, as Lucien Febvre called it. In fact, it is said that the *Annales* school rose in reaction to the *Sorbonnistes* view of rejecting reality and making history both unscientific and hence superficial. In the words of J.H.Hexter, "Their effort to live a serious turn to system of historical i.e. from political and diplomatic to social to economic is described as *mentalite*, and what we call by the name *Annales* School... this *mentalite* became structure, a controlling habit of thought so deeply embedded in the minds of the believers that they scarcely subjected it to critical examination". However, it is to be said that this statement should not be taken to mean that the *Annales* approach is the only most perfect one. Its significance lies in the fact that it served as a catalyst in the founding of the new school of history. Further, it helped to reject the *Sorbonnistes* propositions of political, military and diplomatic history and to wide-open history as a discipline to all social sciences.

When Two Intellectuals Met!

Both Lucien Febvre (1878-1956) and Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch (1886-1944) were born of French Jewish parents. While Febvre was the son of a philologist of Nancy, Bloch was the son of a academic professor of history. Which Febvre went

to Paris to enrol in the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* at the age of twenty in 1898, Bloch joined the elite *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in 1906. Between 1899 and 1902, Febvre concentrated on studying history and geography. Between 1908 and 1909 Bloch studied at Berlin and Leipzig. After graduation Febvre taught at the provincial lycées where he worked on his thesis on Philip II of Spain and the Franche Comte. But Bloch fought in the Western Front for four years. After the outbreak of the I World War, Febvre left his teaching profession to join the army and served for four years. In 1919, Febvre took up a profession at the University of Strasbourg, when the province was returned to France. In 1919, Bloch became a Lecturer in medieval history at Strasbourg. Thus the two scholars met in 1919 at Strasbourg and became friends.

Launching the Journal

The *Annales* historians were not content with the tracing of the mere past, but they wanted to record the animate past too. To write such a vast history, they required some training, rigorous methodology, textual analysis and reflective mind. Having conceived the idea of writing a history of the *mentaleité* rather than *evenementielle*, they searched for a way out, a means to bring out their ideas and findings. This could materialize in 1929, when they started a journal namely, *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, which name was further changed in 1946 into *Annales, Economics, Societies, Civilizations*. This could be achieved only when Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre put their heads together to finding a solution in liberating history from the monotony of kings, their courts, intrigues and wars, where the people who actually fought and perished were not given at least a moment of thought. Historians of the foregone years found their place safe by not giving the due share to the various forces and factors of geography, society, economy, anthropology, psychology, law and environment. The *Annales* sought to fulfill that want. The journal had become the *avant-garde* of international standing by its unique method, approach, style and content.

Derived from a Latin term *Annus*, meaning a year, the journal *Annales* stood for the chronological reflection of history year after year. A chronological record of events of successive years,

the journal carried the mind of the historians in the peoples' environment. It is therefore appropriate for the school of history to call it by its name as the *Annales* School of History. In the first issue of the journal which appeared in 1932, Marc Bloch gave a succinct account of their intention, purpose, coverage and method.

The *Annales* historians have a special methodology, a separate style of writing history and, special purpose of stressing long-durée social history, which was divorced from political and individual history. The journal remains the source of great scholarship, besides many books and monographs. The school has been highly influential in setting the agenda for historical writing in France and elsewhere in Europe and the USA. It was institutionally associated with the *Sixth Section* of the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* in Paris. Founded in 1868, the *Ecole Pratique* was originally the training ground for the French historians to gain insight into the Seminar method of the Rankian model. The *Sixth Section* of the *Ecole Pratique*, founded in 1947, became a centre for interdisciplinary teaching and research in the social sciences. The *Sixth Section* has in its enrolment not only historians, but also economists, geographers, social scientists, structuralists, anthropologists and linguists. George G. Iggers gives a list of them with particular reference to the structuralist Claude Lévi Strauss, the linguist, Roland Balthus, Pierre Bourdieu and several other specialists.

Various Generations of the *Annales* Historians

Some examiners and evaluators of the *Annales* school of history identify three generations of *Annalistes*. They are the First Generation is the Founding Generation, the Second Generation with their own leaders and followers and the Third Generation without a specific leader, but with many specialists. This scholar would like to add two more generations: the *Total History* Generation and *New History* Generation (commonly attributed to American historians). Each generation has a distinct identity of its own character, quality, direction, method and contributions. The first three *Annales* historians: Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel were great leaders in their own ways, while Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie lacked the following.

A Critique of the First Generation's Works

In the first issue of the journal edited by Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch introduced the objective and purpose, methods and areas designed to be concentrated, the style-sheet, the time span of the issue and major thrust and the method of handling the evidences – all aspects of a good journal. A cursory examination of this pre-ample and the style sheet would not easily catch the imagination of an ordinary researcher. Only a serious-minded and steadfast researcher, who is ready to bear the pains of research, could alone understand and appreciate the aims and goals of the founders.

Overcoming some initial break and getting the support of well-wishers, admirers and benefactors, Marc Bloch took over the editorship of the journal and went up with his work without any going back and brought out the issues without break up to his killing by the German Nazi Gestapo in 1944, for his being a French Jew and for having fought against the Nazi Germans, but as a military officer of France. However, the issue of the journal did not stop therewith. Lucien Febvre took up the editorship of the journal and continued to edit it until his death in 1956. Thereafter, it (the editorship) fell on the shoulders of Fernand Braudel and he went ahead with his work upto 1968; following him Immanuel Le Roy Ladurie did the work commendably; the last two making the necessary changes in tune with the changing times, but without sacrificing the goals and objectives and fervant appeals of its founders. Both Fernand Braudel and Le Roy Ladurie kept the majesty of the journal and their masters' dreams.

Though the *Annales* historians outright rejected the Rankean idea of documented-history, Marxian economic determinism and class struggle history. Positivistic determinism of Auguste Comte and the Sorbonnistes' idea of political history the both Febvre and Bloch accepted Durkheim's 'social science' proposition and Henri Berr's 'social evolutionary' theory Both of them in their aversion to the deterministic theories cried a halt to it and proclaimed the death of 'historicism'. In this context, with the announcement of Albert Einstein's Relativity theory, social scientists and philosophers like Karl Popper proposed the *Poverty of Historicism* and *Open Society and its Enemies*. Gradually, the

relativity theory crept into the premises of historical portals.

While Marc Bloch chose to research on the medieval period in French history, on the role of the masses, their faiths and beliefs, and give them their due share in history by collecting, collating, examining and utilizing oral history material, implements and mechanisms and methods used by the peasants in their routine life. It was, of course, a new venture until then untouched by any other historian of any other school. In his work (1924) on the royal touch and healing a kind of disease called the *scrofula*, Marc Bloch tried to trace the ancient tradition that the kings of Middle Ages were able to cure the disease, simply by touching people suffering from it. It (the tradition) has its roots in the magical power of Kings of France and England. Bloch was not, in fact, concerned with the story or disease as such, but he was more concerned about the peoples faith and beliefs in royal power and the long tradition of the magic power of Kings.

By this enquiry into the past tradition embedded in the minds of the people of France and England, Bloch not only touched upon social history of the medieval times, but also cultural anthropology. His highly rated and read work was the *Feudal Society* (1939), available in two-volume English translation. By this work Bloch makes a penetrating study of feudalism, where he exposed the exploitation of French lords, who significantly increased feudal dues, which led to the "seigneurial reaction of the late 18th century which affected the French peasantry. In another work *French Rural History* (1931), Bloch made an in-depth study of the rural masses. In the last work Bloch laid bare the social, economic, geographic, psychological and anthropological aspects of the history of Medieval France. In the geographic field Bloch was influenced by the geography of Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918) and the sociological field by the works of Emile Durkheim. In *Methodologie Historique* (written in 1906 but not published until 1988), Bloch rejected the *histoire evenementielle* (event oriented history) of his mentors Charles Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, but in favour of the role of structural and social phenomena in determining the outcome of historical event. He departed significantly from

Durkheim in his refusal to exclude psychology from history. He viewed that individual actors should be considered along with social forces. His posthumously published work **The Historian's Craft** the English translation of the above mentioned **Methodologie Historique** purports to present a succinct account of historical research method against G.R.Elton's **The Practice in History** and E.H.Carr's **What is History?** Though his military services were not immediately recognised, it is heartening to note that a university named after him as Marc Bloch University, an extension of the University of Strasbourg was established.

Lucien Febvre, one of the founders of the **Annales School** got his rigorous training under Henri Berr, who in the words of Fernand Braudel was "a bit of the Annales". In France, he has been respected for his contribution to the philosophy of history, though he was a student of humanities, literature Latin and Greek. He authored in 1898: **Synthesis of Historical Knowledge: Essays on the Future of Philosophy and of the Scepticism of Grassendi**. The father figure of Lucien Febvre, Barr was Febvre's teacher and mentor. Thereby Barr became a contemporary of both Febvre and Bloch, whose unparalleled friendship and constant collaboration stood them stead from 1919 to 1944 (June 16, the day of the killing of Bloch). Though friends, both of them had their distinct character, temperament, intelligence, personal tastes and ideas and areas of specialization.

While in Paris, Febvre made good use of the time in understanding the prevalent approaches in art, philosophy and modern ways of thinking. He thus embraced the 20th century modernism and later he claimed that he remained 'unturned' from the old world and the old ways of thinking. In his approach to history, he contextualized events against geography, psychology and culture of the time about which he wrote. To Febvre history as mere collection of historical facts did not appeal and which he never approved of. Though Febvre wrote on **Martin Luther: A Destiny** (1929), on **Printing Technology** (1958), on the problems of unbelief in 16th Century (1937), **A Geographical Introduction to History** (1922), **The Rhine: Problems of History and Economics** (1935), his thesis on **Philip II of Spain and the**

Franche-Comte (1911) is said to be of immense value to historical and interdisciplinary approach to historical events. Henri Berr and Febvre rejected a narrow event-oriented history, but both of them laid stress on critically assessing historical sources. Critically examining the sources, Febvre tried to reconstruct the life of villagers and town-dwellers in a small traditional province in France. In this work he contextualized historical events in terms of geography and environment of the times. By describing Franche-Comte's rivers, salt mines, vineyards and other surroundings, Febvre tried to create a real portrayal of the place and time. By this method he was also able to shed light on the negative influence that the French Government of the time played in the life of this province. This kind of approach to history is known as **histoire totale** or **histoire tout couri**. This work thus serves as a paradigm to the **Annales** in particular and others in general.

It seems Febvre was interested in the study of religious movements. He wrote a book on **Protestantism in the Revue Historique** in 1927, "Une question mal posee", an attempt to popular religion. In this work Febvre tried to observe and quantify human behavior. He did rigorous research and collected enormous amount of material from various monasteries and chapels to study the faith and beliefs of the people and to write about the philosophy of religion. He also evinced interest in the clergy's approach to understanding and translating their views to the people. By doing so Febvre became an ethnologist, a field of study that quantifies human behavior. As time grew, Febvre grew increasingly suspicious of theology. He refused to see people as bound by forces beyond their control. He reached at the view that religion and old ways of thinking were impractical. He wrote, "In the general confusion of our time, old ideas refuse to die and still find acceptance with the mass of the population". At last, he arrived at the conclusion that religious views and attitudes can not be changed: He thought that it could be achieved only by some sort of political or social upheaval. He wanted that people to be educated to free themselves from such dangers. Writing about the great qualities of Febvre, Satish K. Bajaj says that Febvre always wanted to cultivate friendship with other disciplines; he

developed great qualities of respect for his mentor Henri Berr; he was always ready to pick up whatever could illuminate the past; his work on Philip II of Spain was two decades ahead of the Annales school; he was the great propagandist of the Annales School; he defended his school and popularised it with a new style, which after the murder of Marc Bloch achieved nearly tabloid form. He bequeathed his tradition to his disciple Fernand Braudel.

Second Generation:

Fernand Braudel represented the second – the most brilliant – generation of the Annales School. He was trained by Lucien Febvre in his interdisciplinary rigorous social science school. Born in 1902 in a small village of east France in the family of a highly proficient mathematics teacher, Satish K. Bajaj says that Braudel's photographic memory drove him to the study of history, whatever charmed his intelligence and ingenuity. He studied history at the Paris Institute of Political Studies. Starting his career as a teacher, he was able to understand the futility and superficiality of the history that he taught. He was dabbling in different disciplines of scholarship, changing topics and unexplored regions of historical interest. His mind was preoccupied with the French Revolution, the Spaniards and North Africa. At Algiers, he could enjoy the panoramic view of the Mediterranean which made lasting impression in his mind. On the advice of his mentor-guide, he chose to study further the time of Philip II of Spain and the Mediterranean region. Standing at the shores of Algiers, he could see France as the epicenter of Europe, and Italy, Germany and Spain. To quote Satish K. Bajaj, "So, for the next decade or so, at least till the beginning of the Second World War, Braudel remained passionately involved in digging and marshalling source material of the subject of his study".

Imprisoned by the Germans during the Second World War, Braudel got the golden opportunity in captivity to recollect all the sources he had studied, scanned them, planned the thesis and wrote it down on the school note books. This print like memory drew a picture of the Mediterranean in his mind on the space and time; which no traditional historical account seemed to have encompassed. His hard work, though in prison,

yielded him the most significant model of explanation of the Annales School. Recognised as a historic classic, his work on the history of the Mediterranean region at the time of Philip II of Spain contains all aspects of a well thought out research work. As Hexter remarks, "it launched him on his career as central figure in French Historical studies..."

Fernand Braudel has a few more turning points of the Annales School to his credit: They are: (i) Like Karl Marx who perfected his master W.F.Hegel's: Marx "put his master up side down", philosophy of 'Idea as the moving spirit of history', Braudel perfected the method of the Annales School and propagated by making methodological transformation from geo-histoire to histoire evenementielle, symptomatic of what is happening underneath. He viewed that there are also multi-dimensional and haphazard movements that have forgotten that the real history lies in the substrata beneath this stratum, which requires a tremendous skill of reading and scholarship to study.

(ii) Inventor of the Braudel Model: Braudel himself says, "A great history always requires an overall model, good or bad, against which events can be interpreted...". Braudel was in concord with Warner Sombarts saying, "No theory, no history".

Regarding his model, Braudel has himself mentioned in the prefatory remarks of his book the Mediterranean that he has divided his work into three durees (duration or unit of time). They are: (i) Long duree: There is a slow long drawn movement that explains the history of men in relation to geography and climatic environment. These changes are so slow that these are almost imperceptible. They are known as long-range durees for they signify long units of enduring continuities and sweeping movements of time.

(ii) Medium rangr duree: These durees are more mobile than the above mentioned and demonstrate themselves the stage of life history in social forms of various sizes and varied durations, some more stable than others, but all equally determined atleast in part, by the obstinate physical matrix which encloses them.

(iii) Shortest duree: This shortest duree called histoire evenementielle, i.e. the history of the

events, "surface disturbances" or the "foam that the tide of history carries on their strong backs". The form is the political events which he thinks are significant to the extent that it is superficial in character, and the method which contrasts history into narrow frame of human lives to the organic method evolved by Febvre and Bloch.

In his view all the three *durees* are infact, three levels or spheres. They play their roles in everyday material life. In the opinion of Samuel Kinser the trinitarianism of Braudel's design emphasises upon "the near autonomy of each level compared with the nest". Explaining the concept of structure in his words, "Every economy, society and civilization is a world in itself, divided internally and shared unequally among its members. Each of these individual mechanisms must therefore be taken to pieces and put together again to bring out the resemblances, similarities, recording features and hierarchies among their components".

Remarking about the Braudelean *Annales*, J.H. Hexter says, "this *mentalite* became structure, a controlling habit thought so deeply embedded in the minds of the believers that they scarcely subjected it to critical examination". Though nothing is said be novel in the *Annales* analysis, what is novel lies in the structure, a way of tracing the hidden of underneath. In addition, the *Annalistes* have made history more scientific, i.e. a social science, which field has general theories and conceptual framework. In his *Mediterranean*, Braudel has done a remarkable work by effectively showing the intricate relationship of history with disciplines like economics, geography and sociology.

Braudel's whole model makes his study deterministic. Besides other reasons, Kinser says, "Annales Paradigm" refers to economic material structures as historically deterministic. He further says, these materialistic categories obviously preclude the application of ideology. His method is called Braudel model.

Criticisms

After Braudel's death, there was, in fact, no leader to head the school in its real sense. The *Annales* historians, to begin with, took a stand against political history and began making it

interdisciplinary, by embracing all disciplines – social, economic, geographic, anthropologic, ethnographic, psychological, philosophic and legal. However, what they could not

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie:

Coming from a family of highly influential political family of Calvados in France, Le Roy Ladurie was educated at Caen, at the Lyce'e Henri-IV at Paris and at Sceaux at the Lyce'e Lakanal and the E'cole Normale Supérieur and had become a recipient of a doctorate in letters from the University of Paris. He taught at the Lyce'e de Montpellier, the University of Montpellier, the E'cole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, the University of Paris and at the College de France, where he occupied the Chair of History of Modern Civilization. He is now Emeritus Professor. Between 1945 and 1963, he was a member of the French Communist Party (FCP). He left the party after doubts cast by the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. Thereafter, he was preoccupied with his research and writings.

His doctoral thesis, namely, *Les paysans de Languedoc* (1966) Eng.trans *The Peasants of Languedoc* in 1974, depicts the life of the peasantry of Languedoc over several centuries. Ladurie collected voluminous quantitative data, such as tithe, wage, tax, rent and profit records, together with the use of the theories of such thinkers as Ernest Labrousse, Michel Foucault, David Recordo, Fernand Braudel, Claude Levi Strauss, Thomas Malthus, Francois Simiand, Sigmund Freud and Max Weber. Such a vast reading hepainfully undertook only to contend that the history of Languedoc was *l'histoire immobile*. He argued that the history of Languedoc was marked by waves of growth and decline that in essence changed very little over the passage of time. The reason for the no change in Languedoc was not the lack of technological factors, but was more due to culture prevented them from moving forward in technology and farming practices. He found that there were **structures** comprising long-term and slowly changing material and mental patterns which underlined the more dramatic and less important **conjuncture**, a term, the meaning of which is very difficult to understand. Like his predecessor, he believes that it is the history of the **structures** that really mattered. Ladurie also expressed his interest

in biography and the *histoire evenementielle* (history of events) which Braudel dismissed as irrelevant. He made use of the records of interrogations and the only two eye witness accounts of the masses in his study.

The *Annales* model of historical research has dominated French social history and influenced historiography in Europe and Latin America. They include Georges Duby (1919-1996), Pierre Goubert (1915-2012), Robert Mandrou (1921-1984), Pierre Channer (1923-2009), Jacques Le Goff (1924-2014), and Ernest Labrousse (1895-1988). Institutionally, it is based on the *Annales* journal, the SEVPEN publishing house, the Foundation Mission des sciences de l'Homme (FMSH), and especially the Sixth Section of *Ecole Pratique des Hautes études*, all based in Paris. The third generation, though officially not known, led by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1929-), includes Jacques Ravel and Philippe Aries (1914-1984), who joined the group in 1978. The fourth generation of *Annales* historians, led by Roger Chartier (1945-), clearly distanced itself from the mentalities approach, was replaced by the cultural and linguistic turn, which emphasize analysis of the social history of cultural practices. Overcoming all comments and criticisms, some researchers still pursue what the founders intended to follow.

divorce completely was political history. Towards the 1970s, there was a sudden shift to political history and a spurt of works on political history.

Further, the early *Annales* historians proclaimed the death of "historicism". While their successors undertook more and more researches on various aspects of life in Europe, they could not avoid this historicism. It is said that Braudel himself landed in deterministic.

Another point of departure from the path shown by the earlier *Annales* historians could be seen in the choice of short duration of events instead of *long durees*. Micro analysis of micro events replaced the study of macro analysis of macro (long) events.

The aim of the founders of the *Annales* School of achieving 'total history' remains a dream. Marc Bloch once wrote: "There is no history of France, but a history of Europe". But, at a later time, the assertion picked up with Fernand Braudel who immediately added "there is no history of Europe, but a history of the world". Man, British historians, mostly the Marxist historians except a few and the American historians have either deviated or deserted the *Annales* model of history. They either founded their own schools or took a diametrically opposite stand and formulated their own models.

Whatever may be the nature of the criticisms, the *Annales* School has carved out a niche for itself in historiography. The historians are known for their radical thoughts and revolutionary approaches until then unknown and, even if known, unattempted. The credit for formulating the theme of *mentalite* history goes to them.

In brief, the Annalists, laboured to create a 'holistic' history, a kind of 'total history' by following the path of 'long duree'. In this attempt they cried a halt to 'historicism', 'event-oriented', 'document-biased' so called 'objective history', the 'political dominant' Sorbonnite history, but laid much emphasis on the history of the *mentalite*, by seeking the support of other disciplines, and made history, in fact, interdisciplinary. Thereby, they divorced history from the so called scientific approaches and made it truly a 'social science', a subject of study elevated to a respectable position.

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COLONIAL POLICY ON AGRESTIC SERVITUDE IN TAMIL NADU DURING 19th CENTURY

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Agrestic servitude had been in practice in Tamilnadu from time immemorial. Yet it had been recognized as a social listed action during medieval times. This has mainly because of the Medieval agrarian structure in which landowner - ship in Tamilnadu was under the tenurts of vellanvagai (vellil as land owners), Brammadhyas (Greeting of lands to branch mines) Devodhyes (temples as a land owner) and jwitham (homesteads assigned to civil and military officials).¹ Un due course as an effect of political and economic changes a few not all among the sudra communities such as Kallars, Maravars, Pallars and immigrant people of Telugu and Kannada origins have become land owners.² Yet a vast majority among the Juddess and people belonging to lower communities of pallars and parayars were not only landless but acted as producing classes. In producing classes too, although tenancy cultivation was restricted to sudras, many among them also acted as agricultural laborers. But the people belonging to lower communities of pallars and parayars had to be agricultural slave labour without any freedom³. Socially and economically they had been deprived of their rights and segregated from other communities and lived in separate quarters properties of land owners and as such they were attached with land and sold along with land⁴. It was this condition that prevailed in agrarian society when the colonial government assumed power in Tamilnadu and in the year 1801, the whole of Tamilnadu came under the control of company government. Although

the colonial government during the course of its rule in 19th century itself brought many reforms in administration and also introduced some structural changes in agrarian system. It had over taken a definite policy on the social evil of agrestic servitude. On this question its policy was inconsistent and allowed this institution to continue. The purpose of this paper is to analyse this issue.

Colonial Government's attitude on slavery as the beginning of its rule furnishes, the company government at the beginning of its rule, needed money to meet the expenses on conquest and consolidation⁵. To spend on administration in the conquered territory and to spend on conquered. Hence its sole aim was as to collect revenue from the landowners and follow a policy of not disputing the existing system of slavery⁶. The company government was also under the conviction that slavery was an integral part of the society and Indian agriculture would suffer much if agrestic servitude were done away with⁷.

It was this self interest that compelled the company officials to support the landlords in maintaining the existing condition of slavery. To maintain this, the company officials at the beginning of their rule, helped the landlords in many ways. As there was a practice that the slaves could not leave their master's lands, the collectors helped the landlords to catch the run away labourers. For instance, in the year 1830, The collectors of Salem

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requesting him in searching and sending back ten pallans of his district who had escaped to certain villages in Salem district.⁸

Although, the government's attitude at this time was to allow the existing conditions, by 1818, there came a stage for the Revenue Board to bring some legislative measures for the gradual amelioration of slavery in India. This was mainly because of pressure from abolitionists in England. They also felt that "slavery ought to be abolished step by step and the thought that for the present, it would be sufficient to prevent oppression or abuse of authority over slaves."⁹

With this aim in view, the Board of Revenue ordered the collectors in 1819 to enquire into the question of slavery in their respective districts. Accordingly, the collector of Salem observed that, "there is no vestige of whatever of slavery in this collectorate, nor has any such practice obtained from the time, the country came to the possession of Honorable company."¹⁰ In Madura and Dindigul, although slavery had existed, it had been slowly disappearing since the assumption of company.¹¹ The collector of Coimbatore said that slavery existed in a few villages, and "they are on the whole treated well by their masters than the common class of people."¹² The Collector of Tanjore said that "the treatment on the slave by the master is of mild nature. He is not liable to personal punishment."¹³ The Collector of Trichinopoly said that "elsewhere the pallans were at the lowest order of the society involved in wretchedness...." But so far as Trichinopoly concerned, he speaks of the condition of pallers as better.¹⁴

Official reports on slavery prejudicial

Thus from the above reports we come to understand that slavery in Tamilnadu was in mild form. They were treated well by their masters. Really all these are very pleasant to hear. But such statements are half truths. This was mainly because of the official's insincerity and negligence in the preparation of reports. Their policy to allow the existing conditions forced them to give distorted views on this question. In their enquiries, they had not met the members of the lower caste. Instead, they passed on these questions to their Indian subordinates who themselves were not only

landowners but also slave owners.¹⁵ Further, a Brahmin official would never dream of entering a pariah village. His knowledge of "pariah" is therefore acquired at a distance. The Sudra officials too, preferred to keep the pariah village at a distance". Hence reports prepared by government officials would be not only be partial but also prejudicial.¹⁶

To balance the views of government officials, we have to depend upon the non-governmental sources. One such source is the missionary record of J.A. Abbe Dubious who lived and worked among the lower sections of the people in Tamilnadu for thirty years (A.D 1792 - 1823). He had acquired a very intimate and first hand knowledge of these people. He said that "they were worse than the orders of cannibals who wander in the vast waste of South Africa. The pariahs are looked upon by other castes as slaves. Hardly anywhere are they (the paraiyans) allowed cultivating their soil for their own benefits, but are obliged to hire themselves out for the minimum wages. Further their masters may beat them at pleasure.

Buchanan in 1800 reported that "the common diet of a slave consists of boiled grain with little salt and perhaps some pickles. He had little clothing and extremely dirty. Even in 1829, that is 29 years after Buchanan's visit to Tamil country, there was no substantial improvement on the living conditions of serfs.

Even some of the government officials too could not conceal the real facts. In this connection, we have to bring the statement given by one Assistant Judge of Tinnevely district. He said in 1928, "when the slaves are employed in the fields in which they labor with alacrity, they require to be constantly watched and the cane is in constant use".¹⁷ Thomas Baber, a judge of the western provincial court while submitting a report to higher authorities said that there was the practice of amputation of the noses of slaves even for minor offences."¹⁸

Factors leading to emit slavery net of 1843:

When this was the real condition that prevailed in the country during this period, the colonial government did not like the idea of bringing India within the scope of Anti-slavery movement. Yet conditions in England were different. In England,

Evangelists were very strong in denouncing the evils of slavery and caste. They along with the individuals and parliamentarians like Charles Grant and William Wilberforce made a continuous struggle inside as well as outside the parliament for the abolition of slavery legally both in England and elsewhere in British colonies.¹⁹ Vehement oppositions reached its climax in Britain during 1830s and culminated in the famous charter Act of 1833 in which a clause was inserted "all rights over any person by reason of such persons being in a state slavery shall cease"²⁰

On seeing this clause, the company's Board of Directors was pretty alarmed. Some of the officials were still trying to find one or other trivial causes in support of slavery to continue. They even argued that oriental slavery was different from the kind of slaveries in other countries and Indian slavery was not at all slavery. It was also deeply rooted in Indian soil and its sanctions were accepted by the serfs themselves.²¹ Hence they tried to shelve this clause.

But agitations against slavery by the Evangelists in England were going on. In their attack on slavery the question of slavery in India figured most. They even forced the British government to extinguish slavery at once. It was this pressure in England that compelled British government to bring some measures of legislation in India. In 1841 a law commission was appointed.²² But it did nothing for ameliorating the conditions of slavery. It had no adequate knowledge of Indian conditions. It was a badly written document. E.P. Thomas, the judge of Malabar condemned the observations made by the commissioners who said that slavery in India was mild.²³ But to the Humanitarians, this was not sufficient. They were mounting on pressures in England for the complete abolition of slavery. The result was that Act V of 1843 was passed by the government of India. It declared that legal state of slavery would be abolished and no claims to the service of slaves would be upheld in British courts.⁽²⁴⁾

Slavery in New Forms

Yet this had nothing to offer the slave population. This was not also brought to the knowledge of slaves. The only district in the Madras presidency in which active steps were taken to improve the conditions of slavery was Malabar. In all other districts of Madras Presidency, the efforts taken by the government became failure.⁽²⁵⁾ It was only after

the Indian penal code had been passed in 1861 that a man could be punished if found in possession of slaves. It was really the final blow to slavery.

But the pity was that slave communities in India were highly docile and ignorant. As a result slavery assumed in new forms viz.

1. Personal type of slavery

2. Indentured Labour

"Personal type of slavery" implies a contract or agreement by which a man pledged his "labour" in return for money borrowed or simply in lieu of interest. The "contract" was in the form of "sale deed". The contract Act of A.D. 1859 favoured the landowners to exercise control over the slaves. By this act, any breach of agreement under such deed could be punished.²⁶ This deed was known as "Adimai Olai".²⁷ Breaches of contract were severely dealt with in village or taluk courts. The courts treated these slaves as "Debt slavery"²⁸. The contract was written and registered in Registration Offices. As per the contract, the serfs had to receive an amount of paddy or grain every month. He was entitled to receive "Kalavasal" (Fixed amount of produce) during harvest. On festival occasions like Pongal or Deepavali, they were given presents. The income being insufficient to meet obligations the serfs were always forced to get loans from the landlord. The only "Wealth" he possessed was "labour" which he pledged.²⁹ Thus contract became a tool at the command of lords. J.H.A. Trememhere in his work, "A Note on pariahs" gives a number of examples of this type of "sale deeds" in Chingleput district.

Another form of slavery was "indentured labour" by which Indian agricultural labourers were exported to overseas colonies. Hugh Tinker calls this as a "New system of slavery".³⁰ This was the direct consequence of the British capitalists to invest their money on plantation industries in India as well as other colonies. This encouraged the movement of Indian laborers to work as indentured laborers in coffee rubber and sugar plantations in overseas colonies.³¹ The result was that a large number of agricultural slaves mostly belonging to the lower castes emigrated to these countries. Although emigration to these countries started during the first half of 19th century, one could see a spurt in emigration from Trememhere, the collector of Chingleput in his report revealed the methods used

by the Mirasidhars to keep the pariahs in subjection.
³² The Hindu dated 1st October 1891 also gives examples of foul play played by Mirasidhars against pariahs obtaining lands. On seeing this Goudie a missionary said that although slavery was legally abolished, it was more or less continued in practice. ³³

It is true that the government was well aware of all these problems. But it did not take any interest. Thanks to the efforts taken by missionary leaders like Rev. Andrews and officials like Tremenhare and also of the articles published on this question in Newspapers like "The Hindu" and "The Mail" during the period between 1880 and 1891, ³⁴ the British government took up this issue and an act was passed in 30.9.1893 which authorized pariah's ownership of land. Even this minimum relief too had been brought because of the pressures given by organization like Missionaries and exposition of the issues by the Newspaper of that time.

Thus in 19th century, the colonial government adopted a policy to safeguard their own interests and they followed the same policy in the succeeding century too. The result was that agrestic servitude continued not only till the end of colonial rule but has become a thorny question to the present day government. Tamilnadu during the second of 19th century. By 1879, about 117148 emigrants from the Madras Presidency had moved to different countries of Ceylon, Burma, Mauritius and West Indies. ³⁵

Although "indentured labour" was slavery in new form, this had a good effect on the condition of coolies. When compared to the condition of emigrant coolies appeared to be better both socially and economically. Socially they were free from the domination of caste system. The first lesson which the emigrants had to learn was that boarding the ship he had left behind his caste and customs. A British officer remarked that "at Nagapatnam a Brahmin Officer chided at a pariah and the latter replied I have taken of caste and left it with the port officer. I won't put it again till I come back". G.A Greirson offered an explanation by quoting the words of a returned emigrant, "A man can eat anything on board ship. A ship is like temple where there are no caste restrictions. ³⁶ The work on tea plantations too brought freedom from the age old customs.

Economically too, they earned much higher wages than they used to receive as pradeial serfs in their villages. There were a number of cases of people becoming petty land owners in some districts like Trichinopoly, Salem and Madura. In some other districts like Chingleput and Tanjore, pressures from the landlords prevented them from purchasing new lands. The result was that many among them could not become landowners.

The colonial policy this question was not encouraging. It did not like to antagonize the landlords. The result was that the Mirasidhars played all kinds of tricks to prevent these people becoming owners of lands.

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SITUATING HISTORY AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

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Globalization is an umbrella term for a complex series of economic, social, technological, cultural and political changes seen as increasing interdependence, integration and interaction among people and companies in disparate locations. As a term 'globalization' has been used as early as 1944 but economists began applying it around 1981. Theodore Levitt is usually credited with its coining through the article he wrote in 1983 for the *Harvard Business Review* entitled "Globalization of markets".¹ The more encompassing phenomenon has been perceived in the context of sociological study on a worldwide scale.

"Globalization" was first defined at the University of Pittsburgh by sociologist Roland Robertson as "The compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole."² The term "globalization" is used to refer to these collective changes as a process, or else as the cause of turbulent change. The distinct uses include: As an engine of commerce, "corporate imperialism", spread of political sphere of interests to the regions and countries outside the

neighbourhood of political (state and non-state) actors and growth of cross-cultural contacts.

Imparting History in the era of Globalization

A crisis mentality, unfortunately, is not unfamiliar in the context of the teaching of history. One is drawn to Charles Sellers' speech to the American Historical Association in which he asked rhetorically, "Is History on the Way Out of the Schools and Do Historians Care?" For Sellers, the solution was the "new history," with "inquiry" and "process" as its guiding principles.

However, the "inquiry" movement has fallen into disrepute, due to a combination of student lethargy, teacher frustration. Because, the effort of the teacher to cover the sweep of chronological content of the traditional history course while using primary sources, interpretive essays, and questioning strategies to teach the elements of historical thinking. Whatever its virtues, the inquiry method is a remarkably inefficient method of covering large quantities of content. In retrospect, given the history teacher's traditional mandate to "cover the

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material", [syllabus] the results were predictable: an uncertainty on the part of both teachers and students as to the nature and meaning of the real goals of history, and continued loss of popularity and course offerings rather than a surge of interest in a "new history".

How does history speak to this malaise? Students display appalling ignorance of the most basic factual information; they cannot write, and little in their academic experience has taught them to "think." Criticism and condemnation shed much heat but little light on either the nature of the malaise or a remedy for it. Much of the crisis in history is an "identity crisis" for which arguments over turf, status, and blame seem irrelevant at this point. Indeed, history educators would do well to worry more about what kind of history is being taught and how it is being taught.

Certainly labels like the "new history" can be effective in drawing attention to educational efforts and generating interest in a specific area of the curriculum. Rather than search for another device to create a new bandwagon for history, educators might approach the task of improving the study and teaching of the discipline from a different perspective. Perhaps there really is (or was) no "new history"; there is simply *history*—a changing, evolving process that is affected by developments in the wider society as well as those within the discipline itself.

Significant change has characterized the "state of the art" in history over the past decades. The extent and nature of the new developments in the discipline—quantitative studies, local history, oral history, social history focusing on virtually every sort of social group and human activity, psychohistory, history of *mentalite* etc.—need not be detailed here, for these developments are familiar. But these changes, both in subject matter and in methodology, represent key elements in history as it is presently constituted. As such they ought to be incorporated into the pre-college history experience to the extent that students' capabilities allow. Although the objectives of high school history education and those of historical scholarship necessarily differ in important ways, classroom history and "real" history as G. R. Elton has termed it, have traditionally remained too far apart. The "new history" of the 1980s represented, in part, an effort

to bridge this gap, and such an effort clearly should be integral to the teaching of history in the era of globalization.³

The development of a solid background of knowledge as a goal for the teaching of history can be most compatible with an approach to history education based on contemporary research. Whatever the role of content in the curriculum, then, it must be expanded to encompass at least some of the new material that dominates contemporary historical scholarship—topics and areas of social history such as family and childhood, work and leisure, crime and law enforcement, health and medicine, local history, oral history, etc. If history is to be viewed as a changing, evolving process rather than classified as "old," "new," or "new, new," certainly historical content for students ought to reflect this perspective. Further-more, political issues have economic and social implications; and social developments make their impact on a nation's leadership. Students ought to come to know the connections and interrelations, the multiple causes of events and movements. To this end as well, the content of history courses must extend beyond the narrow sphere of a political narrative.

The prospect of teaching "updated" history content raises a number of perplexing instructional issues. The methodology for "updating" history may be as important as the content itself. How, then, is the history teacher to make the process of historical inquiry comprehensible as well as significant to the students? Providing the prerequisite substantive background constitutes only one part of the task of teaching historical method. Other components include, of course, teaching the technical aspects of historical research, e.g., general library skills, quantitative and computer applications, and specialized skills such as interviewing techniques for oral history, and teaching the specific steps that define the process of "doing" history.⁴ But educators must confront an even more challenging task that actually subsumes these procedures—the task of teaching historical thinking.

It would seem that the time is right for educators to reconsider the "crisis" in history from a slightly different perspective: it is possible to view a problem as an opportunity in disguise. Certainly history education has experienced its share of problems. We have lurched from "old" history to

"new" history. We have been criticized for teaching too much content and too little analysis. And most seriously, we have been attacked as irrelevant. These attacks, these problems, represent an important opportunity—an opportunity to examine innovative, well-developed models to define our goals, and to develop curricula faithful to these goals and to the discipline itself.

History and Social Science

Social Sciences methodology rejects the historian's idea of open-minded research by emphasizing that well worked-out models or detailed questions are the only means to real objectivity. One fundamental problem preventing compatibility of history and the social sciences revolves around the confusion over how an historian approaches the past. Despite its origins in the positivist revolt, history has always had a strong idealistic and romantic quality to it. For the historian, all history becomes the history of thought. Unlike the social scientist, who looks at phenomena, the historian looks through them. But the social scientist strives to apprehend the general, the trend, the law. The historian is confronted with a dead record. His data is thrown up to him by a fickle past, whereas, the social scientist can manipulate his subject, can change its complexion, because in reality he is creating the phenomenon to be studied. The historian must attempt to give the past some integrity and wholeness. If he merely counts, he will surely fail. Of course, if he does not know how to count, he may also fail.⁵

Another apparent stumbling block to cooperation between the social sciences and history consists in that tired truism that the historian is concerned with the past and the social scientist with the present or future. The purpose of all knowledge is to extend the range of human understanding at any particular time. Because, rigid utilitarianism of the social scientist as foreign to the more humanistic approach of the historian. Moreover, social science has been rightly influenced by the dictum with a view of discovering laws which will allow a degree of prediction—the hallmark of true science. The historian, by contrast, has no such explicit quest before him. Resistance by historians to becoming social scientists thus rests upon differences in method, in character of data, and in goals of the discipline.

Since the survival of the historical profession may well depend on its accommodation with the social sciences. While the injunction to either ride the tiger of science or end up inside may be too blunt, labeled a romantic posture, historians emphasize the poetic contributions too many facts are the enemy of truth. Moreover, how the historian thinks chronologically is a fascinating study. Hence, it is doubtful that mere method, abstracted from the frame of facts, from life as lived, can be called history. Without such regularity there can be no intelligible discussion of the past. A number of important areas of convergence between history and the social sciences can be pointed out.

Another important contribution made by the social scientists springs from their insistence that historians can make good use of the concepts of the social sciences. Even if historians cannot master the model or statistical techniques of the computer, they can still use the ideas emerging from social research. Lewis Namier has shown what can be accomplished by a quantitative approach to politics.⁶

The social scientists are not trying to destroy the uniqueness of the historian. Using the concepts of sociology does not mean that one becomes a sociologist. Indeed, the pluralists envision a much nobler task for the historian than he has had. Instead of merely grubbing after past details, the historian may also serve as the grand mediator between science and art-humanizing one and formalizing the other. Modern historiography has an opportunity to occupy the throne left vacant with the demise of theology and philosophy. Nevertheless, there are fundamental questions confronting the social science themselves viz: The problem of an outmoded ideology. Positivism established the goals of the social sciences, but few modern social scientists explicitly accept the ideology of positivism with its vision of working for a grand harmony of nature. Social science today ignores questions of purpose to lose itself in techniques.

Paradoxically it is precisely the short-range utilitarian goals or dimension of social science which make it so attractive to our culture. From its very birth the goal of social science has been to develop practical knowledge. It sought not merely to understand the world for its own sake but to change

it, to reform it. The social sciences are ruggedly utilitarian. All of these remarks merely emphasize that history will not solve its philosophical dilemmas by merely adding the technique of the social science.⁷

The historian must confront the problem of assuming freedom of action and also assuming some causality. The historian may reject the notion of law in history; yet without some regularity or order historical generalizations become impossible. Some historians attempt to skirt such a problem by arguing for the principle of colligation. This technique explains events not in terms of cause but in terms of context. But the notion of man in history is clearly a universal. Yet, the dilemma remains. Historians cannot simply form an alliance with the social sciences. The act itself might win temporary salvation because of the utilitarian bias of the present culture. Perhaps the dilemmas on the practical level and philosophical level are intrinsically connected. The problem is how to preserve some sense of historical integrity on a philosophical level which will not make history totally irrelevant on the practical level.⁸

Scientist may satisfy our practical problems only by ignoring our philosophical ones. Such compartmentalization will no longer do. At present two things are needed. We need both a broader concept of knowledge and a more liberal idea of the purpose of knowledge. Historical study is useful not by dissecting the past, but by reconstructing and interacting with it, thus the historian achieves a sense of artistic vision into the nature of reality.

Historian resembles the novelist in his sense of unity. Nevertheless, he never forgets that it is not fiction but life he sees in all its facets. One will never understand the glory of Rome or the drama of the French Revolution by a statistical analysis of economic trends. Such events and institutions are not similar to scientific projects in which the accumulation of parts leads to a whole. We cannot expect to achieve vision by multiplying monographs. The whole of past human events is greater than the sum of its parts, even if all of the parts could ever be distinguished.⁹ Such wholeness cannot be reached without a truly spiritual leap of the intellect. Directly related to this vision of truth as whole is the problem of overcoming the narrow view of knowledge as useful. A study of history may lead to satisfaction of the soul and mind.

The real value of history is its ability to make us think philosophically, to think about the bosom of life-its purpose and meaning, its comedy, its errors, its tragedy. What is the profit of such thinking? As Carl Becker once wrote: history is . . . not scientific but moral, by liberalizing the mind, by deepening the sympathies, by fortifying the will, it enables us to control not society, but ourselves, a much more important thing.¹⁰ How desperately our culture needs such a respite seems all too obvious. Perhaps a study of history can help us temporarily withdraw to consider life, rather than to program it. The prospects, however, are not bright if historians themselves assume the task of magnifiers of the present.

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