

TAMILNADU HISTORY CONGRESS

IV ANNUAL SESSION

**TAMIL UNIVERSITY
THANJAVUR**

August 23 & 24 -1997

Editor

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TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS VOLUME

IV Annual Session
August 23-24, 1997

Department of Sculpture
Tamil University
Thanjavur - 613 005

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

Type Setting&Printing
Delta Offset Printers
Vellicode,
Pin. 629 167,
K.K. District,
Ph. 04651-75457.

Editorial Note

With immense pleasure, we place before you the Proceedings Volume of the Fourth Session of Tamil Nadu History Congress held under the auspices of the Department of Sculpture, Tamil University, Thanjavur, in August 1997. The Tamil University with its lofty towers in the historic city of Thanjavur feels honoured for having given the rare privilege of providing the venue for a busy debating centre of academics, historians and research scholars. The deliberations on the various themes - Political & Administrative, Social & Economic, Art & Culture and Historiography were of a high order and have given material for thought and action to the budding historians.

The articles which we received in time have been included in the Volume. Presented in the four sections of the Conference, they relate to different themes of different regions and periods. These articles point to new areas of study, providing opportunities for promising scholars to ponder over further into the hidden treasures of history. They are valued high in academic circles as something more than what is found in texts.

The Editor records with thanks the assistance he has received from his colleagues Dr. M. Desayar, Dr. J. Alasiar and Dr. B. Maria John in bringing out this volume in time. He also records his thanks to the office-bearers of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for having given him the rare opportunity of editing the Volume. He also thanks the Delta Offset Printers, Vellicode, for the neat execution of the Volume.

Thirunelveli - 12
October 19, 1998

Dr. K. SADASIVAN
Editor

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General President's Address

Professor K.V. Raman

Formerly Professor & Head,

Department of Ancient History & Archaeology,

University of Madras,

Chennai.

At the outset, I must express my sincere thanks to the Tamilnadu History Congress for giving me this honour of presiding over the Fourth Session held in this historic town of Thanjavur. I consider it a great privilege and accept it in all humility. Thanjavur brings to me many happy memories of the opportunities I had to do my humble bit in the arduous task of preserving the Great Temple here when I was in charge of the Archaeological Survey of India, Madras Circle. Now the monument looks absolutely tidy and magnificent beckoning the historians and art-lovers from all over the world. No wonder, it has been included in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Monuments. It is indeed a matter of great pride for all of us. It is quite appropriate that this conference is held under the shadow of this historic monument and that too in the Tamil University.

I wish to take this opportunity to briefly indicate the recent trends and certain problems in the writing of the history of Tamilnadu. One of the most heartening developments is the shift in the focus from the political history and the related genealogical and chronological problems to more absorbing and interesting aspects like the social, economic and cultural life of the people. In the re-

cent times, we are getting more and more archaeological and epigraphical sources for the history of the Sangam Age. Numerous Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions found carved in cave - beds, rocks and also potteries from excavated sites provide fresh light on aspects like place - names, personal - names of donors or patrons, religious institutions and practices, administrative divisions (like Kurram), etc. References to the activities of the trade guilds nigamattor found in inscriptions lend further support to similar references like masattuvar found in literature. The discovery of a signat - ring at Karur with the name of a Tamil caravan merchant leader (Sattan Sattavegi) dated to 1st c. B.C. links Tamilnadu with the commercial network of the neighbouring countries. This commercial network is reinforced by the discovery of silver punch - marked coins in many sites in Tamilnadu even as they are found in all parts of India. This link seems to be a forerunner of the well - known commercial guilds of medieval period like the Nanadesis and Aiohole which played an active role in the internal and external trade in South India including Tamilnadu. The striking presence of ceramic industries like the Black and Red ware, the Russet coated ware, the Rouletted ware all over the South and the Deccan show an almost

homogenous craft / economic pattern. To this can be added the close technological and typological similarities in the know how in other industries like the brick, bead, bangle, glass, shell and the agricultural iron implements and weapons of warfare. I believe that the activities of the merchant and perhaps merchant guilds in Tamilnadu, can be traced back to the Sangam period. This is strongly suggested by the archaeological evidence.

The recent numismatic evidence for the Sangam Age is also illuminating. Square copper coins with the tiger emblem of the Cholas from Kaveripattinam are well - known as also the similar coins with the Pandyan crest of the double fish found at the Vaigai bed Madurai. Now their provenance is attested from the other places too. The former at Arikamedu and Karur and the later (ie. the Pandyan coin) at Alagankulam, the port of the pandyas on the east coast. Similarly, coins with their emblem the bow and arrow have been found in large numbers at Karur. But more significant is the discovery of the coins with the names of the Sangam period kings: like Peruvaludi (Pandyan), Kuttuvan, Malaiyaman and also Atiyaman (by R. Krishnamurthi). All these indicate that the kings of Tamilnadu also issued coins like the Satavahanas, their counterparts. The yupa pillar, horse, etc. may also indicate the ritual affiliation or patronage of the Sangam kings.

Now for the early history of Tamilnadu we not only have the rich corpus of the Sangam and post -Sangam works, but also considerable body of material evidence coming from the several archaeological excavations conducted in

places like Kaveripumpattinam and Uraiyur in Cholanadu, Korkai, Adichanallur and Alagankulam in Pandyanadu, Kanchipuram, Arikamedu and Appukallu in Tondainadu and Karur, Kodumanal, Perur and Adamankottai from the Kongu - Chera Nadus. It represents fairly a good cross section of the important regions of Tamilnadu. It also represents the major eco-systems, the coastal sites, the river plains and the hinterland. The material culture of these places, far flung as they are, show remarkable uniformity. We have now ample evidence regarding several aspects of material equipments and arts and crafts, metal - technology, especially iron and gold, semi - precious stones, bricks and tiles and brick architecture, wharfs and jetties, water reservoir, transport (especially use of horse and wheeled carts), navigation, maritime trade, inter, regional trade, etc. These discoveries now provide a rich source for the study not only of the historians but also of the scientists interested in the history of science and technology. Here there is good field for interdisciplinary study for the historians and the archaeological data and latter to make the scientific analysis of artefacts and to assess the technical know how behind the artefacts. Serious studies in correlating and synthesising the literary and archaeological data to reconstruct our achievements in the fields of material culture and technology have to be undertaken. This effort is equally necessary for the medieval periods also when we get additional data from the epigraphical and numismatic sources. More and more ancient sites have to be systematically excavated before it is too late. I

have to record with much regret that an important and extensive Indo-Roman site viz. Kudikadu near Cuddalore where I put a few trial digs in 1980s has now become a sprawling industrial complex. Another Arikamedu site has been lost for ever.

Another recent trend in the interpretation of the historical developments concerns the formation of State. Here, though the many models are sought to be applied to Indian and Tamilnadu situation, often they do not give fully satisfactory equation because of the local variables. Though this effort is welcome, caution is needed first to document the evidence first based on which the general conclusions or the model may be envisaged. At the same time, we should not ignore our own contemporary thoughts and perceptions on this problem. As pointed out by R.S. Sharma, it is remarkable that "in spite of centuries of progress and change, Kautilya's concept of State has stood the test of time. According to him the State comprises of seven elements namely, the Sovereign (swami), minister (amatya), populated territory (janapada), fort (durga), treasury (kosa), coercive (danga), and allies (mitra). This ancient view of the State broadly covers its modern constituents, which include sovereignty, government of bureaucracy, territory and population". (The State and Varna formation in Mid - Ganga Plains, Varanasi, 1996). Thiruvalluvar in his Kural outlines exactly the same definition of a State in his famous section of Iraitatci

Patai kuti kul amaiccu natpu aran arum
Utaiyan arasarul eru. (Kural 381)

He equates the State with the king and makes the other six elements as king's limbs.

The traits of the early State postulated by a modern perceptive analysis (Henri, J.M. Classen and Peter Sklanite (ed.), The Early State, 1978) remarkably agree with the ones postulated by the Arthasastra and the Kural. But there are a few differences, eg. Classen's definition does not include in the fort, bureaucracy and allies. Instead it included a common ideology for the State or the king on which the legitimacy of the ruling class is based. As pointed out by R.S. Sharma, though there is no place for ideology in the ancient Indian definition, the aims and ideals to be followed by the king are often stated. In this context, the Kural's ideals for a king (State) are very significant since they contain high moral qualities which also would give legitimacy to his authority and make him worthy of respect. The traits outlined by him are valour, impartiality in upholding justice and righteousness (aram), protect the territory and the peoples welfare (kuti ompal), develop the economic welfare of the State, charity (ikai) or mercy. This ideology expressed by the Kural can indeed be taken as the ideology set for the State in the Sangam period. By no stretch of imagination that such a king can be described as a "tribal cheif". This ethical / moral ideology was the set for the State, irrespective of its size. Though monarchy has been abolished and replaced by democratically elected governments the ethical and moral ideology laid down by the Kural for the rulers and the citizens remain relevant even today.

Another significant and praiseworthy aspect of administration in medieval history of Tamilnadu was the local - self government represented by the village assemblies (sabhas) and their constituent variyams or committees to look after various aspects of the village life. Nowhere in South India or indeed India do we get such a fine picture of the grass - root level administration as we get in the famous inscriptions of Uttaramerur in Tondaimandalam and Manur in Pandynadu. But they were not isolated instances. Glimpses of many more such village assemblies are available. We need a concerted effort to consolidate all the available data regarding the village assemblies during the Pallava, Pawdya, Chola and Vijayanagra periods and also examine the causes for their decline. Information about assemblies and the State and its officials as also the local temple administration need further careful documentation and analysis. This issue becomes relevant today in the context of the recent introduction of the Panchayat raj in our country. Our objective would be to achieve social justice with social harmony.

We are meeting in the Golden Jubilee year of our independence and naturally our thoughts go back to the great freedom fighters who shed their life for the liberation of our country. Every region has responded to the clarion call from the great leaders like Balagangadhara Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawarhalal Nehru and Netaji Bose. The part played by Tamilnadu was heroic and historic; pioneers like V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subrahmanya Siva, Bharatiyar down to

the later stalwarts like Rajaji and Kamaraj worked day and night for the great cause of liberation. But there were innumerable soldiers in the struggle coming from every nook and corner of Tamilnadu whose heroic deeds have not yet been fully recorded. There are still many untold and poignant stories and unsung heroes. There is need to write the history of freedom movement at micro level, district - wise or taluk - wise, so that the present youth and the future generation may know this great saga of sacrifice. Still there are a few old veteran freedom fighters living in their humble Gandhian way from whom much oral history can be obtained regarding the local history. In fact, it would be commendable to establish a section for the history of freedom movement in every district museum which would act as a source of inspiration for our youths.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words regarding the teaching of history to the school, the graduate and post graduate levels. One of the problems faced by us is how to make the subject popular and interesting. My experience tells me that the interest of the students or researchers can be held only by field study and visit to historic sites, monuments, museums and Archives, handling historic relics like coins, inscriptions or manuscripts. It is the best way to create and sustain the interest of the students. Field exploration and on-the-spot study and explanation followed by the preparation of the field notes and project reports and discussion according to different levels of students would help in kindling the interest and awareness of the students. This would call for

greater efforts on the part of the teachers. We should take advantage of the audio-visual aids and prepare exhibitions and cassettes on the historical sites, events, personalities and project them in an interesting manner. Our schools and colleges are poorly equipped in this respect.

Well, friends! there are many such fields and areas awaiting further research

for the historians of Tamilnadu. I would like to close my address with an appeal. Let us dedicate ourselves to the writing of the history and culture of our country with legitimate pride and objectivity, keeping always a pan - Indian perspective.

Thank you all and wish you all for a fruitful conference.

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY SECTION

President's Address

Professor N.K. Narayanan

*Former Principal and Head of the Department of History
Pachaiyappa's College, Chennai.*

President of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, General Secretary, Section Presidents, Members of the Executive Committee and fellow scholar - delegates.

I deem it an honour to preside over the Political and Administrative History Section of the Fourth Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress which is being held in this historic Chola city of Thanjavur.

Thanjavur had been the centre of politics, the echoes of which are found in the legendary figures of the Imperial Chola monarchs. Thanjavur has played a pivotal role in the political and administrative history of Tamil Nadu. Hence, I regard it is all the more privileged to be here this day.

We are in an era of historical writings, where the concept of political history has lost its position of pre - eminence. In its place social, economic and cultural history has gained considerable significance. It is not a matter of regret, but of historical reality. However, politics and political activism have been increasing and it is politics which governs almost all spheres of activities. Hence, the importance for Political History has been sustained as ever, in fact, with added force and dimensions.

Political and Administrative history

have never remained the same. The discourse has varied from simple narratives to theory oriented frameworks. Infact, it will not be out of place to sight the development of political history out of the impact of sciences and scientific history which paved the way for "historicism" of fact - based history with its added emphasis on accuracy. In this realm, the discoveries of new sources, particularly in ancient history, in the form of new epigraphical evidences have illuminated hither to dark areas of history. In some places they have straightened commonsense assumptions. This is very much true of the political histories of India north of the Vindhyas. However, the same may not be said of the extreme end of the southern peninsula. This is inspite of the fact that some good work is being done in Universities like Thanjavur where new data is added by way of epigraphical interpretations of existing facts or unearthing new sources thus providing fresh perspective to the ancient and medieval history of Tamil Nadu.

Association of ideology with the interpretation of early Indian polity is not of recent origin. The roots can be traced to the very beginnings of modern historical investigations into India's past. These have been classified as the "Imperialist" and "Nationalist" Schools of historians. While

the "imperialists" emphasised the accelerated pace of "Westernisation" of Indian institutions, the "nationalists" pleaded for the revival of all those ancient institutions of India which the modern West has been able to develop only very recently.

Till very recent times, the approach that was brought to bear upon the study of early polity in India can be identified as primarily a study of government and the government was viewed as all in all. However, what is conspicuous by its absence is the fact that a government grows out of a specific social situation within which it functions and thus can be understood only in reference to that social situation. Attempts to understand the polity against the perspective of economic and social dimensions began in the fifties. Of late, considerable attention has been paid to the problem of state formation. In these accounts the social formations that provided the necessary background for the process of the growth of state have been mapped in detail.

This undoubtedly is the result of the changing concept of history the world over in the late fifties and early sixties of this century, when historical writing came to be influenced by the needs of a more integrated approach to history. To be precise, the inter - disciplinary approach views history as not merely a succession of political events, but as a process of the interaction of various factors, political, economic, social and geographical and, not the least, ideological.

However, it is needless to point out, the works of pioneers like K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, T.V. Mahalingam, K.K. Pillai, and others remain the most authoritative

political histories for the pre-modern period. Their authenticity is based on their diligent use of the source material provided by the untiring efforts of epigraphists and archaeologists, who not only discovered the sources but also read and interpreted them with their special equipment and expertise in language and palaeography.

The lacunae one could find in such studies is the absence of conceptual and integrated framework. This is particularly seen in the works on polity and administration, where aspects of socio-political organisation are treated as isolated categories with no interaction or inter - connection whatsoever.

It is against this background that the significance of the emergence of a new trend during the last three decades needs emphasis. Such new approaches challenged hitherto existing theories on the State during the medieval period and shook the historians out of their complacent attitude towards the traditional histories. For instance, Burton Stein and his fellow American scholars exposed the contradictions in the characterisation of the medieval Tamil State as highly centralised such as the Chola government which had at the same time democratically organised local assemblies or "village republics". Burton Stein has set forth the theory of the "segmentary state" as an alternative model of political organisation to the holistic model of the centralised State theory juxtaposed with "local - self government" in traditional historiography. However, it needs reiteration that the theory of "segmentary state" has not found acceptance as it has not been backed by a strong empirical base.

At the same time, a refreshingly new breeze has set in with the commendable work done by the Japanese - Indian team led by N. Karashima using the statistical method and quantifying epigraphic data by computerising it. The administrative history of the Chola State has received a fresh look by their work on the revenue terms and personal names in Chola inscriptions. They have brought out useful evidence on the taxation system and the prevalence of a bureaucratic organisation under the Cholas. Thus they provided a major argument against Stein's assumption of the non-existence of a bureaucracy and hence the absence of centralisation.

Thus studies of the above variety follow the somewhat traditional pattern of data collection, classification and interpretation. They are more useful in that they are made up by better theoretical frameworks and awareness of the debate on concepts like feudalism and segmentary state.

It has been generally held that in spite of south India's size, wealth and contemporary importance, very little of its colonial history has been written. There are quite large tracts of nationalist history in Tamil Nadu yet to be written. For instance, Sumit Sarkar has expressed his exasperation that very little research work has come up on political movements in Tamil Nadu apart from Washbrook's work.

The other area which has been marginalised is the history of national movement in Tamil Nadu. Though there are works on the national movement in Tamil Nadu, they are few and this has

given rise to the contemplation that Tamil Nadu has played a less significant role in the nationalist movement. In fact, the archival records, private papers available at the National Archives of India and Nehru Memorial Museum Library, New Delhi, have a different tale to tell. A well-connected history of the freedom movement in Tamil Nadu covering the different stages such as the early popular anti-colonial struggles, the successive stages of the nationalist movement need second and thorough probings. Because, after 1920s the political history of Tamil Nadu had become polemic in character with the on going struggle against the British Raj on the one hand and the emergence of Justice Party, with its Dravidian ideology on the other. Most of the significant works have analysed in detail the latter issue not taking into consideration the inter-active role played by both political issues in the formation of the modern state of Tamil Nadu.

Nevertheless, the historiography on the colonial period underscored issues such as Nationalism, Dravidian Movement and the British Revenue Policy, Police Administration, Health Measures and Labour Movements. The polemic conditions in society found reflected in the politics of the state. Thus, we note two themes diametrically opposite to each other finding favour with the historians as the major themes. They are issues connected with the early stages of Anti-Colonial Struggle, National Movement and issues pertaining to the political rights of the people who were placed socially in the lower hierarchy.

Yet another significant aspect with

regard to Tamil Nadu history has been that the pioneering works initially have come from scholars abroad. Thus we find the Cambridge historians, scholars from Oriental and African Studies and different institutions in U.S.A. have richly contributed to the colonial historiography of Tamil Nadu. However, such works have been recently subjected to the criticism that they are basically elite in their approach leaving aside the subaltern history.

For instance, the concept such as the "Indian Faction" and "faction politics" are the result of Cambridge scholars historiographical practice which have been a subject of much contestation and critical scrutiny. The faction theorists have claimed that politics in India is constituted around factions which are formed vertically through patron - client nexus which is opposed to the horizontally shared identities by narrow economic and short-term power interests instead of commitment to varying ideologies. Critical scholarship on such theorisation has established that it is anchored in structural functionalist methodology and behaviourist assumptions.

Furthermore, Ranajit Guha, the torch - bearer of subaltern historiography has shown how the Cambridge School has conflated the biography of the coercive colonial state and its Indian elite collaborators as the history of colonial India. Moreover, for him, such exclusionary history, given its neo-colonial moorings and by the strategy of silencing anti-colonial and other contestation by the subaltern classes represents colonialism as a hegemonic system based on the consent of the colonised.

This is in reality a contest between modernism and post-modernism, a contest between elite historiography and subaltern approach, a question of enlightenment rationalism (modernism) and radical histories (post - modernism). The profound influence of post - modern theorists such as Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault could be found in the concepts such as the "hegemony" and "discursive rules" "knowledge /power" inter - play. However, it should be worth noting that the Subaltern Studies, the Gramsci inspired series on history that became influential in the 1980s, has recently come on for a substantial amount of hostile criticism on the ground that such historiography has come under the baleful influence of deconstructive, post-structuralist and post-modernist philosophy. Further, it has been stated that the real importance of post - modernism lies in its theoretical impact on political practise. As such, it forbids socialism, encourages bourgeois democracy and allows fascism. In fact, subaltern approach is a critique of the rationalism that marked the European Enlightenment i.e., modernism.

Hence, vast stretches of the political and administrative history of Tamil Nadu need reinterpretation and reorientation. It is true that such reorientation and reinterpretation will certainly be influenced by the existing debates on theories and concepts. However, what should not be lost is the sight of history. After all, as the great French historian Marc Bloch said "understanding is the basis of all knowledge". Hence, the foremost task is to understand history.

I. N. A. FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF MAYILADUTHURAI

- A REVIEW

Dr. K. Vijaya

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In the history of the Indian freedom struggle, the Indian National Army occupies a place of pride. Subash Chandra Bose, took over the charge of the Azad Hind Fauj from Rash Behari Bose, reorganised it and gave Indian names to the various wings and brigades. Thus Subash made JNA nationally, spiritually and practically an Indian Army.

It is to be noted that in different phases of our National history, common people of the country participated in several mass movements, both non-violent and violent. As a tribute to the Golden Jubilee Year of Indian Independence and to recall the glorious deeds of great freedom fighters, an attempt is made here to review the role of INA freedom fighters with particular reference to Mayiladuthurai as a regional study, which part has not been dealt with earlier. The objective of this paper is to delineate the role of INA Freedom fighters and their forum in Tamil Nadu. The paper seeks to explicate this role in the light of what "Netaji" had expected the INA to play in the final phase of Indian freedom struggle.

After the Quit India Movement had been put down, there was scarcely any political activity in the country except for Bose organising the I.N.A. (Azad Hind

Fauj(or) Indian National Army) and joining hands with Japan and Germany for the liberation of India. Bose sought to utilise the impending Second Global War to snatch India's freedom from the British. He believed that England's possible loss in it would be India's gain and so when England was at war, it would be most advisable to align with the forces on the opposite side of the fence.¹

Hence with deeply calculated and tactical step, in March 1941, Bose secretly left India to Germany and Japan to seek their help in India's struggle for freedom. He made an agreement with Germany, Italy and Japan to release India from bondage of rule. He formed INA in 1941 with 4,000 Indian prisoners of war who had been left behind withdrawal from Malaya, Burma, Singapore, etc.²

In order to encourage women to achieve their own emancipation, he took the most revolutionary steps of raising the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in October 1943 at Singapore. Hundreds of exuberant Indian women and girls who were mostly the labourers of Rubber Plantations abandoned their sheltered existence joined the ranks of freedom fighters. They were given the most intensive training, including rifle and bayonet -

charge practice. Dr. Lakshmi Swaminathan became the commandant of Rani of Jhansi Regiment.³ Late. Marimuthammal of Mayiladuthurai was one of the active members of this regiment.

INA men and women were not only qualified as effective army personnel but also they were ideologically equipped to play collectively the decisive role of a liberation army in the final stage of the struggle. "Netaji" had consistently urged on the INA to fight against the British forces to the last and leave a record of unparalleled bravery.⁵

Though there are many INA freedom fighters all over the country this regional study focuses only on the town of Mayiladuthurai.

INA military camps were opened all over East Asia for the speedy training of Indian civilian youths. These camps became inspiring force of a number of Indian youths who turned out soldiers by the thousands after intensive military training. At this juncture, P. Govindarajan (a) P. Raj, (of Mayiladuthurai), who went to Saigon for the sake of employment, inspired by the patriotic leadership of "Netaji", joined the military in 1940 at the age of 21.⁶ Likewise Muthu, Somu, Murugappan, Rayar Nadar of Mayiladuthurai joined the army. Training was given to them at first in Hongkong. Then they were sent to Singapore for further training.⁷ These INA men rose upto the expectation of "Netaji" and waged a relentless struggle against the British forces with an inspiring determination till the end.

INA soldiers were in close pursuit of machine guns and they succeeded in sinking 16 of the enemy's boats in 1942.⁸ They were imprisoned several times in their fight for freedom. At prison they were ill-treated by the jailers, were not fed with sufficient food and drink and they survived with great difficulty.⁹

The INA fighters of Mayiladuthurai, witnessed the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by "Netaji" on 21st October, 1943. "Netaji" addressed a mammoth rally of Indians, civilians and soldiers, and took a solemn pledge from them that they would sacrifice their life in waging the war for the liberation of India. In a few days, nine countries - Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, National China, the Philippines and Manchuria - accorded their recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This move stirred up an anti-British revolt in Eastern India, was regarded by the post-war British military historians as a distant possibility.¹⁰

Among the above mentioned personnels, Govinda Raj rose to the position of Lieutenant of INA and rest of them were active members of this Army.

The ferocious struggles of INA met an end with the sudden demise of its leader in an air crash in Formosa on August 18, 1945, enroute to Japan. The final scenes of the INA were held in India where the famous Red Fort trials of major General Shah Nawaz, Col. Sangal and Col. Dhillon, on the charge of waging war against the British king, roused the entire

country to frenzied enthusiasm and torched of anti- British riots and a Naval Mutiny. Not long after , on August 15th 1947, India became independent.

The unparalleled sufferings and sacrifices of "Netaji" and the INA to the cause of India's freedom had evoked the respect and admiration of the people all over the world, more particularly of South East Asian Nations.

These persons who have contributed largely to the Indian freedom are continuing their services towards the socio-economic upliftment of independent India by forming an All India Forum, the branch of which renders laudable services in Tamil Nadu. The origin, growth as well as the appreciable services of their organisation are brought forth in the following pages.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF INA FORUM IN TAMIL NADU:

In 1972, the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi announced the central government's of pension scheme for the freedom fighters, mainly as a tribute to their heroic deeds. This scheme was denied to the INA military personnels, and hence members of INA convened a conference at Delhi under the leadership of Gen. Mohan Singh. One among the various decisions taken in the conference was to unite all the members of INA throughout Tamil Nadu. Among those who participated Lt. P. Govindaraju and Muthu of Mayiladuthurai played a vital role in decision making.¹¹

As a result , INA members were united and Tamil Nadu INA Forum was set

up in 1974 at Madras under the president-ship of Col. K.J. Somasundaram with S. Appadurai as vice - president and Lt. K.V. Chandran as general secretary. It is also noteworthy that Lt. Govindaraju of Mayiladuthurai is one of the active governing body members of this Forum till date. Two branches of this forum were established at Thanjavur and Pattukottai.¹²

The INA Forum of Tamil Nadu has passed through a fairly good year in achieving its main objective, viz. in getting the State and the Central INA pensions due to the untiring efforts of its president and cordinal co- ordination of its members. Government of India under Smt. Indira Gandhi and Government of Tamil Nadu under M.G. Ramachandran in 1980 were sympathetic and considerate towards INA freedom fighters in raising their pension.¹³

This forum is conducting successfully District level conferences and Annual Business meetings regularly to discuss the problems of INA members. It also attempted to solve the socio - economic problems of the state to the possible extent. Following were the noteworthy activities of the forum.¹⁴

(i) Providing all possible relief to the affected people at the time of National calamities like famine and flood.

(ii) Settlement of family disputes of the Members of INA as well as the public in a peaceful way among the villagers.

(iii) Due encouragement and financial aid for setting up of educational and technical institutions more particularly in rural areas.

(iv) To secure job opportunity to the sons and daughters of the freedom fighters.

(v) To pay tribute and homage to the freedom fighters for their tremendous sacrifice for the sake of the country.

This organization is engaging itself in variegated socio- economic activities which are best utilised at the grass- root levels.

Conclusion :

By analysing the above facts, it is revealed that in spite of differences in religion, language and ethnicity there was an underlying unity amidst diversity among the members of INA. No doubt, there was a common goal at the time, namely freeing the country from the British rule. "Netaji" captured the hearts of the soldiers with his deep personal interest in their welfare through his visits to INA camps, hospitals and even messes. No wonder, the INA soldiers adored "Netaji" and were ready to lay down their lives for him. Despite being old in their age these freedom fighters of Mayiladuthurai feel young at their hearts with more vigour and courage.

There was another more significant result of INA's brave fight. It was a sign that the British might was not unassailable. Their final decision to Quit India under pressure from Gandhi - led mass movement had no less to do with the realisation of the possibility of an armed revolt.

According to "Netaji", the Government of Free India should be a socialistic one suited to the ethos of our country and not a blind imitation of any other country.

He stressed that we should create an egalitarian society with equal opportunity for education, employment and shelter for all with no discrimination of caste, creed or gender. It is the greatest tragedy of our time that he did not live to see India attaining independence though he was one of the important architects of free India.

The members of INA always exhibited admiration and respect for women and felt that women have not been granted their due place and given equal rights in the present society. They regarded the exploitation of women as a blot to our National life. They wished to fulfil the dream of their leader with regard to the emancipation of women.

The INA Forum tread on the path of their revered leader and strive to give practical shape to his cherished ideals. The socio- economic measures of the Tamil Nadu INA Forum should be brought to the lime light by every citizen of this state with the possible financial aid and social service, so as to reach the common mass. Further, to tackle our chief national problem relating to eradication of poverty, illiteracy and emancipation of women, we should work on the socialistic lines espoused by "Netaji" in INA Forum.

To commemorate the services of the freedom fighters, the Government of Tamil Nadu has now announced the doubling of their pension which is a striking feature. Likewise the State should come forward with more number of schemes for their selfless and tireless services and also in the herculean task of empowering the Nation.

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தஞ்சையும் நாஞ்சிலும் டாக்டர் எஸ். பத்மநாபன்

பொதுச்செயலாளர், கன்னியாகுமரி வரலாற்றுப் பண்பாட்டு ஆய்வு மையம்,
நாகர்கோவில் - 629 001.

தமிழகத்தின் நெற்களஞ்சியமான தஞ்சையும், நஞ்செய் கொழிக்கும் நாஞ்சிலும் தமிழ்த்தாயின் இரு கண்களாகும். இவை இரண்டும் தமிழனின் வரலாற்றுக் களங்கள், தமிழின் கலைக் கருவூலங்கள். தஞ்சையைக் காவிரியும், நாஞ்சில் நாட்டைப் பழையாறும் வளப்படுத்துகின்றன. தஞ்சையை ஆண்டவன் சோழன். நாஞ்சிலை ஆண்டவன் பொருநன். நாஞ்சில் நாடு இன்றைய குமரிமாவட்டத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாகும். சங்க காலத்திலிருந்தே சோழ நாட்டிற்கும், நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிற்கும் அரசியல் தொடர்பு இருந்தது என்பதை சங்க இலக்கியங்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. சங்க காலத்திலே நடந்த போர்களில் பெயர் பெற்றது தலையாலங்கானத்துப் போர். அப்பெரும் போரிலே நாஞ்சில் நாட்டை ஆண்டுவந்த பொருநன் மற்றும் திதியன், எழினி ஆகியோர் சோழனோடு சேர்ந்து தலையாலங்கானத்துச் செருவென்ற பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனை எதிர்த்தான் என்ற செய்தியை நக்கீரரின் அகநானூற்றுப்பாடல் ஒன்று நமக்குத் தெரிவிக்கிறது.¹ சோழ மன்னனோடு இணைந்து பாண்டியனை எதிர்த்து நின்ற பொருநன், திதியன், எழினி ஆகிய மூன்று குறுநில மன்னர்களும் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டைச் சார்ந்தவர்களாகும் என்று வரலாற்று வல்லுநர் டாக்டர். கே. கே. பிள்ளையவர்கள் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.² நாஞ்சில் பொருநனையும்³ வாட்டாற்று எழினியாதனையும்⁴ புற நானூற்றுப்பாடல்கள் கூறுகின்றன.

தஞ்சைக்கும் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிற்கும்

சங்க காலத்திலே இருந்து வந்த தொடர்பு பிற்கால சோழர்கள் காலத்திலும் தொடர்ந்தது என்று சோழர் வரலாற்றிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. நாஞ்சில் நாடு பிற்கால சோழர்கள் ஆட்சியில் 50 ஆண்டுகாலம் இருந்தது என்றும், சோழ மன்னர்களின் பிரதிநிதிகள் அதனை ஆண்டு வந்தனர் என்றும் கல்வெட்டுக்கள், ஊர்ப்பெயர்கள் இவற்றிலிருந்து நாம் அறியலாம். சோழர்களின் ஆட்சி நாஞ்சில் நாடு முழுவதும் இருந்தது என்பதை சோழபுரம், சோழநல்லூர் என்ற ஊர்களும், தேரூர் அழகிய சோழ நங்கை கோயிலும், ஒழுகினசேரி சோழராஜா கோயிலும், வடசேரி மும்முடி சோழ விநாயகர் கோயிலும், பழையாற்றிலே கட்டப்பட்டுள்ள சோழன் கட்டு அணையும், குமரி மாவட்டத்திலே ஆங்காங்கே கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுக்களும் சான்றுகளாக நிற்கின்றன. சோழனை “குமரித்துறைவன்” என்று மூவருலா அழைப்பதும், குமரித்துறையை “இராஜ ராஜேஸ்வரம்” என்றும் “கங்கை கொண்ட சோழபுரம்” என்றும் கன்னியாகுமரி கல்வெட்டுக்கள் குறிப்பிடுவதும் குமரித் துறையோடு தஞ்சைச் சோழர்கள் கொண்டிருந்த தொடர்பினை உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றன.

நாஞ்சில் நாட்டின் சில பகுதிகள் முதல் பராந்தகன் (கி.பி. 907 - 955) ஆட்சியின் கீழ் இருந்து வந்ததாக சுசீந்திரம் ஆலயத்துக் கல்வெட்டிலிருந்து நாம் அறியலாம்.⁵ முதல் பராந்தக சோழன் காலத்திய கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று கன்னியாகுமரி குகநாதேஸ்வரர் கோயிலில் கிடைத்துள்ளது என்று திருவிதாங்கூர்

கல்வெட்டுக்களைப் பதிப்பித்த அறிஞர் டி.எ. கோபிநாதராவ் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.⁶

முதல் பராந்தகனின் மூத்த மகன் இராஜாதித்தன். அவன் இளவரசனாக இருக்கும் போதே பகைவர்களால் வஞ்சகமாகக் கொல்லப்பட்டான் என்பது வரலாறு. இவனை யானைமேல் துஞ்சிய இராஜாதித்தன் என்பர். இவனுக்கும் குமரி மண்ணிற்கும் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு இருந்தது என்பதை கல்வெட்டுக்கள் கூறுகின்றன. இராஜாதித்தன் படையில் மலை நாட்டிலுள்ள பல வீரர்கள் இருந்தனர் என்று தெரிய வருகிறது. மலை நாட்டைச் சார்ந்த இரவிகோதை, இயக்கன் இராமன், மணக்கரை கந்தன் காமன் உட்பட பல படைவீரர்களின் பெயர்களை அவன் காலத்திய கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று கூறுகின்றது.⁷ மணக்கரை குமரி மாவட்டத்தில் வில்லுக்குறியை அடுத்துள்ள ஒரு சிற்றூர். மலை நாட்டு வீரர்கள் பலர் சோழர் படையிலே இருந்தனர் என்ற செய்தி சிந்திப்பதற்குரியது. மட்டுமல்ல இராஜாதித்தன் காலத்தில் அவன் படைகளுக்கெல்லாம் தலைமை பூண்டிருந்தவன், குமரி மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள திருநந்திக்க கரையைச் சார்ந்த வல்லன்குமரன் என்பவன். இதனை “இராஜாதித்த தேவர் பெரும்படை நாயகர் மலைநாட்டு நந்திக்கரை புத்தரர் வல்லன்குமரன்” என்ற கல்வெட்டுத் தொடர் உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றது.⁸ சோழநாட்டுப் படையின் தளபதி வல்லன்குமரன் பெயரால் எழுந்த ஊர்தான் குமரிமாவட்டத்தில் கோட்டாற்றை அடுத்துள்ள வல்லன்குமாரவிளை. வல்லன் குமாரவிளையை அடுத்து வையாளிவிளை என்ற ஓர் ஊர் உள்ளது. வையாளி என்றால் குதிரை ஓட்டுபவனை அல்லது தேரோட்டியைக் குறிக்கும். அதனால் வையாளிவிளை என்பது குதிரைகளுக்கு அணிவகுப்புப் பயிற்சி நடத்தும் இடமாக இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும்.⁹ இராஜாதித்தன் அன்னையார் கோகிலன் என்று வரலாறு

கூறும்.¹⁰ இவரது பெயர் மலைநாட்டிலுள்ள திருவல்லாவில் கிடைத்துள்ள செப்பேட்டில் இடம் பெறுவதால் இவர் மலைநாட்டைச் சார்ந்தவர் என்று கருதுவார் உண்டு.¹¹

இராஜராஜ சோழன் காலத்தில் குமரி மாவட்டப் பகுதிகள் முழுவதும் அவன் ஆட்சிக்குட்பட்டிருந்தது என நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. இராஜராஜ சோழன் 28 ஆண்டுகள் (கி.பி. 985-1014) இந்த நாட்டை ஆண்டு வந்தான் என்பது வரலாறு. இவனது ஆட்சியின் பல்வேறு காலங்களில் எழுந்த கல்வெட்டுக்கள் குமரிமாவட்டத்திலே காணப்படுகின்றன. அவனது எட்டாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு திருசரம்கோப்பிலும், பத்தாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு சுசீந்திரத்திலும், பதினைந்தாம் ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு கன்னியாகுமரியிலும், பதினெட்டாம் ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு கோட்டாற்றிலும், திருநந்திக்கரையிலும், இருபத்தேழாம் ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு கடிகைப்பட்டினத்திலும் கிடைத்துள்ளன.¹²

சுசீந்திரம் ஆலயத்தில் கிடைத்துள்ள இராஜராஜசோழன் காலத்திய கல்வெட்டுக்கள் தென்குமரியில் சோழர் ஆதிக்கம் எவ்வாறு வளர்ச்சி அடைந்தது என்பதை தெரிவிக்கின்றன. இராஜராஜ சோழனின் பத்தாவது ஆட்சி ஆண்டில் தோன்றிய கல்வெட்டு “நாஞ்சில் நாட்டுத் திருச்சிவந்திரம்” என்றும், பதினான்காம் ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு “இராஜராஜ வளநாட்டுத் திருச்சிவந்திரம்” எனவும், பதினைந்தாம் ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு “இராஜராஜ பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழ வளநாட்டுத் திருச்சிவந்திரம்” என்றும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. இக்கல்வெட்டு தொடர்களிலிருந்து நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலே படிப்படியாக சோழர்கள் ஆதிக்கம் வளர்ந்து பின்னர் நாஞ்சில் நாடு முழுவதையும் அது கைப்பற்றியது என அறியமுடிகிறது.¹³

கன்னியாகுமரி என்ற பெயரைக் கேட்டதும் அங்கு தவம் செய்து நிற்கும்

குமரியம்மனின் பேராலயம், கடலின் நடுவே கம்பீரமாகக் காட்சி தரும் சுவாமி விவேகானந்தர் நினைவாலயம், கடற்கரை மணலிலே காணப்படும் காந்தி மண்டபம் இவைதான் பலரது நினைவுக்கு வரும். ஆனால் சோழர் காலத்தில் சிறப்புடன் திகழ்ந்த குகநாதேஸ்வரர் ஆலயத்தை பலர் அறியார். இக்கோயில் சோழர் கட்டடக் கலையில் இராஜராஜ சோழனால் புதுப்பிக்கப்பட்டது என்று அறிய முடிகிறது. குகநாதேஸ்வரர் ஆலயத்தில் கிடைத்துள்ள¹⁶ கல்வெட்டுக்களை தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறையினர் பதிப்பித்துள்ளனர். அவற்றுள் 10 கல்வெட்டுக்கள் அந்த ஆலயத்தை “இராஜராஜேஸ்வரம்” என்று தான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. மூவரை “திருபெந்தீஸ்வர முடையார்” என்று கல்வெட்டு கூறுகிறது.¹⁴

தஞ்சையிலே உலகப்புக்கழ்பெற்ற ஆலயத்தை எழுப்பிய இராஜராஜ சோழன் அப்பகுதிக்கு “இராஜராஜேஸ்வரம்” எனவும் மூலவருக்கு “பிரகதீஸ்வரம்” எனவும் பெயரிட்டான் என்பதை எல்லோரும் அறிவர். பிரகதீ என்றால் பெரியது என்று பொருள். “திருப்பிரகதீஸ்வரமுடையார்” என்ற பெயரே “திருப்பெந்தீஸ்வரமுடையார்” என சிதைந்திருக்க வேண்டும்.¹⁵ தஞ்சையிலுள்ள சிவலிங்க உருவைப் போலவே குமரியிலுள்ள சிவலிங்க உருவமும் கோயிலுக்குத் தகுந்தபடி அமையாமல் கருவறையறை அளவு பெரிதாகக் காணப்படுகிறது. மூலவரின் உருவத்திலும், கோயில் அமைப்பிலும் சோழநாட்டு கலையம்சங்களை குகநாதேஸ்வரர் ஆலயத்திலே நாம் காணலாம்.¹⁶ இன்று உலகமெல்லாம் வியக்கும் வண்ணம் தஞ்சையிலே எழுப்பப்பட்ட பெரிய கோயில் இராஜராஜ சோழன் புகழ்பாடி நிற்பது போன்று, தென் குமரியிலே அவன் எழுப்பிய சிறிய ஆலயம் ஒன்று அவனது பெயர் கூறி நிற்கின்றது. தஞ்சையிலே இராஜராஜ சோழன் கோயில்

எழுப்பிய ஆண்டு 1010; அதாவது அவனது ஆட்சி ஆண்டு 25. ஆனால் தென்குமரியிலே அவன் கோயில் எழுப்பியது கி.பி. 1000, அதாவது அவனது ஆட்சி ஆண்டு 15. தஞ்சையிலே பெரிய கோயிலை எழுப்புவதற்கு 10 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னராக குமரியிலே அவன் ஒரு சிவாலயத்தை எழுப்பினான் என்று அறியும்பேர்து நமக்கு வியப்பாக உள்ளது. தஞ்சையில் உள்ள சிவாலயம் குமரிக் கோயிலின் மாதிரியாக அமைந்திருக்க வேண்டும்.

இராஜராஜ சோழனால் எரித்து அழிக்கப்பட்ட உதகைக் கோட்டை குமரிமாவட்டத்திலே காணப்படும் உதயகிரிக் கோட்டைதான் என்பதற்கு சான்றுகள் பல கிடைத்துள்ளன.¹⁷ உதயகிரிக் கோட்டையை வெற்றி கொண்ட தன் நினைவாக இராஜராஜசோழன் தமது பிறந்த நாளான ஐப்பசி சதய நாளன்று சேர மண்டலத்தில் விழாவெடுத்த செய்தியை கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி கூறும். இச்செய்தியை திருநந்திக்கரை குடைவரைக் கோயில் கல்வெட்டு உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றது.¹⁸

“(யா) ண்டு பதினெட்டாவது இராசராசத்தென் (னா)

(ட்டு) வள்ளுவ நாட்டு முட்டம் மென்னும் பே

ர் தவிர்த்து மும்முடி சோழ நல்லூ ரென்று பே (ராக்கி) இந்நாட்டு திருநந்திக்கரை மாதேவர் க்கு பெருமாள் ஐப்பிசைச் சதையத்தினாள் திருவிழாவெடுத்து சதையத்தினாள்

ஆறாடி ஞமனஞ்செய்

விப்பதாகவும் நிதம் நாழி நெய்யால் ஓ

(ரு) திருநந்தா விளக்கு இராசராசனென்னும்

(கடைசி வரி சிதைந்துள்ளது)

இதுவே திருநந்திக்கரைக்குடைவரைக் கோயில் கல்வெட்டு.

இராஜராஜ சோழனைத் தொடர்ந்து

இராஜேந்திர சோழனும் (கி.பி. 1012 - 1044) குலோத்துங்கச் சோழனும் (கி.பி. 1070 - 1120) பிற சோழ மன்னர்களும் தென்குமரி வந்து குமரி மாவட்டக் கோயில்களுக்கு பல திருப்பணிகள் செய்தனர் என்று நாம் அறியமுடிகிறது. நாகர்கோவில் ஒழுகினசேரியில் காணப்படும் சிவன் கோயில் இராஜேந்திரன் காலத்தில் புதுப்பிக்கப்பட்டது என்றும் மூலவர் "இராஜேந்திர சோழீஸ்வரர்" என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டார் என்றும் அக்கோயிலில் காணப்படும் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறியலாம். 19 அக்கோயிலை அடுத்துள்ள கொம்மண்டையம்மன் கோயில் தூண் ஒன்றில் முதலாவது இராஜராஜ சோழன் காலத்தில் தோன்றிய அவனது 18 ஆம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று கிடைத்துள்ளது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. 20

முதலாம் குலோத்துங்கச் சோழன் (கி.பி. 1070 - 1120) கோட்டாற்றைப் பெரும்படையுடன் தாக்கினான் என்ற செய்தியை

"முள்ளாறும் கல்லாறும் தென்னா ஓட

முன்னொரு நாள் வாளபயன் முனிந்த
போரில்

வெள்ளாறும் கோட்டாறும் புகையால் மூட

வெந்தவனம் இந்த வனம் ஒக்கில் ஒக்கும்"

என்று ஜெயங்கொண்டாரின் கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி தெரிவிக்கின்றது. குலோத்துங்க சோழன் ஐந்து பாண்டிய மன்னர்களையும், சேர வேந்தனையும் தோற்கடித்து கோட்டாற்றைச் சுற்றி அமைந்துள்ள கோட்டையை எரித்தழித்து மேற்குத் தொடர்ச்சி மலையுச்சியில் ஒரு வெற்றித்தூணை நாட்டினான் என்ற செய்திகளை சிதம்பரம் நடராஜர் ஆலயத்து வெளிப்பிரகாரத்திலே காணப்படும் இரண்டு வடமொழிக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன.²¹ குலோத்துங்கச் சோழன் காலத்தில் சோழ நாட்டிலிருந்து பல பெண்கள் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டில் குடியிருந்தார்கள் என

தெரியவருகிறது. அழகிய சோழ சித்திரவல்லி, உய்யகொண்ட சோழ சித்திரவல்லி, கண்டராதித்த சித்திரவல்லி ஆகியோர் பெருமாள் கோயில் ஒன்றுக்கு திருந்தாவிளக்கு அளித்ததை சாமிதோப்பில் கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று தெரிவிக்கின்றது.²² கன்னியாகுமரியில் இரண்டாம் இராஜேந்திரன் காலத்தில் பொறிக்கப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று அங்கு "ராஜராஜ பெருஞ்சாலை" என்ற பெயரில் ஒரு கல்வி நிலையம் இருந்ததாகக் குறிப்பிடுகிறது. முதல் இராஜாதிராஜன் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் பலவும் குமரிமாவட்டத்தில் கிடைக்கின்றன. இவ்வாறு பிற்கால கோழர்கள் காலத்தில் தஞ்சைக்கும், நாஞ்சிலுக்கும் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு இருந்து வந்தது என நாம் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து அறிய முடிகிறது.

கன்னியாகுமரியில் குமரியம்மன் ஆலயத்தின் மணிமண்டபத்தில் பித்தளைத் தகடுகளால் பொதியப்பட்டுள்ள தூண்களில் காணப்படும் வீரராஜேந்திர சோழன் காலத்திய கல்வெட்டுக்கள், சோழர் காலத்தின் விரிவான வரலாற்றினை எடுத்துரைக்கின்றன. 444 வரிகளைக் கொண்ட கல்வெட்டுக்கள் 419 வரிகள் வட மொழியிலும் 25 வரிகள் தமிழிலும் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. வட மொழிக் கல்வெட்டு சோழர்களின் தோற்றம், அவர்களது வம்சாவழியினர், கரிகாலன் தொடங்கி முதல்வீரராஜேந்திரன் காலம் வரை தமிழகத்தை ஆண்டு வந்த சோழ மன்னர்கள் செய்த பெரும் போர்கள், அரும்பணிகள், அரிய சாதனைகள் இவற்றை விரிவாகக் கூறி நிற்கின்றன. கடைசி 25 வரிகளைக் கொண்ட கல்வெட்டு குமரியம்மன் ஆலயத்திற்கு வீரராஜேந்திரன் கொடுத்த நிலங்களைக் கூறுகின்றது.²³ இதுவரை அரசியல் தொடர்புகளைக் கண்டோம். அடுத்து இலக்கியம் மற்றும் சமயத் தொடர்புகளைக் காண்போம்.

திருஞானசம்பந்தர்

கி.பி. ஏழாம் நூற்றாண்டில் வாழ்ந்த திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தஞ்சை மண்ணைச்

சார்ந்தவர். அவர் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டுக்கு வருகை தந்தார் என்பதற்கும், அவர் பாடிய திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகம் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாற்றைப் பற்றியது தான் என்பதற்கும் பல சான்றுகள் கிடைக்கின்றன.²⁴ தஞ்சை மண்ணில் நன்னிலம் வட்டத்திலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாரம் தான் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடிய திருக்கோட்டாறு என்று கூறுவர். நாஞ்சில் நாட்டில் திருக்கோட்டாறு என்ற பெயரிலே ஓர் இடம் இருக்கும் போது, தஞ்சை மண்ணிலுள்ள திருக் கொட்டாரத்தை திருக்கோட்டாறாகக் கொள்வது எவ்வாறு பொருந்தும்? தஞ்சையிலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாரம், இராஜேந்திர சோழன் காலம்வரை, அதாவது கி.பி. பதினொன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை, திருவந்தீஸ்வரம் என்ற பெயரைப் பெற்றிருந்தது என்று தமிழ்நாடு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறையினர் வெளியிட்டுள்ள நன்னிலம் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது.²⁵ ஆனால் பண்டைய இலக்கியங்களிலும், வெளிநாட்டாரின் பயணக்குறிப்புகளிலும், கி.பி எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டிலிருந்து பதினாறாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ள கல்வெட்டுக்களிலும் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாறு அதே பெயரில் தான் அழைக்கப்பட்டு வந்துள்ளது என்பது மட்டும்ல்ல, இன்றும் அது கோட்டாறு என்று தான் அழைக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. கோட்டாறு இன்று நாகர்கோவில் நகரின் ஒரு பகுதியாக அமைந்துள்ளது. கிரேக்க நாட்டுப்பயணி தாலமி கோட்டாற்றை "Kottiyara, the metropolis with considerable trade" என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

தேவாரத்தில் திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்தில் வருகின்ற இறைவன், இறைவி திருநாமங்களும், இடப்பெயர்களும் இன்று அவ்வாறே அழைக்கப்படுகின்றன. திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தேவாரத்தில் திருக் கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகம் குறிப்பிடும் அழகன், அழகேஸ்வரி, கோலவார் குழலாள்,

உமைபங்கள் என்ற பெயர்களை நாகர்கோவிலில் நாம் இன்றும் கேட்கலாம். கோட்டாற்றில் வடிவீஸ்வரம் கிவாலயத்தின் மூலவர் சுந்தரேஸ்வரர். தேவி அழகேஸ்வரி. வடசேரி சோழராஜா கோயிலில் நின்றருளும் தேவியின் திருநாமம் கோலவார் குழலாள். "கோலவார் குழலாள் குடிகொண்ட கோட்டாறு" என்பது சம்பந்தார் வாக்கு. நாகர்கோவில் நாகராஜர் ஆலயத்தின் முன்னால் காணப்படும் செம்மான் குளம் வருவாய்த்துறை, பதிவுத்துறை ஆவணங்களில் உமைபங்கள் ஏரி என்று தான் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளது. நாகராஜர் ஆலயத்தில் காணப்படும் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்றும் இக்குளத்தை "உமைபங்க நேரி நீர்நிலை" என்று தான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றது.²⁶ சம்பந்தர் தமது திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்தில் உமைபங்கள், மங்கையோர் பங்கன் என்று பல இடங்களில் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

நாஞ்சில் நாட்டின் ஆன்மீகத் திருநகரான சுசீந்திரம் தானுமாலயன் ஆலயத்தைப் பற்றி சம்பந்தர் பாடிய பதிகங்கள் கிடைக்காவிட்டாலும் அக்கோயில் மூலவரை, "தானுவாய் நின்றி பரதத்துவன்" என்றும் "காண உள்குவீர் வேணு நற்புரத்தானுவின் கழல், பேணி உய்ம்மினே" என்றும் அவர் பாடிய பாடல்கள் கிடைக்கின்றன. வேணு என்றால் மூங்கில். சுசீந்திரம் ஒரு காலத்தில் மூங்கில் காடாக இருந்தது என்பது தலபுராணம். இதனை சுசீந்திரம் ஆலயத்தின் முகமண்டபத்தூண் ஒன்று உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றது. இன்றும் கோயிலை அடுத்து மூங்கில் மரங்கள் நிற்பதை நாம் காணலாம். திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்தில் வருகின்ற "நின்று மேய்ந்து நினைந்து மாகரி, நிரோடும் மலர் வேண்டு வான்மழை குன்றின் நேர்ந்து குத்திப்பணி செய்யும் கோட்டாறு" என்ற வரிகள் சுசீந்திரம் தலபுராணமாகும். இந்நிகழ்ச்சி சுசீந்திரம் திருக்கோபுரம் உட்கவரில் ஓவியமாகத் தீட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. சேக்கிழார் தமது பெரிய புராணத்தில்

திருஞானசம்பந்த மூர்த்தி நாயனார் புராணத்தில் தாணுமாலயன் என்று பல இடங்களில் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். சுசீந்திரம் ஆலயத்தில் மூலவர் தாணுமாலயன். தாணுமாலயனுக்கு வேறு எங்குமே ஆலயம் கிடையாது. என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. தாணு என்றால் அது சுசீந்திரத்தைத்தான் குறிப்பிடும். இவ்வாறு கி.பி. ஏழாம் நூற்றாண்டில் தஞ்சை மண்ணைச் சார்ந்த திருஞானசம்பந்தர் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலுள்ள இடங்களுக்கு வருகைத்தந்தார் என்று தெரிய வருகிறது.

கம்பர்

தஞ்சை தேரமுந்தூரில் பிறந்த கம்பர் நாஞ்சில் நாடு வருகை தந்தார் எப்பதை அவரது வரலாற்றிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. சோழ மன்னரால் தஞ்சை மண்ணிலிருந்து விரட்டப்பட்ட கம்பர் பாண்டிநாடு வந்து சடகோபர் அந்தாதியைப் பாடினார் என்றும், சேரநாடு வந்து சரஸ்வதி அந்தாதியைப் பாடினார் என்றும் அவரது வரலாறு கூறும்.²⁷ கேரள இலக்கிய வரலாற்றில் கம்பராமாயணத்தின் தாக்கத்தை நாம் காணலாம். மலைநாட்டு கோயில்களில் நடைபெறும் தோல்பாவைக்கூத்து நிகழ்ச்சியில் கம்பராமாயணப் பாடல்கள் பயன்படுத்தப்படுகின்றன என்று கோவிந்தப்பிள்ளை எழுதிய “மலையாள பாஷா சரித்திரம்” மற்றும் “துஞ்சன் பிரபந்தங்கள்” என்ற மலையாள நூல்கள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. கம்பர் மலைநாட்டிற்கு வந்து அங்குள்ள அறிஞர் பெருமக்களிடம் கம்பராமாயணப் பாடல்களை பாடிக் காட்டினார் என்ற செய்தியைக் கேரள நாட்டு கவிஞரும் மலையாள அறிஞருமான உள்ளூர் பரமேசுவர அய்யர் தமது கேரள சாகித்ய சரித்திரத்தில் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.²⁸ இது போன்ற இராமாயணப் பாடல்களை ஒருவர் இசையுடன் பாடி, மற்றொருவர் அவற்றிற்கு உரை சொல்லும் முறை தான் அது. இந்நிகழ்ச்சி 40 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் கூட நாஞ்சில் நாட்டில் நடந்து வந்தது.

இந்நிகழ்ச்சியை நுத்தியவர்கள் இன்னும் உயிர் வாழ்கின்றனர். ஆனால் இந்நிகழ்ச்சி எவ்வாறோ நின்றுவிட்டது.

பத்மநாபபுரம் கோட்டையின் உள்ளே அமைந்துள்ள இராமசாமி கோயிலின் உட்பிரகாரத்தைச் சுற்றி வெளிப்பக்கத்தில் இராமாயணக்கதை முழுவதும் 145 மரப்பலகைகளில் அழகுறச் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அந்தக் கதைப் போக்கில் கம்பரின் தாக்கத்தை நாம் காணலாம்.

கம்பர் நாஞ்சில் நாடுவந்த போது தன்னோடு தான் வணங்கிய கலைமகளின் திருவுருவச்சிலையைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்க வேண்டும். அந்த திருவுருவச்சிலை தான் பத்மநாபபுரம் கோட்டையின் உள்ளே காணப்படுகிறது. அதைத்தான் மலையாள நாட்டு மக்கள் நவராத்திரி திருநாளின் போது எடுத்துச் சென்று இன்றும் விழாக் கொண்டாடுகின்றனர். இவ்வாறு தஞ்சை மண்ணிலே பிறந்த கம்பர் சேரநாடு வந்தபோது நாஞ்சில் வாழ் மக்களோடு வாழ்ந்து பின்னர் பாண்டி நாட்டிலுள்ள நாட்டரசன் கோட்டையில் மறைந்தார் என்பவை அவரது வரலாறு தரும் தகவல்கள். இவ்வாறு சோழநாட்டையும், சேரநாட்டையும், பாண்டிய நாட்டையும் கம்பனின் வரலாறு இணைக்கின்ற நிலையை நாம் காண முடிகிறது.

தென்னிந்திய திருச்சபை

தென்னிந்தியத் திருச்சபையின் தென்கோடிப் பேராயம் கன்னியாகுமரி பேராயமாகும். அப்பேராயத்தின் தாக்கத்தால் நாஞ்சில் நாடு பல துறைகளில் முன்னேற்றம் கண்டது. நாஞ்சில் நாடு பல காலமாக திருவிதாங்கூர் ராஜ்யத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாக இருந்தது. திருவிதாங்கூரின் முதல் ஆங்கிலப்பள்ளி, முதல் அச்சுக் கூடம், முதல் மருத்துவமனை, முதல் ஆங்கிலம் மற்றும் தமிழ் நாளிதழ், முதல் திங்கள் இதழான தேசோபகாரி, குழந்தைகளின் இதழான பாலதீபிகை

இவையாவும் நாகர்கோவிலில் தொன்றின. ³⁰ இவ்வாறு தென்னிந்திய திருச்சபையினர் தங்கள் சமயக்கருத்துக்களை ஒரு பக்கம் பரப்பினாலும், மறு பக்கம் ஆங்கில கல்வி நிலையையும், ஆங்கில மருத்துவ உதவியையும் மக்களுக்கு அளித்து நாஞ்சில் நாட்டின் வளர்ச்சிக்கு வழிவகுத்தனர் என்று வரலாறு கூறுகின்றது. நாஞ்சில் நாட்டில் கத்தோலிக்க கிறித்தவர்கள் மேற்கு கடற்கரை வழியாக வந்து இறங்கினர். ஆனால் பிராட்டஸ்டன்ட் கிறித்தவர்களான தென்னிந்திய திருச்சபையினர் கிழக்கு கடற்கரை வழியாக குறிப்பாக தஞ்சையிலிருந்து வருகை தந்தனர்.

நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலுள்ள மயிலாடியைச் சார்ந்த மகராசன் தஞ்சை சென்று வேத மாணிக்கம் என்ற பெயருடன் பிராட்டஸ்டன்ட் கிறித்தவராக மாறி மயிலாடி வந்தார். தஞ்சையைச் சார்ந்த ஏசுவடியான் உபதேசியார் தமது குடும்பத்தாருடன் வேதமாணிக்கத்திற்கு உதவி செய்தார். மேல்

நாட்டைச் சார்ந்த ரிங்கல் தோபே தரங்கம் பாடியிலிருந்து 1806 - ஆம் ஆண்டு ஏப்ரல் மாதம் 25 அன்று மயிலாடி வந்த பின்னர் தென் இந்தியத் திருச்சபை மிகவும் வளர்ச்சி அடைந்தது. இவ்வாறு பிராட்டஸ்டன்ட் கிறித்தவ சமயம் தஞ்சையிலிருந்து தான் நாஞ்சில் நாடு வந்தது என்பது வரலாறு தரும் தகவலாகும்.

இவ்வாறு தஞ்சை நாஞ்சில் உறவு சங்க காலத்திலே தொடங்கி பிற்கால சோழர்கள் காலத்திலும் சம்பந்தர், கம்பர் ஆகிய புலவர்கள் காலத்திலே வளர்ந்து, தென்னிந்திய திருச்சபையார் காலத்தில் தொடர்ந்து இந்த இருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் அறுந்து விடாமல் உள்ளது. தஞ்சைத் தமிழ் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் முதல் இரண்டு துணை வேந்தர்களும் நாஞ்சில் தந்த செல்வங்களாகும். இவ்வாறு சங்க காலம் தொடங்கி இன்றுவரை, தஞ்சையும் நாஞ்சிலும் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு கொண்டுள்ளது என்று இலக்கியமும், வரலாறும், கல்வெட்டுக்களும் நமக்கு உணர்த்துகின்றன.

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RAJAJI IN THE VEDARANYAM SALT SATYAGRAHA

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Of all the lieutenants of Gandhiji, Rajaji was the one who followed the Gandian path of life in thought, word and action. As an ardent nationalist, he was the first to lead the 'salt satyagraha march' in Tamil Nadu. His dynamic role in the Vedaranyam Salt Sathagraha March had won him national recognition. But, his active part in the satyagraha had not received what it ought to have received from scholars. This paper, however, tries to recapture Rajaji's admirable role in this event.

Similar to Gandhiji's Dandi March Rajaji chose Vedaranyam, situated in the south of Cauvery delta, as the chief centre of Civil Disobedience campaign. It is the place where Vallabhai Patel had presided over the Tamilnadu History Conference in 1929. It is also favourably situated near the Agasthyanpalli salt factory and the well-known salt swamp producing natural salt in abundance. More than that, it is the home of Vedarathinampillai, an active Congress worker and a licensee of the Agasthyanpalli salt factory. Further, it was a place of pilgrimage and, therefore, the march could be given a colour of devotion.¹

Rajaji undertook a tour of all districts of Tamilnadu and addressed several meetings at Thiruvadi, Thanjavur, Mayavaram and other places as a prelude to organising his proposed March to Vedaranyam. He

also sent an appeal for funds and volunteers which had a tremendous response.² S. Sathyamurthy, the firebrand speaker of Thirumeyyam, collected money for the Vedaranyam March along with Muthuranga Mudaliar. Many volunteers wanted to join the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha March. From out of three hundred applicants Rajaji selected only hundred volunteers. Most of them were youths, servants, students and graduates. With the help of T.S.S. Rajan, he surveyed the route carefully ahead of time in early April 1930 to establish contacts and to assure the required hospitality, lodging and food for the volunteers.³ Rajaji said that "it is a hunger fight and an economic struggle".⁴

On April 13, the Tamil New Year's Day and the Jallianwalabagh Day, Rajaji had begun the 150 mile epic March to Vedaranyam along with hundred volunteers from Thiruchirapalli, the headquarters of the Congress. It passed through the Grand Anicut and Thiruvaiyaru to Thanjavur, Kumbakonam to Mannargudi, and Thiruthuraipoondi to Vedaranyam.⁵ At that time, J.A. Thorne, the District Collector of Thanjavur, ordered that anybody who offered any assistance in the way of accommodation or supplies to the satyagrahis would be prosecuted.⁶ Rajaji said that "I know my people Thorns and thistles cannot stem this tide of freedom".⁷

Rajaji addressed a meeting at Thanjavur and about 5,000 people attended it.⁸ The satyagrahis traversed ten miles each day. At Kumbakonam, Mr. Panthulu Iyer, who was a former member of the Madras Legislative Council defied Mr. Thorne's order and entertained the satyagrahis in his own house. He arranged a royal feast for the satyagrahis and he was arrested and convicted for six months.⁹ Rajaji addressed meetings at important places. At Thiruthuraipoondi, he addressed a meeting under the chairmanship of Ramachandra Naidu, a very influential and popular mirasdar of Thanjavur District. Ramachandra Naidu was arrested and the incident provoked a riotous situation.¹⁰ This shows that they have no fear for Thorne's order and it proved their enthusiasm.

Rajaji had also some experimental work on constructive programmes such as prohibition, untouchability, etc. He explained about prohibition through pictures. He made the cleaning work in the harijan hamlets along with his volunteers.¹¹

The satyagrahis had a long march on foot and it came to an end after 16 days - on April 28 at Vedaranyam. Vedarathinam Pillai arranged all facilities to the satyagrahis. A mighty crowd was waiting at Vedaranyam when the satyagrahis reached there. Rajaji addressed a meeting at Vedaranyam and he declared that he would break the salt law on 30th April, 1930.¹² On April 29, satyagrahis were fasting and praying for starting the salt satyagraha event at Vedaranyam. On the next day (April 30) morning at 3 a.m. Rajaji along with sixteen volunteers went to the swam of Agasthyanpalli and

collected salt. Soon he was arrested and sentenced to six months and was also imposed a fine of Rs. 200/- or another three months. Rajaji had preferred additional three months imprisonment.¹³

After Rajaji's arrest, he was taken to the Thiruchirapalli jail by train. At that time Mr. Thorne entered into the compartment and offered his hand to Rajaji. Rajaji told him that "Your plan was bold, but you forgot we are in our country".¹⁴ This shows that Rajaji's boldness and his confidence in our countrymen.

In order to mark Rajaji's arrest, a silent prayer was held at Vedaranyam and shops were closed. In Thiruchirapalli there was a complete hartal in protest against Rajaji's arrest. After his arrest, the Vedaranyam salt satyagraha event continued under K. Santhanam's leadership. Rajaji nominated him as his successor before his arrest. He was arrested on May 1. and subsequently, Vedarathinampillai also was arrested on 3rd May.¹⁵ Then the volunteers continued to break the salt law under the leadership of Mattaparai Venkatrama Iyer, Subramaniam and G. Ramachandran. At the end of May, Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmi pathi, T.S.S. Rajan and other satyagrahis were also arrested. In order to prevent any attempt to revive it, the police demolished the camp of the satyagrahis. During the time of Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha event, the satyagrahis strictly followed the policy of non-violence. Mr. Thorne noted that "Rajaji maintained excellent discipline among his followers, and always adhered to non-violence".¹⁶ Following the Gandhi - Irwin pact in 1931, the satyagrahis were released without any demand and it allowed to

collect their own salt in their own areas. At Vedaranyam, the people made their own salt and its victory was celebrated.

Rajaji has been amongst the front -

rank politicians of the Gandhian era and on every occasion his contribution has been unique and magnificent. He will remain an ideal statesman for many years to come.

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THE PANDYAS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE - A.D. 1450 - 1550

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The sources consulted for this study are V. Rangacharya's Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, R. Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Mysore Archaeological Reports, Epigraphia Carnatica, South Indian Annual Report of Epigraphy, Epigraphia Indica etc. Some of the secondary sources consulted are K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, A. Krishnaswamy Pillai's The Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar, K.A.N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya's Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, J.H. Nelson's The Madura Manual, N. Sethuraman's Pandiar Varalaru (Tamil), etc.

The Pandyas who were at the height of their power in the second half of the 13th century A.D. began to decline because of external aggressions and internal disorders, from the beginning of the 14th century A.D.

In the latter half of the 15th century A.D. the Banas, who had once been the feudatories of the Pandyas, in turn, became rulers in the Madurai Country but under the hegemony of Vijayanagar. Legend avers that in the reign of Devaraya II (1422 -46) of Vijayanagara, his general Lakkana brought the four sons of a certain Abirami, a dancing girl of Kalaiyarkoil, born to a Pandyan King, to Madurai and crowned one or all of them, declaring them to be of the true Pandyan stock. They

were Sundarattol Vilivanathi Rayer, Kalaiyar Somanar, Anjatha Perumal, Muttarasa Tirumalei Maha Vilivanathi Rayer (Mahabali Vanadhi Rayer¹); this event perhaps happened in 1451.

In the Maduraittala Varalaru and the Pandyan Chronicle, the last name (Sic) is split up into 2 - that is Muttarasar and Thirumalai, thus bringing their number to 5. They are stated to have ruled for forty-eight years from Sukla to Nala (1452-1500²).

A certain Urangavillidasan alias Mahabali Vanadhirayar ruled over Madurai from 1453³ to 1477⁴. He was also called Thirumalirunjolai ninran and Samara Kolahalan. His date of accession has been assigned to 1428⁵ itself.

During the period of the last two Sangama rulers of Vijayanagara, namely Mallikarjuna (1446 -65) and Virupaksha III (1465 - 85), who were comparatively weak, Vijayanagara, the Bahmanis and the Gajapathis of Orissa competed with each other for the control of the eastern coast of the Tamil Country, particularly the Kanchi region. The Banas also joined the fray. It would appear that Urangavillidasan occupied Kanchi in 1469⁶ defying his overlord the Vijayanagara King Virupaksha III. The Bana is said to have defeated the Vadugas (Vijaya Nagar) (Krishnaswamy, A. Pillai, The Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar, Annamalai Varsity, 1964, p. 122). Earlier, he had

not acknowledged his sovereign, while making gifts to a temple at Sevvalur.⁷ In another record from Kanchi (S.I.IV. 348A) he is said to have defeated a Valudi (Pandya). Perhaps a coin of the Bana was issued to commemorate this victory, in which the Garuda (Bana symbol) is seen kneeling on a Fish (Pandya emblem).

The contemporary Pandyas were ruling at Tenkasi. (Thirunelveli District). The founder of the dynasty there was Arikesari Parakrama Pandya (1422 - 64)^{8(a)}, the builder of the city Tenkasi and the Temple therein, in response to a vision or dream, in which he was asked by god to build a city Dakshina Kasi on the river Chitra, as his city in the north (Uttara Kasi) had been destroyed. He took seventeen years to build the Temple (1446 - 63)^{8(b)}. Parakrama's Prasasti begins with Pumisai Vanithai. His birth star was Mirgasirsha.⁹ His teacher was a certain Tattvaparakasa, whom he greatly honoured. The teacher was living in a street (Vitaranavinoda - Perunderuvu - west of the Visvanatha Temple)¹⁰. Perhaps a Valanadu was named in honour of his teacher, Vitarana - Vinoda - Valanadu, in which a tank called Visvanathappereri was gifted to the Temple.¹¹

Tenkasi Parakrama was well - versed in Tamil and Sanskrit. He makes a moving appeal in his inimitable style to maintain the Temple and extend it, for which he would pay his obeisance to the persons concerned.

The king was titled Korkai - Vendan¹² (Lord of Korkai), Ponnin Perumal, Manakavacha, Manabharana, Manabhusha, Parakramakkaitavan, etc.

As he died in 1464 he could not have been the Pandya who was defeated by Urangavillidasan in 1469 (record, from Kanchi cited above).

The year 1469 falls during the regnal period of the successors of Tenkasi Parakrama namely Kulasekhara. Srivallabha of birth star Uttiram, who was alive in 1471.¹³ He was one of the brothers of Arikesari parakrama. Another brother was Alagan Perumal Kulasekhara (Birth star (B.S) Punarvasu. 1430 -77). He completed the gopura of the Tenkasi Temple, which had been left incomplete at the demise of Tenkasi Parakrama (Arikesari). The youngest brother of the latter was Arikesvara (1437 - 78). The nephew of all the above kings mentioned - Ponnin Perumal Parakrama alias Vira Pandya (B.S. Avittam, 1468 - 81) is another possibility.

Whoever the Pandya was, who was defeated by the Bana, the latter's success was short lived. Saluva Narasimha, the general of Virupaksha III reoccupied Kanchi in 1471- 72.¹⁴ In 1481, again Kanchi was captured by Muhammad III Bahmani. In the same year his able minister Muhmud Gawan was murdered by the Bahmani himself who died the next year regretting his folly. Thereafter, the Bahmani Kingdom began to disintegrate. Vijayanagara under its weak Sangama ruler Virupaksha saw the usurpation of Saluva Narasimha (1485). He was succeeded by his son Immadi Narasimha in 1492. He was kept a virtual prisoner at Penukonda by Narasa Nayaka, who became the defacto ruler (1492- 1503). In 1497,¹⁵ Narasa Nayaka began his southern campaign in defence of Vaishnavism in Srirangam, wherein trouble was given

by a Kaneri Raja.¹⁶, who favoured Saivism.

Narasa is said to have defeated Chera - Chola - Pandya together with the Lord of Madura.¹⁶ That helps us infer that the Pandya was different from the Lord of Madura.¹⁷ It is said that he defeated Manabhusha of Madurai. Perhaps it is a reference to the Bana, who adopted the title of the Pandya. As Arikesari Parakrama was also called a Manabhusha, it is stated that he was the Pandya who was defeated by Narasa Nayaka. But Arikesari existed about three decades ago, 1464 was his last date. It is said that it could be Alagan Perumal Parakrama 1474 - 1506 of B.S. Avittam, in whose reign 1497 falls.¹⁸

After the campaign of Narasa Nayaka, Bana power in Madurai began to wane. Narasa Nayaka did not live long to enjoy the fruit of his success. He died in 1503 Immadi Narasimha was killed in a plot (1505) and his successors were Vira Narasimha (1506-9) and Krishnadeva Raya (1509 - 29), both sons of Narasa.

By the close of Krishnadevaraya's reign, a version goes that a certain Virasekhara Chola attacked a Chandrasekhara Pandya and the latter appealed to the Raya in person. The Raya sent one Kotiyam²⁰ Nagama Nayaka to help the Pandya. As for the name Chandrasekhara, it would appear an odd name for the Pandya - rather uncertain.²¹

In defence of the name, it has been pointed out that there is a record from Thirukkulambur, Thirumayyan TK. Pudukottai District dated 1424 - A.D. 1502, which informs us that place belonged to Keralasinga Valanadu in Chandrasekhara Pandimandalam.²² How-

ever, to say that Chandrasekhara was of the line of Somasekhara installed in Madurai by Kampana II (1371) appears to be untenable.²³

Nagama Nayaka defeated Thanjavur Chola and took the fort of Madurai. But, suddenly he rebelled and assumed power himself instead of restoring the Pandya. So the king of Vijayanagara sent NAGUMA's son Visvanatha against his father. After defeating his father, he obtained unconditional pardon for him from the Raya. The statement that Visvanatha was anointed king of the Madurai Country (with Ganges water) and titled Lord of the Pandyan throne.²⁴ is to be moderated as his being recognised as Governor over the Madurai Country. The Maduraittala Varalaru gives a list of former Nayaka Governors of Madurai starting from 1500 to 1526, some of whom are mentioned in epigraphs. To cite one instance, one Cinnappa nayaka is mentioned in a record of 1526 from Thiruvudagam near Madurai (677 of 1905). Visvanatha is assigned the period 1533 - 42 and 1544 - 45 with the gap of two years, when Varada the son of Achyutaraya was the Governor of Madurai (Temple Chronicles).^{24(a)}

On Krishnadevaraya's death in 1529 A.D., his brother Achyutaraya succeeded to the Vijayanagara throne (1529-42). The Nayaka dynasty was founded in 1529 by Visvanatha (1529 -64).²⁵ Visvanatha was assisted by his able pradhani and dalavoy Aryanatha Mudaliar, the builder of the 1000 pillared mandapa in the Madurai Meenakshi Temple, in his ventures.

A Saluva chief by name Narasimha. Sellappa²⁶, who had been honoured much as the Governor of the Chola - Pandya re-

gion during the time of Krishnadevaraya now turned a rebel, formed a confederacy with Tumbichi Nayaka of Paramakudi and the Tiruvadi king Udayamarthandavarman. They tried to oust the Tenkasi Pandya Jatilavarman Srivallabha²⁷ (1534-45) of natal asterism Asvati. The Tiruvadi had not paid tribute for some years. Achyutaraya, while staying at Srirangam, sent his brother - in-law Chinna Tirumala, son of Salakaraju to put down the Kerala king and his confederates. The Vijayanagara forces got victory over the rebels and set up a pillar of victory on the Tambraparani. It is confirmed by Achyutarayabhyudayam.²⁸ Srivallabha Pandya was restored to the throne. He called himself Iranda kalam Edutta, one who revived the past - who brought back the olden times. In gratitude, Achyuta was given the sister of Srivallabha in marriage. (daughter of Ahavarama); perhaps the marriage took place at Srirangam, where Achyuta was camping and a coin was issued to commemorate the event, with the Ahavarama legend on the obverse and the Ghandaperunda (Vijayanagara emblem) on the reverse. The rebels appear to have been pardoned. Udayamarthandavarman also called Venrumankonda Bhutalavira 1494 - 1535 (VR III Trav 39) agreed to pay tribute to Vijayanagara. The battle of Tambraparani (Sic) must have taken place in 1532 A.D.²⁹.

After Achyutaraya's death, his son Venkata was disposed of by his maternal uncle Salakaraju Tirumala. Achyutaraya's nephew Sadasivaraya was placed on the throne by his brother - in-law Aliya Rama Raya of the Aravidu family - the son-in-

law of Krishnadevaraya. Ramaraya held all real power in his hands. He sent an expedition into the Tamil Country as the Travancore ruler Unni Keralavarman refused to pay the tribute. Vitthala and Chinna Timma, the cousins of Ramaraya, led the Vijaynagara forces (1544). The Tiruvadi of Venad had entered into a secret understanding with Vettumperumal of Kayattar and TIRUCHENDUR, who posed as the rival of Tenkasi Pandyas under Srivallabha. By virtue of the marital alliance between the Tenkasi Pandya and Vijayanagar, protection was sought by the Pandya Srivallabha, Vettumperumal was defeated. He fled to Kerala for protection. The Vijayanagara army stopped short of Kottar.³⁰ Finally, Travancore agreed to pay tribute to Vijayanagara. Jatilavarman Srivallabha once again became ruler at Tenkasi.³¹ (1545).

Among the later Pandyas called Thirunelvelipperumal, mention could be made of Parakrama alias Kulasekhara, son of Abhirama of Pudukottai copper plates (1543- 51) and MARAVARMAN Sundara Pandya (1531 - 55).

The Pandyas were, however, not only confined to Thirunelveli but their epigraphs are found also in other parts of the Tamil Country such as Ramnad (Srivilliputtur), Alagan Perumal Parakrama (1481), Kulasekhara Srivallabha (1534)³² and (1536)³³, Parakrama . Kulasekhara (1546).³⁴ Pud - Insc. No. 464 informs us of Maravarman Vira Pandya of year 1497. The Pudukottai copper - plates enlighten us on the genealogy of the Pandyas, who ruled in the latter half of the 16th century mostly. Pandya records are also available in the region of South Arcot (Cuddalore TK)

V.R. I. 319) of Maravarman Vira Pandya. (1457). Needless to elaborate, the Pandyas, it was asserted, had made their exit from the Madurai region to Thirunelveli. Though Thirunelveli itself had formed part of the Madurai Country even in the 13th century A.D, when the

Pandyas had been at the zenith of their power. They were anxious to hold on to their own and thus, though they were deprived of their political power, spread themselves throughout the Madurai Country hoping to stage a come - back to their beloved capital, Madurai.

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Socio - Economic Formations of
Early Tamil Nadu up to 350 A.D-A. Re-
interpretation

Esteemed President, learned colleagues and my young friends,

At the outset, I thank the Executive Committee of the Tamilnadu History Congress for conferring on me the rare honour of presiding over the Socio- Economic History Section of its fourth conference at Thanjavur.

1.1 The realm of early history of Tamilnadu upto 350 A.D. is the most neglected by historical scholarship of recent times. This long stretch of time in historical periodisation falls under lithic age, the age of anthology, i.e., the anthropocentric secular age, and the post- anthology philosophical age, which preceded the religious age inaugurated by the early Pallavas (of the Sanskrit charters) . The historical process, the social and economic formations in relation to environment and human inter - actions are very often misinterpreted. Hence I take this opportunity to explore and explain the inescapable need to re- interpret and reconstruct the social and economic history of Tamil nadu upto 350 A.D.

1.2 "No theory no history" is the dictum pronounced by most of modern historical schools. But, wrong theories (historical as well as linguistic) and wrong application of some of the modern theories and the misinterpretation of the visual presence of historical evidences, had wrecked the understanding of the socio- economic formations and their concomitant historical sequences in Deccan as well as Tamil Nadu. Hence errors produced at historians workshops pervade, imprisoning historical truth. This trend is still having a pleasant flow, in spite of inspiring evidences accumulating year after year, contradicting the conventionalised conclusions which still form the foundation and base for the historical investigations and finished goods for the innumerable historical transactors in their every day business at class rooms. It is every body's understanding that wrong history is a bad guide. Hence in this paper I highlight the misguidance produced by at least four major schools.

2.1 The earliest historical theories in India had a very busiest time at the "Culture Idealist School" of linguistic historians in the eighties of the eighteenth century at Calcutta.¹ "The chief priest of theorisation of cultural history of India was Justice

William Jones, with his profundity of wisdom and versatility in Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Greek based Western astronomy, at the third anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1787, basing some of the surface similarities in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, announced the astonishing theory of Indo- European family of languages."² At one stroke this theory in conjunction with eastern mythology and western dominance of culture had an artificial yet harmonious blending of linguistic line up and misleading effect. It blinded the historians' vision of India. The Indo- European school of historians harvested the fruits of Asiatic Society of Bengal, mixed them with western cultural dominance, oversaw the scanty evidences and propounded the theory of tribalism until the arrival of Aryans in India. In spite of the warnings of V.A. Smith, the exhumation of the early urban sites and the writings of R.D. Benerjee and John Marshall between 1922 and 1930, S.K. Iyengar and K.A.N. Sastri in their South Indian Histories³ between 1920 and 1956 made their monumental pronouncements that "as in North civilization began in the South with the advent of Aryans". Four decades later, in 1972, at Calcutta in his "Sangam Literature: It's Cults and Cultures", K.A.N. Sastri wrote that "the Tamil Language and Culture were in the formative stages"⁴ during the early centuries of the Christian era. In the course of last two hundred years, the linguistic evidences, seen from seals, pottery, stone, coins and other written agreements and linguistic study had very well proved that William Jones and his colleagues, JAMES Mill and his European and Asiatic successors went wrong and misguided the lin-

guistic and historical world.⁵ The grammatical and linguistic uniformities of Prakrit and Tamil and the uniformities in their disagreement with Sanskrit substantiates the archaeological evidences.⁶

2.2 The Dravidian School of Linguistics and historical investigators up to V. Kanakasabhai were astonished when the Tamil anthologies and epics were brought to light before 1904 A.D., as medieval mythological stories had already nullified the existence of any culture and language independent of Sanskrit in Tamilnadu. The Dravidian Linguistic theory propounded by Bishop Robert Caldwell⁷ was in their hands. They saw in surprising wonder that their ancestors, eighteen hundred years before them, like the Imperial Romans, were highly literate, in possession of arts and sciences, and were in command of overseas commerce and were in close intimacy with the yavanas (Ionians). While projecting the historical vision of the past, Kanakasabhai repeated the mistakes of the colaphone writer to 5th decade of Padirrupathu and the medieval commentators to Cilappadikaram, mixed up and clubbed as one person (1) Imaya Varamban Nedum Cheraladan, the hero of 2nd decade of Padirrupathu and the contemporary of Nanda Maurya Power contest, and the father of Velkezhukuttuvan (not Senkuttuvan) and his name sake Nedum Cheraladan of first century A.D. (2) Velkezhukuttuvan or Kadal piraku Oattiya Kuttuvan of 5th decade of Padirrupathu and youngest son of 2nd Padirupathu fame (3rd century B.C.) with that Cheran Senkuttuvan of Cilappadikaram fame (2nd century A.D.) ; (3) Karikalan the hero of Porunararrupadai, (3rd century B.C) and

son of Uruvappahrer Ilamcet Cenni (who encountered the Mauryan forces at lower Deccan) and Perum Thiru Mavalavan of Pattinappalai (who lived during the second half of first century B.C. and first half of first century A.D.). By this unconscious error, Kanakasabhai chronologically pulled down the dominant historical personages of Mauryan and post - Mauryan period in Tamilnadu history of early centuries of the Christian era. Kanakasabhai's error in turn produced two basic errors. i. The entire age of Cankam was limited to a few generations, ii. in the centuries proceeding Christ a political vacuum was created. It misguided the Eurocentric historiographers and the Marxian historiographers to implant tribalism before the Christian era in the soil of Tamil nadu.

2.3 The Marxian School locates before the land grant economy based Indian feudal age a tribal situation in Tamil nadu. Before the Christian era society, economy and polity were tribal in nature and function, they argue. Following them in a recent work, Bryan pfaffenberger, argued that the COROMANDEL Coast at Mauryan times was in a state of tribalism (iron age). It is due to the historians, pleasant imaginative sequence of socio-economic transformation from tribal economy to pleasant agricultural economy and then to commercial economy and to urbanisation. For theoretical speculation, this hypothesis works well as a section of Tamil society, i.e, Paalai was in tribalism, when geographical environment is harsh and giving more challenges, economic and social situation of life is static in tribalism, as in the case of Einer of Paalai. There was arrested civilization in the Paalai belt;

like wise the peasant economy of dryland, where pastoralism and peasant economy became static. The existance of tribal belt was a living factor. It should not be taken as yardstick to measure the totality of the situation in Tamilnadu. Therefore the historical rhythm imagined by the Marxian School has no universality of rhythmic transformation covering the entire Tamilaham. The following factors disapprove of a tribal situation in Tamilnadu in the centuries that preceded the Christian era.

A tribe is a group of people, having distinct name and hogeneity and will be having definite territory. It will practice conventional taboos. There will be no social stratification and statehood. There will be only tribal shieftains. It will have no writing and literature. It will cling to crude economic level and primitive techonology of primitive agriculture. The Tamil society of Mauyran, pre and post - Mauryan times was far advanced and much different from the tribal characteristics. The following factors symbolising civilized existence will disapprove of the tribal theory imported early by the Indo- Aryan School and later by some of the Marxian historians on early Tamil society of the Mauryan and post Mauryan times.

1. The Tamil society had social stratification. It had Thinai (physiographic) social order. It is different from varna social order. (Commentators wrongly inducted varna order into the works while commenting them).

2. It was a literate society of Mauryan times and pre and post- Mauryan times. According to Iravatham Mahadevan,

comparatively more inscriptional evidences are available in the entire Tamil region. It shows even the remote villagers were literate. Tamil inscriptions of that age and still earlier were found in Ceylon and Egypt.

3. During the Nanda and Maurya times, high caste poets like MAMMOOLANAR, Mocikiranar, Atreyanar, and PARAMKORRANAR had intimate contact with Pataliputra, the Magadhan capital. While discussing Mauryan problem in Cangam literature, M.G.S. Narayanan argued that there is no "valid reason to compel us to imagine that Mamoolanar was not a contemporary or near contemporary of the Nandas and Mauryas ..." (Narayanan, M.G.S., Mauryan Problem in Cangam Literature).

4. The poets of the Mauryan times and post - Mauryan times were high caste poets different from PANAR, according to M.G.S. Nayanaran. The early literary age at Mauryan and post - Mauryan period in the words of S. Settar (Presidential Address, Ancient History Section, Indian History Congress, Kurukshetra, 1982) runs thus: "Though the Cangam age in the south appears to be parallel to the VEDIC age of the Indo- Gangetic zone of the north, there is no denying of the fact that the former is far more relevant to and revealing of contemporary life than the latter. From the Cangam literature , we learn about definite groups of people, living in a definite area, and a substantial portion of this picture is highlighted by the material evidence available in the area" ^{7a} Kodumanam (archaeologically excavated industrial area of Mauryan, pre and post - Mauryan times) has at least three references in literature

i.e. Padirrupathu. In fact, early literature is presenting social and political realities of earlier age or contemporary times.

5. Tamil, the language of Tamilnadu, from pre- Mauryan times showed linguistic uniformities with Prakrit. It shows that both Tamil and Prakrit descended from a common ancestor. According to Sunit Kumar Chatterji, around 1500 B.C. there was a single speech throughout India (Old Tamil Ancient Tamil and Primitive Dravidian , in Tamil Culture Vol. V. 1956, p. 148). Archaeologically , at Paiyampalli on the Palar basin Tamil-speaking population was living at 1450. B.C.

6. The vowels in the orthography of Tamil and Prakrit are almost uniform. In this they uniformly differ from Sanskrit according to D.C. Sircar (Prakrit Grammar).

By the side of Tamil scripts, in the first millinium B.C. (Miscalled as Tamil Brahmi and Southern Brahmi), grafitti marks were employed. The same grafitti marks were used by the Indus Valley HARAPPAN age people and their predecessors, the Neolithians. Therefore Tamil language had a wider all India base and very deeper history in the dim past.

The question of Sanskrit influencing Tamil in the first millinium B.C. does not arise on the following grounds. Sanskrit is different from Vedic language. Vedic language with out script was employed for oral transmission and recitation of the Vedas. The Vedas were committed to writing only in the 14th century A.D. by Sayanacharya. Sanskrit emerged as a languages of inscriptions from first century. B.C. and language of literature from fourth

century A.D.

7. The Dravidian anthropology of contemporary Tamil nadu and Megalithic age had archaeological representation at Mohenjodaro of Harappan age and in the neolithic age in the southern neolithic complex of Deccan. This complex includes T. Narsippur, Nivesa, Thekkanakonda, Uttoor, Paiyyampalli, etc.

The Tamils of Mauryan, pre and post - Mauryan ages had anthropologically wider and deeper base.

8. The early Tamils of Mauryan, pre and post - Mauryan ages has a well formalised religion which had an all India base. Their formalised religion is still having archaeological and literary evidences. It had a Thinai (Physiographic) base. It is well explained in the pre-anthology work Tolkappiyam, Porul - athikaram. The Mayon, Ceyon, Varunan and Vendan (Varunan and Vendan by efflux of time are used as Varunan and Vendan) Varunan is none other than Nediyan. As these worshipping deities and Sakti had an all India base, they were admitted later as Vedic deities (Vedic sources in chronological time scale and SuviraJaiswal's Srivaishnavism will reveal historical truth).

9. For the existence of structural works and transmarine commerce with the western world in first millinium B.C. several archaeological sites in Tamil Nadu supply physical evidences. There are archaeological evidence in Egypt as well. A commercial godown in Egypt and a commercial contractual document between a Tamil merchant and a foreign merchant in conjunction with numismatic hoards of

foreign origin speak volumes about commercial enterprises of early Tamils. (see the papers of I. Mahadevan)

The precious stone cutting industrial estate of Kodumanam is one among 175 sites located in Konkumandalam besides the busy trading centre Karur. The megalithic burial monuments in the wide expanse of burial yard at Kodumanam contain imported precious stones.

10. Finally, the trilineal monarchs who appear in the canvas of literature show their imperial status. It has archaeological corroboration too. They issued coins. Some of them carry the bursts of monarchs like that of the coins of Satavahanas and Imperial Roman Emperors. Assyrian ruler Asurbanipal's (688 BC -661 BC) inscription is said to contain the name of Pandya (TAMIL V. Zvelabil in consultation with Romila Thapar and R. Champakalexmi, Tamil Culture, June 1983).

The Tamil monarchs of Mauryan times had the status and prowess of imperial Mauryan rulers like Chandragupta Maurya and Bindusara. The first Mauryan invasion of the Tamil Country in coalition with the Kosar of Thulunadu was beaten back by Uruvappahrer Ilamcet Cenni, the father of Karikala before two hundred and fifty years B.C. M.G.S. Narayanan sums up the political situation of north western Tamilaham thus: "Though Nannan or his predecessors had originally come from Konkanam and settled in Malabar with headquarters at Ezhilmalai, probably in the pre-Maurya and early Maurya period, he had become a great force to be reckoned with in Tamilaham both in politics and culture. It is not clearly known whether his

name indicates any association with the Nandas of Pataliputra but it is rather suggestive whether that may be, the responsibility to encounter the Maurya - Kosa military threat now fell upon the shoulders of Nannan of Ezhilmalai Nannan was compelled to seek assistance from Cola. At any rate, the success of Muvacola forces in driving out the Kosar from occupied territory must be reckoned as a decisive turning point in the history of far south, since it appears to have arrested the tide of Maurya - Kosa military expansionism and indirectly prevented the absorption of the Chief Kingdoms of Tamilaham in the Mauryan empire" ("The Mauryan Problem is Cangam Works", Journal of Indian History, Vol Liii, part 2, 1975. ^{9(a)})

Immediately after 270 B.C. Bidusara's invasions in the Deccan became a standing threat to Tamilaham. This time the three crowned monarchs of Tamilaham met at Cola court to create an organised league for resistance. This time the Cola ruler was Karikalan, son of Uruvappahrer Ilamcet Cenni. (Ilamcet Cenni earlier arrested the Maurya - Kosa invasion). This has indirect reference in Porunararruppadai (one of ten Idyls). Its archaeological corroborative evidence had been recorded by Kharavela of Kalinga in his Hathigumbha inscription of 176 B.C. According to Kharavela's inscription, the league was created in 278 B.C. (P.K. Velayudhan fixed the league's at 278 B.C. i.e. $176 - 11 + 113 = 278$ Sankakala Mannar Varisai, Tiruchi, 1997). This confederacy helped arrest the invading tide of Bindusara across the Deccan and saved Tamilaham. Tamilaham permanently remained independent of Mauryan Empire. M.G.S.

Narayanan sums up the Mauryan relations with Tamilaham thus: "The positive response of the Chera, the closest neighbour of the Mauryas among the Muvarasar or three kings of Tamizhakam, would signify that while Bindusara's aggressive militarism did not succeed in relation to the Tamils, friendly approach based on the concept of Dhammavijaya proved much more effective". ("The Mauryan Problem in Cangam Works", Journal of Indian History, Vol. Liii, part 2, 1975 pp. 243-254).

Asoka the third ruler of the Mauryas in two of his inscriptions made reference to the Tamil monarchies, the Cera, Cola, Pandya and Athiyamans (the tributary chief of the Ceras) as friendly neighbours. In addition to the three crowned monarchs, Asoka made reference to the Athiyamans who were powerful tributaries of the Ceras. They ruled the northern portion of Cera region. Asoka recognised the Athiyamans as friendly neighbouring independent rulers. Thus the Athiyamans, too had grown powerful and had recognition from Asoka. This political situation and the status and prowess of Tamil monarchs of fourth to second centuries B.C. cannot be brushed aside from the canvas of history at the historians workshop. (Actually, K.A.N. Sastri and S. Vaiyapuri Pillai in spite of their eminence attempted to negate it). The Indo- Aryan School of Historians and some of the members of MARXIAN School degraded these monarchs as tribal chiefs on flimsy grounds.

It is unfortunate that the Indo- Aryan School of Historians and some of the members of Marxian School refuse to see the archaeological and literary evidences discussed so far. The Marxian scholars implant tribalism on account of their faith and

conviction on a rhythmic transformation from tribalism to peasant economy which their theory demands. It is for upholding their theory that facts of history are sacrificed and early Tamilnadu history thus damaged. There was Roman contact on account of industrial and commercial development of Tamilaham. M.G.S. Narayanan postulated ¹⁰ that commercial and cultural relations and probably political relations too existed between the growing Empire of Magadha and Tamilaham in the pre- Mauryan period of Nandas. The Mauryan coins found in Tamilaham again indicate that Tamilaham exported commodities particularly gold and pearls to the Mauryan Empire. There was the arrival of Jainism and Buddhism. There was immigration of Aryans for colonisation. (Sanskrit then was a non fact in history. It was wrongly believed that Aryans came with Sanskrit and Sanskrit influenced Tamil to move out of its tribal character). The Marxians erroneously imagined that these external factors as causative events which according to them conditioned the Tamil world to move out of tribalism. This theme of social change fits world to move out of tribalism. This theme of social change fits in with the Marxian framework and not for historical truth of early Tamilnadu.

1. They had overlooked the fact that Sanskrit as a language of inscriptions emerged only from first century B.C. and as language of literature after 350 A.D. It is not unknown to them that Sanskrit was different from the language of the Vedas. It was never been a spoken language in space and time. Linguistic pre- history tracing back through archaeology shows

that Tamil and Prakrit were sister languages with grammatic and linguistic uniformities, and ruled the inscriptional, numismatic and literary worlds centuries before Christ. According to D. C. Sircar^{10a} Dravidian and Prakrit are uniform in their orthographical and grammatical disagreement with Sanskrit.

2. Had the trilineal monarchs been tribal chieftains during Mauryan times what prevented the Imperial Mauryan forces from annexing Tamilaham. The Mauryan boundary was uniformly outside Tamilaham is not a dream but a historical reality and the long lasting league of Dravidian kings recorded by Kharavela cannot be ignored. It is an inscriptional historical evidence. There is circumstantial literary evidence on Porunararrupadai, a work of early third century B.C., contemporaneous with Bindusara's time as per the calculation made by P.K. Velayuthan through cross references, equating prince - poet relations.^{10b} The coins of the Cankam monarchs resemble the coins of Imperial Roman Emperors.

3. Had the Tamils and their monarchs been tribals as assessed by the Marxian School, they would not have been literates. Tribals in history have no writing and literature. According to Iravatham Mahadevan ¹¹ "Literacy seems to have been widespread in all the regions of Tamil Country both in urban and rural areas and encompassing all strata of Tamil society. The primary evidence for this situation comes from inscribed pottery, relatively more numerous in Tamilnadu than elsewhere in the country..." Explorations of several ancient Tamil sites have yielded hundreds of inscribed sherds almost all

written in the Tamizhi, miscalled as Tamil Brahmi Script.

4. The Roman contact was not the beginning but the end phase of early transmarine exercise of South India. In this exercise, the Mesopotamians were followed by PALESTINIANS around 1200 B.C. The Phoenician and Ionian contacts preceded the Greeks and the Hellenistic world.¹² Between 1200 and 900 B.C. the Tamils influenced West Asians and Mediterrancans to enrich their vocabulary.¹³ The Tamils were less receivers of culture but more exporters of commodities and culture. Numerous Tamil words entered Hebrew, Greek and Latin Literatures. In the West Coast, the Ceras of Kurinchi belt and in the East Coast of Pandyas of Neidal had long memories of overseas commerce. Archaeological evidences relating to a few centuries before Christ, especially private trade agreement with Yavanas and godown in Egypt besides the industrial output of Kodumanam near Erode, are new findings to correct the earlier conclusions. The Ceylone-based literary critiques too felt that tribalism was a living factor in the age of anthology. Karthikesu Sivathambi, while applying Marxian methodology, held that Vettuvār and Ayar of the age of anthology were tribals.¹⁵ As stated earlier, the Ceras held sway over the Kurinchi belt. The

Athiyamans controlled the northern Kurinchi region. Asoka the great monkish king saw Keralaputras and Satyaputras (Athiyamans) not as tribal chiefs. The industrial estates of pre-historic times-Kodumanam near Erode and Alagankulam near Ramnad were on the borders of Cera and Pandya domains. In the four centuries preceding the Christian era, according to archaeological evidences, Tamilnadu was industrially and culturally advanced with port towns and capitals with structural works and literate society. There was social structure and formalised religion with gods of worship inherited from the Mother culture of native India and not imported alien deities as the commentators erroneously explained.

2.4. The foregoing factors indicate that the socio-economic and cultural history of early Tamilnadu was hammered on the anvil of historical scientists. Instead of shaping, it met de-shaping; instead of construction it witnessed damages. Archaeology is incomplete; available materials are yet to be dated for reconstruction. The area of proto-history is totally neglected. Some of the advocates of the Marxian School and the living successors of the Indo-Aryan School in Tamilnadu have to move out of their conviction to historical facts and realities. A fresh look into the past of Tamilnadu from ab initio is the need of the hour.

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DANISH TRADING ENTERPRISES IN TRANQUEBAR (THARANGAMPADI)
(1620-1807)

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Tranquebar (Tharangampadi) port, situated 15 k.m south of Poompuhar on the mouth of Uppanar, has given access to inland and external trade from early times. It is evident from the Sangam Classics¹ that Tranquebar was a flourishing port even before 2000 years. It was one of the eight among the eleven ports of the Thanjavur District, which was open to foreign trade and which possessed the special advantage of a good anchorage. Big vessels could approach as close as from 3/4 of a mile at this port, which is a special feature when compared to the other ports in the District. It was a port of call for big vessels sailing to Mauritius². An inscription of Kulasekhara PANDYA dated 1305 AD³ refers to a merchant guild known as PATHINEN Vishayattaar (traders of 18 countries) and also a family of sailors called Karaiar or Karaiyalar, residing at Tranquebar. It was already a commercial port of importance, attracting traders from different parts of the globe. Even before the Danes had established their colony in 1620, Tranquebar had trade relations with China, South East Asia, Ceylon and Rome. Recent discoveries reveal the fact that after 1500 AD, Tranquebar had commercial relations with Germany, Holland, Portugal, Russia, Indonesia and France⁴.

Like many European countries, the Danes also established the Danish East

India Company at Denmark in 1616. The Danes were the third European power to follow their European seniors, the Portuguese and the Dutch. In 1620, the Danish Admiral Ove Giedde, arrived on board the sailing ship The Elephant at Tranquebar, to establish a Danish Trading post or settlement. He went to Thanjavur and negotiated a treaty with the Thanjavur king Ragunatha Nayak and signed it on 19th November 1620, through the exertions of Ove Giedde. The Danes acquired a small territory Tranquebar in Thanjavur District for an annual rent of Rs. 3111/- and also got permission to build a fortress there. A Royal Decree dated 19th November 1620 enabled the Danish Company to hoist the Danish flag over Tranquebar⁵. Immediately Giedde laid the foundation for the fort⁶ which was to serve as a safe store for goods to be sent back to Denmark. Guards, facing back and forth day and night, were watching the depot in the fortress. Any guard found asleep faced the death penalty⁷. From this coastal hamlet Tranquebar, the Danes spread their sphere of trading activities. The Directors of the Company in Copenhagen wanted to get more profits through trading activities in Tranquebar than raising their power.

For 225 years from 1620 to 1845, Tranquebar remained a Danish Colony. A population of 3000 made it Denmark's sixth

largest town. The Danes brought nearly 25 villages under their control with Tranquebar as their centre of activity. They carried on their commercial enterprises efficiently under 51 Governors during these years. Upto 1770 AD Tranquebar was under the direct control of the Company and after 1771 it was under the direct control of the king.

The Danes had the largest and most dangerous route. The trip to Tranquebar and back took around a year. In the beginning one or two Company ships reached Tranquebar annually from the Danish capital Copenhagen. Silver coins were shipped from Denmark to India. The most important commodity of the return voyage was pepper and spices which were the most sought after in Europe around 1600⁸.

The main aim of the first intra-Asiatic journeys of the Danes was attainment of return-cargoes for Europe bound ships. Between 1620-25, there were annual voyages from Tranquebar to Nergui on the Malayan Peninsula for the purchase of pepper. After 1625 less ships reached Tranquebar from Denmark due to lack of capital as it was still an agricultural country. As a result, there was no necessity for the Danish merchants in Tranquebar to care for return-cargoes to Copenhagen any more. Hence they completely concentrated and directed their activities on the pure intra-Asiatic trade.⁹ During this period the centre of Danish trade got shifted from Tranquebar to Masulipatnam which was the most important emporium on the Coromandal Coast.

Between 1638 and 1668 almost for 30 years no ship could afford to touch Tranquebar port as Christian IV himself got

involved in the Thirty Years War, which proved to be very costly both for treasury and for economy. This led to a serious financial crisis and dearth of personnel in Tranquebar so that no further intra-Asiatic expedition could be carried on. To make good this loss, the Danes resorted to piracy between 1641 and 1673 in the Bay of Bengal, which caused counter violence from the local authorities. After the arrival of new ships in 1674 from Copenhagen, peace was made and the Danes could renew their inter -continental trade between Copenhagen and Tranquebar. Now, instead of Masulipatnam.

Tranquebar itself became the loading emporium of Danish trade on the Coromandal Coast. As there was an increasing demand for pepper, it became the predominant export commodity in Bantum. On the other hand, Indian cotton-textiles were transported from the Coromandal Coast to South East Asia by the Danes.¹⁰ This lucrative trade ended when the Dutch occupied Bantum and threw the Danes out of their factory in 1682.

The above development brought about a paradigmatic change in the structures of Danish trade. Before 1682 the focus of attention of the Danes lay in South East Asia. Whereas after this date the Danes concentrated on Tranquebar and started to act as intermediaries of trade. In Tranquebar, they sold the Indian cotton -textiles to the English, Americans and the Indian merchants who shipped them to South East Asia. Nevertheless, there were several attempts to get established in the intra-Asiatic trade again. As Denmark got itself involved in several wars with Sweden, Germany and Russia between 1625

and 1721, it could not invest sufficient capital in the Danish Asiatic trade but this situation changed only around 1750.

With the establishment of a permanent trade in China (Canton) in 1729, a large portion of the trading goods consisted of tea and porcelain. Enormous profits were gained for tea and porcelain at the auctions in Copenhagen. A part of the profits was re-invested in the Danish intra-Asiatic trade and resulted in the Danish shipbuilding and also in the establishment of factories in Asia after 1750. The heyday of Tranquebar was from mid 1770 to 1807.¹¹ As Tranquebar was the main emporium of Danish trade in Asia, there purchased were various kinds of cotton-textiles from local merchants for the Europe bound return cargoes. The textiles have always been designed according to European taste. In the opposite direction the Danes shipped not only silver coins to Tranquebar, but also consumer articles as butter, beer, wine and metal articles like anchors and many weapons.

From around 1800, Tranquebar lost all its importance as a centre of trade. Denmark suffered a severe economic crisis after the Napoleonic war as it too joined the war in 1807 on the side of the French. The lack of capital hampered the Danish trade in Asia again. Between 1807 and 1815 all the Danish settlements were occupied by the British. Tranquebar was taken away from the Danes by the British

in 1801 and retained till 1815 when it was restored to the Danes. Finally, in 1845 the Danish settlement in Tranquebar was sold to the British East India Company for 12 lakhs of Rupees after 225 years of Danish rule. Thus ended the Danish enterprises in Tranquebar.

However, Tranquebar has some socio-economic specialities, which even today remain to remember the Danish enterprises. Tranquebar was the only place outside Denmark where Danish coins were minted.¹³

It was here that slave trade started in the Coromandal Coast. When a severe drought panicked the Coromandal Coast, people could not find a way out for their sufferings.

Many from Tranquebar came forward to sell them and earn out a living to foreign countries¹⁴. It was also here that the Danes found their Danish Mission and Bartholoneaz Zeigenbalg and Pulitzer took up this missionary task and converted a good number of Hindus to Christianity. Again it was here that Zeigenbalg installed the first printing Press in the East in 1713 A.D.

The Danish fortress here is now a bone of contention between the Tamil Nadu Government Department of the Archaeology which wants it to maintain as an archaeological monument and Tourism Department which wants to transform it as a tourist centre of attraction.

FOOTNOTES

1. Natrinai - 131, Agananuru-100.

2. Veerappa Pillai, *Tranquebar the Queen of the Coromandal Coast*, 1953, P.8.

3. ARE. 75/1890.

4. Rajendran, A. *Tranquebar an international port* (article).

5. a) Mohanavelu, C.S., *German Tamilology*, Madras, 1993, P.22.

b) Waiter Leifer, *India and the Germans*, Bombay, 1971, P.37

6. Tanjore Manual and Gazetteer, P.259.

7. Maersk Air Magazine, Summer 1994, P.21.

8. Martin Kriegar, *Danish Trade on the Indian Ocean* (article).

9. *Ibid.* P.3.

10. *Ibid.*, P.4.

11. Maersk Air Magazine, P.22.

12. Nagasamy. R., Tarangampadi, p.30.

The following ships reached Tranquebar between 1620-1801. David (1620), Elephant (1620), Christian (1620), Copenhagen (1620), Prince Christian (1671), Oldenberg (1671), Crown Prince of Denmark (1708), Miss Jonfred Suzzanna (1718), Queen Anna Sophia (1721-3), Princess Luise (1761), Countess Moltke (1768), Christianus Septimus (1801). In memory of these ships copper coins were issued.

13. Veerappa Pillai, *Tranquebar*, the Queen of the Coromandal Coast P.7.

14. Sivanadi, *Inthiya Charithira Kalanjiam*, vol 10, p.101.

ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY AND PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Act 1955: A STUDY

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In Tamilnadu as in other parts of India a lot of discrimination has been practised by all grades of people. Untouchability and segregation have been in vogue right from the beginning of the ancient period. Hinduism and Manu dharma have been professing a caste-based society. Upper caste people had totally segregated the lower cast people. They call them right and left hand castes or chandalas. The depressed classes such as scheduled caste fishermen and others have been treated as untouchables. Even a vision of them is considered as untouchable. During the British Raj certain reforms had been contemplated to remove untouchability through the processes of modernisation. After independence the Constitution architects have introduced several laws to eradicate untouchability. The following are the various law thus resorted to remove untouchability and create a society of equality. Since the authors are interested in studying the above, they try to analyse the Civil Right Act 1955.

The Article 17 states that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of it in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. It is stated

that this article was adopted with unanimity in the Constituent Assembly and there was acclamation and enthusiasm among the members. There were on that occasion cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai".

Article 17 must be read with Article 35 (a) (ii) which confers upon Parliament the exclusive power to make laws prescribing punishment for those acts which are declared to be offence under Part III of the Constitution. Article 35(b) continues the existing laws which provide for punishment for any act which is made an offence under Part III subject to adaptations or modification under Article 572 of the Constitution. In exercise of the power conferred by Article 35, the Parliament of India enacted the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. While speaking on the Bill, the Home Minister of India observed:

"This cancer of untouchability has entered into the very vitals of our society. It is not only a blot on the Hindu religion, but it has created intolerance, sectionalism and fissiparous tendencies. Many of the evils that we find in our society today are traceable to this heinous monstrosity. It was really strange that Hindu with their sublime philosophy and their merciful kind-heartedness even towards insects should have been party to such an intoler-

able dwarfing of manhood. Yet, untouchability has been there for centuries and we have now to atone for it... The idea of untouchability is entirely repugnant to the structure, spirit and provision of the Consitution".

PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT 1955

The Untouchability (Offences) Act 1955 was amended by the Untouchability (Offence) Amendment and Miscellaneous Provision Act, 1976 and the Act as amended has been given the new name of Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955. It came into force on 19 November 1976.

Section 3 of the Act provides that whoever on the ground of untouchability prevents any person from entering any place of public worship which is open to other person professing the same religion or any section thereof as such person, from worshipping or offering prayers or performing any religious service in any place of public worship or bathing in or using the water of any sacred tank, well, spring or water-course, river or lake or bathing at any Ghat or such tank, water -course, river or lake in the same manner and to the same extent as is permissible to other persons professing the same religion or any section thereof as such person, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one month and not more than six months and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs.100 and not more than Rs.500.

Section 4 provides that whoever on the ground of untouchability enforces against any person any disability which regard to access to any shop, public res-

taurant, hotel or place of public entertainment or the use of any utensils or other articles kept in any public restaurant, hotel, Dharmashala, Sarai, or Musafirkhana for the use of the general public or any section thereof, or the practise of any profession or the carrying on of any occupation, trade or business or employment in any job or the use of or access to any river, stream, spring, well, tank, cistern, water-tap or other watering place, or any bathing Ghat, burial or cremation ground, any sanitary convenience, any road or passage or any other place or public resort which other members of the public or persons professing the same religion or belonging to the same religious denomination or any section thereof as such person have a right to use or have access to, or the use of their access to any place used for a charitable or a public purpose maintained wholly or partly out of the State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public or persons professing the same religion or belonging to the same religious denomination or any section thereof as such person, or the enjoyment of any benefit under a charitable trust created for the benefit of the general public or of persons professing the same religion or belonging to the same religious denomination or any section thereof as such person, or the use of or access to any public convenience, or the construction, acquisition or occupation of any residential premises in any locality what to the general public or to persons professing the same religion or belonging to the same religious denomination or any section thereof as such person, of the observance in any social or religious custom, usage or ceremony or taking part in or taking out any

religious, social or cultural procession, or the use of jewellery and finery, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one month and not more than six months and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs.1100/- and not more than Rs.500. For the purposes of section 4, the enforcement of any disability includes any discrimination on the ground of untouchability.

Section 5 provides that whoever on the ground of untouchability refuses admission to any person to any hospital, dispensary, educational institution or any hostel, if such hospital, dispensary, educational institution or hostel is established or maintained for the benefit of the general public or any section thereof, or does any act which discriminates against any such person after admission to any of the aforesaid institutions, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one month and not more than six months and also with fine Which shall be not less than Rs. 100 and not more than Rs.500.

Section 6 provides that whoever on the ground of untouchability refuses to sell any goods or refuses to render any service to any person at the time and place and on the same terms and conditions, at or on which such goods are service are rendered to other persons in the ordinary course of business shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one month and not more than six months and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs.100/- and not more than Rs.500/-.

Section 7 provides that whoever presents any person from exercising any right accusing to him by reason of the abo-

lition of untouchability under Article 17 of the Constitution or molests, injures, annoys, obstructs or attempts to cause obstructions to any person in the exercise of any right or molests, injures, annoys or boycotts any person by reason of his having exercised any such right, or by words, either spoken or written or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise incites or encourages any person or class or persons or the public generally or practise untouchability in any form whatsoever, or insults or attempts to insult on the ground of untouchability a member of a Scheduled Castes, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one month and not more than six months and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs.100/- -- and not more than Rs.500. A person shall be deemed to boycott another person who refuses to permit such other person, to use or occupy any house or land or refuses to deal with, work for hire for or do business with such other persons or to render to him to receive from him any customary service or refuses to do any for the said things on the terms on which such things would be commonly done in the ordinary course of business or abstains from such social, professional or business relations as he would ordinarily maintain with such other person or to render to him or receive from him any customary service or refuses to do any of the said things on the terms on which such things would be commonly done in the ordinary course of business or abstains from such social, professional or business relations as he would ordinarily maintain with such other person. A person shall be deemed to incite and encourage the practice of untouchability if he, directly

or indirectly, preaches untouchability or its practice in any form or if he justifies whether on historical ability or its practice in any form or if he justifies whether in historical, philosophical or religious grounds or on the ground of any tradition of the caste system or on any other ground, the practice of untouchability in any form. Whoever commits any offence against the person or property of any individual as a reprisal or revenge for his having exercised any rights accruing to him by reason of abolition of the untouchability under Article 17 of the Constitution, shall, where the offence is punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding two years, be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than 2 years and also with fine. Whoever denies to any person belonging to his community or any section thereof any right or takes any part in the excommunication of such person, on the ground that such person has refused to practise untouchability or that such person has done any act in furtherance of the objects of this Act, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one month and not more than six months and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs. 100 and not more than Rs. 500.

Section 7-A provides that whoever compels any person on the ground of untouchability to do any scavenging or remove the umbilical cord or to do any other job of a similar nature, shall be deemed to have enforced a disability arising out of untouchability. Such a person shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than Rs. 100/- and not more than Rs. 500/-. For the purposes of this Section compulsion includes a threat

of social or economic boycott.

Section 8 provides that when a person who is convicted of an offence under Section 6 holds any licence under any law in respect of any profession, trade, calling or employment in relation to which the offence is committed, the court trying the offence may direct that the licence shall stand cancelled or suspended for a specified period. The term licence includes a permit or a permission.

Section 9 provides that where the manager or trustee of a place of public worship or any educational institution of hostel which is in receipt of a grant of land or money from the Government is convicted of an offence under this Act and such conviction is not reversed or quashed in any appeal or revision, the Government may, if in its opinion the circumstance of the case warrant such a course direct the suspension or resumption of the whole or any part of such grant.

Section 10 provides that whoever abets any offence under this Act shall be punishable with the punishment provided for the offence. A public servant who wilfully neglects the investigation of any offence punishable under this Act shall be deemed to have abetted an offence punishable under this Act.

Section 10-A provides that if after an enquiry in the prescribed manner, the State Government is satisfied that the inhabitants of an area are concerned in or abetting the commission of any offence punishable under this Act or harbouring persons concerned in the commission of such offence or failing to render all the assistance in their power to discover or appre-

hend the offenders or suppressing material evidence of the commission of such offence, then State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, impose a collective fine on such inhabitants and in making any such apportionment shall be made according to the Government's judgment of the respective means if such inhabitants and in making any such appointment, the State Government may assign a portion of such fine to a Hindu undivided family to be payable by it. The fine apportioned to an inhabitant shall not be realised until the petition, if any, filed by him is disposed of. Any person aggrieved by the imposition of the collective fine or by order of apportionment may file a petition before the State Government or such other authority as that Government may specify in this behalf for being exempted from such fine or for modification of the order of apportionment. The State Government or the authority specified by it shall, after giving to the petitioner a reasonable opportunity of being heard, pass such order as it may think fit. The State Government may exempt the victims of any offence punishable under this Act or any person of collective fine payable by any person may be recovered in the manner provided in the Code of Criminal Procedure 1973 the recovery of fines imposed by a court as if such portion were a fine imposed by a magistrate.

Section 11 provides that whoever having already been convicted of an offence under this Act or of an abetment for such offence is again convicted of any such offence or abetment, shall on conviction be punishable for the second offence or with imprisonment for a term of not less

than 6 months and not more than one year, and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs.200/- and not more than Rs.500/-. For the third offence or for any offence subsequent to the third offence, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term of not less than one year and not less than one year and not more than two years and also with fine which shall be not less than Rs.500 and not more than Rs. 1000.

Section 12 provides that where any act constituting an offence under this Act is committed in relation to a member of a Scheduled Caste, the court shall presume, unless the contrary is proved, that such act was committed on the ground of untouchability.

Section 13 provides that no civil court shall entertain or continue any suit or proceeding or shall pass any decree or order or execute wholly or partially any decree or order if the claim involved in such suit or proceeding or if the passing of such decree or order or if such execution would in any way be contrary to the provisions of this Act. No court shall, in adjudicating any matter or executing any decree or order, recognise any custom or usage imposing any disability on any person on the ground of untouchability.

Section 14 provides that if the person committing an offence under this Act is a company, every person who at the time the offence was committed was in charge of and was responsible to the Company for the conduct of the business of the company, shall be deemed to be guilty of the offence and shall be liable to be proceeded against and punished accordingly. No such person shall be liable to punishment if he

proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he exercised in due diligence to prevent the commission of such offence. Where an offence under this Act has been committed with the consent of any director or manager, secretary or other officer of the company, such director, manager, secretary or other officer shall also be deemed to be guilty of that offence and shall be liable to be proceeded against and punished accordingly. The term company means any body corporate and includes a firm or other association of individuals. The director in relation to a firm means a partner in the firm.

Section 14-A provides that no suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against the Central Government or a State Government for anything which is in god faith done or intended to be done under this Act. No suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Central Government or a State Government or any damage caused or likely to be caused by anything which is in god faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

Section 15 provides that every offence punishable under this Act shall be cognizable and every such offence, except where it is punishable with imprisonment for a minimum term exceeding 6 months, may be tried summarily by a judicial magistrate of the first class or in a metropolitan area by a Metropolitan Magistrate in accordance with the procedure specified in the code of Criminal Procedure. When any public servant is alleged to have committed an offence or abetment of an offence punishable under this Act while acting or purporting to act in the discharge of his official duty, no court shall take cognizance of such offence of

abetment except with the previous sanction of the Central Government in the case of a person employed in connection with the affairs of the Union and of the State Government in the case of a person employed in connection with the affairs of a state.

Section 15A provides that subject to such rules as the Central Government may make the State Government shall take such measures as may be necessary for ensuring that the right arising from the abolition of untouchability are made available to and are availed of by the person subjected to a any disability arising out of untouchability. Such measures may include the provision of adequate facilities, including level aid, to the person subjected to any disability arising out of "untouchability" to enable them to avail themselves of such rights, the appointment of officers for initiating or exercising supervision over transactions for the contravention of the provisions of this Act, the setting up of special courts for the trial of offences under this Act, the setting up of Committees at such appropriate levels as the State Government may think fit to assist the State Government in formulating or implementing such measures, provision for a periodic survey of the working of this Act with a view to suggesting measures for the better implementation of the provisions of this Act and the identification of the areas where persons are under any disability arising out of untouchability and adoption of such measures are under any disability arising out of untouchability and adoption of such measures as would ensure the removal of such disability from such areas. The Central Government shall take such steps as may be necessary to coordinate the measures

taken by the State Government. The Central Government shall, every year place on the table of each house of parliament a report on the measure taken by itself and by the State Government in pursuance of the provisions of this Act.

Section 16 provides that the provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any other law for the time being in force or any custom or usage or any instrument having effect by virtue of any such law or any decree or order of any court or other authority.

Section 16-A provides that the provisions of Probation of Offenders Act shall not apply to any person above the age of 14 years who is found guilty of having committed any offence punishable under this Act. Section 16-B provides that the Central Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, make rules to carry out the provisions of his Act. Every rule made by the Central Government shall be laid before each House of Parliament for a total period of 30 days and if both House agree in making any modification in the rule or both House agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect as the case may be. However, any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

The constitutionality of the Untouchability (Offence) Act, 1955 was challenged in *Banamali Das V. Pankhu Bhandari* (AIR 1951 Cal. 167). In this case, Banamali Das lodged a complaint against Pankhu Bhandari that the accused had re-

fused to cut the hair of the complainant and also to render similar service to other who belonged to the same caste as the complainant, his caste being that of cobbler. Proceedings were instituted against Pankhu Bhandari. His contention was that the Untouchability (Offences) Act was invalid as it placed unreasonable restriction on the exercise of his profession of a barber. It was also contended that the Act was discriminatory in its tendency. His contention was rejected by the High Court which observed that nothing in the Act cut down the right to carry on the profession of a barber. In the words of the High Court: "All it does is to prohibit him from discriminating between one Hindu and other in carrying out his duties as a barber. The Act compels him to serve all and really enlarges the scope of his services rather than restrict the same... The citizens of India should not be subdivided, but should form a united body and that is an end that is an end that is rightly sought for by our law making bodies. The makers of the Constitution have recognised it and have abolished untouchability and have also provided that there should be no discrimination only on the ground of caste or religion.... The Act does not discriminate, but penalises and abolishes tendencies in Hindu society to discrimination..... It does not deny any person equality before law. It tends to make all persons equal in society and before the law and it cannot possibly be argued that this Act denies any person equal protection of laws."

In *State v. Banwari* (ARI 1951 All. 615), the U.P Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1947 was challenged by 5 barbers and two washermen. The High court

held that the applicants had no right to refuse to render their service on the ground that the person demanding their service belonged to a scheduled caste.

In P.S.Charya V.State of Madras (AIR 1956 Mad. 541) the High Court of Madras held that the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Act,1947 as amended in 1949 was not repugnant to any of the provisions of the Constitution of India. To prevent certain classes of Hindus who were once called depressed classes from entering into a public temple was certainly to practice untouchability. What was enacted in the Act of 1947 was merely the fulfilment of the directive contained in Article 17 of the Constitution.

CONCLUSION

The Civil Rights Act has provided innumerable safeguards for the SC's and the depressed classes in a splendid manner. This act has helped for the abolition of untouchability and creation of equality.

But certain upper class sections feel that it may be misused and so certain safeguards should be provided. They feel that too much preference is given. But the cases mentioned at the end enlighten us. The Judges had given clear verdicts stating that no special preference has been enshrined in the Articles and only equality is being maintained by these acts. So we need not be afraid of the Act.

In spite of such innumerable provisions in the act, still the problem is very alarming in the southern districts. Untouchability is at the peak and we lose several valuable lives due to the practice of untouchability. The Tamil Nadu Government is also worried about the clashes in the southern districts.

So the act should be implemented still more vigorously. Mere passing of laws will not be enough for the eradication of untouchability. People's minds should change drastically.

TEMPLE ENTRY AGITATION IN TAMILNADU

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The demand for temple entry for the depressed classes engaged the attention of the leaders from time to time. Since ancient times, the depressed classes were not allowed to enter temples, which were under the control of the high castes. The Government of India passed an Act in 1863, aiming at the reorganisation of temple administration. However, in practice the Act facilitated the recognition of the traditional high caste hegemony in temple affairs. Eversince the Congress and other social parties identified them with this issue, public opinion came to be drawn or invited to its side. Eventhough many scholars including B.Shobanan, C.Paramarthalingam and R.N.Jesudason have made searching enguiries into this issue, many remains yet to be studied and disclosed in Tamil Nadu. This paper tries to uncover some of the untouched aspects of the agitation in Tamil Nadu.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the social reformers felt the temple entry movement as of primary importance in the agitation against the eradication of untouchability. In this connection, the erstwhile Mysore state had already thrown open in the twelfth century A.D. a temple of KRISHNA in Melkote in Mandya district for three days every year for the untouchables due to the efforts of Saint

Ramanuja.¹ Following that, the erstwhile princely State of Travancore moved further to introduce religious reforms in the form of allowing untouchables into its temples. But the effects did not materialise. However it led to the Congress session at Kakkinada passing a resolution in 1923 favouring the entry of the depressed classes into temples.² Subsequently, in 1924, the Vaikom satyagraha and in 1929 the Suchindram satyagraha made the Regent Rani to throw open the temples to untouchables in the Travancore State.³

In Tamil Nadu, despite being ill-treated by caste-Hindus, the depressed classes, being caught in the shackles of tradition, still remained Hindus. A.S. Shahajandudam, a depressed class leader, was very much distressed to see the depressed classes at Chidambaram in South Arcot, not permitted to enter into the Nataraja Temple. He also lamented that they were not allowed to participate in the festivals celebrated in honour of the deity Nataraja.⁴

In 1927 Gandhiji paid a visit to Chidambaram. The temple priest presuming that the depressed classes would enter the temple on mass, on the eve of Gandhi's visit to the temple in 1927 closed its doors on four sides. Omandur Ramaswamy Reddiar, who later became

the Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency, felt very sad that this event occurred in his native place. He could not see the logic behind such acts of discrimination when Lord Siva himself permitted Nandanar, the depressed class devotee to worship him by removing the bull in front of the Lord at Chidambaram.⁵

As a social reformer, 'Periyar' E.V. Ramasamy advocated temple entry for the depressed classes. He started the famous Self-Respect Movement in 1925. The Self-Respecters held that the depressed classes were entitled to enter temples, and could also go up to the sanctum sanctorium of the temples in the capacity of Hindus and human beings. The Self-Respecters with a desire to acquire equal rights for the depressed classes made some provocative postures that earned the opposition of the orthodox and other priestly classes of temples. On 4 April 1929, at Fort ESWARAN temple at Erode, thirteen Self-Respecters including three Adi-Dravidas entered the temple sanctum sanctorium without getting prior permission from the priests. The priests complained of pollution as three Adi-Dravidas entered the temple. The Magistrate who enquired the complaint fined each of the three Adi-Dravidas with Rs.60/-.⁶ On appeal from the Self-Respecters, the Deputy Collector of Coimbatore district reduced the fine to Rs.30/- each with the observation that, just by the entry of depressed classes into the temple, its purity would not have been spoiled, but the depressed classes by entering the temple without getting prior permission from the priests had violated the unwritten rules of the temple.⁷ Following this, the Self-Respecters made another attempt at Venkatesa

Perumal temple in Varagoor where the low caste non-Brahmins were not permitted entry. They filed a case and the court verdict also turned against the volunteers. T.Varadarajulu Naidu condemned the verdict of Justice Wallace through his paper Tamilnadu thus: "Had Justice Wallace some thought over the fact all are equal in the presence of God, it is certain that his conscience would not have permitted him to pronounce such a judgement."⁸ After these futile attempts to secure rights for temple entry, the Self-Respecters decided to boycott temples or places of worship in an united stand for making change of heart of the caste-Hindus on the one side and if it was not possible, to turn the people to neglect the temples on the other side.⁹

With the signing of the Poona pact in 1932, there was a spurt in the Temple Entry Agitation by depressed classes. The Congress and the Justice party in Madras in the 1930s. Following this some voluntary social and women organisations held meetings in different parts of the city of Madras. They tried to educate the public in respect of the removal of untouchability and throwing open temples to the depressed classes. They also approached the trustees of the most important temples, viz., Sri Parthasarathy temple, Triplicane, and Sri Kapaleeswarar Temple, Mylapore, without success. Simultaneously two Congress workers had taken to fasting - one near the Sri Anjaneya temple, seven Wells division, Madras, and the other near the Sri Parthasarathy temple, Triplicane, as a protest against the refusal of the temple authorities to permit Adi-Dravidas into temples. Similar fasting incidents were reported in Madurai city in September 1932. S.R.

Varadarajulu, the labour leader and J.N. Ramanathan, a Self-Respect agitator had participated in meetings to further the fashing agitation.¹⁰ In the same year, a public meeting held at Nagapatinam under the presidentship of V. Ayyaswami Iyer passed a resolution pleading the trustees of the temples in Nagapatinam to open temples for the depressed classes, but they refused to do so. Further, the trustees warned if any Adi-Dravida tried to enter the temple, a communal clash would break out creating law and order problem in the place.¹¹ This type of hypocritical attitude of the caste-Hindus made C. Natesa Mudaliar and Khalif-ul-Lah Sahib Bahadur to ridicule the caste-Hindus in the Legislative Council as saying that the Adi-Dravidas were not permitted to enter the temple of Tiruvalluvar at Mylapore by caste-Hindus, even though Tiruvalluvar happened to be an Adi-Dravida by birth.¹²

It was against this background, both for political expediency and for humanitarian considerations, a Justice Party sympathiser and Prime Minister of Madras presidency, P. Subbaroyan, introduced a Bill in the Madras Legislative Council in 1932, to remove the disabilities of the so-called depressed classes in regard to the entry into Hindu temples.¹³ Cutting across party lines, T.A. Ramalingam Chettiar, V.I. Muniswami Pillai, A.P. Patro, A.Ranganatha Mudaliar, C. Natesa Mudaliar, C.R. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Yakub Hasan and K. Alamelumangathayaramma, all spoke in favour of the Bill. While supporting the Bill, V.P. Harayanam Nambiar made an apt statement in the council: "It is necessary to take advantage of this national awakening and rid

Hinduism of a disease which sooner or later must be got rid of".¹⁴ This clearly showed that the campaign for Temple Entry in Tamil Nadu had gained some momentum from the early 1930s. With the majority of members present in the Council, the Bill was passed but it would become law after getting assent from the Viceroy of India. Deputation under the leadership of M.C. Rajah waited upon the Viceroy to press for signing the Temple Entry Bill.¹⁵ But the Government liked to adopt an attitude of neutrality in religious matters and the Viceroy with-held his assent.¹⁶

The withholding of Viceroy's assent to the Bill added new strength to the orthodox priestly caste-Hindus. Besides, the Bill was not bold enough to throw open the temples at any cost. The Bill contained the elements of the proposer's fear and reluctance. It anticipated stiff opposition from the orthodox members who could defeat the purpose of the Bill. The amount of influence wielded by the orthodox members over the British opinions was testified to by the fact that it could not get the assent of the Viceroy.

The Viceroy's escapism came in for severe criticism by the press. *Stri Dharma*, a Tamil women's monthly from Madras, condemned the conservative section of the Hindus who forgot their responsibility of coming to the help of the suppressed and depressed millions.¹⁷ As an extreme form of attack, Sudantira Sanghu published a cartoon, which represented the Viceroy as a mother, rocking the cradle in which her children known as conservatives were lying and to lull the children, the mother singing thus 'Subbaroyan's Bill bogey, run away'.¹⁸

On the other hand, the verdict of

Viceroy came as a shock to the advocates of the temple-entry.¹⁹ Gandhi commented the verdict as an unintentional challenge to Hinduism and to social reformers.²⁰ Yet he viewed that in any way the verdict would not affect the temple entry process which had already progressed from Guruvayur in the extreme south and to Haridwar in the North.²¹ C.S. Ranga Iyer condemned the Viceroy's decision as the worst form of bureaucratic intrigue and injustice.²² Challenging the Government's stand the Harijan Sevak Sangh in Madras had organised meetings, in various parts of the city in 1933. At such meetings, though poorly attended the Sangh members urged the people to extend their support for the temple entry legislation.²³

It was at this time that the Congress under Rajaji in Madras, along with Rajendraprasad of Patna, launched a campaign against untouchability in Madras city. But they could not muster enough support from the caste-Hindus for the entry of the depressed classes in to temples.²⁴ The Congress sympathisers and other women social workers including Muthulakshmi Reddi, Rani of Mungala, Ammu Swaminathan, Ramaswamy Sivam and G. Visalakshi Ammal, convinced of changes taking place in other parts in favour of the depressed classes endeavoured to convince the trustees of the temples in Madras city, but in vain.²⁵ The undeterred congress workers then thought of holding referendum in Madurai, Tiruchi, Tanjore and Kumbakonam to enlist the support of the people for the temple entry programme. However, in 1933, except Madurai city, all the other cities did not favourably respond to the call of the Congress. This was

due to the boycott of referendum programme effected in other cities by caste-Hindus and Brahmins.²⁶ The Harijan for the period up to September 1933 reports that fifty-two meetings were held throughout Madras province for general propaganda and for advocating temple entry in particular.²⁷

In the midst of controversies, Gandhi as the champion of Harijan Welfare launched a nation wide campaign in the name of Harijan tour since 20 December 1933.²⁸ His tour itinerary included Tamil Nadu as well. During his tour Gandhi launched a campaign for securing civic rights for the depressed classes. Temple entry also formed one of the items of his programmes.²⁹

In 16th February 1934, Gandhi, while visiting Kumbakonam, was presented with an address by the caste-Hindus representing the Kumbakonam Municipality.³⁰ They in their address indirectly indicated that Gandhi should not take up the issue of temple entry at that juncture, because it would lead to further dissensions among the Hindus. Gandhi in his address very carefully worded his reply: "Temple entry is a question purely for the caste-Hindus to solve. If caste-Hindus say as a body that Harijans shall not enter the temples, I shall say it will be unfortunate, it will be marching against the spirit of times, but so long as that opinion persists, no Harijan will enter any temple. My duty is merely to confine myself in that direction".³¹ It clearly indicates his moderate view in advocating temple entry for he had to moderate the caste-Hindus. Gandhi laid emphasis in their change of heart, a difficult thing indeed? About his tour to the Tamil districts of the Madras presidency, the Government of

Madras reported in February 1934 thus: "On the whole it may be said that the impression made by Gandhi in Tamil Districts was no more and no less than in the other parts of the presidency already visited. He was particularly careful to keep off the temple entry issue in orthodox centres for fear of hostile demonstrations. The Sanatanists were content to boycott his visit and only one un-important blackflag procession was staged."³²

Gandhi's lukewarm stand was not appreciated. He was severely criticised by the depressed class leaders for having redistributed the Harijan fund of Tamil Nadu to prominent congress leaders like N.M.R. Subbaraman of Madurai, T.S.S. Rajan of Tiruchirapalli and T.S.S. Avansillingam Chettiar of Coimbatore. It was also stated that his Harijan tour only helped Congress leaders raise their prestige and economic resources and pursue hectic political activities against justice Party in Tamil Nadu.³³ Further disgusted with the moderate speeches of Gandhi the depressed class leaders expressed their displeasure against everybody who failed to secure rights for them. They convened a conference in Thiruchirapalli district in 1934 and passed some important resolutions. Among them, two are not able: one resolution demanded that Gandhi should withdraw his present moderate views on the temple entry matter and another asked the depressed class members to convert themselves to Islam and Christianity, if they were not admitted into Hindu fold.³⁴ These resolutions made Gandhi responsible for the withdrawal of the separate electorate provision for the depressed classes. They read if he failed to secure civic rights in-

cluding entry into temples, he would morally and ethically be held responsible for the displeasure of the depressed classes.

But, C. Rajagopalachari, Gandhi's "conscience keeper", was always in the forefront in building confidence among the depressed classes. In 1937, when the Congress decided to form the Government, Rajagopalachari was made the Prime Minister of Madras Presidency.³⁵ Of those social legislations of his time, the 'Madras Ordinance No.1 of 1939' was issued in July under his guidance, indemnified those officers whose actions were considered malafied in respects of acts done or omitted to be done in respect of entry into and offer of worship in Hindu temples of certain classes of Hindus, who by custom or usage were excluded from such entry and worship.³⁶ This was then a bold step indeed. This ordinance made the depressed classes realise their long felt dream of temple entry. In a statement issued to the press thereafter he said that it was the intention of the Congress to realise the dream of harijans temple entry. He very categorically remarked: "Indeed in this manner many a change has come in Hinduism and orthodoxy has accepted them".³⁷

Infact, opposition to this ordinance loomed large on the horizon. At Kumbakonam and in few other places, the Sanatanists successfully prevented the opening of temples by threads of forceful opposition. But in other places opposition to the ordinance and disturbances were not so strong as the reformers refrained from acting in the face of substantial opposition.³⁸

The ordinance was followed by the passing of a special Act known as the 'Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act

' in 1939.³⁹ Under this Act, all temples in the Madras Province had to be thrown open for the Harijans. On 8th July 1939, five Harijans entered into the Meenakshiamman Temple, Madurai.⁴⁰ On 9th July 1939, the Soundararaja Perumal Temple at Valayapatti in Melur Taluk, intimately associated with the Savite Meenashiamman Temple at Madurai, was thrown open. On 16th July 1939, the great Brihadeswara Temple at Tanjore was opened after consultation, with its trustee⁴¹ Rajaram, the Rajah, and the hereditary trustee of Tanjore palace Devasthanam. He had also thrown open ninety temples under his charge for the Harijans.⁴² On 26 July 1939, temple of Tirukutralanathaswami near the Courtallam falls in the Tirunelveli district was opened.⁴³ On 27 July 1939, Kasi Viswanathaswami temple at Tenkasi was kept open for the Harijans.⁴⁴ There after Kudalalager temple at Madurai and Sri Kalamega perumal temple at Tirumohur in Madurai district were also kept open.⁴⁵ Subsequently the Murugan temple at Palani, and Sri Ranganatha swami temple at Srirangam and Andal temple at Sriyilliputhur were also thrown open.⁴⁶ All these temples were situated in the localities of very orthodox Hindus.

The outbreak of the Second World war on 3 September 1939 and the demand for Quit India diverted the attention of the congress leaders from this temple entry movement. Even then, a few more temple were thrown open here and there.⁴⁷ On 21 September 1945, on his birth day, the Maharajah of Ettaiyapuram opened his two family temples of Lord Siva and Vishnu to the untouchables.⁴⁸ Following this the Thiagarajaswami temple at Thiruvavur and

Nelliappaswami temple at Thirunelveli were kept open for the untouchables. On 11 January 1947, Jagajeevanram, the Labour Minister of the Interim central Government entered along with untouchables and worshipped the deities. In fact, it gave great enthusiasm among the seekers of temple entry.⁴⁹ On 3 February, 1946 in realization his earlier promise Gandhi entered the Meenakshi temple with some Harijan leaders like V.I. Muniswami Pillai.⁵⁰

At this point, the caste-Hindu leaders in Madras made a representation to the Government in which they demanded exemption for a ten temples to be kept for them only. To rectify those drawbacks in the previous Act of 1939, the 'Madras Temple Entry Authorization Act of 1947' was passed and implemented with effect from 2 June 1947.⁵¹ It empowered all classes of Hindus to enter every Hindu temple in the province. The new Act accommodated other non-Brahmin low castes besides depressed classes. On the day of its implementation, 148 temples including that of Tirupathi Venkateswara temple were thrown open. Swami Sahajanandam, a Harijan leader, entered in to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, accompanied by a mass of Harijan people in 1947.⁵² J. Sivashanmugam Pillai, the Harijan speaker of the Madras Assembly, roamed in most of the temples guiding his fellow caste-men and other worshippers.⁵³

In 1948 under the Chief ministership of Omandur Ramasamy Reddiar a Bill to rectify the anomalies of the Act of 1947 was passed. On became 17th June 1949, it law known as the 'Madras Temple Entry Authorization (Amendment) Act'.⁵⁴ It gave the right of temple entry to all untouchables

in all Hindu temples. It also declared all offences punishable in this section cognizable.⁵⁵

Even then in real practice the untouchables are not treated equally and are not allowed into the temples. Recently, on 24 May 1993, some backward and depressed class members attempted to enter into the sanctum sanctorium of the Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam. But the orthodox people and these political parties supporting them, prevented them entry into the temple. They invited the po-

lice who arrested thirty-one depressed class members.⁶⁰ In supporters of those who agitated for temple entry at Srirangam, public meetings were organised by the pro-supporters in Madras, Thanjavur and Mettupalayam.⁶¹ It shows that the temple entry procees, even in his presence of Acts, had not become complete. At Vaikon in 1924, the untouchables achieved eight furlongs of freedom. But many furlongs remained to be achieved and still many furlongs remain to be walked through even after 1924, 1939 and 1947.

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EARLY COLONIAL ECONOMY: ITS REVENUE POLICY AND PEASANT UNRESTS IN TAMILNADU IN THE FIRST HALF OF 19TH CENTURY

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The study of agrarian problem in India has recently developed in to an important theme of historical research. In a country like India, as millions of people live on agriculture and below poverty line, such an academic research is a prerequisite to a proper understanding of the society. In any period, the worsening condition of the peasantry would have been the cause for any agrarian problem. Government records speak of the prevalence of agrarian problems and peasant unrest in different regions of the country during colonial rule. Attempts were also made by scholars on peasant movements. Yet a major part of the study was on organised peasant movements that had taken place in the country towards the close of colonial rule and in the post colonial period. On the other hand, there were sporadic incidents of peasant unrest in the early years of colonial rule. Although they were unorganised, they reveal the fact that there were discontentment among the peasants against the colonial policies even from the beginning. In Tamilnadu also, there were cases of such types of peasant unrest in the early part of colonial rule and the peasant movements and also of the events that had occurred in different places during the early part of colonial rule.

The causative factors for the peas-

ant unrest during this period in Tamilnadu are:

- (a) colonial policy of over assessment,
- (b) its economic policy leading to depression.

In 1801, the whole of Tamilnadu came under the control of British Government. Conquests and consolidations were the foremost tasks elsewhere in India for the colonial Government. To meet the enormous expenses in conquests and civil administration, they required a steady flow of revenue. So, their first task was to regulate the revenue system. In this, they allowed the pre-colonial landownership to continue further. As a result, the 18th century renters of Pathakdhars, village headmen like Patels, Gours, and Moniagars were allowed to continue as ryotwary landowners with all their usurping estates¹. Hence there were monopoly landowners of 6000 acres, 1000 acres and 500 acres along with landowners of 21/2 acres or less². The poligari estates were converted into zamindaries. All rent free lands granted by native Rajas in the medieval period to temples, mutts and chatrams came under the category of Inamdhari.³ In this settlement, the affected were the lower strata of agrarian society viz small peasantry, Tenants and serfs. The colonial Government did not

bring any change in the life of the lower strata of agrarian society. The result was that in all colonial policies, it was this society that was affected much than the other categories of peasantry.

In the first half of 19th century, the colonial economy was also degenerating leading to shortage of money. The colonial economic policy at the beginning was favourable. The British trade with India was monopolistic. Its object was not only a hunt for British manufactured goods but also to secure a supply of Indian products like spice, finished cotton and silk goods which found a ready market both in England and Europe.⁴ Hence precious metals had to be drawn from England to buy Indian goods. In the decade between 1710 and 1720 the import of Bullion by the Company into our country averaged to f 4344000. Hence there was no shortage of money.⁵

By the time the Company had become a political power, there came a shortage of money in the country. This was mainly because of the newly emerging industrial capitalists in England, who were seeking markets for their manufactured goods in colonies like India. Concomitantly, British industrial goods invaded Indian markets.⁶ The tariff policy of the Company too helped them much but crippled Indian economy. Large quantities of gold and silver were no longer imported from England. This resulted in shortage of money. On the other hand, money also flowed from India into England as "Home charges"⁷ for administering India territories.⁸ The result was depression that lasted upto 1853.⁹ This affected the agrarian sector very gravely. The Revenue policy of the Com-

pany too did not help the ryots of Tamilnadu. Their insistence on money payment instead of in kind at a time when there was a shortage of money affected the ryots of Tamilnadu too much. They had to sell a large quantity of grain than they used to.¹⁰ Unmindful of hardship, the Company officials imposed high assessments. Objections came from many quarters of Tamilnadu between 1820 and 1840. Even government officials like Munro in 1795,¹¹ Thackerey, the collector of Tanjore in 1817¹² and his successor Campbell in 1828¹³ strongly condemned the over assessment policy of the Government.

But the colonial Government was bent upon collecting the revenue by torture and extortion. The victims of torture were the poor ryots. Even landlords worth some property above sustenance level were not also spared.¹⁴ Finding no other way, the poor ryots sold or mortgaged their lands to wealthier ones to clear off their arrears of revenue.¹⁵ Many petty ryots were reduced to the position of tenants. There were also cases of small peasants being reduced to the position of agricultural labourers or serfs.

Although they bore all these sufferings cursing their fate, they could not also keep quiet for all the times. At times when the economic exploitation became intolerable, they were driven to react. Violations, protests and reactions were the inevitable results.

As early as 1802 itself, protests against the Government's policy of over assessment came vehemently in some parts of Tamilnadu especially in the areas of Baramahal and in the district of South

Arcot. In the territory of Baramahal, the revenue settlements introduced by the Revenue Collector Cockburn made the ryots desperate.. So the people in the villages of Dankanicottan and Ottoor not only rose in revolt but sent thirty of their leaders to march to Madras to present a petition to the Board. But the Government was indifferent. This forced the people of that area about one thousand and five hundred persons to assemble ten miles away from Rayacottah, the headquarters of the Collector and demanded redress. The government on the other hand, took stern action against those who assembled. The situation became so tense that the authorities resorted to military action. The Governor in Council, ordered two troops of Cavalry from Arcot to quell the movement.¹⁶

In the district of South Arcot the revenue assessment was raised by 13% higher than the average of preceding nine years by Collector Mr. Garrows in 1802. To appeal against this to the Revenue Board, a deputation consisting of the leaders of some of the villages went to Madras. But the Board was indifferent. This made the revenue authorities in the district to be more oppressive and in one case in the year 1803, a man who had to owe only four pagodas of revenue had been beaten to death. Following this, a deputation went up to Madras in order to represent this matter. The Board now realising the tense situation in the villages listened to the complaints of the deputation and dismissed the Collector Mr. Garrows. The new Collector Macleods also admitted that the assessment fixed by his predecessor had been excessive and fixed the assessment less than Mr. Garrows.¹⁷

Again, in the year 1810, there came another serious disturbance from the ryots of Baramahal area especially in the village of Dankanicottah against the atrocities of the revenue as well as the village officials. Their resistance was so strong that they assembled together in various places. They even refused to appear before the Collector when he summoned them to do so. They were also ready to face any threat given by the Collector. Finally, the Board of Revenue ordered the Collector to look into the just grievances of the ryots and remedy them.¹⁸

In the years between 1810 and 1820, the Company adopted some temporary arrangements in revenue policy such as the decennial leases system. The evil in this system was that the Company allowed the wealthy and influential landlords to exploit the weaker sections within the village or locality. Besides, the Government was particular in collecting the dues in money unmindful of the fall in prices. These caused distress and disappointment among the ryots.¹⁹ The district gazetteers of Tinnevely and Trichirapalli give information about the peasant riots in some of the areas during this time.

In Tinnevely district, after the introduction of lease system in 1815, the peasants clamoured for the introduction of Amani system. For in this system, the collection of rent was in kind. The ryots especially in the villages of Cheranmadevi and Vallanad resisted the lease system vehemently. At the same time, the oppression of the Government officials was also serious that the ryots in the village of Cheranmadevi fled to the neighbouring state of Travancore.^{19(a)} Likewise in

Trichnopoly district, the revenue authorities found very difficult to suppress the riots. Only by threats and pressures, they forced the ryots to accept the system.²⁰ In Thanjavur district a revenue record of 1816 speaks of opposition from the ryots of about one hundred and fifty villages against the introduction of money economy at the time of fall in prices.²¹

There were also cases of peasants showing their resistance by neglecting agricultural operations. This was more common in Thanjavur district. In 1827, in order to reduce the quantum of revenue, the ryots of Sirkali Taluk of that district not only neglected agricultural operations but also refused to repair a breach in a dam that supplied water to a tank. In the year 1832, due to shortage of rain, about three hundred and ninety two villages of Thanjavur district were affected. The ryots of the villages demanded that assessment should be on the basis of the actual produce of the crops. The Government turned down the request and the ryots refused to cut crops. The protest however failed to achieve the object.²²

On another occasion, a similar incident had been reported from Mayavaram taluk in 1837 A.D. Here the servants of Sircars attempted to cut the crops themselves. This resulted in a scuffle between the ryots and Sircar officials. With the intervention of the Collector, the matter was amicably settled.²³

In South Arcot district, serious peasant riots occurred in 1842 as a result of Collector Ashton's unwise policy. Here in the district, the poor ryots had already been enjoying rent free house sites in which they

grew vegetables, tobacco, etc., and built their huts too. Mr. Ashton, on assuming charge as Collector not only ordered for assessments on these sites in the very Jummabandhy itself but issued pattas in which the new assessments were included. The ryots threw the documents and refused to accept them. The next day, they came forward in a body and declared their determination to take no pattas if the obnoxious tax was demanded of them and went off to their villages. At Thiruvannamalai, the next camp, the ryots came before the Collector. In an angry mood clamourously stating their objections and refused to take their pattas. At Chetput, the matters became worse. The ryots broke out in uproar and pelted stones at him. He was subsequently withdrawn from South Arcot. Mr. Dent, who then came as Collector, allowed the rent free sites to be exempted from assessment.²⁴

In the district of Chingleput, a petition given by the inhabitants of the district to the Government in the year 1854, portrays not only the tragic plight of both the artisans and the ryots but also their inability to meet the over-burdened taxes. The petitions further stated that the government officials while dealing with the question, was so adamant that they ordered for shooting on a mass of people when they had assembled to protest against the inequitable taxes.²⁵

The above incidents of peasant uprisings make us to believe that the Indian peasant was not always submissive. They would not keep silent against the injurious policies of the Government. They would

also react very vehemently when the economic exploitation and oppressive method of taxation became unbearable. Thus, this

disproves the impression prevailing among some of the scholars that the Indian peasant was docile and submissive to social injustice.

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THE SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN TAMILNADU WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VARIOUS LEGISLATIVE MEASURES

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INTRODUCTION

Women in India had long been suffering from many disabilities. Socio-economic, political, religious and cultural prejudices all along kept women under make domination. The rosy picture that of Goddess, Rati, etc of our literature was not really rosy, but bed of thorns. Our scriptures limited their activities and our male counterparts still worsened their situations by resorting to many illegal means and measures. But their disabilities attracted the attention of many reformers for their rehabilitation. This started from the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and William Bentinck. After independence the Governments are trying to emancipate and uplift women by passing many legislative measures. This paper tries to trace the various legal and legislative measures the governments passed after 1970 with special reference to the Tamil Nadu Reservation policies with regard to appointments, seats in Legislative Bodies, in Parliament, in the assemblies and in the local bodies. The property rights of women in Tamil Nadu is also being analysed.

LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Indian independence inaugurated a new chapter in the history of struggle for improving the status of women in our coun-

try from the very beginning. Women in India had never enjoyed the equal status of men folk except a few individual exceptions. The new Constitution of India also negated the promise of equality to women, which is the heart of the Indian social system.¹ In Tamil Nadu, a number of movements and reformers raised their voice for the equality of women. The state legislative assembly had enacted a number of legislations for the upliftment of women in society and these laws were amended several times to improve their status. The following are some of these Acts passed by the Legislature in Tamil Nadu in addition to the federal laws to improve the status of women in society.²

1. The Madras Hindu women's right to property extension to agricultural loans Act of 1947.

2. The Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1947.

3. The Madras Devadasi (Prevention of Dedication to Temples) Act 1947.

4. The Special Marriage Act of 1954.

5. The Hindu Marriages Act of 1955.

6. The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act of 1956.

7. The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act of 1956.

8. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956.
9. The Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961.

Considerable changes have been made in the application and implementation of these laws, though there were many difficulties, conservatism, religious fanaticism, traditional taboos and religious anachronisms.

RESERVATION IN PUBLIC SERVICES FOR WOMEN

A.G.O has been issued for reservation for women in public services with regard to recruitment. In this G.O., the Government have ordered that a minimum of 30% of all future vacancies in Government/Departments/Government owned Undertakings/Corporations/Societies and also in local bodies, which are to be filled through direct recruitment, should be set apart for women candidates irrespective of the fact whether the rule of reservation applies to the post or not.³

RESERVATION OF APPOINTMENT IN CIVIL SUPPLIES

CORPORATION LIMITED FOR WOMEN FOR SEASONAL EMPLOYEES

A.G.O. has been issued for the reservation of women in civil supplies corporation. In this letter read above the Chairman cum Managing Director, Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation Limited has stated that the T.N.C.S.C. employees service regulation 1980 has been amend setting apart 30% of vacancies for women in the appointments made in the corporation and that the 100 point Register system is also adopted in the corporation.⁴

RESERVATION OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC SECTOR AND CO-OPERATIVE SUGAR INDUSTRIES OR MILLS

A.G.O. has been issued for the reservation of women in government bodies, Corporations/Societies and Local bodies. The G.O. read above stipulated that a minimum of 30% of all future vacancies in Government Departments/Government owned Corporations/Societies and also in Local Bodies, when are to be filled through direct recruitment, shall be set apart for women candidates irrespective of the fact whether the rules of reservation applies to the posts or not. The 30% of the vacancies shall be set apart for women candidates, following the existing reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, backward classes and open competition.

EXEMPTION IN FACTORY APPOINTMENT WITH REGARD TO SHIFT DUTIES

The Commissioner of Sugar has requested the Government to exempt the sugar factories from the provision of the Government instructions to the women in so far as the factory appointments are concerned involving duties.⁵

RESERVATION FOR WOMEN IN OPEN COMPETITION ORDER OF ROTATION TO BE FOLLOWED FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN CANDIDATES AGAINST 30% ALLOCATION IN THE OPEN COMPETITION

In the case of appointments on the basis of merit, open competition also reservation of women is applied in certain turns. But this has also caused confusion and clear-cut and blanket 30% of reservation for women even in open competition has to be applied instead in turns. This system is a confusion.

Every sixth, sixteenth, twenty fourth, thirty fifth and forty third, turn shall be set apart for women in the first, second, third and fourth and thirty fifth turns in the fifth

rotation and so on shall be set apart for women.

RESERVATION OF WOMEN WITH REGARD TO THE BACKWARD CLASSES

In the cases of backward classes, every seventh, thirteenth, twenty fifth, thirtieth, thirty sixth, forty second, and forty eighth turns shall be set apart for women in the rotations of odd numbers and every seventh, thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty fifth thirtieth, thirty sixth and forty second turns shall be set apart for women in the rotations of even numbers of the reservation of backward classes. Women are allotted certain seats in turns on rotations. But this system is a confusion and the government can follow a clear-cut policy of reservation of women in certain percentage from among the backward classes.⁶

RESERVATION OF WOMEN WITH REGARD TO SC AND STS

In the case of SCs and STs also a system of rotation has been followed with regard to women reservation. So here also the confusing system should be abolished and a clear-cut percentage of reservation should be followed from among the SCs and STs.

In case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, every fourteenth, thirty third, fortyninths turns shall be set apart for women in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth and ninth rotation and thereafter in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth rotations and so on have to be reserved for women.⁷

WOMEN'S PROPERTY RIGHTS

HINDU SUCCESSION TAMIL NADU AMENDMENT ACT 1989

The Hindu Succession (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act 1989 of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly received the assent of the President R.Venkatraman on 15th January, 1990. The Act is a follow up to amend the Hindu Succession Act 1956 in its application to the state of Tamil Nadu.⁸

Whereas the Constitution of India has proclaimed equality before law as a fundamental right, whereas the exclusion of the daughter from participation in coparcenary ownership merely by reason of her sex is contrary to these: and whereas such exclusion of the daughter has led to the creation of the socially pernicious dowry system with its attendant social evils, and whereas this benefit system of dowry has to be eradicated by positive measures which will simultaneously ameliorate the conditions of women in Hindu society.

It was enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the state of Tamil Nadu in the fortieth year of the Republic of India.

This Act may be called the Hindu Succession (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act 1989. It extends to the whole of the state of Tamil Nadu. It came to be enforced on the 25th day of March, 1989.

The new chapter II-A was inserted in the Hindu Succession Act 1956 after chapter II. It gives equal rights to daughter in coparcency property. According to the section 29A i. a Joint Hindu family governed by Mother-in-law, the daughters of a coparenter shall by birth become a coparenter in her own right in the same manner as a son and have had if she had been a son inclusive of the right to claim by survivorship and shall be subject to the

same liabilities and disabilities in respect there to as the son. At a partition in such a joint Hindu family the coparcenary property shall be so divided as to allot to daughter the same share as is allottable to a son prior to this. There was no such right to female member of a family.⁹

It provided that the share which a pre-deceased son or a pre-deceased daughter would have got at the portion if he or she had been alive at the time of the partition shall be allotted to the surviving child of such pre-deceased son or of such pre-deceased daughter, the share allottable to the pre-deceased child, a pre-deceased son or a pre-deceased daughter. If such child had been alive at the time of the partition, shall be allotted to the child of such pre-deceased daughter married before the date of the commencement of the Hindu Succession (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act 1989. And also shall not apply to a partition which had been effected on the date of the commencement of the Hindu Succession (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 1989.

The section 29-B tells when a female Hindu after the date of the commencement of the Hindu Succession (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act 1989, having at the time of her death, an interest in a Mother-in-law coparcenary property shall devolve by survivorship upon the surviving member of the coparcenary and not in accordance with this Act. It also provided that if he deceased had left any child or child of a pre-deceased child the interest of the devolved by testamentary or interstate succession, as the case may be, under this Act and not by survivorship.¹⁰

According to the section after the date of the commencement of the Hindu

Succession Act, 1989 an interest in any immovable property of an interstate or in any business carried on by him or her whether solely or in conjunction with others, devolves under section 29-A or Section 29-B upon two more heirs and any one of such heirs propose to transfer his or her interest in the property of business. The other heirs shall have a preferential right to acquire the interest proposed to be transferred.¹¹

The consideration for which any interest in the property of the deceased may be transferred under Section shall in the absence of any agreement between the parties be determined by the court on application being made to it on this behalf and if any interest under this section that heir who offers the highest consideration for the transfer shall be preferred.

Notwithstanding anything contained in the principal Act or in any other law for the time being in force, where on or after 25th day of March 1989 and before the date of the publication of this Act in the Tamilnadu government Gazette any partition in respect of coparcenary property of a joint HINDU family has been effected with the provisions of the principal Act, as amended by this Act such partition shall be deemed to be one to have always null and void.¹²

THE HINDU SUCCESSION (TAMIL NADU AMENDMENT) ACT, 1989

The Act of 1989 is a revolutionary change. It was enacted for the purpose of women's property rights, while all the state governments are save by character. They had one or two differences between them.

During the Deva GOWDA government he has been trying hard to introduce

33% Reservation for women in Legislative Bodies. But it had met with several problems and it had been referred to the Standing Committees several times. And also it had been discussed in the Standing Committee several times. In spite of all these things, it had been stated by several people due to internal politics. So still it is in the infant stage and it has not been passed in Parliament. According to the present form, a blanket 35% reservation will be given to women. But this had been opposed by Lallo Yadav, Sharad Yadav, Mulayam Yadav and Ram Vilas Paswan. The D.M.K is also opposing it in the present form. They want inner Reservation for BC's and SC's and ST's. Here with regard to the inner percentage also, there are several problems. Muslims also ask for reservation, so the problem has become complicated.

There are also certain problems with regard to legality. If 33% is reserved for women, men will be deprived of the 33% of seats. Therefore it will be against the fundamental rights, which professes equality for all irrespective of caste, creed, gender, etc.

So for this double member constituents should be set up.

So this is the position with regard to 33% reservation for women in India.

This applies to Tamilnadu also. But Tamilnadu is in the fore front by introducing the legislation of Reservation of 33% for women in Local bodies. But now, only politicians are enjoying the benefits. So, this also reflects problems.

But anyway all these should be rectified in future. In Indian Parliament the

legislation should be passed immediately. Then only it will be a breakthrough. Other things can be decided afterwards.

EVALUATION

The paper analysed the various legislative measures with regard to reservation and women's property rights. This includes the reservation of women in appointments and in legislative bodies. The author has also brought out the merits and demerits of the various reservations.

Suggestions:

1. Reservation given for women with regard to appointments in industries are to be modified. Exceptions given for women with regard to shift and industries are to be removed and the reservation should be total.

2. With regard to OC's, BC's and S.C's and S.T's method of reservation is confusing. So a first 30% of reservation should be allotted for women from among the list of OC's, BC's and SC's and ST's.

3. With regard to the property rights the reservation is perfect.

4. With regard to the reservation in legislative bodies Deva Gowda introduced the system. But the measure is now only with the Standing Committee. In the meantime, Gowda was thrown out. So the measure is again to be introduced. Many BC's and politicians of various political parties have suggested changes in the scheme in various ways.

5. Even if they are introduced only the spouses and family members of the politicians are competing in the elections and occupying the positions. This should be changed.

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TRIBAL EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU

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A tribe is generally described as a group of people characterised by a common and distinct name, a group-sentiment, and a common and specific territory. It is endogamous and has common institutional agencies for maintaining order in the community. A tribe follows its own specific magic and rituals along with other political, economic and social and cultural traditions. Each particular tribe has its own code of conduct and practices and the conventional taboos.

Tribal community generally clings to a crude economic state or organisation. i.e. they have a primitive technology and this is considered as one of the important criteria. Homogeneity or lack of social stratification is another tribal feature.¹

Tribes are in general economically, socially and educationally backward. Their agricultural practices are primitive. They are poorly clad and ill-fed. Illiteracy is appalling among them. They are not however subjected to any social disabilities like the scheduled castes, the Main problem of scheduled tribe in general were²

If the world tribal denoting a certain socio-economic level, it is not something fixed or permanent. What is meant by tribal is a changing lever or condition and not a static fixture. All were tribal in origin. They belong equality to the great Indian contiguration of culture.³

The tribes have no permanent cryatal line structures belonging to a particular stage of historical and social development. The Government minded the most social backwardness, economical inequality, exploitation of non-tribes and in-tertribes, poor educational standards of the tribal community. Provisions have been made in the Constitution to protect the rights and interests of the community. Dr.B.R. Ambedkar has taken initial step to safeguard the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes at the Constitutional level.⁴

In Tamil Nadu there are 36 Tribal communities. The total tribal population is 5.20 Lakhs, representing 1.07% of the total population of the state.⁵

The education commission appointed in 1882 was the first to take initiatives to define tribes and recommended policies for their upliftment.

Later the Board of Revenue recommended the appointment of a special agency to channelise the various welfare works meant for the Depressed Classes after serious consultations with various authorities. Thus the Harijan & Tribal welfare work was entrusted to the Labour Department in 1920.⁶

A special officer was appointed as Commissioner of Labour under whose purview fell certain specified hill tribes and untouchable castes. In the same year a

Deputy Commissioner was also appointed and a Labour Advisory Board was constituted.

With the setting up of this office some notable changes came about as a first step. Several schools were opened in the areas approved by the officer and a considerable number of Co-operative Societies were started.

The Provincial Harijan Welfare Committee recommended a separate department for the depressed classes. Accordingly the Government created a separate department with effect from April 1949. This was called Department of Harijan Welfare.⁷

Prior to 1950 the Government of Tamil Nadu had no direct programme for the education of the tribes. With the adoption of the Constitution the promotion of education and scheduled Tribes had become a special responsibility of the Central as well as of the State Governments.⁸

The main objectives of the Harijan Welfare Department are the maintenance of schools, scholarships, boarding grants for the purchase of books and clothing and examine fees, stipend for training teachers, maintenance of Free hostels, etc.

For the purpose of ameliorative work a separate advisory council was set up for the tribe. The Madras Advisory Council was constituted on 3rd September 1957 with a strength of 7 members out of which four were non-officials.⁹

The council met at Yercard on 2nd August 1960 and discussed various measures to be adopted for the upliftment of the Scheduled Tribes.¹⁰

Like any other sector of socio-economic life, educationally the tribals were at different levels of development. In most areas the literacy was extremely low. Formal education has made very little impact on tribal societies.

In general, the tribal primary education was very low. The tribal conferences accepted a full enrolment of 6-11 years of children by the end of the Fourth five year Plan. Special measures were taken for speeding up enrolment of girls and students from rural backward areas, particularly those inhabited?¹¹

According to the 1981 Census of the total population of Scheduled Tribes in the State their literacy rate is 20.45% as against the general literacy is 14%. The Scheduled Tribes's total enrolment is 0.65%.¹²

The number of pre-schools functioning in the State are 226.¹³ The Directorate of Adi-Dravidar and Tribal Welfare is running 213 Government Tribal Residential Schools and one Non-Tribal Residential School in 13 districts with a total strength of 13,905 for the benefit of Tribal children. This includes 4 High Schools and 5 Higher Secondary Schools.¹³

Every year 10 new Government Tribal Residential Schools are being opened in Integrated Tribal Development Project areas. The children studying in these schools are provided with free boarding and lodging, woollen blankets, text books, writing materials and uniforms.¹⁴

Apart from these schools the forest Department is also running 15 schools for those tribals living in the interior forests areas. Some voluntary organisations are also actively involved in imparting educa-

tion to the tribals. In order to encourage more students to attend classes regularly the scheme of supplying midday meals was first introduced in 1941-42.¹⁵ The expenditure incurred by this scheme is met by the Adi-Dravidar Tribal Welfare Board. As this scheme was found to be effective it was continued and extended to students various age groups and classes. Till 1982 midday meals were supplied to students studying in standard 1-VII in ADTW schools. From 1st July 1982 a new scheme of supply of nutritious meal to the students in the age group of 5-9 years was launched. This scheme was extended to Madras city with effect from 15th September 1982.¹⁶

From the year 1977-78 the students from standard IV to X could avail the scholarships. Then it was extended to students from 1 to X.¹⁷

Post-metric scholarships and Loan scholarships are also introduced for the benefit of these students. In order to improve the students standard, Government of Tamil Nadu launched a special scheme in 1974-75.¹⁸ Free coaching classes are conducted for these students.

Hostels play a vital role in popularising education among the Tribal Communities. Both Central and State Governments contribute to the hostel facilities. To shed the shyness of the S.T's and to allow them to mix freely with others the following ratio is adopted in admitting boarders in the hostels S.T's 60%, S.C's 30% and B.C's 10%.¹⁹

The Tribal students are also supplied two sets of dresses free of cost in government Tribal Residential Schools.²⁰

Though Tamil Nadu State tried to at-

tract tribal children to schools by providing mid-day meals schemes, clothing, small amount of pocket money, supply of free reading materials, the situation however remains the same. Unless and otherwise they understand the benefit of the education, education would not spread among the tribes.²¹

The social factors play a dominant part in discouraging education among them. It is still a widespread feeling among the tribals that education makes their boys defiant and insolent and alienates them from the rest by the modern ways of life and go astray.

Other than this some other superstitions and myths also play a part. Economic factors are also responsible for the lack of interest shown by them in education. Some parents are not generally interested in educating their children who mostly assist them in earning them daily bread. No matter, what the occupation they pursue, whether food gatherers, hunters, fishermen, shifting cultivators or settle agriculturists, almost all of them lack enough food to maintain the family. Education, therefore, is a luxury for them. Each school going child in a tribal family is an economic unit who makes his own contribution to the family. Children mean more hands at work, and economic betterment to the family. Though tribal education is generally encouraging, medium of instruction is a great problem. They must be at the first instance be advocated from time to time that the vernacular should be made the medium of instruction in the primary school.

Generally, to make the Tribal children literate, the approach to their chil-

dren should be from a different angle for tribal child. The school must be near the house.

Poor economic status of parents affected the growth of education in two ways. Students stay away to assist their parents to take out their livelihood and therefore there is difficulty in enrolling them.

Their malnutrition due to poverty drives them away from school as they cannot behave like normal children.

The present system of education benefits a tribal child can bring to the family may be only after fifteen years which is a long period for the parents to wait.

Thus the educational system for the tribals must be differentiated from the other sections of the society.

Where instead of increasing the bookish knowledge of the child by restricting him to class rooms he has to be given more of practical training along with the basis of education. Added to this, the local conditions and requirements of the people should get top priority in any educational scheme and a balance has to be maintained between the heads of the family and heads of education.

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AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE BRITISH IN THE CARNATIC (1790-1792) - A STUDY

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1. Introduction:

In the course of the Third Anglo Mysore War (1790 - 1792), the agrarian policy of the British in the Carnatic region underwent vast changes. Ever since the British established their commercial centres in the east coast of south India, they tried to bring the entire Carnatic region under their control. Within two years time, amidst the battles, the English came out with a series of experiments but aborted experiments, in the field in the of revenue administration. An attempt in made in this study to analyse these experiments in detail based on original data.

In May 1790, the Third anglo-Mysore War broke out between Tipu Sultan, the ruler of the Mysore Kingdom, and the British at Madras. In July the soldiers of Mysore invaded the Carnatic. In spite of the Treaty of Carnatic.¹ The Governor-in - Council issued an order on 7th August 1790 for the forcible assumption of the revenue administration of the Nawab's territory, on the condition of giving 1/5 of the gross collection for meeting his expenses.² The British took over the revenue administration of the Nawab of Arcot with an intention of collecting huge revenue and reducing the Nawab's political status.

2. Annual Renting Settlement on the Farms:

Having taken over the revenue ad-

ministration of the Nawab, the British created the Board of Assumed Revenue at Madras in order to supervise the administration.³ Further, the British divided the territory of the Nawab of Arcot into 8 revenue districts namely Ongole and Palnaud, Nellore, Northern division of Arcot, Southern division of Arcot, Tiruchirapalli, Madurai and Tirunelveli. These were placed under the charge of the British Officer called the Collectors.⁴

Except the poligari, the jagirdari and the garden lands, and other special grants, the Circar land in each district was divided into a number of sub-revenue units known as the farms. The size of the farm varied from district to district according to the fertility of the soil and strategic location. The British had decided to entrust each farm with an Indian agent known as the renter for collecting tax for one fasli year⁵ for those who proposed to give higher rent to the government.⁶

The renters who entered into machiliga or written agreement with the Company could alone collect the usual rent from ryots after giving their customary share. In case of any loss to the renter due to the invasion of the enemy, he was entitled to get reduction on the recommendation of the special committee. In order to improve cultivation, they were to give attention to repairing tanks, nallahs and wa-

ter-courses and to bring waste land under cultivation. They were to meet the expenses towards sabbendy charges, the saderward marramat or repairs of tanks and water courses and yeomadars or daily pensioners and the same amount could be deducted from the amount to be remitted to the Company. The renters were to remit the revenue in the treasury in the Office of the Collector in 4 or 5 instalments. They renters must have given security of money or person as a guarantee for making regular payment to the Company.⁸ In case of failure to remit the rent or in discharging his responsibility or doing injustice to the ryots, the Collector could forfeit the farm and give other punishment.⁹

Most of the farms were rented for annual renting system for fasli 1200 (13 July 1790 to 12 July 1791 A.D.) except 32 villages in the district of Ongole and Palnau. These 32 villages were retained under amani settlements i.e. the settlement made directly with the peasants.¹⁰ Belonging mostly to the upper strata of society the renters have hailed from the Mudaliar and the Reddi communities. The economic and educational backwardness prevented the peasants of lower community to take up the responsibility of the renters.

The British thus shared the responsibility of revenue administration over the farms among the members of the Board of Revenue, the Collectors and the Renters. The reason behind the creation of the farms was to make the individual renters to devote more attention to improve the cultivation and increase the revenue of the government.

The British introduced the proposed

annual renting system in the farms because most of the people were already familiar with this system under the Nawab of Arcot. Most importantly, British did not have even the basic knowledge about the local revenue administration through this short-term settlement.

3. Changes in the original Policy of the British

The British could not implement the proposed annual renting system over the farms successfully as expected. Instead they introduced alternative settlements due to various reasons. A few of them are the frequent attack and inroads of the Mysore troops into the farms in the Carnatic, the failure of the British to give concession to the renters in the payment of rent in proportion to the loss, the adverse climatic conditions, the inability of the authorities and ruler to repair tanks and water courses and, low price of paddy in some places and the impact of maladministration of the Nawab prior to the surrender of the territory. These, in fact, made the British dilute their original plan.

The frequent invasions and inroads of the Mysore forces had done heavy damages to the renters and cultivators. The worst hit regions of the Mysore invasions were Tiruchirappalli, the Southern, the Centre and the Northern divisions of Arcot. The attack on the Centre divisions commenced by the beginning of January 1791 and continued until February 1791.¹¹ During these attacks they imprisoned a large number of people including the Company's servants and officials. Among them, the most important ones were the renters of Permacoil and Tindivanam.¹² The forces also seized the revenue accounts and de-

stroyed some of the important records.¹³ They also destroyed crops to be harvested, burnt down houses, plundered their husbandary items and other valuable goods including clothes. As there was no means of subsistence, many people were thrown to the horrors of famines and starvation.¹⁴

Unable to bear the consequences, many people left their homes and took asylum in the favourable places. When the renters of Chetput took refuge at Arani, those of arcot farm, Alavandy and Annor Boolamangalam and Gingee got asylum at Vettavalam Palayam. Where as the renter of Tiruvennamalai took protection at Vellore. The renter of Aspoor escaped to the Kolattur Jungle.¹⁵ James Landon, the Collector of the Centre division of Arcot, and his escort moved to Fort St. George.¹⁶ Some of the peasants, renters and other people from Valudavur, Trivady and Villupuram in the Centre division of Arcot sought protection in Pondicherry. Most of them carried with them crops and other belongings.¹⁷

The impact of Mysore invasions was so severe that the Collector of Centre division of Arcot wrote that it consisted of more than 300 villages, but he could see not more than 10 or 15 people¹⁸. The absence of the Company's troops and sibbendies to give protection to the people facilitated the Mysore troops to indulge in ravages and destructions and to get a swooping victory.¹⁹ In spite of the Collectors rehabilitation measures all the refugees did not return to their home-land. The chaotic situation prevented the harvests and sowing of seeds for the next crop. This had very severely affected the rev-

enue collection in 3 divisions of Arcot and Tiruchirapalli districts.²⁰

In addition, the refusal of the British to compensate the loss of the renters and the ryots had also contributed to the failure of the annual renting system. However, the British gave a remission of tax worth of star pagodas 236716"26"19 during the fasli year 1200.²¹ But, the British could not give compensation equal to the loss met by the renters and peasants. For instance, even when the Company gave him a remission of 500 pagodas.²² From the correspondence of James Landon, it is understood that the ryots of Chetput, Aspoor, Trivady, Valudavur and Villupuram had suffered atleast triple the loss met by the Company.²³ Since the British officials refused to give a reasonable remission, the peasants denied to undertake cultivation and some of the renters refused to continue the charge of collecting the rent. So the annual renting system collapsed in some of the farms.

Besides, the low price of paddy in tiruchirapalli was another cause for the failure of annual renting system on the whole. While in the rural area of Lalgudi farm, a Kalam of paddy was sold from 8 to 10 gold fanams, in the town it was sold from 12 to 13 gold fanams.²⁴ Cheap price of paddy also made the renters meet a heavy loss.

Further severe drought seriously affected the revenue collection in the districts of Nellore, Ongole and Palnau. In Nellore district, three parganas namely Mahemalur, Paramanah and Raupore suffered seriously.²⁵ More than that the bad

condition of tanks and water courses reduced cultivation. In some places, excessive rainfall destroyed tanks and water-courses. For instance, in the Srivilliputhur division in Tirunelveli district, about 60 tanks were destroyed.²⁶ The negligence of renters in under taking repair works made the farm condition worse.²⁷ Added to these was the indulgence of the renters in corruption and malpractices. The oppression of the poor people by their renters also contributed to the change in the annual renting system of the British.²⁸

4. Prevalence of Other Types of Settlements:

The British trial of the annual renting system had failed in some of the farms before the expiry of fasli year 1200. The renters, especially from Chetput, Tiruvady, Valudavur and Gingee in the Centre division of Arcot, refused to hold the responsibility till the end of fasli year 1200. Hence the British Officer had to make settlement with the Natawars or head peasants of Chetput, Valudavur, Tiruvady and Gingee between April-May 1791 and entrust to them the work of collecting the rent till the end of fasli year 1200. An amildar was also appointed in each farm with monthly salary to supervise and collect the rent.²⁹

Since there was no good offer of proposal to reintroduce the annual renting system in few place for the fasli year 1201 (13 July 1791 to 12 July 1792), the British had to substitute the renting system with Natawar or the amani settlement, During the fasli 1201, in the Centre division of Arcot, a vast area at the estimated revenue of 147388" 26 star pagodas was brought

under the settlement with the Natawars, whereas the land's estimated income of 8444 star pagodas was kept under the amani settlement.³⁰ In the Southern division of Arcot, the area at the estimated revenue of 169041,, 10,, 16 star pagodas was retained under the settlement with the Natawara, while the land with the approximate revenue of 3181 star pagodas was retained under amani settlement.³¹ In the Northern division of Arcot a vast area was settled with the renters whereas a little area was kept under the amani settlement.³²

In Nellore district 3 parganas whose estimated revenue of 19925,,4,,40 star pagodas was kept under amani settlement.³³ Of the rest of the area, 23 parganas with an estimated income of 370509,,9,,58 star pagodas was sent out to the renters.³⁴ In Palnaud division, the land at the estimated value of 33,000 star pagodas was brought under amani settlement.³⁵ A vast area in the Ongole division whose appropriate rent of 90495,,30 Star pagodas was sent out to the renters while the land whose income worth of 18356,,228,,4 Star pagodas was retained under the amani system.³⁶ In Tiruchirapalli district, while six divisions whose estimated revenue of 202933,,33 star pagodas was brought under the annual renting system, the land with an appropriate income of 19,000 star pagodas was kept under the amani settlement. The entire circar land (farms) in Madurai and Tirunelveli districts were rented with the renters.³⁷

The natawars, who entered into a machiligas with the amildars, agreed to calculate the period from Tamil month of 1st Adi to 30 Adi of fasli year 1201 (ap-

proximately from the middle of June 1791 to June 1792). They also promised to pay a fixed rent which included the charges for repairing the tanks and water courses. But it excluded the expenses towards sabbendy, sadarward, roosumdars, yeomedars, ect. They also agreed to pay the stipulated rent in case of failure of rainfall.³⁸ On the other hand, in case the losses rose high due to enemy's invasion, the Natawars were entitled to get reduction on the recommendation of the special committee. In each farm, an amildar was appointed on a monthly salary basis. In Chetput division Venkata Ragavayengar was appointed as an amildar for fasli year 1201. The amildar was entrusted with the power to prepare machiligas with the peasants to receive the rent from the Natawars, to encourage the people to undertake cultivation, to prepare a report about the condition of tanks and water courses and to spend money in connection with the expenses towards sabbendies and sadarward.³⁹

Besides, in the Centre division of Arcot, the Collector reintroduced the office of the Tagadas (faujdars) as practised under the Nawab of Arcot. The Tagadas were given the power to fix the estimate value of the crop when it was ripe. Immediately, the peasants were called upon to give the share to the Circar before they could be permitted to harvest. In order to pay their kists in advance, the peasants had either to borrow loan at 2 or 3 percent per month or had to enter into a contract with the merchants for its purchase. Thus before harvesting, the government could collect the rent by Tagadas assessment. But cutting, threshing and watching the crop were done by the peasants at their own expenses.⁴⁰

Regarding the significance of the Settlement with the Natawars, the Board of Assumed Revenue argued that being the head peasants, the Natawars could make direct communication with the natives and Company's Officials. It could also avoid the perplexing difficulties of an amani management and protect the people from the overgrown renters.⁴¹ About its drawback, James Landon wrote to the Board that the Natawars concentrated on their own interests and wellbeing rather than that of the people. The Natawars were not prepared to respect the amildars as they were merely the servants who received monthly salary and did not possess the influence and responsibility of a renter or an amani manager.⁴² In spite of these drawbacks, the system of settlement with the Natawars helped the British to collect the revenue in the critical situation.

In fact, the British introduced an alternative settlement over some of the farms for getting more revenue. For instance, during the fasli year 1200, the British were able to collect a gross amount of 1679219" 4"14 star pagodas which included 74749"10"78 star pagodas for fasli 1199.⁴³ But the total gross collection for fasli 1201 was 2163198"30"43 star pagodas.⁴⁴ Thus in the fasli year 1201, they experienced and experimented three types of settlements—the annual renting system, the amani settlement and the settlement with the Natawars. Besides, the British adopted changes in the irrigation system. As per their original plan, the British entrusted the task of repairing tanks and water-courses with the renters. But under the changing administrative system, the British gave the task of maramat to the collectors. During

the fasli year 11201 the British spent 22721"9"97 star pagodas towards repairing tanks and water courses.⁴⁵ It was expended with the condition that except 500 pagodas spend in Nellore district, the rest of the amount should be reimbursed either by the Narawars or amani managers or the renters of the respective farms. The old custom in Nellore was to meet the expenses towards marammat by the government, but now the Company decided to meet the amount spent for it in fasli 1201.⁴⁶

Conclusion:

The foregoing study tells us that various factors led to decline in the annual renting system. As primary aim of the British was to collect maximum revenue, they introduced the alternative settlements in some places which could fetch them more income. In the changing system, the British were concerned with the maximum profit rather than the Welfare of the people. They could collect more revenue in the fasli year 1201 than what was collected in fasli 1200. Apart from this, the knowledge which they gained during this time helped them introduce new innovations in the revenue administration.

Meanings and explanations of the terms

1. *amani* - Collection of the Circar (Govt.) share is proportion to the actual produce of the soil.

2. *Amildar* - Administrator of Revenue affairs.

3. *Machiliga* - A Penal of obligation.

4. *Sibbandi* - Revenue peons employed in the Collection of revenue.

5. *Sadarward* - The expenses incurred towards purchasing paper, ink, lamp - oil and bettle nut.

6. *Marramet* - Related to repair of tanks and water courses.

7. *Pagoda* - It is gold coin. A pagoda was exchanged for three rupees and a star pagoda was exchanged for three and a half rupees.

8. *Panam or fanaw* - A small gold or silver coin. A pagoda was exchanged for 16 fanams.

9. *Jahir* - Allowance in land, given in lieu of money payment. Holder & Jahir was called Jagirdar.

10. *Tagodar* - He was a revenue officer who was specially appointed to calculate the estimate value of the crop when it was ripe.

11. *poligar* - He was a holdier of an armed camp, which was the territory of poligar

12. *Yeomadar* - was a pensioner.

13. *Explanation for Commas in the pagadas amounts* star pagadas 2, 36, 716, 126, 19 refers to 2,36, 716 star pagodas; 26 fanams and 19 Cash.

Notes and References:

1. According to the Treaty of Carnatic signed between Archibald Campbell, the Governor of Madras Council and Muhammad Ali on 24th February 1787, the

latter agreed to give 4/5 of his total revenue to the British, in case of any attack of tipu Sultan against the Carnatic, for its protection.

2. Proclamation, dt 7 August 1790, Military Consultations, vol.137B, p.2603.
3. Minute of the Board, dt.17 August 1791, Assumed Revenue (Hereinafter referred to as A.R.) Vol.9., pp.1927-29.
4. Sec p.2 and add the names hue Josisah Webbe to the Accountant to the Board of Revenue, dt.4 Sep.1790, A.R., Vol.1, p.184.
5. Fasli year was calculated from 13 July to 12th July of the next year.
6. At a Consultation Present, dt.12 August 1790, A.R., Vol. 1, p.25
7. The Secretary to N.E.Kindresley, dt.28 Sep.1790, A.R., Vol. 1, pp 429-435; Minute of the Board, dt.17 August 1791. A.R., Vol. 9, pp.1927-29.
8. The Secretary to Benjamin Torin, dt.16 Oct.1790,A.R., Vol. 1, p.638.
9. Minute of the Board, dt.17 August 1791,A.R., Vol.9, pp.1927-29.
10. Minute of the Board, dt.24 Nov. 1790,A.R., Vol.4, p.1099, Due to oppressive taxation system of the Nawab of Arcot during the past 112 or 14 years, many people fled from their residence and got asylum in other places. Added to this, the failure of rainfall affected cultivation. Therefore the attractive offer was not received for these 32 villages.
11. James Landon to the Board of Assumed Revenue, dt.26 March 1791, A.R., Vol7, p.650.
12. *Ibid.*, dt.11.Feb 1791., A.R., Vol.6,pp-262-264.
13. *Ibid.*, dt.30 January 1791, A.R., Vol.6,pp-195-6.
14. *Ibid*
15. *Ibid.*, dt.11.Feb 1791, A.R., Vol.6,pp262-64.
16. *Ibid.*, dt.5.Feb 179, A.R., Vol.6,pp-197-98.
17. *Ibid.*, dt.25.April.1791, A.R., Vol.7,pp966-67; dt. May1791,pp1159-60.
18. *Ibid.*, dt.23.April 1791, A.R., Vol.7,pp894-96.
19. *Ibid.*, dt.30.January 1791, A.R., Vol.6,pp196.
20. At a Consultation Present, dt. 26 January 1791, A.R., Vol 6, pp.161-62.
21. Lionel Place to Board of Assumed Revenue,dt. 19 January 1791, A.R., Vol 12, pp.106-112.
22. Minute thereon, dt. 31March1792, A.R., Vol 13, pp.538.
23. James Landon to Board of Assumed Revenue,dt. 23 April 1791, A.R., Vol 7, pp.894-96.
24. Robert Andrews to Board of Assumed Revenue,dt. 12 March 1792, A.R., Vol 13, pp.476-480.
25. Richard Dighton to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt. 15. Sep. 171, A.R., Vol 10, pp. 2331 - 32 ; Minute of the Board, dt. 29 Sep. 1791, p. 2342.
26. Benjamin Torin to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt. 10 May 1791, A.R. Vol. 7, p. 1109
27. *Ibid*,
28. N.E. Kindersley to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt. 27 July 1791, A.R. Vol 8, p. 1746.
29. James Landon to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt. 23 May 1791, A.R. Vol. 7, p. 1209. The division of Gingee was settled for 6,000 pagodas. (James Landon to

Board of Assumed Revenue dt. 25 April 1791, A.R., Vol, p. 965.)

30. Minute of the Board of Assued Revenue, Ddt. 7 March 1792. A.R., Vol. 13 p. 404.

31. *Ibid.*, p 404

32. *Ibid.*, p. 404.

33. Minute of the Board, dt. 26 Oct. 1791, A.R., Vol 11, p. 2507; dt. 7 March 1792, vol. 13 p.404. Mahemulur, Paramanah and Ranpore paraganas were affected seriously due to dry season and finally kept under amani settlement.

34. Richard Dighton to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt. 15 Sep. 1791, A.R. Vol 10, p. 2334.

35. Minute of the Board dt. 26 Oct. 1791, A.R. Vol. 111, p. 2507

36. *Ibid.*, dt. 7 March 1792, A.R., Vol. 13, p. 404

37. *Ibid.*

38. Translation of a Machiligas signed and granted by the inhabitants of the district of Chetput, dt. 7 July 1791, a.R. Vol. 10, pp. 2315- 2316; Minute of the Board, dt. 29 Sep. 1791, Vol 10, p. 2324. The Natawars of Chetput had agrees to pay 12, 010 star pagodas as rent for fasli 1201.

39. Translation of machilikas given by Vencata Ragayengar, dt. 15 July 1791, A.R., Col 10. pp 2310 - 2322; Minute of the Board, dt. 29 JULY 1791, A.R., Vol 10, p. 2324.

40. James landon to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt. 25 Jan. 1792, A.R., Vol. 12, pp. 175- 179; Minute Thereon , dt. 1 Feb. 1, p. 180.

41. Minute of the Board, dt. 4 Feb. 1792, A.R., Vol. 12 p. 196.

42. James Landon to Board of Assumed Revenue, dt, 19 January 1791, A.R., Vol. 11, p. 2488.

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45. *Ibid*, p. 992

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LAND AND LATE MEDIEVAL PANDYA KING- An Examination Through Tirunelveli Epigraphs Dr. P. Chandrasekaran

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There are two theories about the theme of land, labour and lord from the London School of history. The first mentions that the usage of English vocabulary like peasant, cultivator, landlord and tenuous right is inadequate and imprecise in the discussion of Indian land system. Therefore, according to this school, more functional words and categories should be invented or designed for writing.¹ The second mentions that the land should not be looked as an economic object or property, but should be looked at what people hold in relation to it.² In keeping the above views in mind, a method is designed in this paper for the analysis of the theme land, labour and lord. This approach attaches importance to the analysis of native terms. In doing so, these terms are viewed from the culture rather than economic point.

Statement of the Problem in a theoretical context:

The problem dealt with in this paper is as follows:

1. How can the Late Pandya King be called in connection with the land?
2. Was he a land owner in the usage of British legal system?
3. What cultural relationship did he hold towards the land?

This problem has already been studied by several scholars in their own perspectives. For instance, D.D.Kosambi mentions that the king like a tribal chief exercised territorial control.³ R.S. Sharma called the king as the supreme land-owner.⁴ Vijayakumar Thakur views that the king had his domain.⁵ C.Minakshi observes that the PALLAVA kings owned personal farms in villages.⁶ K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and A.Appadorai consider that the king had no private property.⁷ However, Dharma Kumar contends that at Chola society control was exerted at various levels by the king, nadu and village assemblies.⁸ Though these ideas carry much weight, they have not been illustrated with native terms. Moreover, the king's relationship to the land was not clarified from the point of view of culture, except in that D.D.Kosambi. This study seeks to discuss the cultural significance of the king in relation to the land by perusing native terms found in the limited epigraphs of Tirunelveli, which remained the centre of the Later Medieval PANDYAS.

Information of the Inscriptions:

An inscription issued in the eight regional year of the king Sundarapandya records a land grant made by the king to the Brahmins.⁹

The order states the following:

1. The village of Kudalur and kilai Kudalur and inclusive of those villages of Murappu nadu should be converted in to a one single village for the habitation of Brahmins, i.e., into a brahmadeyam.

2. The previous holders of the land (Munnudaiyar) the old name (Palam Perum), cultivation (ulavu), and capital (muthal) should be exempted (tavirthu).

Another inscription¹⁰ issued in the eight regnal year of the same king records a land grant made by the king. In that grant, the king ordered for the following:

1. The village Kannanur of Kilvemba nadu should be included into a brahmadeyam village.

2. The previous holders, old name, capital should be exempted.

Direct meaning of the inscriptions:

From the above grants, it is learnt that the king had the following rights or powers with relation to the villages.

1. He could convert ordinary villages in to a Brahmin habitation village.

2. He can include one village in to another village or brahmadeyam.

Conceptual meaning of the Grant :

This sort of king's order indicates that the king possessed overall control over the villages. The king seems to be a tribal Chieftain as as D.D. Kosambi suggested and he also seems to be a superior land lord as R.S. Sharma contents. The inscription also reveals that the king was as well as the real owner of the village and land controller of the area.

Conceptual meaning and functional meaning :

Although the grant offers such a status to the king, the functional meaning of the king has to be sought elsewhere. The king in his grant ordered for the omission of previous holders (munndaiyar) old name (palam perum) cultivation (ulavu) and capital (muthal). An analysis of these term could alone bring out the functional meaning of the king.

Analysis of the native terms:

1. Munnudaiyar : The literal meaning of the term munndaiyar is previous possessor. Karachima and Subbarayalu¹¹ have interpreted the term Udaiya as land possessor. As the King himself stated that there should be omission for the previous possessors (munndaiyar), it is observed that the king did not claim the village as his direct property, which implies that the King was not the direct possessor of the land. Thus the native term munndaiyar indicates that the king was not the direct owner of the land.

What does the order refer? Either the Revenue account, or the field ?

The moot point is the King's order for the omission (tavirthu) of previous land holders. Does it mean that the king ordered for the eviction of the previous possessors? On close reading of the record, it is learnt that the king ordered for making such omission in the revenue book maintained by him and his officials and not ordered for the direct eviction of the previous holders from their land possession. Why such an order was necessary ? In the grant portion, it is found that the king had ordered for the clubbing of two villages into a single

brahmadeyam village. Further, the brahmadeyam village was made responsible for the payment of dues. Since the possessors of brahmadeya, were held responsible for the payment of the taxes, the king ordered the omission of the previous possessors from his revenue account book.

This interpretation is plausible, because the subsequent term Palam perum (old name) is also ordered for omission. As a new name was formed to the new brahmadeyam village, the king ordered for the omission of old name from his account book.

Thus the great is mainly referring to the account book rather than that of making any changes in the field is much explicit in the meaning of subsequent term like Ulavu and muthal.

Meaning of Ulavu and Muthal :

The literal meaning of the term Ulavu is cultivation. When we apply this literal meaning, it seems that the king had ordered the omission of cultivation of the land. But this cannot happen in an agrarian society. Hence the term Ulavu should mean some fees to be collected from the cultivators. This is substantiated by the meaning of the subsequent term capital which in its literal sense means fee.

Summary of the analysis :

The above analysis can be summed up in the following points :

1. The king was mentioned in the inscriptions as the supreme controller of the land.

2. In practical, the king did not organise the production activities. The land was allowed to be possessed by some other

individual. The king collected only dues from the land.

Cultural context of the king and the land :

Although the above analysis indicates the relationship of the king to the land in terms of economy, the relationship of the king to the land in terms of culture remains to be clarified. The cause of the matter is if the king was the tax-collector, how could he order for clubbing the villages to another. A phrase found in the meykirti states the following.

Muthunila Kilamaiyin Urimai Eythi' which means, the king got right because he possessed Kilamai to the land from age old times. The word Kilamai is used by the Sangam poets in order to mention the inseparable bond that existed between two things. Poem 216¹² of Puranauru mentions that the poet Pisiranthaiyar got Kilamai to the king Kopperumcholan. Poem 272¹³ of Purananuru mentions that a creeper had kilamai to wear over the head. Thus Kilamai indicates a privileged relationship to another. By the above meaning, it can be said that kilamai denotes a lineage ownership over the land. As the king considered himself as one of the members of society, and as a head of lineage, he ordered for certain changes to be made in the villages and in the land. Thus the relationship of the king to the land was one of lineage ownership. Although the land was possessed by some other individuals, the king's claim to the land was fixed in theoretical context. What the kilan of Sangam age exercised was made as customary and the king's of Pandya adheres to that. Thus although the pandya kings lived

in 14th century, they maintained the custom of lineage ownership which prevailed in Sangam age of 300. A.D.

CONCLUSION:

The late madieval Pandya king's relationship to the land was fixed in cultural

heritage. As the Kilavan Sangam, age, the late medieval Pandya kings also exercised lineage ownership which was expressed in the native term as kilamai although the society had undergone various changes from lineage to community and community to caste.

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ETHNIC CRISIS IN SRI LANKA (1977 - 93)

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The Singhalese, the majority population in Sri Lanka, take great pride in calling themselves 'Aryans'. The Tamils, who are a minority, are equally proud are calling themselves Dravidans. The two races have lived together in Sri Lanka for nearly two thousand five hundred years and still the great divide persists.¹

The Singhalese are Buddhists by religion, speak the Sinhala language and live in the Centre, the West, South and South-east of the island. Whereas the Tamils are Hindus by religion, speak Tamil and live in North and the East of island.

The Singhalese and the Tamils have fought with each other throughout history. The Chera, Chola, Pandya invasion around 8th to 11th centuries A.D. have left bitter memories in the psyche of the Singhalese.² The administration of Britain brought the two people together from 1833 to 1948.³ Immediately after gaining Independence on 4th February 1948 from British rule, the old rivalries surface occasionally and recent history of Sri Lanka is soaked in blood and tears of Tamils.

Because of a permanent majority the Singhalese have always been rulers and the Tamils the ruled. Every Sinhala Prime Minister had done his bit to weaken the Tamils. In weakening the Tamils they found their survival. They never felt that both of them are their kith and kins.

D.S.Senanayake the first Prime Minister was in power from 1948 to 1952. He introduced the first Bill in Sri Lanka Parliament in 1948 and made ten lakhs, mostly Tamil plantation workers 'stateless' people. He started Sinhala colonisation of traditional Tamil lands.⁴ He set up Buddhist shrines in Tamil areas and made room for religious clashes.

The next important Prime Minister from 1956 to 1959 was S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. He brought 'Sinhala Only' Act and made Tamils second class citizens. He encouraged the racial riots of 1956 and 1958 and made Tamils live in fear.⁵

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's wife Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was Prime Minister twice from 1960 to 1965 and 1970 to 1977. She brought standardisation and frustrated the Tamil Youths.⁶ She promulgated Republican Constitution in 1972. She took away the minority safeguard and exposed Tamils to physical and mental insecurity.⁷ She made Buddhism a State religion and made Hinduism second class religion. Preference was given to Singhalese in employment and Tamils started to leave Sri Lanka.

Next came Mr.J.R.Jayawardene. He was Prime Minister from 1977 to 1982 and President from 1982 to 1988. He was a very experienced and intellectual politician. He spared no efforts to torture the

Tamils physically and mentally.⁸ He let loose a series of beastly racial riots on the Tamils in 1977, 1981 and 1983.⁹ He was ably assisted by Tamil baiter Cyril Mathews and a team of anti-Tamil Ministers, Mr. Athulath Mudali, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake and Premadasa.¹⁰ He promulgated the nefarious Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1979 and arrested, tortured and murdered Tamil young and old.¹¹

Tamils quit Sri Lanka in lakhs. The Sri Lanka Army, Navy and Airforce killed Tamils in thousands. Tamils property was looted and set on fire. Ethnic crisis reached unbearable limits, till India had to intervene in 1987 to save the Tamils.

This paper is an attempt to record the horrors let loose on Tamils by Mr. J.R. Jayawardene. It is only detailed knowledge of the suffering of the Tamils that can help outsiders appreciate the demand of the Tamils for a separate State.

1983 Riots

The year 1983 is a watershed in Sinhala Tamil relations. Black July 1983 is a sign and symbol of ethnic violence.

On 25 July, 1983, thirty-five Eelam Tamil detainees in Walikade Jail were murdered in cold blood. On 27 July, 1983 another fifteen Tamils detainees in Welikade Jail were done to death.¹² All the bodies were heaped in front of the statue of Buddha in the prison premises.¹³

On 29 July, 1983 Athulath Mudali declared "Now the psyche of the Sinhalese is appeased". Such is the depth of enmity of Tamils and Sinhalese.

The riots centred at WELIKSADE Jail expanded in waves and engulfed the

whole of Sinha areas in Sri Lanka. Tamils were murdered, Tamil women were raped, Tamil property was looted and set on fire.

H. A.I. Gaolatilake former Librarian of University of Sri Lanka, presents below his own impression of the violence in 1983:

"The month of July 1983 witnessed an unprecedented communal holocaust in which the Tamil community in Sri Lanka suffered enormous destruction and loss of life, besides large scale destitution and homelessness. Sigahalese chauvinism has deep historical, cultural, social and psychological roots which in turn have been an equally determine and militant stand on the part of Tamils for the assertion of their cultural identity and fundamental rights as well as aspiration to self-determination and regional autonomy."

Since independence the hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils has become a depressing fact of political life, but the repeated outbreaks of violence after 1956, seem minor upheavals compared to the scale and ferocity of the carnage, arson, and looting in 1983.

The continuing reliance on a military solution, repressive legislation, and near permanent emergency, has vitiated the area of reconciliation and mutual trust.¹⁴ This is not to deny the Tamils the right to expose their legitimate demands for the satisfaction of national self-respect and dignity and freedom to pursue the same privileges and opportunities which the Sinhalese now seek to proclaim as their sole prerogative. This latter deviation from the accepted norms of Sri Lanka identity in a multi-ethnic society constitute

the classic imbroglio of the twentieth century Sri Lanka.

The above written by a Sinhalese speak values on the indignity and sufferings of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

CONCLUSION:

The holocaust still continues. India tried to intervene and made the situation worse.

Mrs. Chandrika under the pretext of devolution is making the capitalist countries of the world to carry on a deadly war on Tamils by land, sea, and air. She is marking time, till she can militarily

defeat the Eelam Tamils and then dictate her own terms to the prostrate community.

It is indeed strange that not one country has come forward in defence of the Tamils.

This is a sad commentary on the low level of moral values of modern nations.

The truth is that, the Sinhalese brute majority is all out to wipe out Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. There are many ethnic minorities all around the world who are being tyrannised by the majorities. It is high time the United Nations took up this subject for serious study and suitable action.

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divide; thereby what was south of the Vindhyas was Dravidian, a people of monkey origin and basically lower in stature, culture and linguistic attainments to the Aryans. This is how the European Indologists and Dravidologists had divided the Indians into warring fragments.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CATTLE-RAIDING AND ITS ECONOMIC SIGNIFIANCE IN SANGAM LITERATURE AND TAMIL EPIGRAPHY.

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It is well known fact that the cattle forms the chief property of the majority of the people in the ancient period. The English word 'Fee' is said to be derived from the Saxon *FEOH* meaning cattle, the main form and means of payment. In Latin also a similar development occurs, *PECUNIA*, i.e., money is derived from *PECUS* meaning cattle.

"The growth of private ownership", writes George Thomson, "derived a powerful impetus from the domestication of cattle. Game is perishable and land is immovable, but wealth in the form of cattle is durable and easy to steal or to exchange. Being necessarily nomadic, pastoral tribes are quick to increase their wealth by cattle raids and wars and since warfare, which had grown out of hunting, was waged by the men. It reinforced the tendency already inherent in pastoral society, for wealth to accumulate in their hands. Constantly on the move these tribulent tribes plunder one district after another."¹

In ancient India as in other parts of the world, the chief wealth, even kings, consisted in their numerous herds of cattle. Many bloody battles were fought for the sake of cattle wealth in ancient India. In the *Rigveda*, there are numerous references to such cattle raids.² So common were such cattle raids that the word 'Gavisti' indicating 'battle of cattle' came to denote

any conflict or battle.³ The character of Indra, as depicted in the *Rigveda*, is that of an unscrupulous war leader of the pastoral people, an ideal king of later times, plundering one district after another for the sake of cattle wealth.⁴ Prof. R.S. Sharma has drawn attention to the fact that cattle was synonymous with wealth in Vedic Society, that the king was essentially a protector of cattle and not of land, and that, consequently, it was cattle which formed a source of inter-tribal conflict.⁵

Cattle-raiding is not native to India alone. It was widely practised throughout the world in different periods. For instance, cattle raiding is also one of the frequent incidents of Irish heroic poetry.⁶ Bruce Lincoln, in a recent study of the subject, gives various examples of cattle-raiding myths from the African, Semitic and Indo-European Literature.⁷ Nestor's cattle raid in the *Iliad* and the theft of Helio's cattle in *Odyssey* may be quoted as well known examples from Greek literature.⁸

Cattle-lifting is also one of the popular themes adopted in the early Tamil literature. The frequent occurrences of such cattle raids on South India has almost created a literature of its own, and the bards and the grammarians have elevated such practices into a science and have given us the 'modes operandi'. Cattle raiding has been variously described in various liter-

ary works. For instance, in the Tolkappiam it is stated that it is the king who sent his vanguards to capture the cattle of his enemies before starting a major war. or before invading the neighbouring country.⁹ The later work Purapporul Venbamalai graphically describes the process involved before starting a war.¹⁰ Vetci (*Ixora coccinia*) flower garlands were especially associated with cattle-raiding and were to be worn on such occasions. They bear a profusion of flowers, sometimes of dazzling brightness and of a deep scarlet hue and were probably intended to strike horror into the eyes of the opposing enemies.

Before the vetci soldiers go on an expedition, They will drink toddy and even consult astrologers for good omens. The raiders will also send forward trusted spies to ascertain the precise position of the herds and the number of warriors to whom they belong. Then the raiders surround their enemies and seize the whole herds. The spoils are divided and a feast is held. This stage is known as vetchppadalam.

The next stage is known as karandaippadalam in which the enemies may make attempts to rescue or recapture the lost cattle and repel the raiders. During this occasion, the karandai flower (a species of Basil) was, likewise, to be worn by the invading soldiers. Thus, Purapporulvenbamaalai describes the nature of cattle-raiding in a picturesque manner. It is evident from Aganaanooru that lifting of cattle will take place during the pre-dawn hours and the rescue attempt during the night time.¹¹ The soldiers who conducted the raid in vetchippadalam are known as vetci warriors and those in

karandai as karandai warriors. They are also known as mazhavar and tharukanaalar respectively.¹²

Next to Tolkappiam and Purapporulvenbamaalai, Puranaanooru and Aganaanooru contain many references to such cattle raids.¹³ Here it seems that cattle raiding is celebrated as a grand theme. Many poems in Aganaanooru and Puranaanooru speak about hero-stones raised in memory of great warriors who lost their lives while recapturing the lost cattle from the enemies.¹⁴ Perungkathai¹⁵ and Virachoziyam¹⁶ also speak about hero-stones raised in memory of vetci and karantai warriors. Apart from the above mentioned literature, Villiputuraar Mahabharatha mentions cattle raiding. It is interesting to note here that Villiputuraar closely followed the same ancient convention of Sangam literature as wearing Vetci garland while capturing the cattle and karantai garland while recapturing the cattle from the enemies.¹⁷

HERO - STONES AND CATTLE RAIDING

We may now consider the hero-stones and their inscriptions, as found in TamilNadu, and try to reconcile the subject with Sangam literature. Most of the hero stones record the death of heroes in the course of campaigns for capturing or recapturing the cattle from the enemies. Many hero-stone inscriptions mention the names of the raiders and also the names of the rescuers.¹⁸ Terms like torukondapothu and torumeetapothu are frequently referred to in the hero-stone inscriptions.¹⁹ Recently discovered hero-stones in TamilNadu speak about hero-stones raised in memory

of both vetci and karandai warriors.²⁰ In Sangam literature the term poosal denotes the fight in connection with cattle lifting.²¹ It is noteworthy here that the very word poosal also occurs with the same meaning in hero - stone inscriptions.²²

WAR AND CATTLE - RAIDING

It is not known whether cattle lifting was one of the reasons for the out - break of hostilities or whether it was first phase of war. According to Tolkappiam, it is the king who sent his venguards to capture the cattle of his enemy king before starting a major war or invading the neighbouring country.²³ But from the commentary of Ilampuranar, it is also learnt that there was another school pannirupadalam which admits to cattle raids by the warriors even without the knowledge of the king.²⁴ It is more probable that nay individual warrior could capture the cattle from his enemies and thus display his valour.

As mentioned earlier, cattle - raiding in the Tolkappiam was employed as a conventional signal for warfare. It is interesting to mention in this context N. Subrahmanian's references to cattle lifting in his book Sangam Polity: "generally the war started with a well - known incident; viz., cattle - lifting. The incident was both a pretext and a justification. The Tolkappiam gives it a significant name: atandombal. This means 'the protection of cows'. Cattle - lifting normally is treated, as a crime for it is not different from theft. But it is treated in Tamil literary convention at least as an act of 'protection' and a measure of 'safety'. Perhaps this was so in actual practice also. The idea is that the king and his men who wish to attack a

neighbouring state wish to save the cows in that state from the horrors of an of malicious robbery. But the cattle that was so lifted was generally distributed among the followers of the invading chief. The 'protection' is thus offered, first and foremost, to the cows because they were most 'essential for the economy' of the land, and were a 'harmless' species and because religion and tradition held that the cows are very sacred. They were 'incapable of taking care of themselves' so that a mere warning was not enough; they had to be saved. That is why the expression atandombal (protecting the cows by taking them away) was used by Tolkappiar. This makes it clear that cattle - lifting was a useful preliminary to military engagements even in the days of Tolkappiar, and that this ethical explanation for a military incident was quite familiar to him."²⁵ But Puranaanooru and Aganaanooru and other Sangam anthologies do not attest to the cattle raids as a prelude to any regular warfare. The frequent occurrences in Sangam literature prove that such an act was, probably, an action of the warrior class (Maravars) who treated cattle as wealth and food, not as sacred animals. Thus most of the cattle raids seem to have been a source of accumulating wealth and a source of livelihood.²⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan in his recent study on the subject stresses this point by saying that "the cattle raids were not usually the warning step or initial stage of aggressive military enterprise by one king against another or the pious act of planned "cow protection". He further adds that, "the collective testimony of the Sangam poets would suggest, on the other hand, that we have in this practice a spontaneous expres-

sion of greed and lawlessness in a rural society which counted wealth in terms of cattle but lacked the machinery for maintaining law and order provided by the strong arm of the state. "27

MOTIVES BEHIND CATTLE RAIDS

Cattle- raising and dairy farming were very important to agriculture in ancient societies. In those days each village maintained one or more communal cowherds for the common pasture. Besides the cattle owned by the peasantry, there were

large herds belonging to professional herdsmen who led a semi - nomadic life. They used to shift their herds from village to village feeding the soil with fresh manure in exchange for specified quantities of food grains. Thus cattle wealth was a source of people's sustenance. 29 But it was an object of temptation for the neighbouring villages, as people, in order to acquire cattle wealth, raided such cowherds. The raids were accompanied by violence, pillage and bloodshed and were common occurrences, as judged by the number of hero - stones found scattered all over Tamil Nadu.

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goddess by sprinkling its blood and finally ate its flesh with great joy. Here it stands with great contrast to *Tolkappiar's Atantombal* ie., cow protection.

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28. Even today the *Kurumbas*, the professional herdsmen, used to shift their herds (mostly consists of sheep and goats) from village to village feeding the fields with fresh manure in exchange for money and grains.

LAWS RELATING TO MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE OF HINDU WOMEN IN TAMIL NADU

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The child marriage Restraint Bill, popularly known as the Sarda Act was passed in September 1929, and it became operative throughout British India with effect from 1st April 1930.¹

A marriage is said to be a child marriage under the Act if the bridegroom is less than 18 years of age or the bride is less than 15 years of age.² Section 5 of the Act imposes penalty on the persons like priests or other celebrant who perform, conduct or direct a child marriage. The law imposes an obligation on the person who solemnizes a marriage to make a reasonable enquiry as to the ages of the parties to the marriage and satisfy himself that neither of the parties are below the minimum ages prescribed by the Act. Section 6 provides for penalty for the parents or guardians of the parties to the child marriage.³

The child marriage Restraint Act of 1929, amended in 1938 and 1949 set the age of 18 for the boy and 15 for the girl as the lower limit.

THE MADRAS HINDU (BIGAMY PREVENTION AND DIVORCE) ACT 1949:

This Act was formed under the Central Government Act.⁴ It extended to the whole of the State of Tamilnadu. It was called the Madras Hindu Bigamy Prevention and Divorce Act. It is an Act to pro-

hibit bigamous marriages among and to provide for a right of divorce for Hindus in the Province of Madras.

It was introduced, because polygamy is a most obnoxious custom prevailing in the Hindu society. Nothing is more miserable and depressing to a woman than the existence of a co-wife. She is also utterly helpless, if her husband keeps a concubine, deserts her or subjects her to cruel treatment. Legislation is long overdue to suppress polygamy and to provide the women a remedy in the other cases. Strong public opinion has grown in its favour. This Act is applicable to both men and women.⁵ It prohibits the marriage of a man or woman with another, while his wife or her husband is alive and makes such marriage punishable under the Indian Penal Code.⁶ It also permits the aggrieved man or woman to seek divorce in a Court of Law.

It further permits the man or woman to re-marry after the lapse of six months after the dissolution of the marriage, because it restores them to the status of a bachelor or spinster. When divorce is granted by a Court, it is provided that the Court may make a suitable provision for the maintenance of the women in all cases, in which she is not the offending party, till she chooses to remarry, as well as for

the custody, guardianship and maintenance of minor children born of the dissolved marriage. This Act gives a higher dignity to women by placing her in a status of equality with man in the important field of marriage and is expected to inncrease domestic happiness.

THE SPECIAL MARRIAGE ACT 1954:

The Special Marriage Act, 1954, which replaced Act III of 1872 bearing the same title had the effect of putting on the statute book a secular law of marriage, divorce and succession which any two persons, (whatever religion they profess, same or different) marrying or already married to. This Act is a direct step towards fulfilling article 44 objective which seek a uniform Civil Code. It did not replace any of the prevailing personal laws but furnished an alternative of a secular nature, to each of them. This Act provides Indian national and persons resident in India might be married by a Civil ceremony irrespective of their religion.

Indian diplomatic and consular officials might solemnize and register civil marriage between Indian resident abroad.⁷ It permitted marriage between persons of different religions and castes, fixed the minimum age for civil marriage at 21 for man and 18 for women. It also allowed persons, who already married by religious rites, to register their marriages under the Act for qualifying themselves for a civil divorce.⁸

This Special Marriage Act introduced mutual consent as a ground for divorce might not be presented within three years of marriage and that divorced persons would not be able to remarry until

atleast one year after the divorce had been detained. For the purposes of this Act, the State Government appoint many marriage officers in every part of Tamil Nadu.

CONDITIONS FOR SOLEMNIZATION OF MARRIAGE:

A marriage between any two persons many solemnized if neither party has a spouse living at the time of the marriage, neither party is an idiot or lunatic. The effect of such marriage upon the member of a Hindu Joint Family is that the undivided member will case to be the member of the Joint Hindu Family. Succession to the property of the issues of such marriage will be government by the Indian Succession Act, 1925. Thus Hindu or Muslims or other persons whose marriages are celebrated under this law will not be governed by their respective personal laws in the matter of succession.

Further, the rights and obligations of the parties marrying under the Special Marriage Act will be determined according to this Act and not according to their respective personal laws. A Muslim who marries under the Act can not dissolve his marriage by pronouncing Talaq upon his wife nor can a Hindu divorce his wife according to customary law.

REMEDIES UNDER THE ACT

Various remedies, such as divorce, judicial separation, restitution of conjugal rights are made avilable to the spouses whose marriage is solemnized under the provisions of this enactment.

HINDU MARRIAGE ACT 1955

The enactment of the Marriage Act 1995 is an important land mark and it is submitted, of immense advantage to the

Hindu society, which abolished polygamy and granted the right of divorce to Hindu women. Some of the changes that have been brought about by the Hindu Marriage Act are revolutionary in character.⁹ Judicial separation (Section 10), divorce (Section 13) and Re marriage (Section 15) are important new concepts that have been grafted on the marriage laws of the Hindus.

Inter-caste marriages have been recognised by this Act. It recognises both Anuloma¹⁰ and Pratiloma¹¹ marriages. Declaration of nullity and invalidity of marriage legitimization of illegitimate children, registration of marriage, punishment of bigamy, custody of children and disposal of property are some other areas where intrusions have been made by the Act.

The Courts have played an active role in preventing the husband of the wife from taking advantage of provisions of the new Act to get rid of each other. The courts were anxious to save marriages and prevent separation.

HINDU MARRIAGE (TAMILNADU) AMENDMENT ACT 1967

In the year 1926, a strong feeling arose in Tamil Nadu to eradicate the plight of women. The Self-respect Movement under the leadership of E.V. Ramaswamy, called as periyar, dedicated its service to women's welfare. He encouraged widow marriage, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages and also against the child marriages and devadasi system.

He conducted Marriages without any religious ceremonies, Brahmin priest and Thali tying process. This marriage is based on the individual's courage. This marriage abolishes caste disabilities. It did not in-

cur unnecessary and wasteful expenses. Since the launching of the Self-respect Movement, a sufficient courage was given in its media for the spread of Self-respect Marriages all over Tamil Nadu.

Once the Madras High Court decreed that self-respect marriages were invalid, periyar took too much effort and argued that the government would recognise this kind of marriage as a valid one. From 1929 to 1932, more than 8,000 Suyamariyathai marriages were conducted by this movement.¹²

Later this Self-respect Movement stood as the base for Annathurai, a great scholar and a eminent follower of periyar, to evolve his ideas on women's right in the society. He highlighted the plight of the widows in the society as well as the supremacy enjoyed by the males in the society. When he became the chief Minister of Tamil Nadu (1967-69), he brought the famous amendment to Hindu Marriage Act.

This amendment accepted the Self-respect Marriage or Suyamariyathai or Seerthirutha marriage, as valid one. This Act was called the Hindu Marriage (Tamil Nadu) Amendment Act, 1967.

The Hindu marriage Act 1955¹³ was further amended for its application to the State of Tamil Nadu.¹⁴ It is necessary to render valid to self-respect Marriages. After Section-7 of the Hindu Marriage Act, Section-7-A was inserted to recognize the marriages as a valid one.

Section 7 of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, speaks of solemnization of marriage in accordance with customary rites and ceremonies. Before this amendment, the

ceremonies. Before this amendment, the Madras High Court did not accept this kind of Suyamariyathai or self-respect marriages as valid one. Because there were no religious or customary rites performed and the marriage could be celebrated by exchange of garlands and rings in the public was not a valid marriage and no relief under section 9 of the Hindu Marriage Act for restitution of conjugal rights could be granted.

According to this amendment, where a marriage is solemnized in the presence of relatives by a declaration by the parties to the marriage that each takes the other to be his or her spouse or by garlanding each other or putting the ring upon any finger of the other or by tying of thali such a marriage is valid. Sub-Section (2) states that the marriages performed before this amendment shall be deemed to have been valid in law. Sub-section (4) confers legitimacy on the children born to the spouses whose marriage was not valid according to the Hindu law, prior to the commencement of this provisions. The proviso to sub-sec-

tion(4) states such children benefit of legitimacy if such child was begotten before the date of dissolution of the spouse marriage or before the dated of the second marriage.

The implication of the social changes brought by the Tamil Nadu legislations has yet to register remarkable impact even in the mind of a Hindu educated woman. Despite constitutional gurantees of equality of sex, equality of opportunity, a Hindu Woman continues to be victims of exploitation, discrimination and abuse in her matrimonial home. Her progress is being thwarted by the long established socio-cultural traditions and certain social evils. In spite of a plethora of progressive and protective legislations favouring women, it failed to uplift the social status of women and to place them on par with males in all walks of life. Social legislation could become effective only when there is organized voluntary effort to make the people understand the new value embodied in the new law.

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The Depressed Class Movement and Dravidian Awakening in the Madras Presidency : 1890-1920

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The word 'Dravida' was not widespread among the Depressed class¹ people upto the 1880s. Before this year they were denoted by their caste names. For instance in 1810 AD at Madras in the Black Town the Administrators of the East India Company levied tax on the residents of the Black Town now known as George Town to keep the city clean. In the meantime a humble petition of all the Head Pariahs and the inhabitants of the Great Parachery was given to the Company. At that time too they were denoted as pariahs as their caste name². This paper attempts to trace the depressed Class Movement and its Dravidian identity to analyse how far it gave birth to the Dravidian (non-Bramin) Movement in the Madras Presidency in the 1920s.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the Dravidian identity among the Depressed Class people in the Madras Presidency. Many authors and intellectuals have opined that the present day Depressed Class people are the descendants of the original Dravidans. Among the noted authors or Rev.Bishop Caldwell,

who constructed the comparative study of grammar of Dravidian languages, stated as perhaps the best representatives at present of the earliest race of inhabitants are those long-oppressed tribes that are now considered the lowest in social scale, the pariahs and pallas³.

In the year 1888, Gustav Oppert published a book called, On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India: The Dravidans". In his book he says, "I have tried thus to identify the so-called pariahs of southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers.... the first layer of the ancient Dravidian stratum..... In addition to this I trust I have shown that all such different tribes as pallas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian race⁴." He wrote this book mainly on philological grounds. At first he referred to the pallas as the Dravidians, then he tells that the pariahs, the greatest part of them belong no doubt to the original or rather aboriginal Dravidian population.⁵ Later, it was a familiar usage of the word Dravida by the British Administrators to denote the Depressed Class people of southern India⁶

The scholar gratefully acknowledges the help that he has received from his guide and supervisor, Dr.K.Sadasivan, Professor & Head, Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Thirunelveli, in preparing this paper.

From the last quarter of the 19th century a general awareness started among the Depressed Class people of the Madras Presidency, especially the Tamil speaking - educated men who organised and associated themselves with organisations that promised to help against exploitation.

In 1885 one of the Depressed Class social reformer T. John RETHINAM who first started a paper called Dravida PANDIYAN in Tamil. Through this paper he attacked the caste disabilities and made awareness among the Depressed Class people. Later in 1892 he started the 'Dravidan Kazhagam' and through this he gave some emancipation to the downtrodden people⁷

At first, the word Dravid was used by a local Tamil Depressed Class scholar Ayothidas Pandithar to form an association called the Dravida Mahajan Sangam in the year 1881. In the same year, the colonial Cences was begun in earnest and Ayothidas, on behalf of the Dravida mahajana sabha, memorialised the colonial government on an issue that was to remain a concern of him although his active and intellectual life. He submitted that the Depressed Classes (chiefly Pariah). Should hence forth, be referred to as 'Poorva Tamizhar'⁸. The first conference of the Dravida mahajana sabha was held on 1st December 1891 at Ooty (Udagamandalam) Nilgiri's. This was the first and foremost association which was formed by the Depressed class community in southern India⁹.

In the first conference itself its members passed ten significant resolutions. Details of the resolutions are: (i) a law should be enacted to severely punish those who refer to the Depressed Classes as 'Pariahs'

in order to degrade and insult them. It was the claiming of their civil rights;

(ii) to ameliorate the Depressed Classes, that education is most important. Hence separate schools may be established in every village with teachers belonging to Depressed Classes and fifty percent fee concession must be given to these students;

(iii) three students among the students who passed out of the matriculation may be selected and given scholarships for graduate studies;

(iv) employment in Government service should be ensured to all those among the Depressed Classes who have passed their matriculation examination;

(v) there should not be any obstruction to the Depressed Classes in getting appointments in various government offices according to their education and good conduct;

(vi) representatives of the Depressed Classes should be appointed in villages and towns who would report to the government on their grievances regarding employment opportunities. Even while tax payers amongst the Depressed Classes are selected for employment in government services, such selections should be based only on educational qualifications and conduct;

(vii) rule 464 of the Jail Manual of the present days should be repealed which empowers authorities to make the 'pariahs to discharge all the menial jobs in the jails;

(viii) Depressed Classes should be allowed the right to collect drinking water from public wells and tanks without any hindrance;

(ix) the existing restrictions of that, the Depressed Classes should not enter or sit near the premises of the courts and offices where Hindus were employed should be abolished. The restrictions which prevent the Depressed Classes entering or sitting near the premises of the public courts and offices where Hindus holding posts, while these restrictions were not enforced where English men holding posts. Further the petitions of the Depressed Classes should be heard immediately and disposed;

(x) the Depressed Classes persons who are having good conduct many be appointed in the post of Village Munsiff and maniakaran in the villages which were predominantly occupied by the Depressed Classes. Further whenever the collectors visit the village must meet the Depressed Classes people be direct contacts and hear their grievances and do justice¹⁰.

Again, on 21st December 1891 Ayothidas presented as a copy of the resolutions passed were also sent to the Indian National Congress and to the Mohammedan Association too, to be included in the swatantra claims. The then general secretary M.Veera raghavachary acknowledged receipt of the same and intimated that details would be sent in a later date, but no reply was received by the Dravida maga Jana sabha even after the lapse of 17 years. Instead of calling it National Congress it could be called the Bengalis caste Congress or Brahmin congress. Ayothidas also criticised the Mohammedans Associations as well. Even the casteless Moharnmedans who received the copy of the resolutions sent by the casteless Dravidians, have not done anything even

to the demands of the common nature. Existence of these two Associations viz. Congress and Mohammedans were of any use or helpful to the Depressed Classes¹¹.

Ayothidas was highly critical of the Congress nationalist representative claims and of their policy of reform along national lines. He was not convinced of the imminent good of native self-government and found the British more acceptable than the Brahmins. He often observed that it was only with the arrival of the British that the panchama had been brought to the realization of his own humanity since it was the British who first affirmed his selfhood and treated him like a human being. As for as he was concerned the Congress was a party of 'Brahmins' who were intent on perpetuating caste inequalities and prejudices¹².

In 1892 the religious - minded Depressed Class leaders in Madras formed another organization under the name 'Adi-Dravida maha jan sabha'. But both the organisations worked together in the matter of common interests of the Depressed Classes¹³. In 1892 the government of Madras appointed the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur S.Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar C.I.E Inspector General of Registration to inquire into the progress made by the Depressed Class in the Madras Presidency in the past 40 years. He reported that, these people can make no progress but by becoming either CHRISTIANS or Mohamedans. Ayothidas rebutted in an open letter to the Hon'able Dewan Bahadur.S.Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar C.I.E in a ten page booklet printed in English furnishing all details of history and progress made by the Depressed Class people with facts and figures since the Europeans entered in this land¹⁴. In the open-

ing para he observes "In your report to our gracious government, on a poor class of people who were anciently known as Dravidians but who are now called pariahs.....But now allow me to explain briefly the real cause of the backward condition of the Dravidian people who are called pariahs¹⁵....

In the concluding para he closes as follows: the antipathy of those who call themselves Brahmins towards those who are called 'pariah' is notorious and it is no secret that the Brahmins have been always placing every obstacles in the pariahs way to progress while you sir. A Brahmin have now come forward with a report on the 'pariahs' as if you meant therefore are beset with a grave doubt whether any good or evil may be the result of your report¹⁶.

In April 1892 a conference was held at Madras on behalf of the Hindus under the name The Madras Magha Jana Sabha. The representations of the Dravida Mahajana Sabha (Depressed Classes) were invited to the conference of the Hindus. Ayothidas and two other Depressed Class members attended the conference. The resolutions brought by the Depressed Class members were accepted by the Hindu members and were passed in the conference. The demands are requested to the government to establish schools for the children of Depressed Classes in every village. Assignment of poromboke lands to Depressed Class people wherever land is available. These resolutions were moved by Raja Sir. Savali Ramaswamy Mudaliar and seconded by Ellore Sankaran Iyer. Second support for the resolutions come

from Ayothidas of Dravida Maha Jana Sabha¹⁷.

The government of Madras graciously accepted the demands of Depressed Class people and issued favourable orders in G.O. Nos. 1010 Revenue dated 30th September 1892, Second G.O.No. 1010 (A) Revenue dated 30th September 1892, Third G.O.No. 68 Education dated 1st February 1893 (hailed as the Magna Carta of Panchama education) The above order and some more rules made thereafter enabled the authorities to establish schools for Depressed Class children and to assign lands to landless Depressed Class and Ex-servicemen of Depressed Class origin¹⁸.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Indian National Congress asked the British government to conduct the I.C.S Examination in both England and India simultaneously. In reaction to this one of the Depressed Class leaders and a member of the Dravidian Mahajan Sabha Rettamalai Sreenivasan approached the Indian Viceroy and gave a petition that if the I.C.S.Examination will conducted in India, it will be sole Brahmin. So he pleaded not to allow to conduct such kind of exams in India. In the meantime strong opposition and reactions came from the Brahmins of Madras. To give warning to the Brahmins on 23rd October 1895 Sreenivasan convened a pariahs meeting and gave a warm warning to the Brahmins¹⁹.

Between 1891 and 1920 fifteen conferences and meetings were held in different parts of the Madras Presidency. The problems of the Depressed Classes were discussed publicly.²⁰ Some of the noted conferences were 'Dravida Mahajana Con-

ference of 1899 at Madras by pandit C.Ayothidas,'Dravidian Conference' (Depressed Class) which was held at Thiruppattur North Arcot District on 23rd May 1920 by CHINNA Buddu Swamigal, Dravidian Conference (Depressed Class), Thiruppattur North Arcot District by A.P. Periyaswamy Pulavar by a public meeting on the subject: 'Dravidian unity' on 15th August 1920 are significant among them²¹.

Among these stalwarts Ayothidas was a great Tamil scholar. His writings reveal a person well acquainted with SANSKRIT, Pali, English and ofcourse Tamil. He seems to have been well read in the philosophical thoughts of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam and CHRISTIANITY. He founded the Chakya Buddhist sangham in 1898 at Madras. He did much for the reconstruction of the history and culture of the ancient Dravidians through intensive research and study. His research convinced him that the pariahs of southern India were the original inhabitants of this region and that their ancestral religion was Buddhism²². He constructed and activated a Buddhist Weltanschauung vis-a-vis Brahminical world view and also used Buddhism as a normative creed against which the historical as well as the spiritual deceptions of Brahminical Hinduism could be measured. Ayothidas was more than convinced that the problems of the pariahs could not be resolved without constructing a counter tradition which alone could explain the history and culture of the Depressed Classes. He also felt the imperative need for condemning the Brahminical fraud that was basically responsible for the degradation of the Depressed Classes²³.

Ayothidas' ideas and views were systematically argued out in a Weekly that he launched in 1907 . This Weekly was called Oru Paisa Tamizhan ("One paise Tamilian") and its first issue was brought on June 19th 1907 . A year later the prefix 'One Paise' was dropped on the request of the readers²⁴.

In the matter of social reforms and social protest movements of the 19th century Madras Presidency, the Depressed Classes intellectuals were the pioneers. In the matter of Communal G.O. too the Depressed Classes set a precedent to the Justices. As early as 1909 these depressed class leaders focused. As early as 1909 these Depressed Class leaders focused their view through Ayothidas and pleased their demand for 'communal representation' in Governor's Executive Council, Army, Medical, Police, Railway and Educational Services and Municipalities in accordance with the population of all the major communities in the Madras Presidency²⁵.

If the Legislative Council is to seat 100 members it should be done under the ratio given below:

1. Non-caste Dravidians (Depressed Classes) 25%
2. Caste Hindus 25 %
3. Mohammedans 25 %
4. Europeans 13 %
5. Native Christians 12 %

Protest came from the Hindus about the demands made by the Depressed Class. A modified demand was placed in the next writings by Ayothidas as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------|------|
| 1. Caste Hindus | 20 % |
| 2. Non- caste Dravidians | 20 % |
| 3. Mohammedans | 20 % |
| 4. Europeans | 20 % |
| 5. Native Christians | 20 % |

After the stout objection from the Hindus for the demand of Depressed Classes to 'communal representation' the leaders organised a signature campaign. They obtained 2,713 signatures during April and May 1909, from the educated employed Depressed CLASSES in Government service, working in the private European Companies, Railway Office, merchants, contractors, those who own lands, domestic servants employed in the European houses and submitted to the British Government to implement the communal representation. Finally, the British had accepted to nominate six Depressed Class people to the Legislative Council²⁶.

Further, the enlightened Depressed Class leaders in Madras realised the need for launching journals through which they could ventilate their grievances to the government, formulate favourable public opinion and of course educate their own brethren about their pitiable plight. Here to say some of the important ones are Dravida Pandian (later Dravidian) 1885, Paraiyan 1893, Tamilan 1907, and Dravida Kokilam 1907²⁷.

From 1880 onward the Depressed Class Movement was going under the identity of Dravida or Dravidians up to 1912 freely. In 1912 under the leadership of Dr. Natesa Mudaliar (a non-Brahmin caste Hindu) stated a league called the Madras United League. The main aim of the league

was to unite the non - Brahmin educated Hindus and do gathering themselves. In the first year itself the membership rose to 300. In 1913 the members of the league wanted to change its name while discussion was going on regarding this they first wanted to put as non-Brahmin league. But it was disliked and majority opposed. Ultimately, it was named as Dravidian Association²⁸. This was the first time the non-Brahmin caste Hindus used the word Dravidian to denote their identity. Dr. Natesa Mudaliar thus becomes the founder of the Dravidian Movement²⁹.

In 1914 the first annual meeting of the Dravidian Association was held at the open floor of the Triplicane High School. During the meeting a gathering of the non - Brahmin graduates was also arranged. In the meeting Dr. T.M.Nair gave a special lecture to the non - Brahmin graduates. The last lines of his lecture is like this: Awake, Arise or be for ever fallen³⁰.

In 1915 the Dravidian Association published two pamphlets. The first one was non-Brahmin letters and the second was Dravidian worthies. The non-Brahmin letters were published by S.N.K. as pen name. This pamphlet contains 21 letters which maintain the urgent need for creating unity among the non-Brahmins. The next pamphlet was written by C.Sankaran Nair. Dravidian worthies also mentions the urgent need for the unity of the Dravidians. It actually created an awakening among the non-Brahmins³¹. In June 1916 Dr. Natesa Mudali again started a Hostel namely, The Dravidian Association Hostel. It gave food and accommodation to the non-Brahmins who came to Madras for studying and other purposes³².

On 20th November 1916 some non-Brahmin leaders joined together and started a political party called the South Indian Liberal Federation. Later it was called as Justice Party. To publish their propaganda, it started three newspapers namely the Justice, Dravidian and Andhra Prakasini in the languages English, Tamil and Telegu respectively³³. Because of the Tamil paper Dravidian this was later called Dravidian Movement.

The Justice Party initially wanted to include the Depressed Classes in this movement. Because its main reason was in 1919 the British government wanted to give 'communal representation'. So the president of this movement P.Theagaraya Chetti sent a telegram to Montagu, telling that Justice Party is the only organ of the 4 crores non-Brahmins. Meanwhile among the 4 crores 1/5 of the people were the depressed class. So the Justicites wanted the support of the Depressed Classes³⁴.

The main reason for asking the support of the Depressed Class was, they have the feeling of the Dravidians. From the beginning of the Justice Party many Depressed Class people joined the justice movement and extended their support. Noted among them were M.C. Raja, Rettamalai SREENIVASAN and N. Sivaraj³⁵.

The dawn of the Justice Party created the problem of the usage of the word Dravida. The Depressed Classes wanted to denote themselves as Dravida. Meanwhile the non-BRAHMINs called themselves Dravidas. On 2nd October 1917 the Depressed Class people arranged a public meeting at Spurtank at Madras and

invited Dr.T.M.Nair to talk about the political conditions of the Depressed Classes³⁶. In this meeting Dr. T.M.Nair called the Depressed Class people as Adi-Dravidas and most of the Depressed people accepted to call them as Adi-Dravidas³⁷.

Within a year in 1918 a memorial presented by the Dravida Mahajana Sangam requested the government that the ancient and the proper name Dravidian shall be given and recognised by the government instead of the name paraya. To denote the Dravidian traditional name the number of supporters increased day by day³⁸. The relevant portion of the memorandum read as follows: "The very name by which these people refer to us breathless contempt. We should therefore request government to help us in our efforts to attain social elevation by issuing orders that hereafter in all government communications we should be designated as Adi - Dravida or the original Dravidas. Thus bringing us into line with the non-Brahmin Hindus, who are spoken of as Dravidas".

In 1920 Dr. Natesa Mudaliar passed a resolution in the Madras Corporation to call the Depressed Classes as Adi-Dravidas and a public meeting was arranged by him and he requested the Depressed Classes to denote themselves as Adi-Dravidas³⁹. The term Adi - Dravida is commonly used to designate the untouchables of Tamilnadu but it was not used in government records prior to 1920. The change in the nomenclature of the Depressed Classes into Adi - Dravida was done as a result of the concerted efforts taken by M.C. Raja, a leader of the Depressed Classes. In the 1921 Census a

total number of 15,025 returned their caste names as Adi -Dravida⁴⁰.

In 1920 Dynarchy was formed in the Madras Presidency. Justice Party won the elections and formed the ministry. This party wanted to put a solution to vexed problem. So in 1922 the Provincial Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that the name Adi - Dravida should replace panchama and paraiya⁴¹.

Though the Depressed Class people joined with the Justice Party during elections of 1920, they worked independently. Within a year the cleavage between the Justice and the Depressed Classes started. Anyhow in 1923 while the Sec-

ond South Indian Adi- Dravida Conference was held at KOILPATTI under the leadership of Adi Dravidian leader M.C. Raja, they echoed the stepmotherly attitude of the Justicetes and they decided to go separately⁴². Since 1923 the Dravidian Movement had gone as two of the Dravidians (the non- Brahmins) and the Adi - Dravidas (the Depressed Class) separately for two decades. Though the Dravidian Movement later saw the Depressed Classes as Adi - Dravidas. It was under a non- Aryan feeling. It was a separate identity apart from the Dravidian identity⁴³. The foregone study proves that the Depressed Class Movement was the real beginner of the Dravidian Awakening in the Madras Presidency.

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DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN RURAL AREAS IN DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

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The Constitution of India provides equal rights and opportunities to all citizens of India. In practice, however, women are not equal participants in the process of development. Even though they constitute about 50 percent of the population of the country, they have been relegated by society to play a secondary role. Their backwardness is reflected in indicators such as life expectancy at birth, literacy rates, and wage rates. Various efforts are being made to enable women to play a greater role in development. Programmes aimed at providing nutrition, health, upgradation of skills, income generating assets and opportunities for employment are being undertaken through various Government departments. These Programmes seek to specially support women who are heads of families or whose families are living below the poverty line in rural areas. The Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) Programme is one such initiative.

DWCRA, a sub-scheme of IRDP, was started in 1982-'83 with the primary objective of focusing attention on the women members of rural families below the poverty line with a view to providing them with opportunities of self-employ-

ment on a sustained basis. It was noticed that women members of IRDP family were availing of the benefits of that programme in adequate measure. However, DWCRA and IRDP are not mutually exclusive. Women belonging to identified rural families can become member of DWCRA and also avail of subsidy and credit under IRDP, subject to overall subsidy ceiling for various categories of beneficiaries laid down in IRDP guidelines. The target group for DWCRA is same as for IRDP. 1

A distinguishing feature of DWCRA is group strategy as against family as a unit of assistance under IRDP. The women members of DWCRA form groups of 10-15 women each for taking up economic activities suited to their skill, aptitude and the local conditions. The group strategy was adopted to motivate the rural women to come together and to break social bonds which had denied them income generating and self-fulfilling opportunities. The group approach has been extended to all districts for greater coverage of women under IRDP with effect from 1.1.1990. UNICEF assistance is, however, being extended in a phased manner so as to cover all districts by the end of VIII Plan. 2

DWCRA was started in 1982-'83

with UNICEF assistance as a pilot project in 50 selected districts. Since then the programme has been extended to more districts in a phased manner. As on 31.12.1991, DWCRA was being implemented in 240 districts all over country. A decision has been taken to cover all districts under DWCRA by the end VIII Plan. For this purpose, 50 additional districts are proposed to be covered each year, beginning with 1991-'92. 3

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF NEW DISTRICTS

For coverage of additional districts, recommendations are invited from state Governments every year. The criteria to be adopted for the purpose are general backwardness, low female literacy and high infant mortality rates. In addition, for better convergence for service, the new districts should, as far as possible, be those in which some ICDS+ Projects are already under implementation. State Governments are expected to start preparatory work as soon as the recommendations regarding new districts are sent by them. These include making provision in the State Budget for release of matching share of revolving fund, appointment of staff and their training, preparation of project profiles of viable activities to be taken up by women's groups, establishing linkage with other technical agencies for marketing arrangements, other social development programmes for health, education, sanitation service, etc.4

Rural women in Dharmapuri District are educationally, economically and socially most -backward in Tamil Nadu. Ac-

cording to 1981 census the percentage of literacy is 18.3 percent in respect of women in this district. 5 As the district is backward in respect of both industry and agriculture, the women labour force does not have adequate employment opportunity all the year round. Compared to the daily wages being paid in other districts of Tamil Nadu to women labourers, those paid in Dharmapuri are very low. Marriage at very young age, and marrying of girls illegally in second marriage are quite common in this district. Women suffering torture at the hands of their husbands has been prevalent for over a long period of time in this district. Consequently, there are many cases of deserted women in almost all the villages. The children brought up in such surroundings naturally tend to be backward.

DWCRA, as a sub-plane of IRDP was introduced in the year 1983-84 in this district with the following broad objectives.6

- (i) Extending IRDP facilities on group basis;
- (ii) Organising income generating activities for the group of women;
- (iii) To provide supportive services by which daily chores of women folk are substantially eased thereby providing more time for earning through economic activities ;
- (iv) To minimise mortality and morbidity of children by giving health facilities; and
- (v) To improve the health condition of rural women.

Each group is entitled to get

Rs.10,000 revolving fund (50:50 by Central and State) and Rs. 5000 by UNICEF for health and child care. In addition, a provision of Rs.200 per group is made for T.A. to group organiser. A provision of Rs. 5000 to each block under DWCRA is made for child care facilities at NREP* Worksites.⁷

An attempt is made in this paper to trace and analyse the rural development efforts through DWCRA in Dharmapuri District.

The basic objectives of this paper is to study :

- (i) What is DWCRA ?
- (ii) Implementation of the DWCRA Programme;
- (iii) Important Economic Activities;
- (iv) Forms of Organisation for Women's Groups; and
- (v) Achievements of DWCRA in Dharmapuri District.

The recently created Dharmapuri District (2nd October, 1965)⁸ was considered as one of the most backward next to Ramanathapuram District. There were so many reasons for the backwardness of the district. The main reason is scarcity of rain, under development in the field of industry, poor communication , poor education, poor hygienic and health facilities. All these factors mainly contributed to the low employment potential and to the poor growth of capital . Famine in the district after 1965-66 was due to scarcity of rain. The Government of Tamil Nadu has taken many measures to remove the sufferings and distresses of the people. A very high 78 percent of the population of Dharmapuri

District depends on agriculture. Over population in agriculture, evidence of disguised unemployment, availability of little capital per head for agriculture and industry, inadequate training facilities, inadequate transportation and communication facilities were responsible for backwardness of a region. The other causes are the lack of rudimentary education, a high percentage of illiteracy among most of the people, extensive prevalence of child labour, absence of middle class, women's status and position and the behaviours of the bulk of the population determined by tradition.⁹

From the pre-independence period to 1960 there was no industrial development and the people followed the traditional methods of agriculture in Dharmapuri District. Moreover, the rainfall of the district ranged from 700 to 900 mm. The Nationalised Banks came forward to give financial assistance to the agriculturists with low interest. Many landlords came forward to utilise the Bank assistance and to improve the method of agriculture. They used all sorts of new manure and agricultural implements which will remove the hardship of the labourers and give more produce than in the early period.¹⁰

DWCRA - ITS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The general objectives of the programme is to improve the survival rate of young children (0-6 years) and women (14 - 45 years) and the quality of their lives within the context of the family, among those below the poverty line in selected backward areas.¹¹ It also aims at enabling women to improve their earning capacity,

improving the impact on ongoing development programmes by stimulating, supplementing, strengthening and integrating them, involving the community in planning and implementing the programme so that this need based development activity will be carried on by the community even after outside assistance is withdrawn.

APPROACHES OF DWCRA

The above mentioned objectives are to be realised through the following specific approaches, It

(i) provides income generating asset , skill and group support for better access to social services;

(ii) provides information and support of forward linkage;

(iii) make rural women understands the needs for a hygienic environment, clean drinking water, nutritious food, schooling facilities, etc..;

(iv) to inculcate a sense of responsibility and confidence in bringing up children to be better citizens and develop them to face the world confidently; and

(v) promote self-help, self-sustenance and growth of economic activities pursued by women. ¹²

DWCRA -A UNIQUE SCHEME

DWCRA envisage that once women improve their economic and social status, they would be the vehicle for realising health and education benefits to the family particularly for children. It is an unique scheme in the sense that it is specially intended for poor women and children in rural areas, emphasis being laid on self-reliance, and voluntary group activity.

The DWCRA target group is the same as IRDP i.e., families having an annual income of less than Rs.11,000. These women are formed into group of 10-15 members. The revolving fund under DWCRA is available only for the group. Individual women are financed on the IRDP pattern from IRDP budget. ¹³

The first step in the implementation of the scheme is identification of poor women of the families living below the poverty line, fulfilling the criteria for IRDP benefits and to know their occupational base and socio-economic constraints. The needs and problems of the women are to be assessed to activate them to be involved in meeting their needs and solution of their problem. ¹⁴

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

It is important to understand that DWCRA is not a programme to implement objectives fixed and decided upon at the district, State and National level. Concrete Programme objectives are to be decided by the Women's Group in the villages selected under DWCRA. That is, what is meant by 'participatory planning'? Participatory planning is the first activity of the Women's Group and this planning process helps both to bring the Women's Group into existence and to make it strong. It is a matter of helping the women to identify what they want to do and to decide how to go about doing it. The participants in the programme, the poor rural women members in the village level DWCRA groups, take the major role in the planning activities of their DWCRA groups. The women in the

DWCRA in each village will start by making a list of their problems. The problems list is really 'Micro-development Agenda' for the women and children of that village. With their list in front of them, the group members will then decide which are issues or problems. To explore what to do about these identified problems, it will be necessary to analyse the problem and to think about alternative solutions. Participatory planning is best for DWCRA since the aim is to help poor rural women to get organised and become self-reliant as a group. Participatory Planning also results in better plans. The women know best, their own situation, their risk potential, their available time, the issues that bother them the most, the customs and restrictions they live under. Therefore with only some help with identifying resources which they may not know about, they can do better planning for their own development than anyone else could. Participatory Planning is a key feature of the DWCRA group.¹⁵

Organisation of women into group is fundamental in the DWCRA strategy. A DWCRA group consists of 10-15 women in difficult terrain. Before starting an income generating activity, the women must be made aware of the family income with the help of economic activity and thereby raise the health, nutritional and educational standards of their children. The group members must get to know each other well, understand the group members must get to know each other well, understand the group strategy and recognise the strength and potential of the group. One woman from amongst the member will function as group organiser, who will help in the choice of activity, procurement of raw

materials, and marketing of products. The members will select the group organiser, who will be their friend and guide.¹⁶

The selection of activity should be left to group member and they should not get the impression that the activity is being imposed upon them against their wishes. However, the activity selected should be viable one for which forward and backward linkages (skill training, raw materials and marketing) are available locally. The activity should encourage the group to be cohesive in the spirit of participation and co-operation of all the members.¹⁷

The nature and level of training depends upon the type of economic activity selected by the group. The training is imparted under TRYSEM either through the master craftsman or in an institute. Mobile training can be provided in view of the difficulties of moving away from home faced by women. For women over 35 years not covered under TRYSEM, training can be provided and charged to IRDP administrative overheads. Refresher training for upgrading skills is also permissible.¹⁸

It has been found that proper staffing at various levels is an important activity for successful implementation of the programmes. In every block covered under DWCRA, there should be a Gram Sevika to look after the activities of the groups. She is in addition to the existing Community Development Block Staff. Where the C.D. Pattern Posts have been abolished or diverted, these should be revived by the State Governments as the additional Gram Sevika alone cannot supervise all the group in the block effectively. At the district level, there is one post of Assistant Project Of-

ficer (Women Development) who should be a woman officer. She is in-charge of the district and works under the supervision and guidance of the Project Director of DRDA. She is required to monitor the progress of the programme and send periodical reports to the State Government and Government of India. To help her in efficient discharge of field duties, she is provided with a vehicle by UNICEF. The Project Director must ensure that the vehicle is placed at her disposal so that her work is not hampered. The cost of drivers salary and running and maintenance of vehicle are to be met out of funds under IRDP infrastructure.¹⁹

At the state level, one deputy Secretary/Director should be solely in-charge of DWCRA. She/He is provided with supportive staff of one assistant, one Stenographer and one Messenger. She/He should review the progress of implementation of DWCRA with particular reference to the achievement of physical and financial target and should also ensure that all sanctioned staff at block and district level are in position. Job charts for various functionaries should be drawn and their compliance watched. Periodic meetings and visits should be arranged in the Project areas to covers qualitative aspects.²⁰

Training Programmes for Project Directors and State Level Officers' in-charge of DWCRA are organised by the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD), Hyderabad, and State Institute of Rural Development (SIRD) which is the training institution under the Department of Rural Development, Government of India. Training courses in specialised

themes like entrepreneurship development, thrift and credit etc. , are also organised from time to time to acquaint the concerned officials with new developments . Separate training manuals for different levels of functioning have also been brought out.²¹

Dharmapuri is one of the first two districts in the State to be chosen for the implementation of DWCRA in 1983-'84 under which power alleviation was attempted through the 'Cluster Approach'. In the year 1983-'84 Kaveripattinam and Dharmapuri Blocks were selected for the implementation of the special scheme namely 'DWCRA's'. During 1983-'84 twenty groups were formed in the two blocks and 266 women were benefited. In the subsequent year 1984-'85, Nallampalli, Palacode, Pennagaram, Morappur, Harur, Uthangarai, Bargur, Krishnagiri, Sholagiri and Thally were selected for implementing DWCRA Programme with 100 groups at the rate of 10 groups in each block.²² During the subsequent years (1986-'90) the scheme got the acceptance of the women beneficiaries. The following statement shows the gradual developmental stages it can be well appreciated at a glance that further inclusion of more groups got gradually reduced at a glance that furthering the beneficiaries was no more possible and the scheme came to a halt during 1990-'91 when there was no allotment of funds. There was only 540 groups in these 12 blocks with 9,525 beneficiaries. Then during 1991-'92, the scheme was given a thrust by opening 50 more groups in the remaining 6 blocks (Pappiredipatty, Karimangalam, Veppanapalli, Mathur, Hosur, Kelamangalam). With 547 beneficiaries a fresh allotment of funds from Central and

State exchequers was provided. Further expansion in these newly included blocks was possible with inclusion of 30 groups during 1992-'93 and 25 groups during 1993-'94.

INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

The following 45 income generating activities have been identified and found to be beneficial to the rural womenfolk of Dharmapuri District:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Dairy | 23. Coir making |
| 2. Sheep rearing | 24. Ragi appalam |
| 3. Canteen | 25. Aloe fibre |
| 4. Curry powder | 26. Semiya making |
| 5. Mat weaving | 27. Fisheries |
| 6. Cocount leaf thatches | 28. Bricks |
| 7. Ready-made garments | 29. Silk reling |
| 8. Potter | 30. Handloom weaving |
| 9. Floriculture | 31. Chapple making |
| 10. Sericulture | 32. Groom making |
| 11. Clay-doll making | 33. Agarbathi |
| 12. Bamboo-basket making | 34. Coir making |
| 13. Towel making | 35. Cleaning powder |
| 14. Silk sarees weaving | 36. Piggery |
| 15. Lime kiln | 37. Plam fibre |
| 16. Cut -piece sales | 38. Bee-keeping |
| 17. Jungle leaf stiching | 39. Sweater knitting |
| 18. Vegetable sales | 40. Eachambai making |
| 19. Polythene cover making | 41. Nippets and eatable things |
| 20. Jungle cane basket | 42. Garlands making |
| 21. Blue metal jelly | 43. Mango grafting |
| 22. Betal leaf sales | 44. Cumbly weaving |
| | 45. Calf-rearing |

The following statement shows the achievement of DWCRA groups in Dharmapuri District including both physical and financial targets:

ACHIEVEMENTS OF DECRA GROUPD IN DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

S.No.	Year	Number of Groups Formed				Beneficiaries		Financial Assistance	
		SC	ST	OC	Total	Subsidy	Loan	Revolving Fund	Used
1.	1983-'84	20	89	1	176	266	2.035	4.066	2.540
2.	1984-'85	100	575	40	1,286	1,906	17.810	35.555	10.200
3.	1985-'86	100	796	55	909	1,760	32.010	62.780	15.200
4.	1986-'87	155	1,193	259	1,598	3,050	64.121	125.336	23.560
5.	1987-'88	80	491	70	639	1,200	25.296	37.530	12.160
6.	1988-'89	78	639	137	408	1,238	22.170	40.780	11.856
7.	1989-'90	7	49	-	56	105	1.750	3.500	1.064
8.	1990-'91	---No Fund Alloted---							
9.	1991-'92	50	191	30	326	547	5.777	9.402	7.600
10.	1992-'93	30	145	15	207	367	2.835	3.055	4.560
11.	1993-'94	25	147	-	206	353	0.225	0.225	3.800
Total:		645	4,369	607	5,811	10,787	174.029	322.231	92.540

Source: Information Collected from Dharmapuri Development Corporation, Dharmapuri.

The Women Groups in Dharmapuri District have proved the concept of self-help by their stellar performance. Be it toy making at Kothapetta in Krishnagiri Panchayat Union, blue metal in Karimangalam Block, bamboo basket making in Nallampalli Block or Lantenna basket making in Veppanapalli Union, the splendid performance of these groups has given us necessary impetus to contemplate increased assistance to them, especially by way of procuring raw materials or marketing as pointed out by N. Vasudevan, the Collector, Dharmapuri District.²³ The most impressive group in this district under this programme in the clay doll making group

at Kothapetta which has become the cynosure of top officials, since 1985-'86 and has participated even in All India Trade Fairs. It has proved that support to the skilful and industrious rural folk could dramatically change their standard of living such that they can do longer be termed poor. The quality of their products, production capacity and ready market available for them especially in Bangalore, Coimbatore, Salem and Thiruvananthapuram has made them a virtual small scale unit.

The Hand-made Blue Metal Group' in Karimangalam Block is also impressive.

The 15 members group received a sum of Rs.1,000 each as working capital in March 1992 of which 33 percent was given as subsidy. They repaid the loan within two years. The women who were earlier coolies have not only gained self-respect and self-confidence but also a status even among their families, because of their economic independence, which is one of the salient features of the programme. They told visiting press persons that all they wanted was a licence to continue their avocation and a couple of carts to transport the blue metal (jelly) to the main road from the quarry.

The 10 members bamboo-basket making group in Nallampalli, which started in 1992-93 with a loan of Rs.3,000 each and Rs.1,500 as subsidy was facing a raw material shortage. Shandies of Marandahalli and Pennagaram had been major markets. The group had a capacity of making 100 baskets a day and the annual requirement was 200 tonnes of bamboo which was got from Denkanikotta and Kelamangalam. The workers had to depend upon private parties for getting raw material. The District Forest Officer had been requested to provide 50 tonnes of bamboo per annum, which would boost production at a lesser cost.

The Basket Making Society at Bhoothimuttur Village in Veppanapalli Panchayat Union, using lantana (a plant available in abundance and free of cost in the contiguous forests) was making rapid strides. Thanks to the Forest Department the society with 67 members was started in 1992. As the raw material was free of cost and the basket found a ready market especially for tomato-packing in Krishnagiri,

profits were substantial. The basket making artisans who were earlier landless agricultural labourers earning hardly Rs.15 a day are now able to earn as much as Rs.50 to Rs 60 a day by making 10 baskets each. The collector of Dharmapuri District had planned to set up an exclusive outlet for marketing the products of the Women's Group all over the district, as it would help those who led adequate marketing support mainly due to the inaccessibility.²⁴

The groups which have been successful have had the benefit of proper planning, proper selection of product, training support, proper raw materials supplies, proper marketing linkages and regular monitoring. Constraints observed are : beneficiary taking up low income generating traditional activities like weaving, basket making, etc. It is understood that non-traditional unit are not popular among the rural women due to the fact that rural women lack the much needed technical skill to manufacture non-traditional items. Non-traditional units require costly machinery which is not in the reach of rural women. So, they prefer traditional units which require less skills and investment. It is also found that basket making, weaving, mat weaving, leaf plate making, rope making and pottery are more popular and widely accepted traditional units. The effective functioning of this programme mainly depends on the availability of the raw material in required quantities and marketing facilities for the product produced. It has been observed that the biggest constraint in successful operation of the DWCRA scheme has been non-availability of ready, accessive markets for products made by the Women Groups. To over-

come the defects in marketing, a very strong marketing support is necessary to make DWCRA income generating activities viable and sustainable. The District Supply and Marketing Society (DSMS) can play an important role provided it is allowed to function as a truly autonomous body managed by an experienced marketing professional.

DWCRA, through a Sub-scheme of IRDP, it is not strictly operated in the IRDP pattern. But DWCRA is something more than IRDP which visualises an individual approach, while DWCRA promotes group approach. The list of beneficiaries in IRDP is prepared by block functionaries in consultation with Panchayats. But in DWCRA, the group is supposed to be responsible for

the selection of beneficiaries. Success of DWCRA depends on proper identification of the participants, assessment of their needs and problems, trust on the part of officials in the potential opportunities for the development of women and their innate capacities for self-employment. Effective implementation of DWCRA needs not only an understanding and appreciation of the concept and approach but also a committed involvement in the process of its implementation. Emphasis of DWCRA is more on the process than on the programme in the development of self-confident groups of women and integration of their development issues in the mainstream of development. The process is initially slow but its ultimate effect is far reaching.

FOOTNOTES

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2. *Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas, Programme Guidelines and Administrative Order 1982-'92*, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, (New Delhi, 1992), p.1.

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+ICDS- Integrated Child Development Scheme.

4. *Ibid.*, p.2.

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6. *Ibid.*, p.3.

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7. *Ibid.*

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 16. *Manual for IRDP and Allied Programmes of TRYSEM*, Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture, DWCRA, Government of India, (New Delhi, 1991), p.78.
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 21. Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, *DWCRA Programme Guidelines and Administrative Orders (1982-'83)*, Letter No.M-120/17/87-Ird IV, Dated 10.7.1992, pp.168.
 22. *The Hindu*, Dated 3.1.1995; Dharmapuri District Development Corporation, Dharmapuri, DWCRA, *Papers Presented at District Seminar on DWCRA held on 14.5.1987*, p.3.
 23. *The Hindu*, dated 3.1.1995, p.5.
 24. *The Hindu*, dated 3.1.1995.

THE KANNADA PEOPLE'S MIGRATION TO THE TAMIL COUNTRY : A HISTORICAL NOTE.

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During the archaeological exploration the Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu Government has come across a curious information about the earliest kannada (kanerese) People's migration to Tamil Nadu and settlement in a small villages called Sellandipatty in the Karur - Dindugal route. The village is located some 15 Km. north of Karur from where we have to walk 2 Km. to reach another village called Kumarapalayam. The Kumarapalayam village is fully populated with Tamil - speaking Hindus. But in an isolated place of the village in a northern side, some what in a raised territory, 12 members of cobbler-origin are living. The cobblers in Tamilnadu are called Arumthathyar or Chakkiliyar.¹

In the northern part of Tamil nadu, the Arumthiathyar or Chackkilliyar speak Telugu language in a different accent. They appeared with a pale face and normally in the urban areas they manufacture slippers and shoes.

In the corners of town they used to sit and take up the business of slippers. In rural areas they also do the same work. In addition to the work, they remove the cattle skins of the dead and sell them in the tannery mark.² Some of the Arumthithyars

speak Tamil language. But they do not write and read Telugu language and Tamil until recent period. The literate population among Arumthathyar is very few.³

But the Tamilnadu Government Department of Archaeology discovered at Kumarapalayam a group of Chakkiliyar consisting of twelve family who speak kannada language. The way in which they are speaking the language proves that they had migrated to Tamil nadu long back because the accent of Kannada is slightly modified.

In interview they claimed that they belonged to 9 Kular, who could have, it is assumed, migrated some 400 years ago, because the physical appearance is slightly different as the Arumthiathyar described in a different form by Edger Thurston in his famous Ethnographical Notes as South India.⁴

The Kannada Speaking Chikkiliyar of Kumarapalayam have claimed the 9 Kulams (Tribes) and the names of the Tribes are indicating the Kannadas language. They are:

1. Botha nanu
 2. Hama nanu
- } - Related to uncle line

3. Chola nanu
4. Kommi nanu
5. Kama nanu
6. Ethippu nanu - Related to brothers
7. Gat nanu and half brothers.
8. Huspu nanu
9. Sunanu

One of the peculiar social customs they maintained is the 8 Kulas except the first to have the matrimonial relations with the first kulam. In other words the 8 Kulams ie., from 2 to 9, will not enter any matrimonial relations with a custom not followed in others places.

The Chaskkillians of Kumarapalayams believed the traditional stories that,

"They were directly created by Easwaran not by Brhamma. In support of the story when the whole people of the world enable to get water from a particular well, raised to a higher level then Easwara created the Chakkilliyar to enable the water to be taken by chakkilliyam from the well. It was in this connection the chakkillians were created by Easwara".

There is also another story they claimed to make their Kulam very sacred.

"One day Easwara and his wife were walking to the particular place. Before they reach the particular place they were tired and had taken rest under shade of a tree. Lord Easwara had collected his sweat by his index finger and sprinkled over the tree. From the tree a man appeared with golden knife, golden pin and thread. The man thus appeared was called Chakkillian. Lord Easwara called his peo-

ple and directed them, to get boat, rough clipper, and other things from the Chakkillian for his service, Lord Easwara also ordered to give the Chakkillian a share of the income every year."

Thus the story gives a origion to the Chakkillian.

The Chakkilian thus created by Lord Easwara were divided into five categories called.

1. Koyya Chakkily (கெய்யா சக்கிலி)
2. Morasha Chakkily (மெரஷா சக்கிலி)
3. Reddy Chakkily (ரெட்டி சக்கிலி)
4. Kolla chakkily (கோளா சக்கிலி)
5. Annuppu chakkily (அனுப்பு சக்கிலி)

The chakkillias thus settled in Kumarapalayam speak the Kannada language in the Tamil Country. They maintained certain social custom such as fire marking in the fore-head, and chest. These people maintained certain social customs. The married Ladies are indicated by a type of ring woven in the hair of the lady. The chakkillian who speak Kannada language in this area; normally a rich man is called Edafan and Kolukkaran. These people considered the rest of the people as inferior and do not take drinks and food in their houses. For any social crime the people considered springkling the water from Cauvery river will cure them. In conclusion, it may be asked when did the people of Kannada speaking come and settle in this part of Tamil country? Why they settled at Kumarapalayam? What is the relation between this Chakkillian and other Chakkillians of Tamil Country? These are questions left to future historians.

FOOTNOTES

1. Edger Thurston, *Caste and Tribes of Southern India*. Delhi, 1907, Volume I. 16-20.

2. *Ibid*

3. *Ibid*

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NEW LIGHT ON A LITTLE - KNOWN BUDDHA SETTLEMENT AT MADHUR IN THE KARAIKAL, PONDICHERRY STATE.

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Madhur is a small village with fertile lands. To its credit it has many Saivite temples of later Cholas. It lies 42 miles south of the historical city of Poompuhar (Kaveripoompattinam and 38 miles north of Nagapattinam, another historic commercial centre. The chief river of this region, Noolar is one of the branches of river Kaveri. The place falls within the early Cholanadu of the Sangam period. At present, Madhur comes under the Thirunallar commune panchayat of Karaikal region in the Pondicherry state.

Two thousand years go, the natural setting of the surrounding hills and forests must have attracted the Buddhist monks. These places helped the monks to obtain everlasting spiritual bliss and peace. These settlements would have been converted at a later period into monasteries. Thereafter, they have become centres of learning, preaching and moral of social activities.

The Department to history, Tranquebar Bishop Manickam Lutheran college, Porayar, undertook many archaeological field explorations and excavations in various places of the Nagapattinam district under the supervision of the author. Recently, the Department has chosen a site for excavation at Madhur on the basis of field exploration. The excavation was

planned and done following the vertical excavation method. In the excavation, the region was found to have evidences of the settlement of Buddhist monks and the existence of the Nagas from about 2nd century B.C to 3rd century A.D .

At Madhura, large number of begging bowls in dull and red colour were unearthed. They are different from other Potteries in colour, shape and decoration. In fact, these types of begging bowls were not available in the excavations at Thalaichangadu, Thilaiyadi, and Kaliappanallur. But, the same specimen has been reported in the megalithic culture at Arikamedu. It is kept in the Pondicherry museum in the name of Buddha begging bowl.¹

The excavation at Mahachaitya site of Amaravathi, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, clearly indicates a settlement of monks, who are said to have used the Northern Black polished bowls and dishes. Generally, the NBP wares are steel Black,² an excellent grade of pottery first made as trade ceramics, used presumably for storing wine and oil. Similarly on the basis of the tiny Kalayam (pot) in steel black colour unearthed from Mathura helps us assume the fact that at Mathura was a Buddhist settlement.³

The Nagas have a lot to do with the

Briddha's life and teachings and as a makes of their conversion to Buddhism, the Buddha image at Kapilavastu is adored with a cobrahood at his head. Protemy says that there was Nagasettlement in and around Nagapattinam.² Their torture symbol was embedding polished stones, terracotta objects.

The underthed fragment of redware at Madur bears applied design of dancing snake which helps us assume Naga Devadai worship. Besides, the symbol of serpent head on a cylindrical polished stone leads us assume that there were the Nagas under the influence of Buddhist monks at Madhur⁷

The legged quern : So far only two legged querns have been reported in the Satavahana territory - one at Raigir in the former Hyderabad State and the other at Bargoan in Vdharbha, which are kept in the Deccan. College Archaeological Museum. The unearthed two legged quern at Madhur is in a small size and vertical line decoration is made on it's surface on the front side. From it's surface it is assumed that it was used for a long time by the monks.¹

Soakage Jars:

The presence of the ring wells is almost co - eval with the emergence of NBP wares from the middle of the 6th century B.C. in the Gangetic Plain. Ring wells, sometimes with little change, were used a soakage jars. But the number of rings and size are varying from one ring well to another. The Soakage jar is made of terracotta rings in dull and red colour. Each one of the ring has two small holes. Many such soakage jars with charcoal were found at the site at Mathur. It may be assumed that the monks maintained cleanliness and hygiene in the place of Nagas²

Conclusion : The Excavation at Madhur has given, for the first time, tangibale evidence in the form of begging bowls, NBP wares, Red ware of dancing snake and soakage jar to establish that at Nathur was a Buddhist settlement of monks the location of Madhur between Kaveripoompatinam and Nagapattinam two important centres of Buddhism, is significant. These evidences highlight the place of prominence Buddhism had come to enjoy in Tamil Nadu.

FOOTNOTES

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**ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**

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Art History is a fascinating subject and the study of the history of Art through the ages will throw light not only on the progress of art but also on the every day life of the contemporary people. It serves as a main source for the reconstruction of the history and culture of the people of the past. Since art gives forms to expression, its study will generally help historians to trace the development of intellectual activities of man. The study of art will also throw light on the socio economic, religious and cultural activities of the people, in a given region in a given time.

Man became "man " only when he began to walk erect using his forearms. This major change in Man's life took place several lacks years ago. But, still he was roaming like a wild animal. He was a nomad. But as centuries rolled and when he entered into the late stone age, he developed his personality and increased his cranial capacity.

He developed intellectual and artistic activities. The Neolithic Age saw many inventions and intellectual and creative activities in the day today life. He began to think and develop ideas. He began to give shapes to his thoughts leading to the birth of art. He became a creator.

Art in the form of primitive engrav-

ings and paintings on the rock surfaces reached its high water mark during this age all over the world. This is the beginning of art in the Universe. This primitive phase of art was always associated with magic. Magico religions beliefs of man and his environs. flora and Fauna dominate the scenes as evidenced from pre- historic caves from France and Spain.

Paintings on the earthen vessels was another form of expression of the artistic urge of the ancient man. Potsherds with paintings representing dancing scences are reported from numerous Chalcolithic sites in India including Navatoli in Maharashtra. A human chain scene could be spotted out from among such painted pottery.

In south India, pre and proto historic rock paintings datable to 1000 B.C. have been discovered in a number of places in the rocky area. These paintings depict battle scenes also. These are the earliest paintings found in South India and depict the contemporary society in its various aspects.

In Tamil Nadu, Dharmapuri, North Arcot and South Arcot are dotted with hills and served as abodes of our distant ancestors. The rock paintings from Maharajakadai (Dharmapuri) ,

Mallappadi (North Arcot), Kilavalavu (South Arcot) constitute a class by themselves. These paintings also bear painted signs (or letters) similar to brahmi and Indus letters. They also contain valuable clues as to the roots of the letters of the Harappan and Brahmi characters which could enable us to go nearer to the identification and interpretation of India signs. Therefore, the study of early art in the Tamil country will certainly go a long way in unfolding the mystery that surrounds the origin and the decipherment of the Indus Script.

The formation of society or social order was the concept of Chieftainship or Kingship and the leadership is indicated in the painted scenes. The leader of Chieftain is seated on an animal surrounded by Local people and battle scenes.

These paintings datable to 1000 B.C. are not only master pieces of early or primitive art but also serve us as mirrors reflecting the day to day life of the rural people in its proper perspective. Therefore, these rock paintings are to be treated as documents for the reconstruction of the history and culture of the people who lived in the period for which no reference or written records are available.

The next major phase of Indian Art is traceable in the Sanchi gateway sculptures. Mathura and Amaravati carvings. But the theme of this phase of art was Buddha and Buddhism. In this phase Indian art is fully associated with Buddhism and noticeable in the Buddhist centres. These sculptures constitute the true Indian art characterised by spiritualism and Symbolism. It is to be pointed out at this juncture that Indian art was purely religious,

spiritual and symbolic projecting Buddha as its central theme. Therefore the foundation of Indian art was laid in the early centuries of the Christian era and the super-structure was raised by the Sungas and Guptas in the subsequent period. Rockout caves, carvings, stone sculptures representing Yaksha and Yakshi are a few representative categories of art forms of this phase.

The third phase is represented by Sunga sculptures heavily, loaded with drapery and jewellery, Gupta and Pallava sculptures, icon, statues and portraits portraying the broad spectrum of the religious life of the contemporary people. Indian art has assumed a significant role to serve as a means to spread the tenets of Hindu religious creeds such as Saivism, Vaishnavism and to popularise the life and forms of Hindu deities like Siva, Vishnu, Kartikeya, etc., Indian art has become supplement to temple architecture during this period. Stone and brick temples were built for Hindu deities based on Agamic and Puranic prescriptions and they have become strong base for the growth of sculptural art and Hindu iconography. Temples and sculptures have become the hand maids of Hindu religion and vice-versa. during this phase Indian art known as "early Medieval art" has reached a high water mark and entered into South East Asian Islands and countries beyond the boundaries of India. Indian art and architecture yielded a tremendous influence in shaping the temples and sculptures in these countries.

The next phase as "Late Medieval art" comprises the Rajput School of art, the Hoysala, the Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagara styles. The Rajput paintings depicting court and religious scenes reflect

the Rajput society and culture. The bronze Nataraja of the Cholas has received a global recognition and bear testimony to the glory of Indian art tradition. The portraits of royal personalities of the Cholas, installed in the numerous Chola temples in the Thanjavur district, stand as monumental evidence to the royal patronage the art has received at the hands of the Chola emperors.

The Pandyan gopurams, the ornate pillars and the Kalyana mandapas of the Vijayanagaras are the master pieces of South Indian art which are spread out over a vast tract of land. The Vijayanagara period saw the fusion of Hindu and Islamic art and it is yet another aspect of Indian Art.

The final phase of Indian art is noticeable in the Nayak period. The compound pillars with intrigue and delicate carvings, 1000 pillared mandapas with or-

namental ceilings and the Royal portraits constitute a class by themselves and indicate the multiple dimensions of Indian art.

Therefore the study of Indian art and Temple architecture has been receiving greater attention of the contemporary historians and their historic values for writing the socio-economic and religious history has been well understood. The important temples are now taken up for detailed study leading to M. Phil and doctoral degrees in the Universities of Tamil Nadu. This trend will certainly expose the marvels of our temples and their historic values. "They are no longer merely places of worship but remain as repositories of our art and culture." They are the symbols of Indian art and culture, the study of which deserves greater attention and encouragement in the coming years.

CONTRIBUTION OF KOVILUR MUTT TO VEDANTIC PHILOSOPHY

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The Kovilur Mutt located just two K.M. west of Karaikudi, is known for its religious, spiritual and cultural services. Sri-la- Sri Muthuramalinga Gnana Desika Swami founded the Mutt in 1822 with the support of Nagarathars or Nattukkotai Chettiars.

On the support given by thenagarathars the mutt undertook to propagate the advaita vedanta of Sankara. Since 1882, twelve Pontiffs have been the occupants of this mutt.^{1(a)} All of their names and years of pontificate are as under:

The Pontiffs of the mutt have been rendering spiritual learning and writing. Its contribution to philosophy and literature can be studied under the following readings.

1. Philosophical teaching;
2. Works of Pontiffs and their and disciples.

PHILOSOPHICAL TEACHING:

There are many Saivirte and Vaishnavite mutts in Tamil nadu. But this Mutt belongs to Snkara's Advaita philosophy. It brought out many vedanta works in Tamil language and propagated Advaita philosophy by teaching and preaching.

Its primary work has been teaching religious literatures to the disciples. There are 16 prescribed Vedantic texts Which have been taught to the disciples. They are the following:

Sl. No.	Vedantic Texts	Name of the author
1.	Nana Jeeva Vadha Kattalai	Seshatri Sivanar
2.	Geeth Sara Thalattu	Thiruvengkatanathar
3.	Sasivanna Bodham Erumbur	Thathvarayaswamy
4.	Maharaj Thuravu	Kumara Devar
5.	Vairagya Deepam	Santhalinga Swamy
6.	Vairagya Sathaham	Santhalinga Swamy
7.	Anjavadhai	Parani Thathvarayar
8.	IswaraGeethai	Thathvaraya Swamy
9.	BrahmaGeethai	Thathvaraya Swamy
10.	LakshnaVirudhi	Chidambara Gana Desikar

11.	Vedanta Cudamani	Siva Prakasha Swamy
12.	Viveka Cudamani	Ulahanatha Swamy
13.	Pancha Dashi	Nityananda & Veera Subbaiah
14.	Kaivalya Navaneetham	Thandavarayan
15.	Bhagavat Geethai	Pattanar
16.	Gnana Vasistam	Alavandar ²

The said texts are all in Tamil but translated from sanskrit. Many disciples getting free boarding and shelter received

Vedantic education here. The details have been presented under the tables 1,2, & 3.³

TABLE - 1

Name of the Pontiff of Kovilur Mutt.	No. of disciplines who received Vedantic study.
Sri Muthuramalinga Gnana Desikar	36
Arunachala Gnana Desikar	14
Chidambara Gnana Desikar	27
Ramasamy Gnana Desikar	46
Annamalai Gnana Desikar	9
Mahadeva Gnana Desikar	47
Sonasundara Gnana Desikar	15
	<u>194</u>

TABLE - 2

Name of the Pontiff of Kovilur Mutt branches	No. of disciplines who received Vedantic study.
Kasikananda	
(Thirupuvanam branch Mutt)	4
Veera narayana Swamy	
(Thirukalar branch Mutt)	5
Ponnambala Gnana Desikar	
(Chidambaram)	14
	<u>23</u>

Disciplines this Mutt, started Ashram of their own and taught the same texts to the disciplines.

TABLE - 3

Name of the Pontiff of other Mutt, Kovilur Mutt Tradition.	No. of disciplines who received vedantic study
Sri Veera Subbaiah Gnana Desika Swamy (Ananda Ashram, Sulai Madras)	10
Sri Siva Subramania Sivananda Yatheendra Swamy (Ehambarakuppam)	10
Sri Ramasamy Swamy (Salem)	1
Sri Natesa Gnana Desika Swamy	19
Sri maha Govindaswami (Rama Ashram, Koppamapuri Thuraiur)	30
	70

After receiving knowledge in vedanta some of the discipline have established either ashrams or Mutts elsewhere in Tamil Nadu. Its branches in Tamilnadu are as follow:

1. Uhandalinga Gnana Dedika Swamigal Mutt, Porulvaithacheri, Sikkal (Thanjavur District)

2. Isanya Mutt, Thiruvannamalai (North Arcot District).

3. Kovilur Chidambaram Mutt or Sri Ponnambala Swamigal Mutt, Chidambaram (South Arcot District).

4. Thirupovanam Vedanta Mutt, Thiruppuvanam.

5. Verrasekara Mutt, Thirukalar.

6. Shanmuga Swamigal Mutt, Valavanur (south Arcot District)

7. Sabhapathi Swamigal Mutt, Mettupalayam (South Arcot Dt.)

8. Thathuvaraya Swamigal Mutt, Erumbur (South Arcot District)

9. Santhi Ashram, Karianur (Trichy District)

10. Sadasivaswamigal Mutt, Manamadurai (Ramnad District)

Each branch is advocating vedanta Sastha as has been done by its parent institution. Each is under the control of pontiffs appointed by the pontiffs of Kovilur Mutt.

The Pontiffs encouraged their disciplines to go to Kasi to learn Sankrit and Vedanta Sastras. Accordingly, many disciplines had gone to Kasi so as to master Sankrit language and Sastras. Some of those were Sri Nithyananta Swamy, Sri Ponnambala Swamy and Sri kasikananada Swamy.

THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHY:

Sri Muthuramalinga Gnana Desikar, its founder, wrote "Subanuva Thiruvakku".⁴ It contains Advaita philosophy. Sri Arunachala Gnana Desikar, the second Pontiff, wrote "Seedacharam", which contains rules and regulations for disciples⁵ His another work "Pada - Sara - Urai" is a

commentary on Kaivalya Navaneetham. Sri Chidambara Gnana Desikar, the third Pontiff, wrote "Brahma Namavali" (poetic form of Lakshna Virudhi) and Gurusthuthi Kushumanjali.⁶

CONTRIBUTION

Sri Ponnambala Gnana Desikar, the disciple of Chidambara Gnana Desikar (3rd Pontiff), became the pontiff of Chidambara Mutt in 1882. He did Valuable services by writing a number of books. He also translated many Vedantic books from Sankrit to Tamil. Some of his important works include:

1. Pancha Desi (Translation into Tamil)
2. Commentary on Bhagavat Geethai (poetic form) written by Sri pattanar.
3. Koodartha Deepikai (Translation)
4. Commentary on Kaivallia Navaneetham.⁷

Sri kasikananada Swamy, the disciple of Sri Verrasekara Gnana desikar, founded a mutt at Thiruppuvanam, wrote a number of books in Tamil. They include translations from Hindi and Sankrit. He was called Sathasastra Kartha (author of hundred books) since his works exceeded hundred.⁸ He did his service till 1958 until his death.

DISCIPLES OF THE KOVILUR MUTT AND THEIR SERIES.

Sri Veera Subbaiah Gnana Dekikar, founder of Ananada Ashram, Sulai, Madras, was the disciple of Sri Veera Sekharar of Kovilur Mutt. He delivered

series of philosophical lectures at Sulai from 7.00 p.m. to 8.00 p.m. for twenty five years.⁹ He was a scholar both in Tamil and Sanakrit. He translated 11 vedanta books from Sanskrit to Tamil, and wrote 6 books in Tamil in verse form.

Sri vananda Yatheendra Swamy, the founder of a mutt at Ekambarakuppam in Andhra Pradesh, in 1928, had rendered spiritual service. His works are 14 in number, of which 5 are translations (from Sanskrit to Tamil) and 9 are Tamil works.¹⁰ He did his spiritual service until his Vedeha Kaivalyam in 1948.

Sri Ramaswamy Swamy, the disciple of Sri Mahadeva Gnana Desikar of Kovilur Mutt, founded the Ananda Ashram on the banks of Cauvery near Kumarapalayam spread vedanta philosophy. He wrote 7 books on Vedanta Sastra.¹¹

Sri Natesa Swamy, the disciple of Sri Mahadeva Gnana Desikar of Kovilur Mutt, rendered his religious service in Isanya Mutt from 1921 to 1947. Then he came to Karianur, Trichy District, and established Santhi Ashram in 1949. He did his spiritual service till 1960. He wrote 4 books on philosophy.

Sri Maha Govinda Swamy, the disciple of Sri Mahadeva Gnana Desikar of Kovilur Mutt, rendered his spiritual service in Thanjavur, Ekambarakuppam, Nannilam and Koppamapuri. He founded Rama Ashram at Koppamapuri in Thuraiyur in Trichy District. He taught philosophy to the disciples and wrote none books on Vedanta Sastra.¹²

The mutt served the society in the following ways:

1. Spreading Advaita philosophy as well as Saivism.

2. Giving initiation to a number of disciples.

3. Conducting religious discourses and teaching vedantic & Spiritual Philosophy to the public.

4. Encouraging Sanskrit study so as to render those Sanskrit works into Tamil.

5. Establishing mutts in Tamilnadu.

6. Many of its disciples have founded mutts and ashrams numbering more than hundred many parts of Tamilnadu.

7. Remaining the centre of religious and cultural activities.

As any other mutt, this mutt was also a seat of learning, Spiritual reflections and philosophical discourses.

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**MUTTARAIYARS' CONTRIBUTION TO TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NARTHAMALAI VIJAYALAYA
CHOLIESVARAM TEMPLE.**

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In South India, the maintenance of religion and depended mostly on the patronage of the rulers and the ruled. This is true in the case of the Muttaraiyars of Tamil Nadu also. The Muttaraiyars are said to have ruled the regions of the present Pudukottai, Thanjavur and Thiruchirappalli belt for nearly six centuries (6th century A.D to 11th century A.D), were one of the illustrious rulers of South India.¹ The origin of the Muttaraiyars is a matter of controversy. The etymology of the term yields several meanings of which *munru + taraiyar* (lords of three territories) seem more plausible well set into the historical context of the times.² Another important title of this group is read as 'Kalvar kalvan',³ which can also be transcribed as Kalavara, Kalvara, or Kalvra, which recalls the term Kalabhra. The Tamil Sangam works refer to a chieftain ruling over the Venkatam hills. The chieftain is described in one of the poems of Sangam works as Kalvar Koman (lord of the kalvar). The word Kalvar can also be read as Kalvara. It is therefore possible to surmise that the Kavar of the Venkatam region and the later Muttaraiyar belonged to the same tribe called Kalvar, though the relations remind obscure. Their migrations towards the Kaveri basin was apparently due to the

pressure exerted by the Pallavas on the north before 4th century A.D. The recapture of Tondaimandalam by the Pallavas appears to suggest the possibility of their migration towards the south. It is possible that they possessed a title Muttaraiyars during this age.

K.V.Subraamania Iyer, who first edited the Sendalai Pillar inscription, suggested that the Muttaraiyars were of Pandya stock. His argument is based on the titles like maran, Nedumaran and Srimaran possessed by the kings of the line. Even if they did not belong to the original Pandya clan, there is every possibility as to their being a branch of them. But there is no evidence to substantiate that the Muttaraiyars were of the Pandya decent except the title Maran. Recent scholars are of the view that the Muttaraiyars were a branch of the Kalabhras, who after having been defeated by the Pandyas sought their fortune in the Kaveri region and assumed the title Muttaraiyar. There is also a class of people who called themselves Muttaraians, perhaps the only remnant of this ancient people. Their territory was known as Muttaraiyarnadu, is revealed through an inscription⁵ issued by Nirupatungavarma Pallava.

They served on an appendage of some imperial powers. The dynastic struggles of the Pallavas the Pandyas and Cholas had in one way or other influenced this region, particularly in the field of religion and art. For many centuries, the Pudukottai region remained bone of contention either between the Pallavas and the Pandyas or between the Pandyas and the Cholas. Since Muttaraiyars were proximate to the Pandyas, their influence in this region was indispensable. The Muttaraiyars also actively participated in the affairs of the Tamil country and contributed much to the development of art and architecture.

In the early period, the Muttaraiyars were independent rulers and later became the chieftains of the Pandyas, the Pallavas, and the Cholas. At present, their conditions is quite pathetic. The members of their family are spread to almost every nook and corner of Tamil nadu. Their number is maximum in the Thanjavur, Thiruchirapalli and the Pudukottai districts. Their lineage and descendants can also be traced in the state of Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra.

Today these people are known by different caste names like the Muttaraiyars, Mutturajas, Ambalavanars, Padaiyatchis, and Pusariyas. At present, these people are struggling very much for their livelihood. As such, they have taken to different professions like cutting and selling firewoods, watchmen, stone-breakers, well-borers, honey extractors and hunters.

The objective of this paper is to discuss the contribution of the Muttaraiyars to architecture with special reference to Narthamalai Vijayalaya Choliesvaram

Temple. It is felt that such a study would be of immense help to the research scholars to go further and further into the history of art and architecture. Scholars could further cull out need facts and findings so as to enrich the study of history.

Extant Muttaraiyar temples are mostly simple sanctuaries with vimana and the artha mandapa, but in some cases, also with eight subsidiary shrines, the astaparivaralayas, as at Narthamalai (Vijayalaya Choliesvaram), Viralur (Thumisvara), Kiltaniyam (Uttamadanivara) Sendalai (Sundaresvara) Nemam (Iravatesvara) and Kaliyapatti. Except the Narthamalai temple, all Muttaraiyar temples are Saudhara. An attempt is made in the following pages to bring out the architectural features of the Narthamalai Vijayalaya Choliesvaram Temple.

Narthamalai is a small village about ten miles from Pudukottai town in the Pudukottai district of Tamilnadu. During the days of the Pandyas, the Pallavas as well as the Cholas, it appears to have been a place of considerable political as well as cultural importance. There are nine hills around the village, among the nine hills, the Melmalai is an important one. On the Melmalai, we have two rock-cut cave temples of Samanar Kudagu and Paliyilicuram and also a group of structural stone shrine have been proved to be as Vijayalalaya Choliesvaram by an eminent historian.

Vijayalaya Choliesvaram Temple is one of the earliest and grandest of all stone structural temples of the early Muttaraiyars. It is entirely circular from ground tala upto aikhara, constituting a single vesara exam-

ple. It is located on the top lodge of the Melmalai hill.

An inscription³ found at one of the dvarapalaka's legs states that the original temple was constructed by Sattanpudi alias Videldidugu Ilango Adiyariyar and repaired by Mallan Viduman after it was damaged by natural calamities. He was a contemporary of Vijayalaya Chola.

This temple consists of a sanctum and an ardhamandapa. The tritala vimana is divided into karna, pratikarna and badra, with only a subhadra which projects beyond the Vimana's manasudra. The total width of the vimana is over 30 feet.

The sanctum sanctorum is circular in form perhaps intended to represent pranava or omkara, the mystic spiritual symbol of the Hindus. It is enclosed by a solid wall about five feet thick and the inner diameter is 8 feet and 6 inch and its height is eight feet. The circular wall (Mulasthanana) is enclosed by a square wall 21 feet on each side in the interior and 29 feet in the exterior. There are four square pillars at the four corners meant perhaps to sustain the heavy stone structure above the hollow stone vimana. The linga is cylindrical.

The lower portion of the external side of the vimana contains various party namely upana, jagathi, tripatta kumuda, kanda, pattika and prati. It is a padapanda class, and preserves the Muttaraiyars' characteristics. The major mouldings of the upapitha is called jagathi, a footing called the upana. Over the jagathi tiranai or tripatta kumuda and urdhva kampa. The galapata is carved with decorative sculptures. A plain mage pattigai is shown with

pranala set at the top of the Urdhavvakampa. Over the pattikai is Ksudrakampa (Prati).

On the outside of the garbhagraha walls are adorned with a number of projecting bays by means of pilasters. There are no devakoshtas on the walls of the garbhagraha. The paired brahmakanta pilasters of the vimana create an elegant rhythm by virtue of their slimness and the narrow hara recesses between the pairs. The pilaster of the kal is superseded by a padmapandam with a kalasam at its top. At the end of the kalasam there is a tadi uniting the kumbam. The thin plagai is simple which is successively carries the uttiram.

The prastara is the roof of the vimana, which connects the garbhagraha with the superstructure. It consists of uttiram, bhudavari cornice and yalivari. The bevelled corbels have tenon like projections, which is a characteristic feature of Muttaraiyar style. There is a frieze of bhutaganas below the cornice and a yali freeze about it. the cornice is decorated with a series of pair nasikas which run all around.

The roof of the first tala is extended to the roof of the mandapa. There is a parapet wall decorated with a series of miniature shines called panjararas. Those at the edges are cubical in form with a four side curvilinear roof (kutas) while in the centre there is rectangular structure with a wagon-roof over it (sala). This is a Pallava convention, the sala from here also has an affinity with Pallava prototypes. On the inter space (nasil) justing over the parapet are dancing figures of women in graceful poses.

The roof of the parapet wall over the

garbhagraha and of the ardhmandapa merge with the second tier of the vimana. Above this, there rises a third tier, a diminishing structure with features similar to those of the lower tala.

The next higher tier, i.e. the fourth, is also circular, to match circular mulasthana down below, and is adorned with kudus on its cornice.

Over it, there is the griva (neck) once again circular in form with four fine Nandis facing front and back and with niches surmounted by large size kudus facing the four main directions. There are hamsavajana found on the griva.

The whole vimana is crowned by a beautiful semicircular sikhara. The mahanasis alternate with anunasis. The niches at the cardinal points of the griva bear the images of Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the South, Uma-sahita Siva in the West, Brahma in the North and Narayana in the East.

The stone stupi should have graced the vimana once upon a time, which is now a vestigial structure.

There is an unroofed circumbulatory path, which uncircles the sanctum to serve as a passage for the benefit of the devotees.

There is a carved ardhmandapa in front of the sanctum. The outer walls of the mandapa have no offsets. It is supported by six pillars. The form of the free standing pillars are derived from Pallava and Pandya type.

The main gate-way of the central shrine in front of the ardhmandapa has a fine elegant floral design above the lintel.

The portrait sculptures of the two dvarapalakas on either side of the entrance of the mandapa attract the attention of the visitor.

The temple had eight parivara shrines round about the main shrine (of which six are extant). These might have been dedicated to Durga, the Saptamatrikas, Kartikeya, Ganesa, Chandesa, Chandra and Jayastha. Each has a square sanctum with a bulbous sikhara over it and a rectangular open mandapa in front. It is one storeyed (ekatala).

The discussion made above clearly reveals that this temple was originally built by Sattanpudi a Muttaraiyar chief but later renovated by Mallan Viduman, a contemporary of Vijayalaya Chola. It is a good example to the Muttaraiyar's contribution to temple architecture.

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KUNRATTUR - A Township of Regional Importance

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Tamilnadu is possessing copious epigraphical sources for writing history. These are engraved mostly on the walls of the temples in the villages. Many of these villages though they are obscure at present, played a vital role in the history of Tamilnadu. The importance of these townships cannot be understood unless all the epigraphical records are studied in proper perspective. Kunrattur is one such township which once served as a headquarters of a nadu i.e.Kunrattur nadu, and having a continuous history from Iron Age to 7th century AD. However, it lost its glory when many of its temples were neglected and ruined at present. Yet, these inscriptions located therein divulge how the township was considered as an important centre of this region in ancient days. Hence an attempt is made here to probe all the epigraphical records of Kunrattur to trace its historic role in the whole of Sriperumbudur region. Findings of the above study are furnished in this paper.

Kunrattur, situated 30km.away from Chennai, is in the Sriperumbudur taluk of Kanchipuram District. Archaeologically, it is famous for the presence of hundreds of megalithic burial monuments spread over the slopes of the hill called Kunratturmalai. The area around the foot of the hill is called presently as Nattam. It served as a habitational site for the megaliths and the people lived in the Pallava and the early

Chola periods. Though no Pallava inscription is available, the presence of Sappthamatraica¹ stone images datable to 8th century AD serves as a clinching evidence for the existence of settlement in the Pallava period.

Until recently, a total of 60 epigraphs² is noticed in this village. The earliest is dated to 1180³ AD of the time of Kulottunga III. A perusal of these records shows the successive rule of the Cholas, the Sambuvarayas, the Telugu Chodas, the Pandyas, the Vijayanagaras, the Nayakas and the Mughals over this region. However, the township witnessed a vast development in the Chola period, which is attested by the construction of four temples, three dedicated to Siva (Kandaliswarar, Tiruvaliswarar and Tirunageswarar) and the other one dedicated to Vishnu (Tiruvuragapperumal).

A careful study of epigraphs available in the neighbouring areas reveals that till 1088 A.D. Kunrattur and its vicinity seems to have been under the politico-geographical division of Maganurnadu of Sengattu Kottam as attested to by the inscriptions of Manimangalam⁴ and Somangalam.⁵ Probably the vast development coupled with the demand for better administration compelled the administrators to bifurcate the Maganurnadu. Consequently, the region in and around Kunrattur was carved out of Maganurnadu

to form a new nadu called Kunratturadu with Kunrattur as headquarters. Thereafter, the adjoining villages namely Somangalam and Manimangalam, which were till then under Maganurnadu, were shifted to the newly created Kunratturadu. This is attested to by the epigraphs⁶ found in these two places. This very well endorses that in the 11th century AD. Kunrattur had attained prominence as a centre of regional importance.

The reasons for choosing Kunrattur as the headquarters of a nadu are obvious, for it was the nerve for political, social, economic and religious activities of this region. Politically, the Sekkilar clan, a native sect of Vellalas of Kunrattur, was quite strong in this region. The members of the clan used to assume the title 'Sekkilar' and occupied highest positions in the local administration. They patronised Saivism and made liberal donations to Saiva temples down to the Thiruchirapalli district. This is attested to by epigraphs found at Srivanjiyam,⁷ Tiruvenkadu,⁸ Kottur⁹ and Tirukadaiyur¹⁰ (all in Thanjavur District), Tirumalvadi¹¹ (Trichy District), Tiruvadatturai¹² (Cuddalore District), Cidambaram¹³ (Cidambaram District) Tirupachchur¹⁴ and Nandivaram¹⁵ (Kanchipuram District) and Tiruppalaivanam¹⁶ (Tiruvallore District), etc. In these records, Sekkilar Pallavaraiyan alais Kalappalarayan (Tiruvadatturai and Kottur), Sekkilar Ariyan Edirilisan (Chidambaram), Sekkilar Ammaippan Parantakadevan alias Karikala Chola Pallavaraiyan (Tirukkadaiyur), Sekkilar Anapayan (Srivanjiyam) and Madevadigal Ramadeva alias Uttama Chola

Pallavaraiyan Tirumalvadi) are referred to as donors. In all these records their nativity is mentioned as Kunrattur. This shows that members of Sekkilar clan lived in one group at Kunrattur. However, they never failed to institute endowments in other temples situated outside Kunrattur. This reveals their staunch faith in the Saivite religion.

In fact, though the urbanization process started earlier, the major urbanisation of Kunrattur was achieved in the life time of Sekkilar, the author of Periapuranam. He served the royal court of Kulottunga II.¹⁷ Attracted by the grace and beauty of the Nageswarar temple at Kumbakonam, he built a new one in similar plain in his native place on the northern side of the old settlement and named it as Tirunageswarar temple.¹⁸ A new settlement that sprang up around the temple had come to be called after the presiding deity as Tirunageswaram. However, it was treated as part and parcel of Kunrattur township governed by the Uravar of Kunrattur.

Besides the clan of Sekkilars, Manradis, Vaidhyas, Pillais, Vanigars, Nayakars, Kaikkolans and Navidans too had lived in this village in the recent past.

Of these, the Kaikkolars, well versed in the martial art as well as in the art of weaving, have been a dominant set living in large numbers even now. Taxes levied on their looms yielded good revenue to the state. It is learnt that lands were freely granted to the Kaikkolars for installing looms. Four panam per loom that was installed in this (granted) land was collected as tarikadamai.¹⁹ Since Kunrattur was a textile centre, these land grants seem to have been made in those days probably to

derive more revenue as tarikadamai. Kaikkolars were grouped under Idangai. The township levied Idangaivari on the Kaikkolars. During the reign of Mallikarjuna²⁰ (1147-68 AD) Idangai vari totalling 100 panam due from the Kaikkolars was remissioned by a royal order of Mahamandaleswara Saluva Narasingadeva for the conduct of worship and food offerings in the temple of Tirunageswaram.

They took an epithet called Narpattennayiram. It is learnt from the records of the time of Harihara II(?)²¹ that a Kaikkola by name Padiaduvan was called Narpattennayira Chola Kumaran. Assuming this title by them is further corroborated by the place Tirumalisai²² (Tiruvallur District), where a street is called narpattennayira perum teru. It was granted to the Kaikkolars in 1370 A.D. Besides, the occurrence of terms such as Nachchi alias Narpattennayira Manikkam²³ and Vidiyar alias Narpattennayira Manikkam²⁴ as names of devaradiyars in the records dated to 1201 A.D. and 1224 A.D. leads us to surmise that the Kaikkolars had also dedicated their daughters as devaradiyars in the temples.

The township was maintained and managed by the Uravar. Prompt action was taken against the defaulters of tax dues. In the time of Kampana,²⁵ Kakku Nayakar, a tenant of Tennavarayan, the head of Kulattur, did not pay the dues. The township therefore directed the owner of the land to settle the arrears. Consequently, Tennavarayan sold a piece of land measuring 920 kulis as tirunamattukkani to meet the dues. Similarly, at the reign of Harihara II(?)²⁶, three persons did not pay

land dues, in spite of repeated instructions from the collecting authorities. At last, the Uravar confiscated their land and sold it to Suryadeva, a Vaniganagarattar of Nerkudi in Arkadu.

Meanwhile, whenever people faced major crises due to unexpected calamity, floods or droughts, the Uravar readily extended their help to the people. An epigraph²⁷ of Manimangalam records a severe famine that gripped the region in 1269 A.D. due to failure of monsoon. When this was conveyed to the authorities by one Vanarayanan for immediate redressal. The king ordered a modified measuring rod called 'amaitta narayana nila alavu kol'. Since Kunrattur was the headquarters, the actual length of this rod was drawn on the wall of Tirunageswarar temple; further the name of the rod is also inscribed below.²⁸

At times, liberal endowments were also made to the temples by the Uravar. In 1223 AD.²⁹ 4000 kulis of land was donated to Tirunageswarar temple for conducting Tiruvanandal service every day (morning) by taking the god in procession to the Ur. Similarly, 2000 kulis of land was given as devadana to the same temple in the reign of Kulottunga III(?).³⁰ Besides, the township also assigned land under service holding to its Kanakku, Vaidhyar, etc.

An inscription dated 1180³¹ A.D. reveals that Vaduganathan held the village Kunrattur as jivitam. Though the said record is silent about the status of the beneficiary, a later record dated to 1226³² A.D. refers to his son as a navidan. Thus it is evident that the navidan held the land as jivitam.

In the meantime, an epigraph dated

1223 ³³ A.D. assumes more importance as it refers to a certain Savarnna Kasyapan Kulottunga Chola Mangaladhirayan who was in enjoyment of Kunrattur nadu as Vaidhya kani. Since he was granted the whole nadu, he would have been a vaidhyan for the whole nadu. He seems to have belonged to the Kasyapa gotra. His being called a Savarnna is worthy of note. In the Tirumukkudal ³⁴ inscription of Vira Chola the physician Kodandaraman Asvathama bhatan, who was appointed to look after the hospital and to administer medicines to patients, is stated as Savarnna. Similarly, in the reign of Rajendra Chola I the recipient of the Vaidhyabhoga of the hospital at Thanjavur ³⁵ is called Savarnna. From these instances it is understood that the functions of physicians generally devolved on a 'Savarnna' and that the word seems to denote a class of medicinemen. The Vaijayanti ³⁶ gives the synonym of Savarnna to be the son of a 'Mahishya' who had various duties such as tending of cattles and practising of astrology and medicine.

However, during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, ³⁷ the whole of Kunrattur village bounded on the east by Kavanur,

south by Manamcheri, west by Pamma Kulam and north by Tirumudippakkam, along with the Chembarambakkam and Pammal lakes and their feeding channels, were gifted to Ekambareswarar temple at Kanchipuram in 1509 A.D. for the purpose of food and other offerings.

As the old settlement namely Nattam had lost its importance long back, the temples there also showed signs of ruin. Subsequently, in 1699 AD ³⁸ the mahamandapa of Kandaliswarar temple and the gopuram of Tiruvuragapperumal temple were renovated by an individual, when the region passed on into the lands of the Nayakas of Madurai. Chokkanathanayaka built a Subramanya temple complex on the hill top in 1726 A.D. ³⁹

It is thus learnt that Kunrattur continued an antiquity at least from the days of the Pallavas to the present day. It had received the attention of the kings of the various dynasties, which ruled Tamil nadu. At a time when caste considerations decided the status and importance of men in society, Kunrattur sets a new record of respecting even a navidan. Further, it provides materials to the exalted position enjoyed by the physicians.

1. *Kalvettu* (Tamil) no.14,p.30.

2. 177to 231 of 1929-30:SII 451 to 53 of 1956-57.

3. 200 of 1929-30.

4. 2 of 1892;III 30.

5. 182 of 1901; III 67.

6. Ibid.

7. 229 of 1938-39.

8. 519of 1918.

9. 445 of 1912.

10. 39 of 1906.

11. 95 of 1920.

12. 221 of 1928-29.

13. 313 of 1958-59.

14. 136 of 1929-30.

15. 255 of 1910.

16. 314 of 1928-29.
17. P.D.Balaji, *History of Sriperumbudur region-special reference to economic and social life*, (unpublished Ph.D.thesis, 1991).
18. *Ibid.*
19. 221 of 1929-30.
20. 207 of 1929-30.
21. 221 of 1929-30. There are three records in the name of Harihara. Of these one (178 of 1930) is dated during the reign of Harihara II. Hence the ruler Harihara found in other two records (193 and 221 of 1930) is identified as Harihara II.
22. 21 of 1911.
23. 202 of 1929-30
24. 214 of 1929-30
25. 192 of 1929-30
26. 193 of 1929-30 . Vide Footnote No.21.
27. 228 of 1929-30
29. 191 of 1929-30
30. 194 of 1929-30. Since the earliest record of the site itself is dated to the reign period of Kulottunga III, Kulottunga of this record (194 of 1929-30) is identified as Kulottunga III.
31. 200 of 1929-30.
32. 200 of 1929-30.
33. 184 of 1929-30.
34. 182 of 1915.
35. 24 of 1923.
36. 1929-30, Part II, Para 27.
37. 182 of 1930
38. 181 of 1930.
39. 185 of 1929-30.

European Endowments to the Temples of Tamil Country

-A Study*

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India is a multi-religious and multi-lingual all nation of many sub-regional cultures. In the process of nation - making, many methods of assimilation or conciliation or methods, to shed-away differences were followed. Many foreign nationals, who came to India had become its rulers. Consequently, many such nationals adopted this land for their living and adopted themselves to the conditions here with the passage of time. Almost all victorious nationals, after having experienced the Indianness, took the nation as their own. For example, Babur advised his son Humayun to rule Hindustan on such lines.¹ Conciliation and reconciliation were adhered to wherever and whenever possible to avoid direct confrontation. When the new-comer had come to stay, he had to adjust himself to the conditions available there or to follow opulent isolation. Adjustments and readjustments brought them dividend in the long run.

Tamil Nadu has a rich experience of such conciliation and reconciliation processes, perhaps very difficult to trace in other parts of the nation. Generally, to pacify the wrath of the indigenous population the victorious ones start the conciliation method by making donation or endowment. This power of gift brings a bond between the ruler and the ruled. This bond strengthens their unity which moves towards the assim-

ilatory process for integration and unity. Of course, it is a very slow process and invisible to naked eyes.

In the Tamil country, the gifts and endowments made by Thanjavur Marathas to Nagur Darga is an example. Similarly, Tipu Sultan sanctioned funds for repair of the temple and installation of the image of goddess Sarada' in Sringeri temple in Mysore/Karnatak.² One has to probe further into his endowments in the Tamil country. A similar pattern of endowments and gifts was made by European rulers. This paper makes a study of the gifts of English rulers to the temples only see the other side of their much talked about rule. They seem to have made such gifts either out of their respect for divines or out of their love for religious monuments or as a means of attracting the masses.

This of course, created a kind of adjustment with the rulers. This attitude of the ruler through the power of the gift created a bridge between the ruler and the ruled and strengthened their relationship for co-existence.

The servants of the East India Company such as Lionel Place and John Wallace and others have made such endowments/gifts to the temples. In 1790s Lionel Place as Collector in his Jagir at Madurantakam did patronise the aspirations of the people. 'He helped to repair the temples at little

Conjeevaram, Peddapallam, Madurantakam and Karanguly'.³ In his report he wrote that he 'considered the religious ceremonies of the Jagheer throughout a matter, intrinsically, connected with the happiness of the people'. E.F. Irschick quotes, he gave 'orders upon the subject to remedy the evils and the neglect of which the inhabitants almost universally complained'.⁴

Lionel Place constructed a shrine for the Goddess in Yeri Katha Amman temple at Madurantakam. An inscription in the temple in Telugu language engraved on the beam at the entrance of the thayar Sannathi of that temple informs about his benefactions.

John Wallace was the Collector of Tiruchirapalli when the temple of Sir Ranganatha Swami at Srirangam came under the control of the English East India Company. He showed interest in the temple affairs. John Wallace 'brought together all the existing chronicles in the town of

Srirangam and had them compiled into a single complete and up-to-date version, one copy bearing the seals of the five administrators (Sthanattar) was placed in a stone chamber in the southern part of the temple'.⁵ There is an inscriptional evidence to support his donation of gold for the covering of palanquins with gold.⁶ In 1875, when king Edward VII visited the temple on a tour of Southern India, his excellency donated a large gold cup which is still in the temple.⁷

It is well known that the British raj followed a lukewarm attitude towards all religious matters of India and very carefully involved itself when a need arose. Even its rulers withheld their assent to Bills passed in councils because of the fear of the wrath of the orthodox sections. But, it is history when the East India Company had taken interest in the religious matters of India. whether they did follow such a policy for conciliation or reconciliations history has to tell. However, ample scope is there for such an approach also.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sharma, L.P., *The Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1988.

2. Grover, B.L., *A New Look on Modern History*, New Delhi, 1983, p.54.

3. Irschick, E.F., *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s*, Madras, 1986, p.12.

4. Quoted in Irschick, from 'Board of Rev-

enue Report (Misc), Para 454, 458.

5. Auboyer, J., *Sri Ranganatha Temple*, 1969, p.19.

6. *Sri Ranganatha Temple Inscription, South Indian Inscription*, Volume XV.

7. Auboyer, J., *Op. cit.*

**THE HERITAGE OF INDIAN IVORY
ART- SOME OBSERVATIONS.**

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The history of the ivory art of India dates back to very early times. Till date, there has been hardly any systematic, exhaustive and integrated study of the ivory art traditions of the different parts of the sub-continent. The present paper traces the important historical developments in the involution of Indian ivory art in the ancient, medieval and modern periods. The primary sources utilised for this study include ancient literary texts and inscriptions, museum and archival records and relevant archaeological exploration and excavation reports. Besides, several ivory artefacts in public and private collections in India, U.K. and the U.S.A. have also been examined.¹

Ancient Period:

Although ivory appears to have been known and used right from pre-historic times, the history of Indian ivory art can be traced chronologically only from around the beginning of the early historical period

i.e. from around 300 B.C.²

A recent all-India survey 2(a) of the material cultures of ancient settlements reveals that ivory art flourished almost throughout the sub-continent from Begram in Afghanistan in the extreme north-- West to Bengal in the east and from Kashmir in the north down to Karnataka and Sri Lanka in the south. This is hardly surprising because India was the traditional homeland of the famous Asian elephant which, in the early period, was found in very large numbers in the vast forest expanses. However, there is a marked paucity of ancient ivory artefacts in the Tamilnadu-Kerala regions. 2 (b) This is hard to explain specially in the context of the fact that elephants were not unknown in these regions specially Kerala where the tusker has exercised profound influence on traditional architecture, stone-sculpture, temple-rituals and literature and literature and poetry.

The two centuries before and after

Christ witnessed an unprecedented production of an amazing variety of ivory artefacts, both decorative and utilitarian. These included beads, combs, bangles, kohl-sticks, statuettes, dice, seals and sealings.

Both religious as well as secular themes were portrayed in ivory. For example, the statuettes included those of the Mother Goddess as also of ordinary women. Events and episodes from Hindu mythology and Buddhist Jatakas as well as mundane scenes from the daily life of the common man have been most skilfully delineated even on minor objects such as combs. To mention but one instance, the fragment of an ivory comb, currently in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum of London, displays a mithuna couple enjoying the solitude of a plantain grove. This comb is believed to have been manufactured in Central India, probably Malwa, around the 2nd century A.D. The profusion of ornamental motifs and human figurines on the varied objects could be because ivory, unlike certain varieties of hard stone, could lend itself to intricate carving and chiselling.

Although all parts of India produced the same type of ivory artefacts, stylistic variations are discernible between the objects from different places. For instance, in South India, the ivory art appears to have been influenced by the amaravati school. Similarly, the Buddhist art of Sanchi inspired countless ivory carvers of that region.

A significant observation is that many of the sites yielding early ivory artefacts are located in or near iron production centres (eg. Arikamedu in Pondicherry). This is because at least in those days, iron tools

were indispensable for ivory carving.

The development of ivory art in early historical India has also to be viewed in the wider context of the growth of transcontinental trade and commerce and the consequent emergence of scores of urban centres throughout the sub-continent.³ These urban centres housed an 'elitist' class of people—the kings and nobles who were the patrons of various artists and craft persons including the ivory carvers. Further, the *Periplus Maris Erythraea* (56 A.D.) categorically mentions ivory as an item of export from India to Rome. Finds of authentic Indian ivory objects in the Mediterranean region are, however, negligible, the sole recorded specimen being the female figure, possibly a mirror-handle, excavated from the ruins of Pompeii.⁴ Stylistically, this figure is similar to the Yaksis adorning the gateways of the great stupa at Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh. The figure from Pompeii was probably made in a workshop at Vidisa (Bilsa), not far from Sanchi. The ivory carvers from Vidisa are mentioned in a donatory inscription on the gateway railings of the Sanchi stupa. Vidisa even had an ivory carvers' guild as early as the first century B.C.⁵

Middle Ages:

Ivory artefacts belonging to the early medieval period are too few in number.⁶ The sudden decline in the art was due to varied reasons such as the end of the Indo-Roman trade, disintegration of several kingdoms which patronised the art, indiscriminate hunting of elephants by the ruling elites and the excessive exploitation of the animal in medieval warfare. The paucity of extant ivory objects of this period may also be, to an extent, simply because very few

of the early medieval sites of India have so far been subjected to intensive horizontal archaeological excavation.

During the late medieval period i.e. from the 16th to the 18th century A.D, ivory art received fresh impetus. The Nayak and Maratha rulers of Thanjavur, the Nayaks of Madurai and some North Indian kingdoms encouraged the art. Thanjavur and Madurai, in particular, became renowned ivory-production centres.

The ivory objects of this period were different from those of the early historical period. The chief item of production now were jewel-boxes, kumkum-boxes and Miniature models of Hindu deities for domestic worship. At this juncture, mention may be made of a magnificent ivory sculpture from Madurai displaying the marriage of Siva and Parvati. The marriage of the God and Goddess has a special significance in the pilgrim town of Madurai where it is celebrated in legend. The two main shrines of the big temple here are dedicated respectively to Minaksi, a form of Parvati, and Siva who is also known as Sundaresvara or 'Beautiful Lord'. Their images are brought together during the colourful festival of Cittirai (in April-May), the grandest event in the ritual calendar of the temple. In the present sculpture, Siva and Parvati are standing next to each other, be decked with silks, jewels and flowers. Siva who is naturally taller than Parvati gently lowers his eyes to have a glimpse of the bashful bride. Both of them appear to be offering prayers for a long and Albert Museum, is undoubtedly among the finest products of the Madurai workshop. A recent study has also indicated, to an extent, the themes and motifs originally deline-

ated on the heavily ornamented masonry pillars of Nayak temples and palaces. Such motifs included the yali (mythical lion or leogryp) and equestrian warriors.

A noteworthy development of this period is the use of ivory as a canvas for miniature paintings. Paintings on ivory evolved as an ancillary branch of the art schools of Bengal, Patna, Banaras (Varanasi), Awadh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Mysore and Thanjavur. The technique of ivory - painting was a complex one. The colours used were mostly water-based. Many artists used a magnifying glass while painting so that the brushwork in the extremely small canvas was fine and delicate. The themes included portraiture, religion, floral scrolls and architectural elements. Besides the local artists, several Europeans like John Smart, Ozias Humphrey, Charles Shureff, George Place, George Chinnery and Edward Nash also painted on ivory in India. This facilitated a fruitful exchange of themse and techniques between the two groups of artists.⁸

In South India, Thanjavur became the most famous for its ivory paintings. A well-known painting of this school portrays a beautiful four-year old princess. The Maratha royal family of Thanjavur still possesses a few ivory paintings.⁹ Excellent specimens of portrait paintings on ivory can also be seen at the Government Museum in Patna and at the Bharat kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

European influence on Indian ivory art was not confined to paintings alone. Several Indian artists began to produce different types of objects specifically tailored to the needs and tastes of Europeans. To cite an example, ivory caskets were produced in Sri Lanka for despatch to Portugal

as diplomatic gifts. These caskets have been hailed as the earliest datable specimens of Indo-Portuguese art.¹⁰ These caskets, made of solid ivory panels, often portrayed Biblical themes such as the betrothal of the Virgin. Wooden furniture inlaid with ivory were also manufactured at Sindh, Gujarat and the Deccan mainly for export to Europe. Such furniture included huge chests of drawers, travelling boxes and game boards. Louis XVI, the king of France, appears to have gifted ivory chairs to Tipu sultan of Mysore.¹¹ It may be surmised that South Indian ivory chairs of the period were inspired by the French tradition.

Modern age:

The introduction of photography in the mid- 19th century signalled the end of the portrait painting on ivory. There have, however, been a few stray cases of photographs printed on ivory and later tinted by hand.

By the beginning of the present century, ivory art was restricted to an extremely small number of places. The items produced were miniature models of deities and fancy jewels such as necklace-pendants. The growing scarcity of the elephants and the high costs involved maintaining them made ivory objects too expensive for the common man.

On date, ivory carving and sale are banned in India, thanks to pressure from environmentalists and animal lovers. The ivory-artists are now learning to work with artificial substitutes closely resembling the ivory.

The ivory objects of the remote past, however, continue to be prized possessions in many private and public collections. In several South Indian households, old ivory statuettes of deities such as Ganesha, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Durga, Siva-Parvati, various forms of Krishna and the Dasavatas are most carefully treasured and passed on from one generation to the other. These precious images are attractively displayed during the annual Navaratri-Kolu celebrations in September-October. In several cases, ivory antiquities also find a place in the drawing room showcases of spacious bungalows.

Conclusion:

The above survey makes it clear that despite several vicissitudes ivory art has all along been a living and growing tradition in almost all parts of India. There is an urgent necessity for a comprehensive inventory of all the ivory antiquities in various museums and private hands. This alone would facilitate the better understanding of the history of ivory art of India.

Notes and References:

1. The objects in the collections at Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, Madras (Chennai) and Thanjavur were examined by Dr.Kasturi and Dr.Suresh on different occasions from 1990 to 1997. Dr.Suresh examined the collections in U.K. first in 1990 as an

Inlaks Scholar and again in 1994 as a Nehru Visiting Fellow of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. He studied the collections in U.S.A. in 1997 on a rotary International Group Study Exchange Programme.

2. Ivory objects of art found mentioned in

the Hebrew literature among other articles of exports like rice, peacock feather and teak from ancient Tamilaham to the western world of fore.

2(a). Undertaken jointly by Dr. Kasturi and Dr.Suresh in 1996-97. Also see Appendix-I below listing some of the early historical sites yielding ivory object.

2(b). Very recently conducted archaeological excavations at Alagankulam in Ramnad, Kodumanam near Erode and ever further excavations in kavirippumpattinam and the well-known site at Arikamedu near pondicherry have brought to hight many ivory artefacts. A scholar therefore cannot straight away say as the paucity of Materials.

3. For more details on ancient trade, specially trade in ivory, see S.Suresh, *A Study of the Roman Coins and other antiquities in India, with special reference to South India* (unpublished Ph.D.thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1993). Also see R.M. Cimino and F.Scialpi, *India and Italy* (Rome, 1974)pp1-48; R.S.Sharma, *Urban Decay in India* (c.300-c.1000) (New Delhi, 1987) pp14-183; and S.Suresh, "Review of: F.R.Allchin ed., The archaeology of early historic South Asia-the emergence of cities and states", The Book Review Vol.XX no.5 (1996) p13.

4. For more details and bibliographic referencces to this find see R.M.Cimino

and F.Scialpi (supran.3) pp28-29; and S.Suresh, *Roman antiquities in Tamilnadu* (Madras,1992) pp7-8. The object is now in the Museo Nazionale (National Museum), Naples.

5. John Guy and Deborah Swallow eds., *Arts of India: 1550-1900* (London, 1990) p22.

6. R.S.Sharma, *supra* N.3, P183.

7.John Guy and Deborah Swallow eds., *supra* n.5, p41.

8. For further information on ivory paintings, see Jaya Appasamy "Indian miniatures on Ivory", in R.K.Bhatnagar ed., *The Critical Vision* (collection of selected writings by Jaya Appasamy) (New Delhi, 1985) pp16-25. Also see Jaya Appasamy, *Tanjavur Painting of the Martha Period* (New Delhi, 1980) pp22-87.

9. For a comprehensive survey of the architecture and art under the Marathas of Thanjavur, see S.Sureh, Maratha architecture of Tanjavur region (unpublished paper, based on filed-survey, submitted to Madras Craft Foundation, Madras, 1989); and S.Suresh, "Along the pilgrim route", *The India Magazine* Vol.XIII no.12 (1993)pp6-17.

10. John Guy and Deborah Swallow eds., *supra* n.5, p47.

11. Ibid., p187.

Appendix-I

Select list of early historical sites which have yielded ivory artefacts:

Afghanistan:

1.Begram.

Punjab:

2. Sanghol.

New Delhi:

3. Purana Qila.

Rajasthan:

4. Rairh.

Gujarat:

5. Nagara.

Maharashtra:

6. bhokardan.

7. Paithan.

Madhya Pradesh:

8. Awra,

9. Kayatha.

10. Runija.

Uttar Pradesh:

11. Hulaskhera.

12. Mathura,

13. Rajghat.

Bihar:

14. Champa.

15. Manjhi.

16. Sonpur.

West Bengal:

17. Bangarh.

Orissa:

18. Sisupalgarh.

Andhra Pradesh:

19. Dharanitota.

20. Dhulikatta.

21. Nagarjunakonda.

Karnataka:

22. Chandravalli.

Pondicherry:

23. Arikamedu.

Mrs. Prema Kasturi]

(Dr. Mrs.P.Kastuir)

S.Suresh

(S.SURESH)

Enclosed-one

Photograph for publication

Caption of photograph

given at the back of the
photograph.

S.Suresh.

Presidential Address
Historiography Section
The Meaning of Tamils' History
With in the Perspectives of Historiography:
Reflections

Dr. Thomas Edmunds

Vice-President
World Federalist Movement
South Asia.

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I record my profound gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Tamilnadu History Congress for electing me to be the President of the Historiography Section during its fourth session in the Tamil University, Thanjavur. We are all happy to have the fourth session of Tamilnadu History Congress in Tamil University where researchers in every aspect of Tamils' history can get guidance and draw inspiration.

1.1 My main purpose, in my address, is to analyse the progress made in Tamilian Historiography in methodology, technique of analysis and content. Historians of Tamil Nadu are aware of the fact that - "no theory, no history". We have to be cautious about "the welter of the multi-disciplinary clap-trap". Historiography must aim at clarity of vision and independence of judgement. Historians who have adopted their tool of analysis as "historical materialism" gave a theory "no production, no history". To some, "without culture, no production".

Whither Tamilian historiography?

1.2 Since 1947 A.D., till 1997, there has been considerable progress in research in Indian History in general, and in the His-

tory of Tamilnadu, in particular. Considerable attention has been paid in understanding the changes in the society as well as economic progress of the people living in south India, during ancient and medieval periods. Were ASIANS poor and backward till the arrival of EUROPEANS (in Asia)? When this question was posed, naturally the works by K.A.Nilakanta Sastri gave direction to understand the "Political history" of South India. What was found to be areas for further research remained in the realm of society and economic development.

1.3 Thanks to Historians - Noboru Karashima, K.V.Raman, Y.Subbarayalu, P.Shanmugam (to cite a few historians), due importance was given to find out primary source materials, like Epigraphical evidences. Statistical data has been carefully collected and micro-regions became the centre for investigation. Changes in the society became the centre for investigation. Changes in the society became very clear, when the above mentioned research methods were employed. From the times of Cholas, to the end of Vijayanagar empire, the changes that happened in society, in the realm of economics became very clear. Political, Social and Economic history of

Tamils from 9th century to 18th century are now vivid, thanks to the efforts of researchers mentioned above. Micro-level study has fruitfully led to macro-level study. Micro-level studies are useful for comparative studies.

1.4 Thousands of inscriptional evidences that are available in Tamilnadu are helpful in reconstructing the history of Tamils during medieval period. Thanks to Professor R.Sathianathier, statistical methods were successfully used in his research on "Studies in the Ancient History of Tondaimandalam". Thus, Tamilian Historiography has made several "view points", more "sophisticated and refined". There are areas where Tamils' genius is fully expressed. Tamilians' unique features lie in the fact that they have consolidated the heritage of the old. New dimensions are added to this heritage.

Since 1980s, The Annamalai School has added new dimensions to this heritage and Professor A.Subbian has brought "Universal History" as his focus in researching Contemporary History; thanks to the emphasis given in this School on Arnold Joseph Toynbee's "A Study of History". Thus, Dr. Subbian has done significant research on Human Rights and on various contributions of the United Nations Organization, for the development of humanity. Thus, he is a pioneer in this new spectrum of historical research urging on the value of history for contemporary affairs, and contemporary history.

1.5 Almost till 1960s, research with special reference to the changes or development in South Indian Society was almost 'Nil'. This is clear when we study how intellectuals like S.A.Dange, D.D.

Kosambi, R.S.Sharma, and Irfan Habib had done on particular areas and periods in North Indian history.

1.6 During 1960s, thanks to the efforts of pioneers like S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, keen research interest was visible in the realm of society and the economic conditions of people. Noboru Karashima and his erudite team of historians have lucidly analysed the inscriptions of Cholas and they have explained the land-holding pattern of peasants forces in social change. What were the integrating forces in society during the period of Cholas? What the nature of relations among the ruling class, peasants, and others who were engaged in production of consumer goods? Epigraphical evidences have helped to construct the history of South India from 7th to 17th centuries. The sources of income for the government, tax structure are revealed through inscriptions. 1930s has witnessed the research findings of Bramadeya villages of the Cholas.¹

1.7 Recently, research findings of Burton Stein and Kathleen GOUGH have brought forth the social changes from the longrange perspectives. M.G.S.Narayanan, Y.Subbarayalu, R.Champakalexmi, D.N.Jha, K.Indrapala, R.Kenneth Hall, George Spencer, A.L.Alayev had embarked on individual problems at micro level on "social change" in Tamilnadu.

1.8 Burton Stein's work on Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India and work on The State and the Agrarian Order in Medieval South India: A Historiographical Critique (Edited: Essays on South India, Hawaii 1975) are trend-setters in Historiography so far as Tamils' history is concerned.

1.9 His proposition on "Segmentary State" clarifies the absence of governmental administration under the Cholas. Noboru Karashima has differed with Burton Stein with reference to South Indian society. Nilakanta Sastri went to the extent of comparing the rule of Raja Raja I to that of Byzantine royalty. Stein's analysis differs.²

1.10 Noboru Karashima's research findings establish the fact, how during the time of Raja I, Rajendra I, and Kulothuga I, efforts were made for political integration.³

1.11 Similarly, Kathleen Gough's "Mode of Production in Southern India" (published in Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, February 1980) and also Gough's book on Rural Society in South East India, (Cambridge, 1981) have sparked off controversy to reconsider historical truths to know who were the people engaged in 'production' in Chola society. Thus, Tamilians' historiography has yet another dimension.

1.12 There are two schools of thought, with reference to the concept of ASIATIC Mode of Production. Lawrence Krader in his work on The Asiatic Mode of Production (Ferenc Tokei, Essays on the Asiatic Mode of Production, Budapest, 1979) is important in this direction. Both during ancient and medieval periods of Indian history, there was No Asiatic Mode of Production, according to one section of historians. Feudalism must have started from Asiatic Mode of Production. To test this proposition, we have to still more comprehensively search for references in Sangam and Bhakthi literatures.

1.13 Village-wise research appears to be urgent. Because except few villages, other villages were not gifted by kings of Chola period. Till this research is over, we cannot definitely come to the conclusion that offering villages as gifts to certain section of the society, had led to the feudal mode of production. Such school of thought is led by Noboru Karashima. Thus, how far land lordism had developed in areas such as lower Kaveri during the Cholas, is yet another field for research.

1.14 And in my view, Tamilian Historiography is a mosaic that is being seriously shaped. In a sense, it is a kind of tapestry woven from the warp and woof of inscriptional evidences. Every viewpoint is "sophisticated and refined". There appears to be "a clear-cut pattern of thought" in the research findings of historians of Tamilnadu. They are "sensitive to the spirit of the time". They are also influenced "by the dominant contemporary viewpoints".

1.15 Of late, it is generally felt that "as the direct compulsions of debate with BRITISH imperialism receded, there was a greater readiness to study the factors of change and stagnation in our past".⁴ Historians of Tamilnadu must contribute their share towards "Nationalist tradition of historiography" affirming "a much broader and critical view of history". Tamils' contribution towards "the compositions of India's heritage", must be brought forth. With this, we have "to study the factors of change and stagnation in our past and to identify various internal economic, social and ideological contradictions". Historical evidence must be carefully collected.

1.16 In his critical book, The End of

History and The Last Man, Francis Fukuyama, asked "Is there a direction to the history of mankind"? And if it is directional, to what end it is moving? And where are we now in relation to that "end of history"? There are two powerful forces at work in human history. One is "the logic of modern science" and the other is "the struggle for recognition"¹⁵. Establishment of capitalist liberal democracies is the end state of historical process. Perhaps, Tamilians' history may enliven the philosophy of history, enlightening "the deepest issues of human society and destiny".

1.17 If history has to be understood "as a single, coherent, evolutionary process...taking into account the experience of all people in all times", then we are with G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx. Tamil society over the centuries has passed through several stages and is now part of "modern liberal democracy and technological driven capitalism".

II

A PARADIGM SHIFT

2.1 It is indisputable that fifty years after Independence, "our knowledge of early Indian society stands doubtless enlarged". Where are we today? There have been "radical changes" in the interpretation of every aspect of Tamilians' history. "History is the analysis of the evidence relating to the past in an effort to understand the past".¹⁶ The aim of historiography of late, is to find out the "more fundamental social changes" in society. The evolution of caste, how various social groups try to utilise the resources, the emergence of "authority systems and the interface between rural and urban areas" can be the aim of

Tamilians' Historiography. History is really concerned with 'forms of public expression'. Our task must be to decipher "distinctive social forms" and how changes occur. There is an important aspect of "historical processes".

2.2 History, as a "Social Science" has become too valuable for a nation's progress. From D.D.Kosambi, (onwards) many historians of Tamilnadu have drawn inspiration and a sense of direction is clearly seen by young researchers. As we have seen in the preceding pages, "State Formations" is vigorously searched in Tamils' history. T.K. Venkatasubramanian (of DELHI University) has felt: "It may be useful to see in a regional context (Tamilakam) if chiefdom can be an empirically valid and satisfactory theoretical construct, for understanding the transitions to state".¹⁷ His brilliant analysis on "chiefdom to state" reflecting on Kaveri Delta social formations shows "The emergence of Chole lineage and structural relations between economy, society and ideology are of an evolutionary character."¹⁸ To get a coherent picture of "the image of the Chola state, society and economy" we need the help of social scientists who have to elucidate "each ingredient that builds up the complex institutions. ...until then, 'discourses' and deconstructions are bound to continue".¹⁹

3.1 TAMILIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, in my opinion, is proceeding on right lines. We have to painstakingly collect "every document and present it to the scholarly world". From S.Krishnaswamy Iyengar's works we should get inspiration to embark further on "interpretative or argumentative history". New philosophy, new trends, and challenges have to be explored. From

S.Krishnaswamy Iyengar's School of thought, we are fortunate to have K.M.Panikkar's (A.D.1895-11963) research which has established the fact that "A historian is not merely a narrator of events but also a guide and a philosopher".²⁰

3.2 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's School of thought (along with historians like C.Minakshi, Dr.T.V.Mahalingam and others) has emphasised that "history is painstaking search for information about the past".²¹

Tamilian Historiography can aim at the following:

1. What could be our unique contribution towards "universal history"? Can the deepest issues of human society and destiny find an answer through an analysis of Tamils' history?

2. Can a "long-term evolutionary perspective" be adopted in a comprehensive history of Tamil nadu?

3. To solve the contemporary crisis of values, the philosophical perspective of Tamils' History must get due attention. Tamils' philosophy of history must find its proper place in the comprehensive history of Tamilnadu. Rightly it is said that "we, the people of this great nation" must "renew our faith in the idea of India," which "represents one of this century's greatest achievements".²² Tamilian Historiography can contribute its share to enliven "the idea of India", with its philosophical underpinning of Tamilian Mind which envisaged the whole world (universe) in its totality.

4. Religion has been the "prime symbol" of Indian culture, as Spengler empha-

sised. A.J.Toynbee identified religion "as the spirit of Indian civilisation".²³ (Contemporary) Tamilnadu does not lack in religious fervour. The historian of religions in Tamilnadu, of charismatic movements, must tell the "whole story". Socio-cultural approach is adopted to study the history of Christianity in India. "Socio-political developments provided the background to the role played by missions and missionaries and the national perspective has been borne in mind while examining developments in the various regions of the subcontinent."²⁴ Thus, so far as History of Christianity in India, in general, and in Tamilnadu, in particular, a distinct spectrum in Historiography has emerged with a new perspective.

The history of Christianity in India is viewed as an integral part of the socio-cultural history of the Indian people rather than as separate from it. The history will, therefore, focus attention upon the CHRISTIAN people in India; upon their social, religious, cultural and political encounters, upon the changes which these encounters produced in them and in the appropriation of the Christian gospel, as well as in the Indian culture and society of which they themselves were a part.²⁵

Christianity, as one of the important forces in the socio-cultural developments in Tamilnadu, has been well researched by a team of scholars led by Dr. Hugald Grafe of Hidelberg University in GERMANY.

Dalit historiography is one of the emerging sub-disciplines in the history of Tamilnadu. K.R.Hanumanthan, one of the pioneers in this area is ably followed by A.Manickam of Madurai Kamaraj University S.Kathirvel, formerly of Madras Uni-

versity, K.Sadasivan and K.A.Manikumar of Manonmaniam Sundaranar University and their contribution to highlight the history of the suppressed sections of the society is commendable. Theologians in the gurkuul, Chennai, under the able direction and leadership of Kunchala Rajarathnam have enriched Dalit historiography in Christian theological perspectives which cannot be ignored by secular historians of Tamilnadu.

6. Like epigraphical sources, historical archaeology and numismatics enrich Tamiln Historiography. The study of sculpture and architecture enables us to understand Tamil civilizational process. Art history provides clues to elucidate the stages of Tamil civilization.

Thank you.

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EPIGRAPHS ON BRAHMADEYAS (TAMILNADU)-ACRITICAL STUDY

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Brahmadeyas in Medieval Tamilnadu were independent administrative units in the segmentary level of the State. They were individual and unique functionaries within the Semi-feudal structure of the State, enjoying socio-religious, economic, educational, political, administrative and judicial powers. Socially, they were the settlements meant for the brahmins, who as 'repositories of wisdom', represented the intellectual serenity of the day.¹ They, as 'keepers of conscience', served as a cohesive force of the State and society in one way or the other. Religiously, they were the centres of learning of Vedic, brahmanic, itihasic and puranic commentaries. In recognition of their services to the State and society, they were granted brahmadeyas (village grants to brahmins) for their maintenance. The accruing income these grants went a long way in keeping the brahmins from all economic maladies. These land grants played a vital role in deciding the economic structure of the society and thereby played a key role in shaping the economic condition of the State. By their religious and economic powers, privileges and functions, brahmins of the medieval days had exerted a high degree of influence on the State. Educationally, brahmadeyas continued to hold an esteemed position in the society, for they maintained a high degree of excellence in learning. As education was then the 'private property of the privileged',

brahmins derived the maximum benefit out of it and occupied exalted positions in the State as priests, purohits, astrologers, poets, scholarcomposers, commentators, commanders, counsellors and astute diplomats—all these the results of their high learning.² Politically, brahmadeyas, as the seats of the priestly,³ which no king of the medieval days could dispense with. In one way or the other, politics of the day was the basis for innumerable brahmanic settlements in Tamilnadu. In fact, political history in those days was the combination of the authority of the ruling class and the privileges and functions of the priestly class, each sharing the powers of the State, against the other classes. History of medieval Tamilnadu is replete with instances of the successful fusion of the royal authority with the priestly privileges and functions. While the kings successfully defended and preserved the territorial integrity of the State, the priestly brahmins established their inevitability and indispensability in running the State by controlling the brahmadeya and devadana lands and all other educational and cultural ramifications of the day. Any attempt to separate politics from religion in the medieval days could have resulted in a period of power struggle and turmoil. Epigraphic records register the subtle struggle between the royal authority and the priestly class, an evidence being provided by the unhealthy situation that arose at the sudden death of Aditya Karikala II.⁴ But a highly

independent and powerful monarch like Rajaraja I could alone thwart such attempts and keep them under control. Such being the case, history of medieval Tamilnadu tells us that politics and religion are inseparable and therefore intertwined. This is evident from the pre-eminent place accorded to the brahman purohiths, astrologers, temple priests, teachers of Vedas, sastras, itihisas and puranas, commanders-in-chief, counsellors, state officials and scribes. The consequent creation of a large number of brahmadeyas for the settlements of the newly brought brahmans from various other parts of India, and the liberal donations made over to them, and all other awards and rewards such as high sounding titles conferred upon them also testify this. Of all the ruling dynasties of Tamilnadu, including those of early Kerala, the Pandyas were the first to recognise their services for religious purposes. The Pallavas and the Cholas, coming next to the Pandyas, realised their importance for administrative and legal purposes, although Rajaraja I checkmated their pre-dominance in the political, economic and religious spheres. However, under the Vijayanagara imperialism, they were slowly but steadily turned into mere administrative officials exerting much less influence in the State matters, though they were not deprived of their traditional religious and educational privileges. Epigraphic evidences stand testimony to their gradual growth under the Pallavas and the early medieval Pandyas, their extension and esteemed position under the imperial Cholas and Pandyas, and their total decay and decline under the Vijayanagara-Nayak rule. This is evident from the subtle meaning of the terminologies

such as brahmadayam (hereditary property right), brahmadeyam or desam (right over villages) and brahmadanam (mere gifts) found mentioned in these records. Administratively, brahmadeyas have left a great legacy as model administrative units to be emulated many generations to come. The organisation and administration of brahmadeya sabhas, with their various wards, their restricted membership and qualifications for representation, the means and methods of elections, the conduct of business and the dispensation of justice had added a unique feature to the general administrative history of India.

The major sources of information for this study are the inscriptions. They are mostly contemporary records found in Tamil, Grantha, Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. They are found engraved on the walls of temples and pillars. There is an abundance of such material from the 4th century onwards in Tamilnadu. V.A.Smith observes that the Southern princes and people have bequeathed to posterity many thousands of inscriptions, which often attain portentous length.⁵

About 750 inscriptions are made use of in this study, though all of them are not listed out here. Of them about 250 inscriptions are available in the various temples of Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam of Ambasamudram alone. The rest of the inscriptions are found in various parts of Tamilnadu. Among them quite a good number is Copper-plate grants of immense value.

The Pulankurichi inscription,⁶ engraved during the period of the Pandaya king Sendan and belonging to 5th century A.D.,

was discovered in 1979 by Tulasiraman, an official of the Tiruchi branch of the State Department of Archaeology, Madras. It records the grant of three villages as brahmadayam,⁷ and also refers to miyatchi and karanmai right.⁸ It thus throws light on the tradition of granting villages to brahmins with certain rights and privileges. The Anamalai record⁹ of 770 A.D. gives a vivid picture of the esteemed status given to the brahmin Marankari of the Vaidyakula of Karavanthapuram. The Thirupparankunram stone inscription¹⁰ conveys the fact that the brahmin general namely Sthan Ganapathy was serving under Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadayan. It may not be out of place to suppose that these brahmin officials of the Then Pandinadu might have exerted a high degree of influence on this king, who was very much pleased to recognise their services by granting a large number of brahmadeyas. These records are very useful in understanding the tradition of the grant of brahmadaya in the early period and the prominent position enjoyed by them during the first Pandyan Empire.

The inscription, found in the Subrahmanyaswami's Temple at Thiruchendur,¹¹ are very useful for knowing the patronage given by the King Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadayan in fostering brahmadeya institutions. The king granted a gift of 1400 kasu with the administrative bodies of the villages for meeting various annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanyaswami. This included 11 sabhas and 4 urs of various parts of Then Pandinadu. These records are of immense value for understanding the brahmadeya administrative bodies which were functioning in the 8th century A.D.

An inscription of 770 A.D. found on the wall of the Manonmanisvara Temple,¹² Vijayanarayanam in Nanguneri taluk, records that one Panchavan of Mudukudinadu purchased some lands from the sabha of Vijayanarayana Chaturvedimangalam, a brahmadeya Nattarruppokku. It is of interest to note that the sabha was enjoying the right to sell the land at its disposal to the individual even in 770 A.D., whereas in the Pallava territory the earliest reference to the sabha is recorded in 803 A.D. only. The inscriptions of 784 A.D.¹³ found in the Ericcha Vudaiyar Temple in Ambasamudram bring to light that the sabha administration came into existence first under the Pandyas that too in Then Pandinadu. It records that Varaguna Maharaja donated 290 kasu to the sabha of Ilangoykkudi for worship and offerings to the God Bhatara in the Srikoyil of Tiruppottudaiyar. In fact, such responsibility was vested with the concerned Variyam of the sabha. The epigraphic line indicating this runs thus: "Bhatara Panimakkalum Ilangoykkudi-Cavai variyarum udaninru".¹⁴ This inscription indicates that the well organised sabha with variyam was functioning even in 8th century A.D. Further, there are about 250 inscriptions in Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam which help us to fix the approximate age of the origin, powers and functions of the sabhas and brahmadeyas in Then Pandinadu (Tirunelveli region). The Manur stone inscription¹⁵ of 805 A.D. of the same king is found to be of invaluable help in tracing the history of the constitution of the sabha of Manrilainallur, a brahmadeya in Kalakkudi-nadu, the administration of the sabha and of the members who served in

it. It also throws light on the kind of penalty imposed on those who transgressed these regulations. This is perhaps the earliest stone inscription of the Pandays to throw some insight into the codification of the rules and regulations of the sabhas, governing the members. His last inscription of 814 A.D. found on the west wall of the laksminarayana Perumal Temple¹⁶ at Sinnamanur in Periyakulam taluk is of utmost importance in tracing the reign period of this king between 768 and 814 A.D. In every respect, this record helps us fix the antiquity of the origin of brahmadeyas in the Pandya territory.

In the meantime, the Pallava stone inscriptions date only from the time of Mahendravarman¹⁷ (610-630 A.D), the author of bilingual inscriptions in Tamilnadu. But, for a study of the functioning of sabhas or brahmadeyas, Dantivarman's (803 A.D) inscription is found to be of immense value.¹⁸ This record throws light on the growth and nature of the ascendancy of the system under the Pallavas. For instance, an inscription dated in his 21st year helps us trace the executive powers of the sabha.

The two inscriptions¹⁹ of Parantaka 1 of 919 A.D and 921 A.D are of much help, for they provide many details about the various aspects of the organisation and administration of the Uttaramerur sabha. The unique method of the conduct of election by kudavolai murai and the related details are found mentioned in them. Details about the formation of variyams, their powers and functions, the discharge of judicial functions and disqualifications of members, who had been declared to have committed trespasses, also find a place in these records.

In the successive periods innumer-

able inscriptions pertaining to the Cholas, commencing from 1001 A.D to 1212 A.D., are traced. They indicate the oppressive method of collection of tax arrears from the brahmins of brahmadeyas. For instance, it is learnt from an inscription of 1212 A.D.²⁰ that a cheftain imposed certain taxes on sabha lands even without granting the usual exemption and the members of the sabha were punished with imprisonment for the non-payment of taxes. These help us study the various oddities and vicissitudes experienced by these bodies.

In addition, Copper-plates are also found to be of immense value in throwing beams of light on the various aspects of brahmadeyas. For instance, the Velvikkudi Copper-plates of Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadayan²¹ and the Dalavaipuram Copper-plates of Viranarayanan²² provide us with details about the grant of brahmadeyas in the Sangam age, the defeat of the three Tamil monarchs at the hands of the Kalabhas and the establishment of Kalabhra rule in Tamilnadu. They also refer to the Kalabhra's anti-brahmanical activities especially the closure of temples for worship, the confiscation of brahmadeya grants and the consequent overthrow of the Kalabhras by the Pallavas and Pandyas.

The Parthivasekhrapuram Copper-plates²³ of Karunandadak an dated in 866 A.D give an insight into the functioning of a Vedic-cum-military academy, qualifications of teachers and students for admission, subjects taught and provisions made for their subsistence and the maintenance of discipline. The Bahur Copper-plates²⁴ of Nrupatungavarman of 877 A.D give information about the existence of the earliest Vedic institution (Bhaur College) of ad-

vanced studies. Kasakkudi,²⁵ Pattattalmangalam²⁶ and Tandantottam Copper-plates²⁷ also speak about the grant of villages to the brahmins, who possessed certain specific qualities, qualifications and character. They also mention their high attainments and rights and privileges granted to them. The Vilavetti Copper-plates²⁸ throw light on the enumeration of the several taxes which were left to the enjoyment of the brahmins (dones). The Pullur²⁹ and the Kasakkudi Copper-plates³⁰ testify to the evacuation of early tenants for the purpose of granting them to brahmins. The Karandai Tamil Sangam plates of Rajendra I 1020 A.D are of great help in knowing the purpose of the creation of an agrahara. This is the only Copper-plate grant which records the creation of a brahmadeya benefitting 1080 brahmins.

The Study:

Though medieval period is called the age of inscriptions, for a complete study of the medieval society, they are not sufficient as they do not throw much light on the subaltern people. For instance, the poor peasants of Madurantakanallur and Tirumangalam were evacuated³¹ by a royal order for settling the brahmins but nothing is mentioned about the fate of the peasants after their evacuation. We do not know whether any alternative arrangements were made for them. But the inscriptions give an account of the privileged people of the society - brahmins, vellalas, commanders, kigs, ect.

There are certain terms in inscriptions which are not familiar to the modern society and are not in vogue. For instance, the terms like yatti nali, puther nali,

kannalakkanam, mavirai, nallavu, udupokku, ilaikulam, ulku, odakkuli, ect., are not in use at present. Hence it is very difficult to give accurate meanings for them. Similarly, the terms used for the measurement are also different from place to place even in the same empire and dynasty to dynasty. It also creates confusion.

As the people do not know the value of inscriptions, while renovating or extending the temples the stones which bore the inscriptions were sometimes misplaced or left out or even damaged. For instance, a bit of stone inscription of the Kailasanather temple in Brahmadesam (Ambasamudram) was found buried in the temple premises. It might have been thrown out of place carelessly during the renovation work.

Most of the inscriptions found on the rocks, caves and in the open spaces are weather- worn and defaced due to natural calamity. For instance, the inscriptions in the Sundarapandisvaram Temple at Thrichuli could not be deciphered.

There is a lot of confusion with regard to dates in the inscriptions. There is no uniformity in the manner in which dates are given in the Tamil inscriptions. Some inscriptions are dated in the regnal years of the then ruling monarch while others are dated with reference to some eras like saka. Most of the Pandyan inscriptions contain double dates. For instance, "in the year second, opposite to the fourteenth". Sometimes, it is taken that the total of the two years represents the date of the grant. But why this system was adopted by the Pandyas is not satisfactorily explained.

Most of the inscriptions contain meykirtti. They praise the royal achieve-

ments. They are engraved under the patronage of the kings. These inscriptions are engraved under the patronage of the kings. Therefore, they record only their victories and exploits but not their failures and shortcomings. As such we can understand only one side of their history.

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In spite of the many drawbacks, to know the history of the medieval period, especially the history of the brahmadeya system, we have to mainly depend on these inscriptions.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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

**THE MIND, CONTENTS AND THE CRAFT OF TAMIL HISTORIANS
THE PSYCHIC AND HISTORY**

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Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos in their Introduction to the Study of History (1903) (Paris) and Homer Grey Hockett in his The Theory and Critical Approaches to Historical Method (1968), (New York) have advocated the new craft of Historians. Regarding the unit of historical research and writing, Arnold J. Toynbee has revolutionized the pattern. However, the discovery of the concept of psychoanalysis in 1897 by Sigmund Freud (1856- 1939) and applied psychology and his book namely Inquiries into Human Faculty (1883) of Francis have had their impact on the historians of Tamilnadu, who developed a flavour for writing the history of "Castes". The present paper investigates into some examples of such "Caste history books and their worst impact on the younger disciples of Clio, the Muse and the deep psychological havoc that such histories have wrought about in the minds, and consequently, the blood- shed experienced by the deep south of Tamilnadu by communal conflict during recent months of 1997. The paper raises a question: whether these cast histories make them wise or vice?

**HISTORY AN ENCOUNTER WITH
THE MIND.**

The enquiries in to the human faculty (1883) explains that writing history is an encounter between the source and the historian ; writing history is an encounter be-

tween the mind and the book; reading history in an encounter between the book and the reader; teaching history is an encounter between the teacher and the mind of the students. Hence in the four stages the minds of men play the vital role. If any mistake or over statement is made, then the entire process of history is made into unhistory. In the long process, the intent of the human mind cannot be understood properly. If the mind is not read, then how the human mind can be read ? This leads to a point which enables us to say that if four historians join together them there will be five conclusions.

THE PATTERN OF WRITING HISTORY AMONG THE TAMILS:

The historians of Tamilnadu have made use of the Western method of writing history during the last quarter of the 19th century. National histories, regional histories, dynastic histories, etc. were written ; yet along with these historians, there emerged a band of historians, who wrote their caste histories to glorify their castes. Thus the broad spectrum of history has sharpened into a razor like blade, its tip touched in the venom of caste . This trend began in Tamilnadu in the beginning of 20th century. What these historians sowed in the early decades sprouted in the later quarter of the present century. Psychologically surcharged histories cut human society across and thus the bond relation was cut off.

A. TREATISE ON CASTE :¹

A small book, it was written by one Gnanaprakasaswamigal and published in 1895 with a title JATHI Nool (ஜாதி நூல்). The author classified the people of the Tamil Country first into four divisions and called them as pure caste, the next 18 divisions as low castes; and 96 as mixed castes throughout Madras Presidency. For evidences he has either the old grammar book or Nigandu. On the other hand, it is pointed out that human beings all over the world must be divided only by ethnic characters and features, but not by another yard stick.²

VIRA VANNIYA KATHA

(வன்னிய புராணம்)

A book in Tamil edited in 1923 and reprinted in 1985, it was done by one S.K. Durgadass Swamy from Madras, Arcot road. In the preface to its first edition, it has been claimed that the whole matter had been collected from the palm-leaf MSS. The traditional story claims that the Vanniyars had emerged from fire as soldiers and connects their heroic story with MAHABHARATHA. The eighteen division and further classification of the Vanniyars were due to the professions and places where they settle.

A TREATISE ON VANNIYA CASTE

A rare copy of the book is preserved in the Library of Mariamalai Adigal, Madras. It claims that the Vanniyars of the present day had hoary past associated with Draupati, the wife of the Pandavas. From the heroic blood, the Vanniyars are said to have emerged as a band of soldiers to protect the Pandavas. After the battle was over, they were settled in South India. Accord-

ingly, the word Vanni means the king and also the Tree, which was their symbol. A branch of these Vanniyars migrated to Srilanka and settled in a district presently called Vanni district there.⁴ Thus the caste system of the Tamil Country spread to Srilanka among the Buddhists.

MIRROR OF CASTE :⁵

This is another small book compiled by one M. Munuswamy Nayakkar of Madras. This book gives the background of how every caste in the Tamil Country emerged due to the combination of two castes and how other communities maintained their purity. Thus the so-called people of purity created a sort of segregation in the society and thus the concept of untouchability was preached by Tamil historiography.

VARUNA DHARPANAM :⁶

Based on the Vedic text and the Vishnu Purana, the author of this book claims that the book was named as Varuna Dharpanam. It enumerates the story as narrated by various Puranas. No ethnic evidence or anthropological evidence is placed for any convincing argument. The craft of the historian is neither based on any methodology or on any scientific evidence. The author says that every thing endorsed by the Vedic texts and Manu Smrth is true. He enumerates many people as low caste. This has created a wave of social sentiment, which became very powerful, because anything that came out in print is believed pure, true and sacred. Hence the caste system became more deep - rooted and wide. Thus the Press proved itself a wrong craft.

VADAVAS THROUGH HISTORY :

The author, basing his idea on another North Indian author, divided the Yadavas into four major groups such as the fire division, the sun division, the Brahmin division and the king division, without giving any proper historical sources and solid primary materials. The long story of Lord Krishna and later descendants spread into various divisions. Each division has its name as that of the gotra as prefix or suffix. Accordingly, 1221 different names of Yadavas have been given by the author in the pages 7 to 11, in the form of a Table. He also indicates that the Yadavas youths and the women also became the members of various caste associations in India. In fact, there are seven larger Yadava caste associations in India and these associations are working like pressure groups of U.S.A. in Indian politics.

ADI-DRAVIDAR ANCIENT HISTORY:

The Adi-Dravida Association (Panchama Sabha) was the oldest caste Association of Madras which began to function from 1852, in the address No. 15, Village Road, Numgampakkam, Madras.⁹ By the great effort of late P. Venkatachalam Pillai (the great pickle merchant of Madras) 21 caste Associations were merged into one called Adi - Dravidar Association. For this Association this particular book was written in 1920. The author has taken so much pains to explain the word Adi and equated it with purity and thereby claimed that all people joined in the Association became pure. Thus the people of this association has injected a sense of pride and supremacy over others by the

book. The people who read those copies of the book were intoxicated with racial purity and purity of blood. But, on the otherhand, A.G. Carpenter in his History of the World explains that no race can be pure in nature.¹⁰ This hook has got a supplementary gift book written by Mrs. Annie Besant entitled "The Passing of the Caste System" (ஐரத்தி யோக்கியதை) with out date. The book advocates the importance of caste system for the welfare and the identity of the people.

THE HISTORY OF KALLARS:¹¹

It was written in 1923 and re - edited in 1984. The author was N.M. Venkatasamy Nattar, a Tamil scholar and true to the tradition of Tamil scholars he traced the origin of Kallars from the ancient period along with two more people collectively called Mukkulathor. After narrating many legendary stories, the author has given a list of the title names of the Kallars in the pages 97 to 100. The titles are 348 and what is more striking is that the names are also claimed by other caste people of the Tamil Country. For example, the word's Mudaliaar No. 301 and Vanniyar No. 321 of the list may be cited. A study of the book would give an impression that all people whom we come across are Kallars and thereby it gives a stimulus of racial feelings. Caste history is, not the real history. But the real history is buried deep into the past of humanity.

KONGU NATTU GOUNDERS : ¹²

Although Gounders are found all over Tamil Nadu, they maintain their identity as Kongu Gounders. According to the old story they still remember that they were divided broadly into two, as Vellala

Gounders and Vettuva Gounders; and each division is further divided into various "Groups" called Kuttam. The book very elaborately gives detailed study of their speech, dress, manners and ceremonies. At the end the addresses of prominent persons are also given. The state headquarters of Gounder Association has also prepared a Directory of names and position of Gounders in all India level and copy each is given to each member so that they can go and get any sort of help from them.

HISTORY OF NADARS: ¹³

Apart from the "Dravidian Movement" (1965), Hardgrave has also written on the Nadars (1962). Moses Ponnaiah has also written a book on Nadars entitled History of Nadars (1984). It describes the origin of Nadars upto their emergence into popular lines when K. Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. They have formed their popular Sangam called in Tamil உறவின் முறை through which they are reaching their community. The book claims one important point that even they are converting themselves to Christianity, they add their caste name with them. The word had become popular among them only in the twentieth century in their effort to Sanskritise them. They began wearing sacred thread and followed the Brahminic customs and practices.

WHO WERE THE THREE TAMIL KINGS ? ¹⁴ மூவேந்தர் யார் ?

A book written by a retired revenue official, it claims that the ancestors of the present Devendrakulathars were the Cheras, Cholas and the Pandias, who ruled the Tamil land during the age of Sangam. To substantiate his views he has collected

enormous sources Sangam literature. It certainly made the people very proud of their hoary past and also stimulated to revive their community. Thus the craft and the content of the Tamil historians became a convenient tool like the goldsmith's touch stone.

SURIYAKUL KALLAR CHARITHRAM: ¹⁵

Like the earlier book written by N.M. Venkatasamy Nattar, this is also about the Kallars. When the earlier author has based the literatures and the early history for his writing about the community of Kallars, this author bases the study partly on the puranas of India and partly on the traditional story of the Tamil Country. Thus the author claims celestial origin for them. This, in turn, makes the people to accept and believe that they were the chosen people in the history of Tamil Nadu.

HISTORY OF THE MARAWARS: ¹⁶

The author, S. Kadhivel formerly of the Collegiate Service and then Professor of History of Madras University, has published his Ph.D. thesis in the form of a book. When the second half is directly associated with the 18th century history of Tamil Nadu, the first half describes the origin and the settlement of the Marawars in the Southern part of Tamilnadu. He has extolled and glorified their heroic character, their mercenary activities, life style and other aspects make us believe that they were the people of a separate class themselves, while the historical part of their quality is under serious research. However, the psychological reaction of the reader of the book is something like a magical wand. Thus the craft and the mind of a historian are focussed towards vitalising

a particular set of people.

THE BRAHMIN IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY : ¹⁷

The author of this work is a noted historian, a former Professor of History of Madurai University, Madurai, and also author of many discourses and studies. He has ventured into this with great care and much pains to prove how the Brahmins as a class of people (not Brahmins as character) has penetrated into the soil of Tamil Country. The book is an excellent example of Brahmin migration and settlement in the Tamil Country. He has pointed out their domination over other people by virtue of their knowledge of Vedas and Agamas. He has also put two maps, one for the route map and another for cultural tree. In appendix "E" in pages 187-189 he has given the 70 gotra names. In conclusion, the author gives the historical clue why Periyar E.V.R. incepted the Non - Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu.

PALLAR (MALLAR) DEVENDRAKULA VELLALAR: ¹⁸

It is the latest book in this breed, yet with full of literary evidences drawn from Tamil literature. The author has taken much pains to collect all those information to prove that Pallars were also known as Mallars and they maintained no less than 78 titles as indicated in the pages 393-395. Even this book is also giving a feeling that the particular people are of a special ethnic origin and their role in the his-

tory of Tamil past was very best.

THE PSYCHIC OF TAMIL HISTORIANS:

The Tamil Historians, trained by the western theory and concept, have produced national histories, regional histories, political histories and institutional histories. These histories are studied by the people for the purpose of understanding what are unknown to them. But the caste histories are written, it seems, with a touch of emotions of the people as God - sent; coloured the Kula as more pure; the manners and customs as flawless, and finally a superior being. When such books are read by the people with a coloured glass, naturally the reader is intoxicated with the caste - history - mania - a typical input in the mind; in due course, scientific and rational thinking is set aside; the communal and caste mania conquers other feelings. Thus in Tamilnadu, every man, is a part of caste than a human being.

CONCLUSION

Tamil Historians must write the history of their social experiences in a broader perspective, taking the entire territory as the "Unit of history" as Arnold J. Toynbee had done; let the historians not take any caste as the unit of history to prevent any genocide the southern districts of Tamil nadu had experienced. No man of decent historical thinking can kindle the fire of caste which is always a potent and latent factor in the blood of Tamilnadu.

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EPITAPHS OF THE MUSLIM GRAVEYARDS OF VANIYAMBADI (Vellore District) 1840-1976)

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"Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs".¹ Epitaph is an inscription on a grave, tomb or monument in honour or memory of the dead. The Egyptians were the first to use epitaphs on the sarcophagi and coffins with some prayer to Anubias or Osiris.² The Greek epitaphs are famous for its deep and tender feeling and they are in elgiac verse. The Roman epitaphs are just a record of facts. The British were the first to print books of epitaphs. J. Weever published his collection of epitaphs in 1631, "Ancient Funeral Monuments". Since then a number of books appeared on epitaphs.³

In India printed books on inscriptions are confined to major inscriptions of sorts which sometimes include lapidary verses on tombstones. No major book epitaphs has seen the light of the day. A major work of reference of Islam is "Encyclopaedia of Islam". Unfortunately there is no entry on Epitaphs and the contributors have everlooked one major aspect of Muslim funeral obsequies.⁴ Likewise, Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam" has no entry on 'Epitaph', although gravemarkings have been discussed under 'Tombs'.⁵ The latest in the series is the scholarly work of reference on Islam, namely, "The Oxford

Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World". It refers to Epitaphs' in the heading entitled "Tombstones, Screens, Mausolea and Cenotaphs". Here too, the bibliography does not list any book on 'Epitaphs'.⁶

Keeping the above factors in view, a discussion on epitaphs seems imperative. This paper studies the epitaphs found in the Muslim graveyards of Vaniyambadi (Vellore District) covering a period of a century and a quarter. A large number of epitaphs are found in various towns of the district notably at Arcot and Pernambut. Their number in Vaniyambadi is meagre compared to the afore mentioned towns. And with the passage of time less and less epitaphs were erected on graves. This was so because of the following factors. The spread of the Wahhabi Movement, followed by the intellectual awakening among the Muslims and the lessening of the influence of Sufism were the reasons for lesser use and now the discontinance of epitaphs.⁷ The spread of the Wahhabi Movement was slow and steady. They are better known as Ahle- Hadith (The People of Tradition).

There are 33 mosques in the town out of which 16 have graveyards.⁸ All the 26 epitaphs are taken from the following

graveyards which include two tombstones.

1. Old Mosque Graveyard, Muslimpur
2. Fort Mosque Graveyard, Fort.
3. Nawab Aziz Khan Mosque Graveyard, Periapet.
4. New Mosque Graveyard, Jaffarabad.
5. Old Mosque Graveyard, Jaffarabad
6. Neelfield Mosque Graveyard, Neelfield.
7. Khaderpet Mosque Graveyard Khaderpet.
8. MASTAN Dargah, Periapet (Shrine)

All the epitaphs have been numbered and serialised from number 1 to 26 in chronological order. The earliest recorded death date in the epitaphs is 1262 A.H. and the latest one is 1396 A.H. corresponding to 1840 A.D. and 1976 A.D. respectively.⁹ Majority of the epitaphs are in Urdu while a few are in Persian and one in Tamil. Almost all the epitaphs have Arabic passages (verses from the Holy Quran, the various attributes of Allah and Darud).¹⁰ All the epitaphs save two record the date of death in the Islamic Hijri era while a few give equivalent Christian era.

USE OF PERSIAN:

A brief discussion on the use of Persian in the epitaphs is not out of place here. Marriages were recorded in the Daftar - e- Nikah (Marriage Register) in the Persian language from 1881 till the 1930's.¹¹ Although, Persian is not a spo-

ken language in Vaniyambadi, two Muslim religious schools for girls and the lonely Arabic college have Persian as a compulsory language.

CONTENTS OF THE EPITAPH:

1. Arabic verses :

The epitaphs begin with invocation, like "In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful"; "There is no god but Allah. Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah," ; "End is Certain for Everything "; "Most Forgiving"; and Dignified". 12 Quranic verses regarding the inevitability of death are a prominent feature in the epitaphs. "Every soul shall have a Taste of Death ". 13 Besides these the 99 names (attributes) of Allah are also inscribed in some of the epitaphs. The following few illustrates these attributes, thus:

AZEEM : Great ; Dignified; Exalted

GHAFFAR : Most Forgiving ; Most Merciful

GHAFOOR: Forgiving ; Merciful

HAMEED: Praiseworthy; Laudable; Glorious

HAYY: Alive; Living

WAHID: Alone ; Unique; Matchless; Unequaled¹⁴

2. Time of death :

The epitaphs record the year of death of the deceased in the Islamic Hijri era and in a few cases, the Christian era as well. The day, date, month, year and sometimes time of death are recorded in many of the epitaphs. Special mention is made in cases

of deaths in the holy months of Ramadhan or Zillhajjah.

3. Praise :

The epitaphs 'provide a fascinating guide to the interest and tastes' of a people. As in the practice , generally lofty sentiments are expressed in the epitaphs of the town. Various qualities of the deceased are praised. The epitaphs provide the information that some were Hajis (one who has performed the Haj, Holy pilgrimage to Makkah) and some were great philanthopists and businessmen. Almost all the epitaphs request the caller for prayers.

4. Verse writers:

A few epitaphs mention the name of the poets who wrote the verse. The names found are Gundu Abdul Qadir Shakir of Vaniyambadi, Tishna Umri, Magmoom Madrasi, Jaleel, Mayal and Ulfath.

5. Year of death :

The way of calculating the year of death is peculiar to Arabic. It is calculated by adding the numbers of each alphabet. Each letter of the Arabic alphabet has a number. It is from one to one thousand. The following chart gives the letters of the Arabic alphabet and their allotted numbers with English transliteration for guidance.

The following illustration gives the method of calculation. The year of death of the deceased in epitaph No. 1 is arrived at by the verse 'Hasth Ean Bargah Masth Woo' (1262 A.H.) which means 'he is quite fine here'.

Letters	Numbers	Letters	Numbers
h	5	k	20
s	60	a	1
t	400	h	5
a	1	m	40
y	10	s	60
n	50	t	400
b	2	a	1
a	1	w	6
r	200		
TOTAL		1262	

A few more illustrations follow :

Epitaph No 6: Qader Badsha is very near to Rahman = 1333

Epitaph No 8: Dakku Bahauddin reached Paradise happily today = 1336

Epitaph No 10: The Pious Gundu Ibrahim Sahib is in Paradise - 1338

Epitaph No 12 : Lal Basha and the grace of Allah - 1340

THE STONES AND CALLIGRAPHY:

The epitaphs are the best examples of calligraphy which sometimes had been got from as far as Agra in Uttar Pradesh and many far off places. Majority of the epitaphs are of white marble and granite both of which have polished surfaces.

CONCLUSION:

The history of epitaphs covering a century and a quarter reveals the funeral rituals of the Muslims of Vaniyambadi. The languages used in the epitaphs are Urdu and Persian. Besides, Arabic language has its own share. Tamil is represented in one epitaph. The epitaphs contain family names

of the deceased also. The poetry of the epitaphs have peculiar Muslim characteristics, like invocation by Arabic verses, praise and recording the time of death by calculation in the last verse. The epitaphs are the best examples of calligraphy engraved in marble and granite. Epitaphs

were in wide use in the town till the 1970's. Later, because of the spread of Wahhabism and the intellectual awakening of the Muslims (as a result of the Aligarh Movement and the National Movement) besides antipathy towards Sufism, the use of epitaphs was discontinued.

★ See Pages 198A & 198B.

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8. Fourteen of the graveyards are adjacent to the mosques while two are away but under the control of the respective mosques.
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CONSTRUCTION AND DECONSTRUCTION IN HISTORIAL METHODS: CRITIQUE OF RATIONALITY

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The premises of this paper is that all sciences endeavour to impart knowledge. However, sometimes mere information is regarded as knowledge. This has strongly contended during the era of Enlightenment when the Aristotelian theories have come down crashing to earth. Closely following it were Cartesian theories and Comte's Positivism which enhanced scientific temper. Thus, logic and rationality have become hallmarks of scholarship.

Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci have defined history in illogical ways. Foucault theorised the existing nexus between knowledge and power. For both Foucault and Gramsci history is essentially episodic without logic. This paper analyses the possible results of the inclusion of these theories in history.

I have divided this paper into two parts: the first part deals with the conceptual framework to understand knowledge and the barriers in acquiring such knowledge.

The second part, as a continuation of the first, begins with the epistemological challenges thrown into the realm of conventional historiography by Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci

MODERNISM

The three main principles which are

symptomatic with the concept of modernism are:

1. Scientific knowledge (which we call truth)
2. Aesthetics (which we identify with beauty)
3. Morality (the Divine or God)

The Era of Enlightenment or the Age of Reason qualifies the term Modernism. It was characterised by scientific objectivity. The rational exploitation of nature for human needs. In this sense, modernism has been realist in its epistemology and progressive in its politics. Modernists believe that truth could be attained with scientific advance. For the modernists history was purposive and progressive.

Epistemology or the theory of knowledge is that branch of philosophy which is concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge.¹

It was Plato who can be said to be the real originator of epistemology, for he attempted to deal with the basic questions: What is Knowledge? Where is knowledge generally found, and how much of what we ordinarily think we know is really knowledge? Do the senses provide knowledge? Can reason supply knowledge?²

The acceptance of scientific method in the construction of human sciences is an epistemological choice. The emergence of science during the Renaissance and the disputes which it produced led to a certain skepticism about claims to knowledge and to the search for a method, like that of a science, which would determine the truth.

Descartes (1596- 1650) was the pioneer in this new tradition.³ He saw the solution to problems of epistemology in the systematization of knowledge which he has described in detail in the second chapter of The Discourse on Method. Augustus Comte applied Positivism to the study of human society. The word Positivism was coined by Comte in the 1820s. Positivism implied application of the scientific method used in physics to the analysis of human society and the extensive use of quantification. Comte called history as social physics.⁴

A survey of the literature on historical thought of the past hundred years one can notice the sharp divergence in the assessment of the historiographical situation among philosophers and practicing historians. To site one example, Nietzsche's essay on "The use and Abuse of History" which led to the discussion on the utility of history, which is still a point of current debate, and the possibility of Science of history. Recently, the latter view point also been challenged by Michel Foucault who posed the very fundamental question whether man has history.⁵

Yet another attack has stemmed from Hayden White who in his search for a metahistorical thought laid emphasis on poetic imagination and choice of language thereby regarded history as aesthetic and

moral subject rather than something closer to the pursuit of epistemology.⁶

Thus, on the one side we find increasing scientization of historical studies right from the time of Renaissance in Europe. The hyper-critical attitude towards this scientific character of history has been focal the point by early 20th century vitalists, post-mid 20th century structuralists, and by logical positivists like Karl Popper.⁷

On the other side, it is also necessary to enquire into the reason why the existing historical science during the 19th century and early 20th century have been found as inadequate. This may be due to the fact that

1. the level of objectivity in traditional scholarship
2. insistence on value freedom in historical inquiry
3. the belief in continuity in historical development.

This had forced the practising historians to place history in tune with the contemporary conceptions of science.

However, scholars from Leopold von Ranke to J.H. Hexter⁸ have maintained that the subject matter and the methods of history differ fundamentally from those of the natural sciences, that "history, as it is practiced, is a rule-bound discipline with rules and a rhetoric different from those of scientific explanation, i.e., of explanations in the natural sciences."⁹

The history of science was characterised not by continuity but by sharp discontinuities. Foucault pointed out that science in each age was marked by an

episteme (ie., body of Knowledge) and that the development in the history of science was marked not by the transformation of scientific theory as the result of the cumulation of knowledge but by sudden epistemological convulsions, which marked fundamental reorientations in the scientific outlook of an age.¹⁰

Every scientific revolution involves "losses as well as gains", losses because the new orientation ceases to be able to deal with certain problems which fall outside its perspective.

Challenges to Scientific Rationalism :

First serious challenge to this epistemological view of human sciences came from German Historical School, with Wilhelm Dilthey as its representative. Dilthey argued : Human sciences which he called as " spiritual sciences " and "moral science" were radically different from natural sciences. This argument rests on the premises that both human and natural sciences could not rest on the method of study.¹¹

Because human sciences were sociohistorical, and their objects were states of mind, or spiritual experiences, which could be apprehended only by means of an "empathic understanding "

This understanding is not mediated by sense perceptions but produces a direct and intimate knowledgeably acquaintance. Thus, without this inner perception external observation alone would not be sufficient to understand the psychic and subjective life experiences of humans.

Hence, the principal aim of natural sciences is to explain by means of exter-

nal sense data, while the scope of the human sciences is to understand through an intrapsychic experience.

So the Nomothetic (Greek term nomos means laws) signify that natural sciences propound universal laws. Similarly, the term idiographic (idios means peculiar) is applicable to human sciences for the simple reason that sociocultural sciences were regarded as something which falls under the realm of peculiar. Moreover, values were regarded as a foundation for sociohistorical knowledge.

POST - MODERNISM

This is regarded as a creature of Post - Second World War period. Post - modernism challenges Enlightenment values and Scientific Rationality.

Post modernism criticise modernists on the ground that the evolutionary progress over time culminates in "the impoverishing homogeneity of modern civilization ".

Post modernists contest the belief in society that there is a correct moral and scientific standard to which communities ought to aspire to achieve. The enforcement of such standards valorize conformity which results in fascism in state and polity.

Hence, Post modernism advocates "multivocality" in scientific and moral discourse promotes the "excavation " of minority voices and minority experiences which have been excluded in "master" modernist thinking. In other words every point of view can be heard, none can be privileged.

Moreover, Post modernism rejects hegemonic traditions. It represents an ad-

mixture of elements from competing schools.

The discontinuities in perspective and the fragmentation in the society receive adequate attention.

The two theorists who have profoundly influenced epistemological quest are Antonio Gramsci¹² and Michel Foucault.¹³ One was fighting the fascist state (Italy) and the other a renowned French scholar and systems thinker of the twentieth century who lived dangerously and thought radically.

Both of them challenged the conventional epistemological premises and put forward ideas and theories which are quite unconventional. Foucault contended the progressive view of history that history is a process of development from past to present which he regarded as myth and illusion. Foucault regarded that there is no rational course to history. Similarly, there is no gradual triumph of human rationality over nature. History according to Foucault is both uncontrolled and directionless, on the other hand history introduces discontinuity.¹⁴

Foucault's intention is to allow variety and difference in other rightful place which was blocked by the human sciences and have grown up under the dogmatic sciences and thought which Foucault pointed out, are the agents of state.

Foucault's primary concern was to provide a critique of the modern societies which control and discipline their population by sanctioning the knowledge - claims.

He highlighted that logic and rationality played no part in providing the founda-

tions for discourses. For instance, the conventional belief is that power is a constraint in the development of knowledge is questioned by him. In modern society the sciences through their power/ knowledge created a state and ordered the governance of the society. Power, Foucault regarded as an integral component in the production of knowledge.

Gramsci in his concept of "hegemony" as well as Subaltern consciousness has states that the subaltern history is necessarily fragmented and episodic. This is because the subalterns are incapable of thinking and organising a state.¹⁵

Both these concepts have resulted in post - modernist literature in the form of Subaltern Studies.

However, the main criticisms against Post modernist histories has come from Marxist historians. They point out that Post - Modernist histories are essentially:

1. A critique of enlightenment rationalism
2. Such histories forbids socialism, encourages bourgeois democracy and fascism.
3. They are categorised as Radical histories.

Nevertheless, the Subalterns have countered the criticisms with their own valid arguments:

1. There are limitations in using absolute rationalism to understand beliefs in religion and human emotions.
2. Post- modernism tries to liberate history from "World View" (Foucault)
3. Knowledge produced in Subaltern history is not tied to the state but left alone.

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ENDOURMENT LECTURE

ANCIENT SEA PORTS OF TAMILNADU

AND THEIR TRADE CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

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May I first of all thank you most warmly for the great honour the members of the executive committee of the Tamilnadu History Congress have done in asking me to deliver the endowment lecture in this Fourth Annual Session. In fact I was longing myself for an occasion to meet the historians of Tamilnadu in order to discuss upon the material evidences we got in recent years to revise the cultural history of Tamilnadu with more authentic records. Excavations carried out in Tamilnadu and in other Western and Eastern countries throw flood of light on the commercial and the cultural contacts of ancient Tamils. Hence I strongly feel that this is the fitting venue to exchange our thoughts on the fascinating subject "Ancient Sea Ports of Tamilnadu and their trade contact with other countries".

MAIN SOURCE

The main source material for understanding the activities of the ancient ports of the Tamil country are the ancient Tamil Literature, the chronicles of foreign travellers and the artefacts unearthed from the excavations. The literature such as

TOLKAPPIAM,¹ PATTINAPPLAI,² PATHIRUPATHU,³ NARRINAI⁴ AKANANURU,⁵ PURANANURU⁶ and the twin epics SILAPPATHIKARAM,⁷ and MANIMEKALAI⁸ etc. elaborately describe the ancient ports of the east and the west coasts in connection with the commercial contact with the western as well as the eastern countries. The accounts of the foreign travellers like Ptolomy and the Greek author of Periplus of Erythraean Sea also supply the authenticated information on the trade activities of the Tamil country with other countries of the world.⁹ KAUTILYA's ARTHA SASTRA also mentions few source such as Pandya, Kavata on the mouth of Thamraparani, KOTI and PASIKA, situated north of KOTI. TONDI and MUSIRI are described to have situated on the western coast while NIRPEYAR, SOPATMA, KAVIRIPUMPATTINAM, ALAGANKULAM, KORKAI and KUMARI are referred to have lied on the eastern coast. After the disuse of the above ancient ports MAMALLAI in Thondaimandalam. NAGAPATTINAM in Cholamandalam and PERIYAPATNAM and KAYALPATTNAM in Pandimandalam seem to

have risen up having commercial contacts with the far eastern countries as the earlier ports of Tamilnadu.

VASAVASAMUDRAM

Among the ancient ports that played vital role during pre and post Christian era, VASAVASAMUDRAM in Thondaimandalam was lying on the joining point of river

Palaru with the Bay of Bengal, This port could probably be the Nirpeyar of Sangam literature.¹⁰ It was the chief port of Pallavas. Vayalur where the genealogical list of about more than fifty Pallava kings is found engraved on a pillar of the local temple, is an adjacent place of this port. This port appears to have retained its importance till the rise of Mamallapuram which played an active role as a port from 5th century A.D.

The chance find of a few conical jars and terracotta pipes at Vasasvasamudram led Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology to carry out excavation at this site.¹¹

During Excavation, a neck portion with handles on either side of an amphora was unearthed. Besides, a few conical jars with their typical lids, rouletted sherds of indigenous as well as Mediterranean origin were also collected.

Two ring wells had also been exposed being one at a depth of 1.06 metre and the other at 2.70 metre. These could have been used for drinking water purpose as this port was just on the sea shore. In size and shape, these ring wells are relatively similar to the ones occurred in Arikamedu excavations.

The merchandise of the northern part

of Tamilnadu must have been exported to East Asian countries and imported from them by this port. It may also be presumed that the Buddhist monks who hailed from Kanchi could have sailed from this port only to China and other East Asian countries.

ARIKAMEDU

The next active port of Thondaimandalam was Arikamedu which is found mentioned in foreign chronicles as Poduke. It was situated on the Ariyankuppam river near the present Puduchcheri. The archaeological potentialities of this site was first made known by Jouveau Dubreuil as early as 1937. He was able to collect beads and gems of Roman origin and a Roman intaglio during his exploration. Preliminary excavations were made at site by L.Fauheux and R.Sarleau between 1941 and 1944. The serious and scientific excavations were conducted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1945. His excavations at Arikamedu are the most widely known both in India and in the West, partly because of his methodology he introduced and partly because of the publicity of the numerous in 1947-50 by another archaeologist J.M.Casal. Recently Vimala Begley and Side Botham had carried out excavations at this site for three seasons from 1989-90 1991-92.¹² The salient features of all these excavations are as follows:

A godown in rectangular shape measuring 45 metre in length and 11 metre in breadth and a granary measuring 18 metre in length in the northern sector of the mound were unearthed. These buildings have large walls built of well backed bricks with clay as the binding with lime plaster. Foundation wall goes upto one and a half metre depth.

In the southern sector of the mound two dyeing tubs measuring 3x4 metre were exposed. These are also built of bricks and the floors of them are laid out with the same material. In addition to the above structures some ring wells had also been exposed.

Considerable number of imported pot sherds such as Terra Sigillata, Amphorae and Rouletted wares were unearthed. Some of the amphorae have handles on either side and the Terra Sigillata pieces bear the manufacturer seals.

Terracotta images, beads made of semi precious stones conch and terracotta inscribed pot sherds are the other important artefacts of his site.¹³

The layer below the structures of the Roman contemporary had yielded stone implements and typical gray ware potteries of neolithic period.¹⁴

According to Dr. Vimala Begley and Side Botham, "the recent three seasons of investigation at Arikamedu confirm Casal's findings that the earliest known settlement at the site is in the Southern sector, dating perhaps from the second century B.C by people whose pottery relates to the Iron age (Megalithic) cultures of South India. These original settlers continued to live there during the period of trade with the West. Trade with the Mediterranean basin seems to have been at its height between Circa 50 B.C. and A.D. 50."¹⁵ They also feel that the southern sector was probably the market area.

Elizabeth Lyding Will, Professor, Department of Classics Amhsret College had deeply examined the Amphora pieces of Arikamedu and is of the opinion that "the

Greek and Roman Amphora fragments found at Arikamedu and at several other sites on the South East coast of India provide tangible proof that from as early as the second century B.C. to as late as the late first century A.D. if not later, Roman ship were making the long and dangerous trip to India laden with wine' Olive oil and the popular fish-sauce, garum. Many of them were headed for Arikamedu than at any other Indian site. By their numbers, the amphorae show clearly that Arikamedu was the location of a major Greco-Roman trading centre on the bay Bengal. The wealthy Tamil kingdoms in the area, interested in contact with the West, may have developed the centre in order to facilitate that contact. Or did they leave the development to the Romans? Many of the amphora fragments found at Arikamedu are covered with pieces of cement resembling Roman Pozzolana. Like similar finds at Roman ports in Italy these cement-covered fragment suggest that the amphoras had been broken after being emptied and the fragments then reused as building material in such underwater installations as wharves, piers, and jetties. Pozzolana was impervious to water, and presumably the Roman would have brought it to India from Italy with the intention of making the harbour at Arikamedu/Poduke accessible to their large ocean-going cargo ship. Here the ships could leave their cargoes of amphoras full of exotic wine, olive oil, garum and dishes not to mention mercenaries for the Tamil kings, and could take on the luxuries that were so much in demand in the West, pepper, spices, incense, rare woods and jewels, silks from China and many other valuable articles. It was an arrangement of mutual

benefit to the Tamil kings and to the Romans. It is also an indication, similar to that provided by find of Roman exports at many other ancient harbours, of the constant efforts by the Romans to strive for a balance of trade throughout their sphere of economic influence".¹⁶

It is not known under whose authority this port was functioning. One is tempted to presume if it could have their capital at the present Tindivanam, which is not far a way from Arikamedu. Nalliyakkodan was the famous ruler of that dynasty. There is also another possibility to suggest that the malayamans of Tirukkoyilur. Who were the powerful chieftains of Sangam age could have used Poduke/Arikamedu as their port city as the Imperial Cholas had Puhar as their port city while they had their capital at Uraiyur. This suggestion gains more strength since a hoard of Roman coins was accidentally discovered at Sorayapattu, a remote village close to Tirukkoyilur the capital of Malayamans. In addition to this, number of ancient coins and other artefacts are being collected regularly in the river Pennai that runs through this ancient capital.

KAVIRIPUMPATTINAM

Kaviripumpattinam was another predominant port in Tamilnadu especially in Chola mandalam. This port is mentioned by the foreign cronicles as Cabaris Emporium. Frnm this port, ships sailed to Far Western as well as Far Eastern countries.

It is from Sangam literature that we could understand the Yavanas had their settlement at this place. Pattinappalai, Silapatikaram and Manimekalai give a

graphic account of the town plan of this city and its busy activities with local and foreign merchants.

It is also stated in Manimekalai that this great city was engulfed by the sea due to the furious act of Lord Indra as his festival was not celebrated. This statement indirectly indicates that the city had lost its importance in the begining of the Christian era had became a small hamlet as could be culled out from Bhakti poems like Devaram hymns and the inscriptions of Chola period.

⑩ In order to find out the multi faceted aspects of his portcity on shore excavations were carried out by the Archaeological survey of India. During that operation¹⁷ a wharf measuring 18.28 metre in length and 7.62 mtr in breadth was unearthed at Kilaiyur. This structure is built of bricks having 24x16 cm. in size. At a corner of this two wooden posts are seen. These posts are believed to have used for tying the boats in order to load and unload the merchandise. According to C14 dating method these posts are dated to 316 ± 103 B.C.¹⁸

Another breakthrough of this excavation is the exposure of a water reservoir at Vanagiri assignable to 1-2 century A.D. This is believed to have been used as a sluice to distribute the water brought from Kaveri river to the different cultivable lands.

The most significant discovery of this site is the Buddha Vihar at Melaiyur alias Pallavanicchuram. This Vihar consists of five chambers each measuring eight feet square. The walls of this structure were decorated with paintings and stucco figures. In one of the chambers of this Vihar

a tiny bronze image Buddha, seated with dyana pose was seen. This image is a solid one measuring 5.5 cm. high. Besides this a Buddha pada made of Palnad stone had also been unearthed from this Vihar.

Apart from the above structures a number of Roman coins, rouletted sherds, black and red ware potteries, copper square coins bearing the figures of Tiger and elephant had also been collected. It is curious to note that site had not yielded any inscribed pot sherd.

The Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology had made an effort the shore of Pumpuhar by inviting the Marine Archaeological branch, of the national Institute of Oceanography, Goa. It conducted the geophysical survey off the coast of Pumpuhar in the year 1981 and reported that there were a few peaks about three to four metres height at a depth of seven to eight metres depth in the sea and advised this department to carry out an intensive exploration in association with them by engaging the trained divers. First phase of exploration was conducted in the year 1991 and the results were very interesting. During that exploration some structures in shallow waters and a ship wreck-about five kilometre seaward were located.

The shipwreck was intensively explored by the divers and were able to collect some led ingots bearing the legend W.Blackett on one side and the numbers 1791 or 1792 on the other. Therefore it is presumed that this shipwreck should have occurred in the last quarter of the 18th century.

The second phase of exploration was started in January-February of 1993. Dur-

ing that season, explorations were carried out in the inter tidal zone as well as off shore area between Vanagiri in the South and Nayakankuppam in the north in water depth of five to seven metres, More materials have come to light from the exploration of the inter tidal zone revealing the presence of ringwells at Vanagiri and Pumpuhar. A brick wall of the Sangam period was also exposed in a few metres south of Kannagi statue. The brick size of this structure is 36x18x6 cm. The ring wells and structures are assignable to second century B.C. to fourth century A.D.

During this exploration in the low tide area four brick structures were exposed opposite to the present Kaviri mouth at seven metre depth. The exploration of these structures indicated that they are disturbed walls 25 mtrs. in length and 3 to 4 mtrs in width. The size of the bricks used is 22x13x6 cm. and the lime mortar served as the binding material. Provisionally the structural remains are assigned to second century to fourth century A.D.

As a follow up action, deeper waters off Pumpuhar were explored. Two sites were selected on the basis of geophysical survey. One was opposite to the present Kaviri mouth near of Pumpuhar. Air lift operations in two metre depth revealed three courses of stone masonry off Vanagiri. The blocks vary in size 30x20x5 cm. to 65x40x10 cm. and 60x 35x10cm. The approximate date of the structures can be ascertained from associated pottery collected at both the sites. They are megalithic black and Red ware, Redware, Grey ware and Buff ware assignable to second century B.C. to fourth century A.D.

In the third stage of exploration in deeper waters at 23mts. depth, an 'U' shaped stone structure was located. The shipwreck discovered in 1991 at a water depth of 19 mts. was explored further and the wooden planks of the hull one canon two gun powder boxes were traced. The ship is about 53 mts. in length and 15 mts. in width.

In the fourth phase of the off shore exploration undertaken in February 1997 the geophysical survey was first made to locate more structures and to find out how far the palaeo channel could be traceable in the sea. This survey was conducted upto 10 to 20 kms. seaward and scientists were able to locate the depression in the sea bed only upto 5 kms. seaward. They could also find out that the 'U' shaped structure and the additional two structures are lying on the northern bank of the palaeo channel exactly at the confluence of it with the old shore of the Bay of Bengal. Hence it is obvious that about 2500 years ago the celebrated city Pumpuhar was extended upto 5km. seaward of the present sea shore.

The structures located are built of laterite blocks. It was possible for the divers to see the courses of the blocks built intentionally one over the other. The structure is in north south orientation. The peripheral length of it is 135 metre. The height of the wall goes upto three metre in some places and upto 1.30 metre in others, while the breadth is measured upto 4.50 metres. The gap in between the two walls is about 25 metres. It is found that there is a hard rock in the middle of the structure. It is not known if a part of the structure is built on this rock having it as foundation. Considering the volume of this building, it

was presumed that it could be either bastion of a fort or a Buddhist stupa or a Hindu temple. Since the traces of the wall could not be located in the adjacent area, the possibility of identification of it as fort bastion is remote.

In front of the two side walls, two additional buildings are seen. These are to be intensively explored. Two more structures were also located on the southern bank of the palaeo channel during the fourth phase of operation. Side by side, the palaeo channel is also to be probed thoroughly from the starting point to the ending point. The length and breadth in different point are to be assessed. If air life operation is conducted at this channel one can expect that a number of valuable antiquities could be unearthed as the ancient people had the habit of throwing coins and even some ornaments in the rivers.

Turning to the operation at ship wreck during the fourth season the divers were able to come to the conclusion that the ship was wrecked there not due to the natural calamities but of bombing or by high explosion. Because during their exploration they could be able to collect some charred wooden pieces from this ship wreck.

In the last season only the archaeologists were able to fully confirm that this was a ship wreck as they could retrieve a copper object which was used for directional change. This object with a few of iron nails was spotted out about 100 feet away from this wrecked ship. During this season of operation the divers made a vain attempt to retrieve the cannon, since it is found welded with an iron base which is again fixed with some object of the ship. But they

could collect eight lead ingots all of which except one bear the name W.Blackett on one side and the year 1791 on the other and two iron pieces. They were also able to identify the linga like object as the flagmast. On one ingot of last season collection the royal emblem like symbol was found incised. Correspondences are going on to find out the ownership of these ingots. In the meanwhile, one of the ingots collected during this season was sent to Government Museum, Chennai for chemical cleaning and analysis. The curator of Chemistry section of the Museum was able to clean it from all the burnacles and the sea sediments and made the legend W.Blacket and the year 1791 more visible along with three more abbreviations. W.B for W.Blackett. He has also identified the London based company W.Blackett which had sent these ingots or from which this ship procured them and given us hope that we could clean the retrieved articles made of all materials safely at the Chennai Museum itself.

In the shallow water near the confluence of the river Kaviri air lift operation was carried out. The intention of this operation was to expose the structure that is covered by sea sand and clay, but not successful except to retrieve a few pieces of granite slabs. Some other successful ways have to be found out to expose the structures. In the earlier air lift operations, it was possible to gather a few sherds of Black and Red ware, Grey ware and Amphorae pieces.

These potteries are the unmistakable evidences for dating the associated brick structures submerged in the sea at 5 to 7 metre depth. As number of Black and Red

ware sherds were the associated ware of Kilaiyur wharf which is dated to 316+103 B.C. these submerged structure could also be taken to that age positively.

Above all, the most outstanding discovery was made recently under sea. An exquisite Buddha statue is said to have been found in the net of the fisherman Thiru.Ramasamy of Chinnamedu alias Vanagiri. It is said that when the fishermen had spread their net for fishing, this image was brought along with the fishes. They say that at that place where they got this image, usually their net will be cut in to different pieces due to a few raised buildings or heap of stones. The statue is in standing posture having two arms being the right arm is broken below the shoulder portion while the left arm is seen as if covered by the drapery. The drapery of Lord Buddha is shown covering from neck to leg ankle bearing the remaining portion by the left hand and leaving the end to hang down. The dress covering on the back of Buddha is also traceable on the image. The major portion of the face and chest are found pierced due to the sedimentation of burnacles. The hanging ears of Buddha are seen though the right ear is in full shape while the left is in broken state. This image is made of lime stone available from Palnad in Andhra Pradesh. It is 57 cm. height and 25cm width. Stylistically this image is comparable with the images of Nagarjunakonda of Andhra Pradesh. Hence the image is assignable to First Second century A.D.

The discovery of this image is a remarkable event as it is the first Buddha image recovered from the sea bed in 36 feet depth and about 1½ kms. off the shore. This

leads to the scholars to surmise that the place from where the image is found should have been a Buddha Chaitya or Buddha Vihara of the glorious ancient city of Pumpuhar which is believed to have extended upto Tranquebar towards south and upto Kadaikkadu towards north.

To determine the full extent of his port city onshore excavations were also undertaken by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology in the year 1995-96 and 1996-1997 at a potential place known as Kilarveli, a hamlet, of Manigramam village which sent merchants to Taqua-pa in search of market for their merchandise during 8th-9th centuries A.D.

During these two seasons eight trenches were laid bare. In all these trenches brick structure occurred and finally when the full shape of the structure was exposed it could be identified as a wharf. One such wharf was already unearthed by Archaeological Survey of India in sixties at Kilaiyur about two k.m. north east of the present one which appears as a true replica of the previous one but varies slightly in size.

The present wharf is also in north east and south west orientation as the earlier one. In the middle of the structure there is a passage suggestive of letting water to run from one side to the other. On either side of the passage at the southern end one wooden post is planted. One fallen wooden piece is also found just one foot in front of the post of the western wing. In addition to them one wooden post is also seen planted along the western side wall of the passage near the northern end.

Further there are two posts found

planted in front of the northern end being one on either wing, as found in southern end. Except the one at the passage all the other posts are made of Iluppai tree. The post at the passage is of palm tree which appears to be charred. Small collection of this charred tree and a piece of the Iluppai tree were sent to Lucknow for C.14 examination. The results are being awaited.

The total length of the wharf is 7 metre and 20 centimetre while the width is 6.45 mts. The width of the passage is 65cm. This wharf is also built of well burnt large size bricks. The largest size of them is 61x40x10 cm. The other variant sizes of the bricks are as follows:

52 x 32 x 8 cm. 47 x 44 x 6cm.

51 x 35 x 7 cm. 46 x 46 x 7cm.

50 x 34 x 9 cm. 42 x 33 x 8cm.

Potteries of black and Red ware, Coarse, Red ware, Rouletted ware are the associated findings of this structure. Other significant finds of this site are votive terracotta Buddha pada and a head of a figure probably of Avalokitesvara. On stylistic ground these above two figures are datable to 2nd-1st century BC. and 1st-2nd century A.D. respectively.

It would be interesting to compare the previous wharf exposed by the Archaeological survey of India with the present one. The previous wharf is nearly double the size of it. (18.28x7.62m) The orientation and the arrangement of the wooden posts are exactly same in two wharfs. The sizes of the bricks used in these two wharfs are also comparatively in same dimensions. Hence the date of the present wharf is also to be assignable an indisputable date for this wharf. In turn, it would throw flood of light

on the cultural and commercial activities of the celebrated city of Pumpuhar.

ALAGANKULAM

Though the three ancient kingdoms Chera, Chola and Pandya of Tamilnadu had their sea ports at Musiri Kaviripumpattinam and Korkai respectively, they had some secondary sea ports also. These sea ports also seem to have played predominant role during certain periods. Though these were referred to by a few poets of the Sangam age, these ports appear to have lost their importance in course of time. One such important port was Murungurpattinam in Pandya country.¹⁹ It could be comparable to the famous emporium of Cholas, namely kaviripumpattinam.

Marungurpattinam was divided into parts being one as Unur and the other as Marungur. Marungur was on the sea shore area and Unur was in interior area lying on the west of Marungur.

Marungurpattinam is said to have located between Korkai in the south and Thondi in the north. Since Alagankulam lies on the confluence of the river Vaigai with the Bay of Bengal, it could be identified with the old Marungurpattinam. The accidental discovery of a punch marked coin and semi precious stone beads, led the State Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu to carry out intensive exploration at Alagankulam in the year 1984.²⁰ The artefacts collected during exploration had led to the excavation in the year 1986-87 under the guidance of Dr. R. Nagaswamy, again in the years 1990-91, 1993 under the guidance of the present author. The excavations have yielded number of excellent artefacts that testify to the an-

tiquity and its commercial contact with the far eastern and far eastern countries. The following objects unearthed from excavations are worth mentioning.

1. Black and red ware pottery
2. Square copper coins of the Pandyas, punch marked coins and late Roman coins.
3. N.B.P. Ware pottery
4. Inscribed potsherds
5. Rouletted ware pottery
6. Stamped potteries depicting the figures of fish dove and peacock.
7. Dice, bearing symbols similar to Harappan symbols
8. Die of a horse and a ball.
9. Semi precious stone beads.
10. Amphorae pieces.
11. Cups with the base having protrusion at the centre and leaf motif in the interior side.
12. Shell bangle pieces
13. Graffiti sherds representing some peculiar symbols similar to Harappan ones and an elephant holding a plant by its trunk.

The black and red ware sherds occurring in the lower most strata are datable to 400 B.C. on the basis of carbon C.14 analysis. The following is the result of the examinations of some of the carbon samples collected from this site.²¹

1. PRL-1926 Black and Red ware levels
Charcoal. Tr.AGM.2.
Depth: 1.40. 2,090 ± 100
2. PRL-1297
Black and Redware levels
Charcoal, tr.AGM. 2
Layer3 Locus O'-1
Depth: 1.55m. 2,140±100

3. PRI -1298

Black and Red ware Levels

Charcoal, Tr. AGM-2

Layer 3, Locus O' -1'

Depth, 1-90m 2,240 \pm 100

4. PRL -1299

Black and Red & Rouletted ware Levels

Charcoal, TR. AGM-2

Layer 5, Locus I'-II'

Depth, 2.80m 2,260 \pm 100

The square copper coin of the pandyas could be datable to the fourth century B.C. as they are found below the level of a layer from where a punch marked coin was unearthed. This coin is assignable to 3rd century B.C. One type of square copper coin bears an elephant and some auspicious symbols on the obverse and on the reverse the figure of a stylised fish, the royal emblem of Pandyas. The second type of coin bears the figures of a bull and a turf in front of its head on the obverse and the figure of a fish on the reverse. This coin is very interesting since the figures of the bull appears to be quite similar to the figure of the bull found on Harappan seals.

The occurrence of the N.B.P. ware is an indication of the trade contact which Tamilnadu had with the Gangetic region during fourth-third century B.C.

Another interesting feature of this site is the occurrence of inscribed potsherds in considerable number. The sherds of Black and Red ware, Rouletted ware and Red ware bear the script of Archaic Tamil characters, written on the shoulder portion of the vessels. Most of them indicate the personal names who seem to be the own-

ers of these vessels. In all the case the descriptions are found engraved after firing except one which appears to have been executed before firing. Another sherd bears the decorated letters is the unique find in Tamilnadu so far. On the basis of the stratification these sherds could be assigned from third century B.C. to second century A.D.

As far as rouletted sherds are concerned, they occur in large quantity at this site. On the basis of the texture, clay and roulett used, Dr. Vimala Begley, is of the opinion that these could be dated from first century A.D.²² Though Arikamedu had also yielded a considerable number of rouletted sherds, they are in grey colour with black burnishing. Contrary to this, we get a large number of this ware burnished in red colour at Alagankulam.

Another interesting pottery is the stamped pottery bearing the figure of peacock, first and dove. Dr. Vimala Begley feels that these are imported ware that is also considered to be an imported one is the cup having flaring rims with wide mouth. These have base with the protrusion at the centre. Some of the bases of this ware have leaf motives also on interior side. These are also assigned to first century A.D.

Of all the artefacts of this site a four side dice bearing symbols on three sides and no figure on the fourth side is a significant one. The symbols on the three sides are comparable to the symbols found on the Harappan seals. Since these symbols are found on a dice, it is presumed that they could represent the numerals such as one two and three. In the third season of the excavation, the dye of a horse and in the fourth season the dye of a bull were found.

They are made in the rouletted sherds. They seem to have been used for making the stamped pottery. As two dyes have been unearthed at Alagankulam, there could have existed a factory for making indigenous stamped potteries.

A large number of semi precious stones and shell bangle pieces were collected from this site. The occurrence of large quantity of beads and shell bangle pieces make us to presume that there could have been factories for producing the semi-precious stone beads and shell bangles at Alagankulam and probably exported them to the other parts of the world especially to the south east Asian countries.

The Amphorae pieces and the Roman coins are the evidences for the settlement of Romans at Alagankulam from the second century B.C. to fifth century A.D. The Roman coins of Valentine II (383-392 A.D) Arcadius I (395-408 A.D) Theodosius I (383-395) Gloria Roman Norvm (402-408 A.D.) Cancordia AVGG (395-405 A.D.), Salvs Reipvblicae (383-408 A.D.) are formidable evidences for knowing the commercial transactions between Tamilnadu and Rome during fourth-fifth centuries A.D.

Dr. Vimala Begley, in her recent article, on Ceramic evidence for Pre-Periplus trade on the India Coasts has stated that the Coromandal coast traded with the Mediterranean from about second century B.C. some two centuries before the time of the Periplus. This trade route did not interconnect with the ports of the upper West Coasts. Even in the second half of the first century A.D. if ceramic evidences can be construed as an indicator, it appears that neither of the two coasts traded directly with the other despite the fact that both

carried on overseas trade with the Classical world. Present evidence suggest that domestic trade from the upper west to the south east was not coastal but inland no doubt through several inter connecting routes".²³

The most outstanding discoveries of this site are the ship and boat graffito bearing potteries,

The photograph of the ship graffito sherd was sent to Dr. Vimala Begley of U.S.A., an eminent archaeologist who had done remarkable excavation at Arikamedu, for examination. She in turn had sent it to Dr. Lionel Casson of New York University. He has studied this figure of the ship in detail by comparing with the ancient Roman ships found engraved in the Roman mosaics. Particularly he compared with two well known representation of typical large Roman ships of the period, one in a mosaic of Ca. 200 A.D. found at Ostia, the port of Rome, and the other in a mosaic of the third century A.D. found in a house at Rome. The following account of him is noteworthy.

"We must assume that the complete graffito included a foremast, since it was and indispensable part of the rig of sailing ship of any size. In other words, the graffito portrays a three-masted sailing ship. Three-masters were the largest type of Greco-Roman ships afloat and were doubtless among the ships used on the long demanding route between Greco-Roman Egypt and India. *The graffito may well be a portrayal of one such ship that the artist saw in an Indian port*".

In the first and second phase of excavations carried out at Alagankulam in the

years 1986-87 and 1990-91 six sherds bearing the archaic Tamil inscription have been collected. On one of them, which is interestingly a rouletted ware, it is found that the script is written before the firing. This sherd is more significant since it indicates indirectly that the manufacture of the vessel which is bearing the legend the indigenous. Hence it raised doubt if all the rouletted ware were brought from foreign countries and affirms that there were indigenous rouletted ware to. Of the six mentioned above, two were unearthed from the trenches, the remaining four were gathered from surface level. Four of them are written on the rouletted ware whereas two are written on the grey ware. The sherd collected from AGM-1 was at a depth of 4.10 metre bearing letters up side down on red rouletted sherd. Since it occurred at 4.10 metre which is the lower level than the carbon dated level of 2 metre depth this epigraph can be assigned to a date of not later than 3rd century B. C.²⁴ Of the four surface find sherds, two are identified by I. Mahadevan²⁵ as the sherds with Sinhala Brahmi inscriptions. The first one is a sherd of grey ware having two letters.

Sa mu...

He thinks that it should be as Samuda, the old Sinhalese equivalent for Sanskrit Samudra employed as a personal name comparing Samudaha (Masc) and Samudaha (femi) occurring in the early Brahmi cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka and dates in to 1st century B.C.

On the second sherd also the inscription is read as Camutaha which can be translated as (vessel) of Camuta, Here the Ca is used for the Sanskrit letter Sa, ta is for da. He holds that it is the tamilisation

of the Sanskrit word, 'Samudra' and fixes the date to 1st century B.C.

In the third season (1994) the excavation at Alagankulam had also brought to light six number of inscribed sherds. All these sherds were unearthed from AGM-5 bearing the letters written post firing. Three of these sherds were picked out from the depth of ranging 4.15 metre to 5.90 metre. Of these three one was collected while section trimming. These inscriptions are written in pure Tamil letters especially I r and n are occurring on majority of the sherds. One inscription is readable as (Ku)nran and the other as Kuviram a in spite of this sherd broken at the point of letters. The legend Kuviran a should have continued as Kuviram Atan which is found occurred in Kodumanal sherd.

During the fourth season (1996) excavation also, the Archaeologists were able to unearth a considerable number of inscribed potsherds from Alagankulam. So far 10 sherds bearing the archaic Tamil Script are found. More significant among them are two sherds one being found written before firing while the other one is after firing. The first inscription is written deep reading Latika+i. A symbol found in between Ka and i is interesting as it seems to have been used as a letter in a meaningful word. This type of symbol used at the end of the epigraphs has been noticed from Kodumanal and Kongar Puliyankulam, The Most significant point in the Alagankulam sherd is the occurrence of the symbol in the middle of the word. Some scholars had identified this symbol as logograph standing for the world value of Pon (Gold). But here it appears that it stands for a letter to form a word. Hence

this symbol appears to be a phonograph giving some phonetic value.

The second outstanding inscription reads as small follows: Putumarkotai an individual personal name. The letter Tai is found in the same style as what we find on Makkotai coins. The first sherd belongs to coarse red ware while the second one to red slipped ware.

One a third sherd, Kuviran a is found written. We can conjecture that Kuviran a is the broken word for Kuviran atan as a similar word found already on one sherd of Alagankulam and on a sherd of Kodumanal.

On one sherd four letters are found written reading Vatumeta. It appears that it is in prakrit from of vathamedha in Sanskrit meaning one who is more intelligent in argument. The letter 'ma' is in the character of Asokan Brahmi. Hence it is presumed that this must have happened on the influence of Sinhala Brahmi inscriptions. The epigraph is written in the interior bottom portion of a stamped bowl.

During the excavation conducted in the year 1996-97 also we were able to gather some potsherds bearing the legends written in Archaic Tamil character. The inscriptions are found engraved on grey ware black and red ware, red slipped ware and coarse red ware. The earlier layers of Alagankulam had yielded Roman copper coins assignable to 4th-5th century A.D. In the trench AGM-12 at a depth of 1.50 metre in layer (3) a copper square Pandaya coin was found. In layer (4) of AGM-10 a sherd of N.B.P was collected. The layer (5) of it has yielded a punch marked coin at the depth of 3.00metre.

Hence the inscribed shreds found in layers (3) (4) and (5) of AGM-12 and AGM-10 could be dated to the period of Pandya coin, N.B.P. ware and punch marked coin respectively. The punch marked coin found in the layer (5) of AGM-10 is believed to have been issued by the Nanda kingdom and was in circulation from 4th century B.C. according to Thiru. R.Krishnamurthy, the eminent Numismatist of Tamilnadu. He has also opined that this coin could have come to this part of India after a period of 100 years and therefore, it could indisputably be assignable to 3rd century B.C. But as this punch marked coin has been below the level of N.B.P. it could safely be dated to even 4th century B.C. Hence the inscribed sherds of these layers would be the sheet anchor for dating the inscriptions on potteries and also the rock bed inscriptions of future discoveries.

The Anuradhapura inscribed potteries have been dated to 750 B.C. by Carbon 14 dating method in a reputed institution at Florida in U.S.A.²⁶ Korkai had also yielded a date of 785 B.C to the layer of 2.69 metres depth wherein the inscribed potsherds of well lavigated Black and Red ware occurred. Dr.R.Nagaswamy had himself given the date of 3rd century B.C to 2nd century A.D. to the inscribed potsherds of Korkai.²⁷ In the earlier excavations at Alagankulam carbon was collected in the layer (5) of AGM-2 and was also dated to 4th century B.C.(2260+100) So in all probability the inscribed potsherds found in association with punch marked coin at Alagankulam are assignable to not later than 4th century B.C.²⁸

While discussing about the archaic Tamil inscriptions, it is imperative to deal

with the graffiti bearing potsherds also. In all the historical places the inscribed potsherds occur either in the same level of the graffiti bearing sherds or in the overlying level of it. Hence the study of graffiti sherds may pave a way to solve the dating problem of archaic tamil inscriptions. A few graffiti found engraved on Alagankulam Potteries appear quite similar to the Harappan symbols.

KORKAI

Korkai was the secondary capital and the important port city of Sangam age Pandyas. It was situated at confluence of the river Tambraparani with the Bay of Bengal. Sangam classics profusely mention about this port. The Chroniclers had also left few references on this, Akananuru²⁹ refers to this port as a place where the pearls make wounds to the speeding horses by making hurdles. It also says that it was the port of Valuti the Pandya King who possessed beautiful chariots. It is mentioned in Silambu³⁰ that Verriver Cheliyan who was at Korkai had crowned himself at Madurai. Mamulanar, a poet of Sangam age describes that the women folk Korkai port of Sangam age describes that the women folk of Korkai port which was abundant in pearls and conches worship their God.³¹

Ptolemy refers to this place as the "Country of Korkai. In the Kolhia gulf where there is pearl fishery-Sosi Kourai, Kolkhoi an emporium and mouth of the river Solen". The following is seen in the Periplus. "From Comari towards the south this region extends to Colchi (Korkai) where the pearl fisheries are; (they are worked by condemned criminals) and it belongs to the Pandyan Kingdom."³²

The excavation had brought to light two burial urns one of which was in fully damaged condition and the other in fairly good state of preservation. A brick structure lying in east west orientation with steps from the north at the western end was unearthed. This structure consisted nine courses of bricks which measure 45x29x7.5cm. Just below the steps, a heap of oyster shells were found kept. Below the main structure three large sized rings placed one upon the other were noticed. Both the structure and the ring wells appeared to be of medieval period since the pot sherds found around the rings to keep the rings in position are of the coarse red ware variety.

This site had also yielded a considerable number of inscribed pot sherds with Tamil character assignable from 3rd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. Of them one sherd is outstanding as it bears the legend in two lines Occurrence of pot sherds bearing graffiti like sun, bow and arrow, fish, spear are also worth mentioning. Terracotta figurines such as the hip portion of a women etc. and hip-hops are fascinating objects.

A few pieces of N.B.P. ware datable to 4th-3rd century B.C. are the highly valuable find of this site. Bone arrow heads and the iron objects like dagger, clamp, sword and the copper circular object are the other interesting artefacts.

The charcol collected from the lowest strata(2.69 metre) in trench KRK.4 gave the C14 date of 785 B.C.(2785±95).

KUMARI

Kumari is also mentioned as one of the ports in Periplus of the Erythraean sea. It is stated that this port was situated on

Kumari, probably a river. According to an old commentary, Kumari is identified as a river.³³ The area watered by Kumari river was called as Kumarilkandam. The foreign cronicle says that those irrespective of men and women who wish to spend last days by leading a peacefull life come here and live. It also refers to about the shrine of Goddess known as Kumari Deivam.³⁴

The above narrations have enlightened us on the internal evidences to know on the ancient ports and their involvement in trade with foreign countries. Till recently we had to deploring upon the above factors only. But currently we are getting numerous external evidences such as the discovery of Tamil inscriptions on potsherds in Egypt, Sangam age coin in Thailand etc. Let me discuss them in detail in the following paragraphs.

BABYLONIAN RECORDS

South India seems to have had trade contacts with Babylonia from seventh-sixth centuries B.C. On the basis of the foreign accounts Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri narates the following:

"The Assyrian and Babylonian empires traded with India by sea from their ports on the Persian gulf and continued to receive gold, spices and fragrant woods from India. It has been pointed out rightly that rice, peacocks, sandalwood, every known article which we found imported by seas into Babylon before the fifth century B.C.brought with it a Dravidian not a Sanskrit, designation'A beam of Indian cedar found in the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 BC.), the teak logs found in the temples of Moon-God at

Ur at levels belonging to about the same age or a little later and the Baveru Jataka which relates the adventures of certain Indian merchants who took the first peacock by sea to Babylon, all confirm the existence of active maritime intercourse between South India and its western neighbours."³⁵

The Chinese historical sources receive striking confirmation by the discovery in the Philippines of a number of iron age finds bearing close resemblance to objects found in South India of about the same age i.e. the first millennium B.C. These comprise iron implements and weapons such as knives, axes,, daggers and spear points; glass beads and bangles, both green and blue, and finally beads of simi-precious stones such as agate, carnelian, amethyst and rock crystal Both the iron and glass objects are similar to and in some case identical with the pre-historic glass and iron finds in South of India". It is also told that in Semitic inscriptions there are references about Pandyas as 'Pade' and Mudurai as Kudal.³⁶

EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS

The trade contact between South India and Egypt is believed to have started during the period of powerful Ptolemies, the Greek ruling family of Egypt after Alexander the Great's death. It would be interesting to note in the worlds of Dr.Zannas "Romans have not initiated this trade but inherited it. They simply continued a well established trade for centuries by sea-route which has been well organised by the powerful Ptolemies Roman conquest of Egypt was fulfilled on 31st B.C. They inherited not only the wealth, the elaborate administration, but also the famous trade with the

east and the south that the Ptolemies had organised".³⁷

The Papyri records of Egypt mention that the Ptolemies acquired merchandise from south and east not only for their own needs but also for the purpose of re-exporting them to the North-east and North west partly as merchandise in simple transit, partly in the form of manufactured articles, produced in the workshop of Alexandria and other places in Egypt in general.³⁸

CHINESE CHRONICLES

As far as trade with China is concerned the contact between India and China can be traced from very early times. China is known in Indian Literature as China. The great epic Mahabharata refers to China while Arthashastra make mentions of Chinebhumis and Chinapatta.³⁹ There is a strong evidence to show that there was brisk trade between South India and China from second century B.C. Of the Chinese coins found in a hoard recently in Olayakkunnam village of Pattukkottai Taluk of Tanjore District two coins are assignable to second century B.C.⁴⁰ This is a clear evidence to prove that the Chinese merchants had traded with Tamils in second century B.C. Another evidence comes from the writings of a Chinese chronicler. Pan Kou who refers to the trade contact of China with territory known as Huvaltzé during the Period of Wu (140-86 B.C) in his book *It Chien Han Bu*. The territory mentioned above has been interpreted as Kanchipuram by Bernard.⁴¹

MAHAVAMSA

Mahavamsa, the Ceylon chronicle gives a graphic account of Nagadvipa one

of the two islands which constituted Jaffna Peninsula. It says that there existed Naga strongholds at Nagadvipa under mahodara, a Naga King. His nephew Culodara was the ruler of Kandamadanam near Rameswaram. A dispute arose between Mahodara and Culodara over the ownership of a gem-set throne. Finally peace was restored through the intervention of Lord Buddha himself. This account appears to corroborate the narration found in *Manimekalai*, a Tamil epic. *Manipallavam* mentioned in *Manimekalai* is in all probability identical with Nagadvipa of the mahavamsa.

The epic *Manimekalai* refers to a Chola Prince Killivalavan who loved. Peelivalai, the daughter of Valaivanan, a Naga ruler of Manipallavam. The loss of Killivalavan, a Naga ruler of Manipallavam. The loss of Killivalavan's son on his way to the Chola country causes the King not to celebrate the annual festival of India at Kaviripumpattinam. Infuriated on the noncelebration of the festival *Manimekalai*, the Goddess of the sea cursed the city Kaviripumpattinam to be engulfed by the sea.⁴² This story is of great interest as it strengthens the view that the ruling line of manipallavam of Jaffna was connected by marital relationship with the Cholas of Tamilnadu during those period.

VIENNA PAPYRUS

A papyrus document written in Greek datable to the second century A.D., recently deciphered in the Museum at Vienna, Austria throws welcome light on trade contacts between the Musiris, the port of Cheras and Alexandria in Egypt during Roman Imperial period.⁴³

CILICIAN COIN

One Cilician copper coin assignable to 300-80 B.C. is reported to be in the collection of R.Krishnamurthy of Madras.⁴⁴ This coin is said to be identical with a coin which has been described by Richard Plant.⁴⁵

CELUCIDAN COINS

Recently, a considerable number of celucidian coins are reported to have found from Karur, the ancient capital of the collateral branch of the Cheras. These coins are assignable to third century B.C.⁴⁶ The discovery of the above coins prove beyond doubt that there could have been commercial contact between Tamilnadu and Eastern Mediterranean coastal regions in third century B.C. itself.

CHOLA COIN IN THAILAND

A square copper coin bearing the figure of a chariot drawn by a horse and an elephant on the reverse has been located in a local museum of the ancient port city known as Luk Pat. in the west coast of Thailand.⁴⁷ Similar coins have already been reported having found in Tamilnadu by R.Krishnamurthy.⁴⁸ These coins are datable to 4th-3rd century B.C.

CHINESE COINS

The occurrence of Chinese coin reported from many parts of Tamilnadu. Especially the discovery of a hoard from a village known as Olayakkunnam in Pattukkottai Taluk of Tanjore District is worth mentioning. The hoard consists of 37 coins of which two are most important, as they are assignable to second century B.C. Hence it is clear that the Chinese had

contacts with Tamils and exchanged their during second century B.C.⁴⁹

ROMAN COINS

In Tamilnadu, Roman coins are said to have been discovered mostly in Coimbatore district. Of the Roman coins, a recent find occurring in Krishnagiri is the earliest one believed to have been issued during Republican period.⁵⁰ I. Mahadevan is also in possession of one such republican coin datable to first half of the first century B.C.⁵¹ But in Kerala, Republican coins assignable to second century B.C. have been found in good number. These coins are identified as republican coins by Dr. P.L.Gupta.⁵² The recent find of Silver Roman coins from Nedumkandam consists of eight Republican coins datable to 190 B.C. to 35 B.C.⁵³ In recent years hundreds of Roman coins of fourth-fifth centuries A.D. have been collected from Karur, Madurai and Alagankulam.⁵⁴

PALLAVA COINS

The Pallava coins are said to have discovered from Thailand is South East Asia. One coin of Pallava period bearing two masted ship on the reverse has been reported by the archaeologists recently.⁵⁵ This coin has a couchant bull on its obverse. In Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh also such type of Pallava coins were already reported to have been found. The figure of the two masted ship itself indicates that the Tamils during pallava period were sailing to other countries by ships in order to find markets for their commodities.

INSCRIBED POTTERIES

During excavation held at Quseir al Quadim, an ancient port on the Red Sea

coast of Egypt two post sherds with legends written in archaic Tamil characters datable to first century A.D. are said to have found.⁵⁶ One sherd bears the name of CATAN, while the other bears KANAN. Both legends are the names of Tamil origin. Since these were found in a port of Egypt, it is clear that the Tamils had commercial contacts with Egypt and stayed there selling their products. It is possible that more number of evidences could emerge if more excavations are held there. Recently, two sherds have been found from Alagankulam bearing legends written in a Prakrit character assignable to first-second century A.D. While deciphering the legends found on them Mahadevan had postulated a suggestion that the Tamils had maritime contacts with Srilanks.⁵⁷

BERENIKE GRAFFITO

I had the opportunity of reading the article on Tamil Brahmi Graffito written by Dr. Iravatham Mahadevan Published in Berenike 1995: Preliminary report of the Excavations, by Steven Sidebotham & Willemira Wendrich. First of all I appreciate his quickness in making it known to the scholars about this important find. Secondly regarding his article wherein he read the graffito engraved on the exterior of an amphora. He reads the graffito as follows:

Ko (r) ra pu man S₁ S₂ (symbols).

In this connection I am to state that his reading of this graffito may slightly be improved as the two characters at the end of this graffito interpreted by him as symbols could be read as Tor since the letters are found in topsyturvy position. Hence the full graffito can be read as KORA PUMANTOR meaning the less virtuous

people of the earth. The meaning given by him for Pu man is King and the word Pu Man may also be interpreted as "son of Pu i.e. earth". Man is the corrupted form of Makan, example Aadiyaman son of Adiya, Chheraman, son of Chers. Hence the reading "Pumantor" represents the collective people of earth. The affix found before Pumantor i.e. Kora may be the corrupted form of Kurai meaning less. Therefore, the probable interpretation of this graffito could be given as "The people who have less wealth or less virtues" in other words "The people who are short of virtues, or short of wealth".

CEYLON POTTERY

Recent surface explorations in Jaffna have yielded several potsherds bearing legends written in archaic Tamil characters, assignable to about the third or second centuries B.C. Mahadevan is of the opinion that this is an exciting development being the first discovery of indisputable archaic tamil inscription in Srilanka in third century B.C. itself. One of these shered bear the word Velan, a typical tamil masculine singular noun. This discovery proves the presence of Tamil Velir in the Jaffna region even during the third century B.C.⁵⁸

PERUMPATHAN KAL

The archaeological team which had undertaken a detailed survey in Cambodia and Thailand was able to discover a small stone piece bearing the legend "Perumpathan kal") This legend has been deciphered as the stone (test stone) of Perumpatan the master goldsmith.⁵⁹

TAKUA-PA INSCRIPTION

An inscription written during the period of Rajasimha Pallava has been found

from takua-pa in Siam.⁶⁰ It says that a Vishnu temple and a tank called Avaninaranam were established by the merchants who hailed from Manikiramam. It is clear from it that the merchants of Manikiramam which is identified with the village Manikiramam near Pumpuhar had settled at thakuva-pa in order to sell their commodities.

1. Porul, 30 and 37
2. II, 185 - 193.
3. 8th Idyl.
4. Verse 295: 5-8
5. Verse 255: 1-8
6. Verse 56 : 18-21 ; Verse 30
7. 5: 11-12
8. 16: 113-16
9. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India* (Pub. 1965) p.26.
10. *Perumpanarrupadai*, 319-321
11. R. Nagaswamy, *Damilica* (1970), pp. 48-49.
12. Vimala Begley, *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu, New Excavations and Researches* 1982- 1992, Vol. I. p.2
13. *Ancient India*, Vol. 2 pp. 17- 125.
14. Soundara, A. 1987 "*Studies in the Neolithic Culture in Tamilnadu- Kerala; An appraisal*", *Tamil Civilization* 5.2:34- 47.
15. *Op.Cit.* Vimala Begley , pp. 111-12.
16. *Ibid*, pp. 317 - 318.
17. K.V. Soundararajan, *Kaveripattinam Excavations, 1963-73.* (pub. 1994)
18. Dr. S.R. Rao, *JMA*, vol. 2, July 1991.
19. Mayilai Sini Venlatachami, *Palangalat Tamilar Vanikam*, Tamil (Pub. 1974), pp. 83-86.
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22. Vimala Begley . *Rouletting and Chasttering Expedition*, Vol. 28. I. p.53.
23. Vimala Begley, 'Rome and Trade', *Ceramic evidence for Pre- Periplus trade on the Indian Coasts.* p. 176.
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25. I.Mahadevan, "*Old Sinhalese inscriptions from Indian Ports: New evidence for Ancient India, Srilanka contacts*" (1994).
26. Sunday Observer, on April 19, 1990
27. *Damilica* vol I, Part I, page 39-41 1970,
28. Natana. Kasinathan, 'New light on Archaic Tamil Inscription' paper presented in the Seminar of the E.S.I. held at Thanjavur in 1997.
29. Akam, Verse 130
30. Silambu, *Nirppadukadai*, II, 127-138.
31. Akam, Verse 210
32. R.Nagaswamy, *Damilica*, p.51. (pub.1970)
33. Historical Heritage of the Tamils, '*The Riddles of Kumarikkandam*, R.Madhivanan, p,625.
34. *Tennidiyavaip parri Velinattinar Kurippugal.* (Tamil) K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, p.99, (Pub.1976).
35. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, '*A history of South India*' (1966) pp.79-80.
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37. Dr.E.Lascarides-Zannas, '*Greece and*

South India" Proceeding of the V World Conference-Seminar, Vol.I pp.6-24, 1981.

38. *Ibid.*

39. K.Sankaranarayanan, 'Three hoards of Chinese Coins in Madras Government Museum'. *The journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol.XXXIII, Part II, p.61.

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42. K.K.Pillai, 'South India and Srilanka' (1975) pp.38-39.

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48. R.Krishnamurthy, 'Chola coins of Sangam age', (Tamil) Plates (1-3)

49. N.Sankaranarayanan, Op.Cit.

50. Hindu 1992.

51. He has personally informed me through a letter. A note on this coin is written by Alakkudi Arumuga Sitaraman.

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60. K.A.N. Sastri, 'A history of South India', p.160.

This paper is an attempt to document the hitherto neglected primary sources for the study of LOCAL HISTORY. A transcription of the 26 epitaphs in chronological order follows with details of name of the deceased, year of death and name of the graveyard.

EPITAPH NO. 1

Name of the deceased: Mastan Aulia

Year of death: 1262 A.H.

Graveyard: Mastan Dargah

EPITAPH NO. 2

Name of the deceased: Mastan Aulia

Year of death: 1262 A.H.

Graveyard: Mastan Dargah

EPITAPH NO. 3

Name of the deceased: Haji Sayeed Hussain

Year of death: 1297 A.H.

Graveyard: Fort Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 4

Name of the deceased: Abdus Samad

Year of death: 1324 A.H.

Graveyard: Fort Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 5

Name of the deceased: Alhaj Malang Abdur
Rahman Sahib

Year of death: 1331 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque Graveyard, Muslimpur

EPITAPH NO. 6

Name of the deceased: Alhaj Dakku Bahauddin
Sahib

Year of death: 1332 A.H.

Graveyard : Old Mosque Graveyard ,
Muslimpur

EPITAPH NO. 7

Name of the deceased: Khatheeb Haji Qadir
Badsha

Year of death: 1333 A.H.

Graveyard : Old Mosque Graveyard, Muslimpur

EPITAPH NO. 8

Name of the deceased: Khanbahadur
Malanghayath Badsha

Year of death: 1335 A.H.

Graveyard : Old Mosque Graveyard, Muslimpur

EPITAPH NO. 9

Name of the deceased: Alhaj Kaki Ghulam
Mohiuddin

Year of death: 1336 A.H.

Graveyard : Old Mosque Graveyard, Muslimpur

EPITAPH NO. 10

Name of the deceased: Gundu Muhammad Ibrahim

Year of death: 1338 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque Graveyard, Muslimpur

EPITAPH NO. 11

Name of the deceased: Gundu Abdur Raheem

Year of death: 1338 A.H.

Graveyard: Khaderpet Mosque

EPITAPH NO. 12

Name of the deceased: Fakhruddin Lal Basha

Year of death: 1340 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque

EPITAPH NO. 13

Name of the deceased: Sathgudi Chanda Miyan
Sahib

Year of death: 1342 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque

EPITAPH NO. 14

Name of the deceased: Kaki Abdul Kareem
Sahib

Year of death: 1343 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque

EPITAPH NO. 15

Name of the deceased: Kaniyambadi Haji Abdul
Khader

Year of death: 1345 A.H.

Graveyard: Neelfield Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 16

Name of the deceased: Alhaj P.R. Muhammad
Ismail

Year of death: 1348 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 17

Name of the deceased: Ameerunnisa w/o Khatheeb
Abdul Kareem

Year of death: 1362 A.H.

Graveyard : Nawab Azeez Khan Mosque
Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 18

Name of the deceased: Alhaj P.R. Abdur Rahman

Year of death: 1366 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 19

Name of the deceased: Haji C.L. Abdus Subhan

Year of death: 1367 A.H.

Graveyard: Khaderpet Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 20

Name of the deceased: Amina Bi w/o M.P. Abdul
Ghafoor

Year of death: 1385 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque Graveyard, Jaffarabad

EPITAPH NO. 21

Name of the deceased: Palsarak Raheema Bi w/o
A. Abdul Raheem

Year of death: 1386 A.H.

Graveyard : New Mosque Graveyard,
Jaffarabad

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Name of the deceased : Naskar Abdul Hameed
Sahib

Year of death: 1389 A.H.

Graveyard: Khaderpet Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 23

Name of the deceased: G.Abdus Salam

Year of death: 1395 A.H.

Graveyard: Old Mosque Graveyard, Jaffarabad

EPITAPH NO. 24

Name of the deceased: Haji Abdur Raheem

Year of death: 1396 A.H.

Graveyard: Fort Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 25

Name of the deceased: nil

Year of death: Nil

Graveyard: Neelfield Mosque Graveyard

EPITAPH NO. 26

Name of the deceased: Oosi Haji Abdul Rahman

Year of death: Nil

Graveyard: Khaderpet Mosque Graveyard

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