

# **TAMILNADU HISTORY CONGRESS**

## **V - ANNUAL SESSION**

**October 24 - 25, 1998**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
MANONMANIAM SUNDARANAR UNIVERSITY  
THIRUNELVELI - 627 012**

**Editor**

**Dr. K. SADASIVAN**

**Professor & Head**

**Department of History,**

**Manonmaniam Sundaranar University,**

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## Editorial Note

We have immense pleasure in placing before you the Proceedings Volume of the Fifth Session of Tamil Nadu History Congress held under the auspices of the Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Thirunelveli, in October 1998. The eight year old young University, founded in 1990 to perpetuate the memory of Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai, one of the savants of Tamil Language and Literature, History, Epigraphy, Philosophy and Dramaturgy, and situated in a serene atmosphere far away from the madding crowd of the Township, but with its greenish landscape on the banks of the perennial river called variously as *Ann Porunai*, *Tan Porunai*, *Tambapanni* and *Tambraparni* and with a continuous historical and cultural tradition, feels highly honoured for having given the singular fortune of providing the venue for a busy debating centre of historians, academics, connoisseurs of Tamil language and Tamil art and research scholars. The papers presented on the various themes - Political & Administrative, Social & Economic, Art & Culture and Historiography - do bear the mark of the scholars. They provide the material for historical reflection to the prospective scholars and researchers.

The papers recommended by the Sectional Presidents and those we have received after revision in time have been included in this Volume. They relate to different themes of different regions and periods in the history of South India, with particular reference to Tamil Nadu. They open new avenues of study, providing ample scope for promising scholars to make further enquiry into the hitherto unknown treasures of Tamil Nadu History. However, the Editor records with pains that some of these papers do not convey anything new, some others do not conform to the prescribed norms, and yet some others do not appear to have followed any research methods. Barring these papers, all other papers are of immense value to historical understanding.

The Editor would like to record his thanks to the Office-bearers of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for having given him this rare privilege of editing the Volume. He also records with thanks the assistance that he has received from his colleague Dr. K.A. Manikumar and his research scholars (Dr.) A. Asaraf Ali, Dr. A. Justin Wilson, Mr. M.N. Mohamed and Mr. R. Peter Perinbaraja. He also thanks the Delta Offset Printers, Vellicode, for the neat execution of the Volume.

Thirunelveli-12  
29-9-1999

K. SADASIVAN  
Editor



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## **Report of the**

General Secretary, TNHC.

**Professor P. Jagadeesan**

The Hon'ble Minister for Transport, Dr. Aravanan, the Vice-Chancellor of Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, Dr. Muthukumarn, the former Vice-Chancellor of Bharathidasan University and present Member Secretary of TANSCHHE, renowned Numismatist and historian Thiru. Krishnamurthy of *Dinamalar*, the President of this session Dr. S. Kadhivel, Dr.K. Sadasivan, Local Secretary of this Fifth Session, Dr. Venkatasubramanian, member Secretary, I.C.H.R, New Delhi, Dr. Daniel, the Sectional President of Historiography session, Dr. Raju Kalidos, Sectional President of the Art and Cultural History session, Dr. Manikumar, the Sectional President of Political & Administrative History session and Dr. Prema Kasthuri, the Sectional President of Socio-Economic History session, the Registrar of this University, TNHC Office-bearers and Members of the Executive, Fellow delegates, distinguished guests, the Press, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It gives me great pleasure in welcoming you to the Fifth Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress on behalf of myself and the Executive. The Tamil Nadu History Congress has moved from strength to strength. It began its first session at Madras University, where as the head of the department I had the unique privilege to host it under the auspices of the Indian History Department. It will not be out of place here to reiterate the fact which my predecessor Dr. Hanumanthan has more than one occasion has pointed out that the very first session was attended by more than 300 delegates coming from different parts of the country such as Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and New Delhi. Subsequently, the Second session was held at Annamalai University, where Dr. Subbian, Professor and Head of the Department of History did a fine job as the Local Secretary. The Third and Fourth sessions were held on the banks of River Cauvery, the former at Bharathidasan University under the auspices of the Centre for History, where Dr. N. Rajendran, the Head, Centre for History, served as the Local Secretary.

The Fourth session was held under the auspices of the Department of Sculpture, Tamil University, Thanjavur on 23rd and 24th August 1997. The Fourth session was inaugurated by the Registrar of the Tamil University, Thanjavur. Dr. K.V. Raman, the President of the Session, presided over the function and delivered the Presidential Address. Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan, General Secretary, presented the Report of the Third session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. Earlier Dr. Raju Kalidos, the Local Secretary, welcomed the gathering.

Soon after the inauguration, Thiru. Natana. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, delivered the Tamil Nadu History Congress Endowment Lecture under the title "*ANCIENT SEA PORTS OF TAMIL NADU AND THEIR TRADE CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES*". This was followed by the Technical Sessions. Prof. N.K. Narayanan, Prof. V.T. Chellam, Dr. V. Gurumurthy [his address was read in absentia] and Dr. T. Edmunds acted as the Sectional Presidents for Political and Administrative History, Social and Economic History, Art and Cultural History and Historiography sections respectively. The Technical Sessions went on till the afternoon of 24th.

As usual the Executive Committee meeting of the Tamil Nadu History Congress was held in the Guest House of Tamil University, Thanjavur, on 23rd August 1997 at 7 pm. With the following agenda:

- a) To elect the Office-bearers of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for the next two years.
- b) To approve the audited statement of accounts for the year 1996-97.
- c) To approve the report of the General Secretary.

The General Body met the next day on 24th evening with more than 100 delegates. The Executive nominated the present set of Office-bearers which was unanimously passed by the General Body on 24th afternoon. Similarly, the audited statement of accounts for the year 1996-97, presented by the Treasurer Dr. G.J. Sudhakar, was accepted by the General Body. So also the Annual Report of the General Secretary. The General Body also accepted the invitation extended by the Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, to host the Fifth Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress.

The Valedictory function was held soon after the General Body. Dr. Karunakaran, the Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University, Thanjavur, delivered the Valedictory Address. During his address he has promised to undertake the publication of the Proceedings of the Fourth Session. In the absence of President Dr. K.V. Raman, Prof. N.K. Narayanan acted as the President and presided over the function. Dr. Hanumanthan the out going Secretary expressed his sentiments. Dr. Raju Kalidos, the Local Secretary, proposed a Vote of Thanks.

The Congress wishes to record the sincere and laudable services rendered by the first team of Office-bearers.

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## GENERAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

### MARAVARS IN TAMIL SOCIETY

**Dr. S. Kadhivel**

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Dr. K.P.Aravanan, the Hon'ble Minister for Transport, Dr. K. Ponmudi, the Vice-Chancellor of Bharathidasan University, Dr. P. Jagadeesan, the other dignitaries on the dais, and fellow-delegates,

I deem it a great honour to preside over the V session of the Tamilnadu History Congress. I am thankful to the General Body of the Congress for the privilege accorded to me. I congratulate the Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, in particular the Department of History, for having come forward to host this session. This fledgling University has made significant strides in the short span of its existence and I wish to greet the Vice - Chancellor and his dedicated team of faculty members for their meritorious contributions and wish them further glory in the years to come.

As a student of history I have always been enamoured of the rich and impressive history of Tirunelveli and its unique contributions to the Tamil culture. As with any other region the pageant of splendours and accomplishments of Tirunelveli is mixed with certain failures and unseemly things of which one feels greatly disturbed. It is in this context that the responsibility of a historian becomes greater. With his panoramic knowledge of the past, he can point out the weakness in social arrangements that are the true inciters of social disturbances. The need of the hour is to analyze the causes for the present behaviour pattern of the two conflicting social groups namely Maravars and Dalits.

Academic studies have been undertaken to grapple with the dalit issues. But hardly any investigation has been done to understand the historical background for the impulsive and aggressive attitude of the Maravars. I have deliberately decided to speak on this theme as I have done some research on this caste group. I intend to show how the Maravars had pre-eminent position in the South Indian politics of pre-colonial era and how their resistance to the colonial rule prompted the British to invoke the Criminal Tribes Act and reduce them to a condition from which a vast majority are yet to be redeemed.

#### I

According to the legend, Maravars who lived in Ramanathapuram region helped Sri Rama when he invaded Lanka to defeat Ravana and on account of their great services to Sri Rama they were hailed as "Deva" or "Thevar" meaning "god". Raja Sethupathi, the Maravar King of Ramanathapuram was the guardian of the causeway "Sethu Samudram" (Rameswaram) from time immemorial and hence his name Sethupathi. These two references indicate that Ramanathapuram district was the area where the Maravars originally settled and moved later to the neighbouring Tirunelveli district. According to the *Maram Padal*, the primacy among the Maravars irrespective of their territorial affiliation was accorded to the Sethupathi. The earliest reference to the Maravar community as a fighting class is found in the *Culavamsa*. The *Culavamsa* speaks of the Kondayam Kottai Maravars, who were associated with the succession disputes of the 12th century Pandyas. It is also stated that the Maravars under the leadership of the Sethupathi were dependents of the Pandyas of Madurai.<sup>1</sup>



Ramanathapuram district, which was known as the Maravar Country in the 18th century, extended from Arantangi on the bank of river Vellar in the north, to Sayalkudi in the south, covering the entire eastern coastal area. In the west it stretched out to the borders of the Nayak kingdom of Madurai. The Maravar kingdom was surrounded by the Maratha kingdom of Thanjavur and the Kallar territory of Pndukkottai in the north and by the Nayak kingdom of Madurai, in the west and south. The eastern coastal area was dotted with Portuguese and Dutch settlements.

In the Triunelveli region, the Maravars occupied the area from Kalakad to Rajapalayam at the foot of the Western Ghats. Most of the Maravar Palayams were created in this area. They were Singampatti, Urkad, Uthumalai, Vadagarai, Surandai, Naduvakkurichi, Kurukkalpatti, Alagapuri, Nerkkattumseval, Thalaivan Kottai, Thenmalai (Sivagiri), Kollamkondan and Seithur. There were Maravar settlements in Thirukkurungudi near Kalakad, Vallioor and Panagudi. In the eastern parts of the country there were Maravar settlements at Manad, Poochikad and Arupangu Nad. The three Maravar Palayams in the central country were Kadambur, Maniyachi and Elayirampannai.

From the palm leaves filed by Navaneetha Krishna Marudappa Thevar in Tirunelveli Civil Court, we gather that the Maravars moved to Uthumalai in Tirunelveli district from Ramanathapuram in the 11th century and from the unpublished *Vadagari Athikkam* history in palm leaves, we learn that the Maravars' migration from Ramanathapuram to Vadagarai took place approximately in the 12th century. The Maravars of Singampatti, Urkad and Seithur might have migrated before the eleventh century, whereas the Maravars of Kalakad seem to have settled at Thirukkurungudi in the middle of the 15th century.<sup>2</sup>

There is a close relation among Maravars, Kallars and Agamudiaris. There is Tamil Proverb to the effect that 'a Kallan may become a Maravan, by respectability he may develop into an Agamudiyan, and, by slow degrees, become a Vellala, from which he may rise to be Mudaliyar'.<sup>3</sup> The Maravars were essentially a community doing military service to their chiefs or were rendering police duties.<sup>4</sup> The same with the Kallars whose original abode was Thanjavur from where they migrated to Pandya kingdom in the eleventh century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The Agamudiaris took to agriculture early and were living in Kanjeeपुरam.<sup>6</sup> There are also several sub-castes within these three divisions. It cannot be assertively stated that there was no conflict among the sub-castes. There were group rivalries and the possibilities of a petty quarrel between individuals from different sub-castes. The Kondayam Kottai sect seems to have asserted its superior position among the Maravars. Their numerical strength coupled with the fact that among the Maravar castes, they were considered to be the most ferocious and brave, might have earned them that position. This is perhaps one of the reasons why most of the Maravar Palayams were controlled by these people. According to Muthuramalinga Thevar family records in Ramanathapuram region these Kondayam Kottai generals enjoyed special privileges.

The Maravar lived in groups. The *Culavamsa* mentions that the Maravar villages were fortified and the village leader was maintaining a strong force to defend the village. Although the village leader enjoyed autonomous powers, he was subordinate to the King, and rendered military assistance whenever requisitioned. The strength of the Pandyas was due to the support given by these Maravar chieftains. The Jesuit evidence confirms the version of the *Culavamsa*. Even after the fall of the Pandyas of Madurai, the Sethupathis

continued to maintain their pre-eminent position that compelled the Nayak king Muthukrishnappa Nayak to confirm the former vassals of the Pandyas as the rulers of the Maravar kingdom. Under the Sethupathis, all the lands of the Maravar villages were owned by the Maravar leaders on condition that they sent to the Sethupathi certain number of soldiers, whenever required.<sup>7</sup>

Very few Maravars worked in the lands. Even those Maravars who worked in lands were soldiers, for every Maravar was a soldier. These soldiers were guarding the village forts and assisted the leader in his wars when called for. A Jesuit writer expresses surprise as to why 'these Maravars should be indifferent to trade when their own man is King'.<sup>8</sup> The loyalty of the Maravars in the first place was to the village leader, for he had actual control over them and also maintained them. As the accepted leader of the entire community the Sethupathi commanded love and respect from the Maravars. This enabled Sethupathi to raise an army of thirty to forty thousand at short notice. The communitarian life of the community and their leaders made them a formidable political force in south India in the eighteenth century.

## II

In Tirunelveli, the Maravars were employed as *Kavalkarars* either under Marava Palayagars or *Kaval* chiefs. The word *Kaval* means watch. It was an institution, roughly corresponding to the police of the modern times. There were two types of *Kaval*, the *Sthalam Kaval* meaning the "village watch" and the *Desa Kaval* meaning the "country watch". Under *Sthalam Kaval*, the *Kaval* chief divided the village into several divisions and allotted them to the families of the *Kavalkarars*. The office of the *Kaval* chief was hereditary. The area of operation of the *Kavalkarars* could be changed, if the chief desired it. The village temple was under the direct control of the *Kaval* chief.<sup>9</sup>

The primary function of a *Kavalkarar* was to protect the grain, cattle and other domestic properties of the inhabitants and to guard the public places like temples, roads and markets. If any robbery occurred, the concerned *Kavalkarar* was held responsible for the recovery of the stolen property, failing which he had to pay compensation.<sup>10</sup> It was the responsibility of the *Kaval* chief to see to it that this was enforced. Therefore, it was only the *Kaval* chief who was directly responsible to the people and not the *Kavalkarars*. The *Kaval* chief was the intermediary between the *Kavalkarars* and the people. It was his duty to fix the amount of compensation in case of theft or loss of property and see to it that the compensation was paid. But the *Kaval* chief did not direct the *Kavalkarars* to pay indemnity immediately after an incident took place. The chief, with the assistance of his subordinate *Kavalkarars*, launched an investigation and tried to find out the culprit and recover the stolen article and make the culprit pay for the loss. Only if he failed in this attempt he did ask the *Kavalkarars* to pay the compensation<sup>11</sup>. In this way, the *Kaval* chief assumed police and judicial powers. He and his men often employed cruel methods to detect the crimes.<sup>12</sup>

The services of the *Kavalkarars* were rewarded by a fee called *Sthalam Kaval* which consisted mostly of a portion of the crops that they protected or monetary payment in lieu thereof.<sup>13</sup> The *Kavalkarars* in turn paid a portion of their collection to the *Kaval* chiefs. The *Kaval* dues from the temples were paid to the chiefs and they distributed a portion of it to their subordinates. In most cases the temples assigned lands for the chiefs for their maintenance and the upkeep of their retinue. In due course, when the central government

became weak, the chiefs misused their powers and became the virtual rulers of the villages. This was possible because they already had both the police and judicial powers with them.

Under the institution of *Desakaval*, a number of villages would be under the control of a leader and he would be the head or the *Kaval* chief in those villages. This was also a distinctive institution of the Maravars and in principle and practice the details were most akin to that of the *Sthalam Kaval*. The *Desakaval* leader commanded the loyalty of the village *Kaval* leaders who performed police duties. Disputes between villages were settled by the *Desakaval* chief.<sup>14</sup> The decisions and judgements of the chief were implicitly accepted. These leaders received a fee which was also called *Desakaval*.<sup>15</sup>

In their territory the Maravar Palayagars were the *Desakaval* chiefs. And in the non-Palayagar territories there were several powerful leaders who exercised this function. The *Arupangu-Nad* Maravars, spread over six villages namely Marugalkuruchi, Manjangulam, Kannimarmalai, Thennimalai, Pudur and Nedungulam had their own leaders in every village, but one Arumuga Thevar of Marugalkuruchi was the *Desakaval* leader of the *Arupangu-Nad* as a whole. The latter was the *Desakaval* chief for Nanguneri area also, and the Maravars of *Arupangu-Nad* jointly performed this duty under his leadership.<sup>16</sup> The Thirukkurungudi Maravar chief family controlled the *Desakaval* of Kalakad area and the Maravars in that area came under him.<sup>17</sup> Like this many reference can be cited to show that the Maravars performed *Desakaval* duties also, along with *Sthalam Kaval*. These references clearly show the number of villages under the leaders and the extent of their operation. It seems probable that when the region of Tirunelveli was convulsed by the struggle of contending interests for political control during the second half of the eighteenth century these leaders extended their sphere of activities.

The non-Maravar Palayagars might have also entered the scene as *Desakaval* chiefs. This is evident from the many *Kaval* disputes, which the Maravar leaders had with Nayak Palayagars.<sup>18</sup> A war in 1776 between the Maravars of Nanguneri and the Nayak Palayagar Kattabomman of Panchalamkuruchi is worth mentioning here.<sup>19</sup> The contention of the Maravars of Kalakad and Nanguneri was that they had enjoyed the rights for about 300 years and therefore the Nayak chieftain should not interfere with their authorities. This clearly shows that the Maravars held the office of *Desakaval* even before the Nayak assumed it. The *Desakaval* was at its peak between 1720 to 1781<sup>20</sup> and the chiefs exercised police, judicial and administrative powers. They maintained retainers who in most of the instances happened to be Pallars. The institution of *Kaval* gave Maravars an opportunity to be united under a leader and make him powerful. When the central administration collapsed, the country's defence was in their hands.

### III

At the commencement of the Madurai viceroyalty under the Vijaynagar Kings, Ramanathapuram came under the Madurai kingdom. But the political situation<sup>21</sup> compelled the king of Madurai, Muthukrishnappa Nayak to restore the Maravar territory to the ancient line of Setupathi in 1605. However, the Maravar kingdom was to function as a tributary to Madurai. But gradually the Maravars of Ramanathapuram began to assert themselves and because of the military superiority of the Maravars, the Nayak kings gave them considerable freedom of action, since the stability of their dynasty depended upon their support.

The Nayak's involvement in other fields of operation gave the Sethupathi an opportunity to develop an indifferent attitude towards the Nayak king. The Sethupathi's dealings

with the king of Madurai became very formal. He was practically independent. The only obligation of the Sethupathi to the Madurai king seems to have been the payment of the annual tribute which he did not bother to remit regularly. The Sethupathi had direct dealings with foreign powers on the eastern coast and he did not get the approval of the king of Madurai for such transactions.<sup>22</sup>

Realising the growing power of Sethupathi and the impending danger to his kingdom, the Nayak king wanted to suppress the Sethupathi and for this purpose he entered into an alliance with the Portuguese on 13 August 1639.<sup>23</sup> The Sethupathi thwarted the attempt of the Nayak by securing the alliance of the Dutch power in India<sup>24</sup>. Thereafter the subordinate position of the Maravars to the Nayaks of Madurai started to gradually diminish. The Dutch correspondence with the Rajas of Ramanathapuram mirrors their developing indifference towards the Nayaks of Madurai. A Dutch source states. 'This prince, Katta Thevar, is the subject and tributary to the Naick of Madurai; but since we have entered into terms of alliance of friendship with him, he cares far less for the Naick than he did previously,<sup>25</sup>

A Jesuit letter written about fifty years later confirms the Dutch source and gives a more vivid picture of the Maravar military prowess. In this letter, Fr. Martin writes:

The Maravar, a great kingdom, is tributary to that of Madura. However, the Prince who governs it is only vassal in name, for his troops are sufficient to make head way against those of the king of Madura, should the latter try to exact tribute by force of arms. He reigns with absolute sway and several princes (chiefs of subordinate principalities) are subject to him, all of whom he dispossesses of their dominions at pleasure.<sup>26</sup>

The committee appointed by the Governor of Madras Council, Josias Du Pre, consisting of himself, Warren Hastings and Samuel Ardly, in April 1771 in its report describes the nature of Maravar-Nayak relations: 'there is no record to show that the Nayak king at Maduari exacted any tribute from Ramanathapuram, after the exemption was granted by Thirumalai Nayak. It is obvious that even if the successors of Thirumalai Nayak wanted to assert their superiority it could have been impossible. The Maravars were a formidable force from whom even the bravest of the Nayaks, Thirumalai, did not dare demand tribute. Still it was possible that when there was a weak ruler at Ramanathapuram or the ruler of Ramanathapuram was in trouble due to internal disturbances'. The ruler at Madurai could establish his overlordship.<sup>27</sup>

The estrangement of Sethupathi with the Nayak ruler did not deter him from discharging his feudal obligation to the suzerain. When the Nayak kingdom was threatened by Mysore invasion in 1656<sup>28</sup>, Thirumalai Nayak requested for Raghunatha Sethupathi's help and the latter complied with his request and was instrumental in driving away the Mysore army from the Madurai territory. Once the Sethupathi became practically independent of the Nayak king of Madurai he set up his own espionage system which worked so well that the foreign Jesuits were full of praise for its efficient working.<sup>29</sup> Records available in the Ramanathapuram palace speak of a Maravar network of espionage throughout the Nayak country. The Sethupathis had their own code of justice and they did not follow the Nayaks in this respect.<sup>30</sup> The Rajas of Ramanathapuram created many subordinate principalities such as Mudukulathur and Sayalgudi under them.<sup>31</sup>

According to Sathyanathaier, the growing military prestige of the Maravar kingdom made the Nayak rulers to reconcile themselves with the reality and thanks to the strategy worked out by a minister by name Visvanatha a compromise was finally struck on the basis of which the Maravar chiefs were confirmed in power with a new designation, Palayagars<sup>32</sup>.

#### IV

The Palayagar system made the Maravar chiefs more turbulent. Under the new dispensation they continued to maintain armed men and forts. They were practically autonomous and the central administration did not have any direct control over their subjects. Even the army of the central government had to be supplied by these chiefs. This meant that the stability of the central government depended upon the loyalty and co-operation of the Palayagars. The arrangements made by the Nayaks of Madurai did not provide for a standing army to meet out any emergency. Therefore, it seems probable that a few Nayak Palayams might have been created by the Nayaks to maintain balance of power. Since the Maravars and Nayaks did not get along, there was no danger of a joint revolt from the Maravar and the Nayak Palayagars against the central authority in Madurai. Even in the event of any one of them revolting it could be easily subdued with the assistance of the other group.

The Maravars had been traditionally enjoying a limited independence and had also been practically free within their territory. Now, the Nayaks were also given the same privileges on a par with the Maravars. The Maravars could not accept the Nayak Palayagars as equals and so began to resent them intensely. It has to be pointed out that they showed the same resentment towards the Nadars, when they attained higher economic status in the nineteenth century and the animosity the two groups had for each other led to a series of caste riots in Madurai, Sivakasi, Kamuthi and Kalugumalai. In the present context they detest the assertion of Dalits who are determined to fight the Maravar oppression.

As the Maravars constituted one caste group and the Nayaks formed another, the animosity developed between these two groups culminated in open confrontation and conflict. The geographical features of the Palayagars were also such that all the Maravar Palayams excepting those of Kadambur, Maniyachi and Elayirampannai were located as contiguous units under the foot of the Western Ghats and so they were later on called the Western Bloc.<sup>33</sup> All the Nayak Palayams such as Ettayapuram, Panchalamkurichi, Melmandai, Kulathur and Kadalgudi were situated in the eastern part of the country and called the Eastern Bloc.

Recorded history does not show any example of a Nayak rule in Maravar Palayam or vice versa. Inside the individual Palayams there seem to have been some co-operation. Bahadur Vellai, the commander of Kattomman Nayak of Panchalamkurichi was a Maravar. When the Nayak Palayagars undertook to collect desakaval they were confronted with the Maravars. The confrontation of Kattabomman of Panchalamkurichi with the Nanguneri Maravars may be cited as an example. The same Nayak forces confronted the forces of Sivaramathalaivar of Thirukkurngudi.<sup>34</sup> But this occurred only during the eighteenth century. The rivalry between the Maravars and the Nayak Palayagars existed even earlier. When the Nayak chief of Ettayapuram revolted against the Central Nayak kings of Madurai, all the Maravar chiefs of Tirunelveli rallied around the Dalavay Mudaliar, the Governor of Tirunelveli and subdued the Nayak of Ettayapuram. Likewise, whenever there was a recalcitrant Maravar Palayagar, the Dalavay secured the support of the Nayak chiefs.<sup>35</sup>



## V

The Nawab's suzerainty over Madurai and Tirunelveli was confirmed in 1754 after the Second Carnatic war. The British East India Company and the local powers of Thanjavur and Pudukkottai stood by the Nawab during his trying period. Nevertheless the Nawab could not establish his authority over the south, because of the Maravar opposition. Puli Thevar represented this opposition. The Nawab, after overcoming his initial problems posed by Mysore and the French, wanted to get rid of his dependence on the British. But as the Maravars continued to be a source of threat in the south, he could not accomplish that task. Both the Nawab and British soon agreed that the 'Maravas must be brought to obedience'. The mutual rivalry between the Nawab and British deferred the project. Yet the Nawab was bent on liquidating the Maravars who valiantly resisted the alien powers.

Puli Thevar's attempt to resist was successful to some extent. But he could not enlist the Maravars of Ramanathapuram and Sivagangasi in his confederacy against the British. The two Maravar states too did not mobilize the Maravars of Tirunelveli in their fight against Nawab and the British. The Kallar kingdom of Pudukkottai, although an off-shoot of the Maravar kingdom, was hostile to the Maravar interests.<sup>36</sup> Despite the disunity, there was resistance to the Nawab and the British, from the Maravar Palayagars and the Kaval chiefs. The Palayagar of Sivagiri carried on his fight till he was financially ruined on account of continuous wars.

Sivagangai witnessed the rise of Marudhus in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were Agambadiars and hence, in spite of their anti-British stance, they could not get the full co-operation of the Maravars. The Sethupathy of Ramanathapuram, in particular, did not relish their rise to power. The Maravar-Agambadiar conflict provided the opportunity for the British to tackle the Marudhus easily. The antagonistic attitude of the Marathas of Thanjavur and the Kallars of Pudukkottai hastened the process of disintegration of Maravar's political domination in the south.

## VI

The British successfully emerged as a territorial power in the multilateral contest and the Madras Presidency was formed in 1803. All the forts of the Palayagars were destroyed and Maravats, both in the circar territory as well as in the palayagar territory, were ordered to lay down their arms (1803). "Kaval" as an institution was officially abolished in 1816.<sup>37</sup> The Maravars who were not trained in any profession other than Kaval and military service were totally shattered. Those Maravars who possessed small land holding found it difficult to make both ends meet as the land revenue policy of the British proved to be oppressive. But the aggressive spirit of the Maravars did not die down. He was a soldier by birth and thought that he was entitled to dominate and rule over the more pacific elements in the society.

However, custom cannot be dispensed with over night. The Maravars defied the newly introduced British law and continued the Kaval duties. A nineteenth century missionary gives an interesting account of the system prevalent in Tirunelveli district. 'People living in country places, remote from towns, are entirely at the mercy of the Maravars, and every householder or occupier of a mud hut, which is dignified by being called a house, must pay the Maravars half a fanam, which is equal to one anna eight pies, yearly. Those who own cattle, and there are few who do not, must pay one fanam a year. At the time of the harvest,

it is the custom in southern India for an enemy to go and reap his antagonist's crops as they are growing in the fields. He does this to bring matters to a climax, and to get the right side of his enemy, so that he may be forced to come to terms, reasonable or otherwise. Possession is nine points of the law. On occasions such as these, which are frequent, the advantage of the employment of Kavalgars can readily be understood. The Maravars are often true to their salt, though sometimes their services can be obtained by the highest bidder. The plan of keeping kaval, or going the rounds like a policeman on duty, is, for a village of, say, a hundred Maravars, to divide into ten sections. Each section takes a particular duty, and they are paid by the people living within their range. If a robbery takes place, and the value of the property does not exceed ten rupees, then this section of ten men will each subscribe one rupee, and pay up ten rupees. If, however, the property loss exceeds the sum of ten rupees, then all the ten sections of Maravars, the hundred men, will join together, and make restitution for the robbery . . . . The Maravars, therefore, are not regarded as marauding thieves by the other classes. Their position in the community as Kavalgars is recognized, and no one actually fears them. From time immemorial it has been the mamool (custom) to pay them certain dues, and, although illegal, who in India is prepared to act contrary to custom? The small sum paid annually by the villagers is insignificant, and no one considers it a hardship to pay it, when he knows that his goods are in safety.<sup>38</sup>

But the fact that the *Kaval* payment couldn't be legally enforced emboldened the people of the other castes to defy the system. In consequence the Maravars were forced to 'take to marauding, and made themselves so obnoxious by their thefts and robberies, that the term Kallan, thief, was applied, and stuck to them as a tribal appellation'.<sup>39</sup> The Madras Administrative Report for the year 1886 observed that the Maravars commanded 'a prestige that almost ensures them success in crimes of violence and screen them from retaliation. . . . Every one is brought up in dread of the Maravan'.<sup>40</sup>

In the Census report of 1901, Francis records that 'the Kallans, Maravans, and Agamudaiyans are responsible for a share of the crime of the southern districts, which is out of all proportion to their strength in them. In 1897, the Inspector-General of Prisons reported that nearly 42 per cent of the convicts in the Madurai jail, and 30 per cent of those in the Palamcottah jail in Tinnevely, belonged to one or other of these three castes. In Tinnevely, in 1894, 131 cattle thefts were committed by men of these three castes against 47 by members of others, which is one theft to 1,497 of the population of the three bodies against one to 37,830 of the other castes. The statistics of their criminality in Trichinopoly and Madurai were also bad'.<sup>41</sup>

## VII

The colonial state in Madras decided to deal with the Maravars ruthlessly. They explained that the *Kaval* system was 'incompatible with a just and enlightened administration'. The Criminal Tribes Act was invoked against the Maravars. A Criminal Tribes Act was first introduced in 1871 in order to deal with the tribals who defied the British authorities' instructions to take to settled agriculture. This legislation, which was revised three times in 1897, 1911, 1923, was not applied to the Madras Presidency until 1911. In 1897, the Government of Madras considered this piece of legislation to be irrelevant for the South.<sup>42</sup>

The Act, however, was introduced in the Presidency in 1911. It empowered the government to designate any 'tribe, gang or class of persons' a criminal tribe 'if they were

addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offenses'. Once notified the members of the tribe had no right of appeal against it to the courts. Under the 1871 Act the government was under the obligation to establish settlements and to adopt measures for the reform of the designated "criminal tribe". The later amendment effected in the Act, however, removed this obligation. This enabled the government to use the Act against larger communities like the Kallars and Maravars.<sup>43</sup> On registration, the members of the criminal tribes had their fingerprints taken and refusal to comply with it itself constituted a criminal offence warranting six months' imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 200 or both.<sup>44</sup>

The C.T. Act imposed severe restrictions on the mobility of the Maravars and Kallars. Section 10 (a) of the Act fixed the hours at which the 'worst characters and active criminals' were to report to the police. In the case of Kallars and Maravars, the hours fixed was between 11 p.m. and 4. a.m. This was so because the government stated that it wanted to make the committing of crime at night difficult. But the result was that the Kallars and Maravars who were registered under the Act had to virtually sleep, at the police station.<sup>45</sup> It has been calculated that out of an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 Kallars living in Thirumangalam and adjacent taluks of Madurai district, 14,283 had been registered by July 1920 and by the close of 1924 the number had increased to 32,054.<sup>46</sup>

Proud of their independence and fully aware of the implications of the Act some Kallars tried to resist. On 3rd April, over a thousand of them gathered at a village near Madurai to prevent police from arresting those who had refused to register. In the clash that ensued, the police fired at the villagers who had arrived with spears, sticks and sickles. Eleven were killed on the spot. Of the eight others seriously wounded, three died later.<sup>47</sup> Under Dyarchy, the provincial government was pressurized to introduce Kallar Reclamation Scheme. Under the scheme, several measures for Kallars, like special schools, rural co-operatives, loans and land grants and employment in the textile mills of Madurai or on the tea and coffee estates of the Nilgris and Anamalais, were adopted. It is on record that some 5,000 Piranmalai Kallars were sent to Anamalais in the 1920s as part of their rehabilitation.<sup>48</sup> The very size and cost of the Kallar scheme in Madurai discouraged the government from attempting a similar project for the Maravars of Tirunelveli.

The Congress took up the issue of the abolition of Criminal Tribes Act. Between 1915 and 1920 George Joseph, a Madurai Congressman, initiated a campaign for it. Congress leaders in Thanjavur also canvassed for its repeal during the 1920s. But it was U. Muthuramalinga Thevar who succeeded in making it a mass movement. In 1934, he launched a campaign and called upon the Maravars and Kallars not to submit to the registration process under the Act. When elections were declared under the 1935 Act, repeal of Criminal Tribes Act became one of the Congress party's important election issues in Tamil Nadu. Muthuramalinga Thevar, who represented the grievances of the Maravars, was pitted against the Justice Party candidate the Raja of Ramanathapuram in the election. Muthuramalinga Thevar won a hands down victory. Thereafter under the emerging democratic political system Muthuramalinga Thevar came to be looked upon as the Zion of the Thevar community.

Despite mounting political opposition to the Act, the British bureaucracy believed that the maintenance of the Act was essential even as late as 1945. One of the Governor's advisors, in response to a petition from Madurai, recorded in his official note that 'on no

account would I repeal the C.T. Act; examine, if possible improve the working-Yes; but repeal it-No.<sup>149</sup> The Act was finally removed from the statue book by the Congress Interim Ministry in April 1947. But Muthuramalinga Thevar soon fell out with the Congress and started the Forward Bloc Party in 1949. A large chunk of Maravars quit the Congress to join his party. At a time when special welfare measures were adopted to rehabilitate those who were dealt with by the Criminal Tribes Act in the pre-Independence period, the Maravars were harshly dealt with by the Congress in Tamilnadu in the wake of Muthukulathur riots of 1957. The fact that Maravars have suffered wrongs and they are a social group with a past was sadly ignored. The out-come is their continuing turbulence and propensity for violence as education and development have yet to reach a vast majority of them.

Thank you.

#### Notes

1. *History of Ceylon*, Vol.II, PP.446ff.
2. Records in respective Palayams. *The Official histories of the Palayams and Sivarama Thalaivar Kummi*, Palm leaves. Unpublished.
3. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. I, p.7.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ramanathapuram. Sathianathaier, Tamilaham in the 17th century* (Madras, 1956), p.82.
7. Fr. Martin to Fr. De Villette, Varagampatti, December 10, 1713 MMA.
8. *Fr. Hippolito Denden's* (Tibetan Missionary) Report to Rome in 1727 when he visited the Marava country MMA.
9. This Kaval is still vogue in certain villages of Tirunelveli where the Maravars are in good numbers. Most temples also continue to have these Kaval chiefs without change.
10. Madras Council, 4th September 1799, Revenue Consultations, Vol. 97, p.2246.
11. The Olai (Palm leaves) correspondence between the Kaval chief of Thirukkurungudi Mutt and the "Jeer" (Head of the Mutt).
12. *Singampatti Zamin Records*.
13. Undated order in palm leaf by the Jeer of Thirukkurungudi to the residents of Alangulam village directing them to pay one tenth of the crops produced or the *fanams* (money) equal to that of to the Kaval chief, one Chokku Thalaivar.
14. *Bishop Neel's Confidential Report to the Government of Madras on the Maravar problem in Tirunelveli*, Unpublished, 1941 (District Police Office, Palayamkottai).
15. Madras Council, 28th November 1800, Revenue Consultations, Vol. 16, pp.3198-3201.
16. Grantha Patta Olai read on the 4th day of Ten-day Chitrai festival of Vanamamalai Temple, Nanguneri (Unpublished).
17. Patta Olai in Grantha read on the 8th day of the ten day Panguni festival of Thirukkurungudi Temple (Unpublished).
18. Olai sent by Puloka Pandiya Chokka Thalaivar of Maniyachi to his cousin Muthiah Thalaivar of Ilavankulam regarding the area of Kaval operations.
19. *Sivarama Thalaivar Suvadi Villupattu*. (Unpublished).

20. *Lushington's Correspondence on the Permanent Settlement of the Southern Pollams* (Palayams), 20 the July 1799, p.16.
21. The policy of indifference to foreign traders pursued by the Nayak kingdom of Madurai led to the assumption of government by the Portuguese on the eastern side (Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p.71). This political disruption induced Muthukrishnappa to a strong government in Maravar country. The whole Maravar country to Rameswaram was rendered unsafe (Sathianatha Iyer Ramanathapuram, HNM, p.92). Probably the Nayak King realised that the Maravars could be organised only under the Sethupathi and a strong government under him might be an answer to Portuguese expansionism.
22. Correspondence between the Raja of Ramanathapuram and the Dutch.
23. *Report on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies*, pp. 43-44. Also: Danvers, F.C. *The Portuguese in India*, II, p.268.
24. Rea, Alexandar, *Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company*, p.8.
25. Quoted in Valantine's *History of the East India -Ceylon*. Vol. V, P.164
26. Fr. Martin to De Villete on the Maravars dated 8th November 1709, MMA
27. Josias Du Pre, *Report on Ramnad*, 3 April 1771
28. Sathianathaiyer, *History of Nayaks*, p.135.
29. Fr. Martin's letter from Varagapatti 10th December to Fr. De Villette MMA
30. *Muthuramalinga Thevar family records*, Mudukulathur.
31. *Ibid.*,
32. Sathayanathaiyer, *History of Nayaks*, pp.52-54
33. This consisted of Singampatti, Urkad, Uthumalai, Surandai, Vadagarai, Naduvakkuruchi, Thalaivankottai, Nerkattumseval, Alagapuri, Thenmalai, Sivagiri and Seithur.
34. *Kummi on Sivaramathalaivar*.
35. *Dalavay Mudaliar family records*, Tirunelveli (Unpublished).
36. O.S.No.3 of 1833, *Sivagangai Civil Suit*.
37. *History of Madras Police*, Madras 1959, p.249.
38. Edgar Thruston, *Castes and Tribes*, Vol.IV, pp.30-31
39. G. Oppert, *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1888-89, quoted in Edgar Thruston, *Castes and Tribes*.
40. Quoted in David Arnold, *Police Power and Colonial Rule Madras 1859-1947* (Delhi, 1986), p.139
41. Quoted in Edgar Thruston, *Castes and Tribes*, Vol.III,p.64
42. David Arnold, *Police Power and Colonial Rule*, p.138.
43. *Ibid.*, p.144.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*,p.145.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, p.153.
49. *Ibid.*, p.146.



**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**  
**POLITICAL & ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY SECTION**  
**Congress and Justice Politics: Madras in the 1930s**

**Dr. K. A. Manikumar**

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University

Mr. President and fellow - delegates,

0.1 Let me at the outset record my grateful thanks to the General Body of Tamil Nadu History Congress for electing me to preside the Political and Administrative History section of its V session hosted by the Department of History of Manonmaniam Sundaranar University.

0.2 The history of the past helps either to strengthen the ties of nationalism or to promote the cause of sectional loyalties. Historians who selectively probe such a past often come up with insightful findings. The episodic instance of this kind in our 20th century context was the contest between the Congress and the Justice Party in Madras politics. But the historians who happened to study this event have failed to locate the dynamics of Congress politics of 1930s which led to the gradual elimination of Justice Party from the political arena.

1.1 When the available body of literature is surveyed the final defeat of the Justice Party is explained as follows:

According to Irschick, the 1919 Act had left a great deal of patronage in the hands of Justice Ministers that sustained the party in the 1920s. In the 1930s, the Ministers lost their powers to make appointments to the provincial establishment, which authority the secretariat in Madras began to assume. The ministers had also been divested of their powers to deal with tenders and contracts. The final blow, he writes, came in 1933 when the authority to appoint executive officers (Commissioners) in the Municipalities was granted to the Government Secretariat.<sup>1</sup>

1.2 For C.J. Baker the Justice Party was defeated 'not so much by the strength of their opponents' campaign, as by the intrigues of their party colleagues'.<sup>2</sup> R. Hardgrave states, 'the Justice Party had strangled itself on the rope it had woven: support of the British Raj had brought it to power, but with the impact of national self-consciousness and aspiration for Swaraj, its imperial connection brought its defeat'.<sup>3</sup> However, Hardgrave has not elaborated his theory in convincing detail. P. Rajaraman in his book, which sounds like a rejoinder to D.A. Washbrook, sums up that 'internal dissension, ineffective organization, inertia and lack of proper leadership led the Justice Party along the path of decline'.<sup>4</sup>

1.3 D.A. Washbrook considers the elite nature of the Justicites as the reason for the failure to capture the imagination of the masses. Even amongst their caste groups, the educated non-Brahmins stood socially isolated.<sup>5</sup> The sociologist Andre Beteille highlights this point with adequate clarity: 'The Justice Party was in a real sense an elite party dominated by urban, western educated landowning and professional people. It contained a formidable array of rajas, zamindars, industrialists, lawyers and doctors. It was by no means a mass party'.<sup>6</sup>

1.4 Marguerite Ross Barnett, another sociologist, attributes the decline of the Justice Party to two reasons. First, the party lost the support of Muslims and Dalits. Second, as the

Justice Party did not adopt adequate legislative measures for social reform, the radical elements in the party moved to the self-respect movement as it had assumed radical postures then.<sup>7</sup> Barnett has been unfair in giving due credit to the radical nationalism of the Congress Party that put the Justice Party on the defensive. Barnett, however, makes a correct observation that the limited adult franchise restricted the voting right only to the property-owning and educated section of the population and hence backward non-Brahmins remained essentially unmobilized.<sup>8</sup>

1.5 None of the above historians and sociologists have explained the failure of the Justice Party to see the negative side of British Imperialism which led to its eventual discredit and defeat. The phenomenal impact of Great Depression that precipitated a serious economic crisis in the Presidency affecting the political behaviour of the masses was another aspect which they did not take cognizance of. I will now attempt an analysis of these two aspects. The emphasis of the Congress on the economic demands of the exploited masses is contrasted with the indifference of the Justice Party to the economic grievances of the different sections. This I contend would explain the political fiasco of the non-Brahmin movement in the pre-Independence era.

2.1 Working with the Dyarchy was a severe handicap for the Justices. The Indian Ministers under the system were endowed with limited powers, whereas the Governor as head of the provincial executive enjoyed enormous authority. He had the right of overruling his ministers. In the event of ministers resigning and Governor finding none to take their place, in view of the confidence of the local legislature they enjoyed, the Governor had a way-out to resolve the constitutional deadlock. He was empowered to undertake the temporary administration of a transferred department.<sup>9</sup> While the Ministers were individually and directly responsible to the local legislature, the Governor-in-Council, for his administration of the reserve department, was answerable only to the Parliament of England.<sup>10</sup> This was another negative feature.

2.2 Realizing the defects of the new political system, the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi decided not to co-operate with the Montford constitution. On the other hand, the Justice Party, finding its demand for communal representation rejected, became apprehensive that the Montford reforms would strengthen Brahmin domination and therefore anxiously contested elections to almost all seats in 1921. It could also come to power, thanks to the Congress boycott of legislatures.<sup>11</sup>

2.3 On October 24, 1929, the stock market in the USA crashed. This triggered the Depression that spread all over the world. The Madras presidency in common with the rest of the world suffered from the Depression from 1929. The Depression changed the political conditions in several countries. In England when a general election took place at the end of 1931, the Labour Party was thoroughly routed as it was held responsible for the financial collapse.<sup>12</sup> In South American countries like Argentina, Brazil and Chile, there was a change of government during the period of Depression.<sup>13</sup> In the USA the Republican Party which had taken credit for the pre-Depression boom was rejected by the people in successive elections for about twenty years after the Great Depression.<sup>14</sup> Not surprisingly, Depression had its effect on Madras politics to.

2.4 The manifestation of the Depression in the Presidency were the stagnation of trade and industry, fall in the prices of both foodgrains and commercial crops, resulting in increase

in the debt burden of an already indebted rural population. Vast transfers of land from the small peasants to the money-lenders and big landlords and diminution in the revenue of the government, on account of fall in excise and customs revenue also occurred. The government tried to combat the Depression by resorting to retrenchment of both expenditure and manpower. It also suspended fresh recruitments and imposed a 10% cut in the salary of the employees who drew more than Rs.40/-per month. Industrialists gleefully followed the government's example and inflicted wage cuts and retrenchment on their workers. The severity of the Depression called for effective state intervention. But the colonial administration evaded its responsibility under the pretext of laissezfaire policy.<sup>15</sup>

3.1 As the disinclination of the British to transfer power completely to Indians was evident, the Congress in its bid to attain total Swaraj embarked on a civil disobedience movement in 1930. The British responded by resorting to repressive measures. Prohibition of public meetings, large scale arrests and detention of the participants of the civil disobedience movement, dispersal of public meetings and picketing Congress members by means of lathi charges and shootings were some of the means the government adopted to crush this movement. In the Madras Legislative Council, adjournment and cut motions were tabled by independent nationalists like Sami Venkatachalam Chetty and R.N. Arogiaswamy Mudaliyar. None of the Justice Party members spoke or condemned the repression.<sup>16</sup>

3.2 When the peasants, under the accumulated burden of debt, ventilated their grievances through lawful means, they were all treated as political agitators and imprisoned. About this, a member of the Legislative Council spoke in the House as follows:

The leaders of the peasants were prosecuted and sent to Jails as political suspects and political agitators. The Government has itself created an occasion for the civil disobedience movement. The Government is only responsible for the powerful way in which the civil disobedience movement is carried on in some of the districts of this province because it created discontent in the minds of a very large number of peasants.<sup>17</sup>

3.3 Referring to the repeated charge of Satyamurthy that the Justice Party had been directly or indirectly responsible for the passing of the repressive laws in the country, P.T. Rajan defended the Party's position in the following words: '... the elementary duty of every citizen would be first to help the authority to maintain peace in the land and to avoid chaos. Beyond that their party as such was neither directly nor indirectly responsible for such laws.<sup>18</sup> Such a reply could hardly be expected to convince the people. Further the Justicites also ridiculed political struggles and sacrifices. Addressing a meeting at Uthagamandalam, in June 1935 S. Kumarasamy Reddiyar, the Minister for Education, said:

...look at the record of the work of the Congress. It was nothing but non-co-operation and civil disobedience. They had refused to co-operate with the government in all things, both good and bad. They disobeyed the laws of the country and the legislatures and send numberless youths to jail and wrought incalculable harm to the country without any profit, whatever.<sup>19</sup>

3.4 The Ministers' attitude towards the Reserved Half became the subject of discussion in the Madras press during this period. However much the Reserved Departments encroached on popular liberty, the Justice ministers co-operated with the British and the two

sections could get on amicably without any difficulty. This attitude of the ministers enabled them to retain their position and not in the least safeguard the interests of the people. Repression was in force as the Justices were holding office. Yet they co-operated with the Reserved Half without raising any protest.<sup>20</sup> The vernacular press resented and became very vocal in condemning this trend. They urged the ministers to assert their authority. The *Swadesamitran* commented:

Though the Reserved Departments are under the control of the Executive Council, the ministers have the right of acting as they like in the matter of determining the budget of the province. They are aware of the hardships suffered by the peasants and as their representatives they have a responsibility in the matter of securing justice for them. They can well offer to reduce the expenditure of the departments in their charge for this purpose. If, in spite of it, the executive councillors attach no value to their words, what is the use of their continuing in their posts?<sup>21</sup>

3.5 The ministers remained indifferent to all these pleas and when questions were put in the legislative council they answered in a fashion which would cause irritation. About this the *Sutandira Sangu* wrote:

In regard to certain questions, the wise ministers will keep silent. At times they will say that the Government are not prepared to reply. In the case of certain questions, they will plead the excuse that the Government can not state the facts openly. It will be funny indeed when they say that the Government have no information. In the local Legislative Council, Sir M. Krishna Nayar and Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib are experts in stating that they have no reply to give or that they have no information.<sup>22</sup>

4.1 The Justice Ministers brought disrepute to their party by their unresponsive attitudes and deeds in the context of economy measures of the government. One of the important recommendations of the Madras Retrenchment Committee was that the strength of the Cabinet should be reduced by one.<sup>23</sup> Not only was this recommendation ignored but an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Raja of Bobbili at creating a fourth minister's post to conciliate some of his colleagues.<sup>24</sup> For purposes of retrenchment two executive councillors and one minister had resigned their posts in Bombay. In Madras none of them offered to resign. A vernacular newspaper scathingly remarked, 'Of the four executive councillors in Madras two are whites and two are Indians. We would not ask the whites to resign. The two Indians may resign. One of them Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib been continuing in service beyond his time and the other Sir M. Krishna Nayar has become old and cannot even write steadily. If these two resign they will not only expiate all their official sins but will also become eminent persons in the eyes of the people. Of the Ministers Mr. P.T. Rajan may well resign as he is spending his time pleasantly without any anxiety about the responsibility of his work. Why should not these three persons resign?.'<sup>25</sup>

4.2 Contrasting the conduct of the Ministers in the Central provinces, who had agreed to reduce their salaries to Rs.2250/- per mensem from April 1931, with that of the ministers in Madras who were drawing Rs.4,333.60 per mensem, the *India* wrote, 'Is not Rs.2000/- enough for Madras Ministers, who were only second rate vakils in the Muffassal?. When the poor are suffering for want of money, they are drawing fat salaries, what an injustice?'.<sup>26</sup> The *Sutandira Sangu*, raising the question as to why the ministers in Madras should not reduce their salaries remarked: 'The government officials are reducing their salaries in

different places. Even the heroes who have gone to Round Table Conference have offered to reduce their allowances. But the Madras Ministers alone are averse to admit the retrenchment rat in their granary of pay. Can the administration of a province be left in the hands of these persons who are highly enamoured of money? <sup>27</sup>

4.3 The *India* while commenting on the attitude of the ministers towards the economic problems facing the Presidency invited the attention of its readers to an instance which it considered was not in keeping with the retrenchment policy of the government.

When the country is on fire, when the axe of retrenchment has fallen on the poor and when the people are experiencing intense suffering under the heavy burden of taxation, the Madras Ministers have started on their tours immediately after passing of the budget. The tour of Honourable Mr. P.T. Rajan causes us heart-burning. We have to feel sorry that the Ministers have been reduced to such a deplorable state. Mr. Rajan is going to Hindupur to-day which is at a distance of 400 miles from Madras for laying the foundation stone for a Taluk Board School. For this trivial affair a minister is squandering the money of the poor tax payer. <sup>28</sup>

5.1 The Raja of Bobbili added death to debility by incurring the antagonism of all sections through his abuse of authority. The *Sutandira Sangu* complained:

The Local Boards Act has been recently amended, taluk boards have been abolished, a district board has been bifurcated and attempts are made to bifurcate other boards which are hostile to him..., that he is superseding municipalities which do not bow to his authority, removing chairman not liked by him and trying to forfeit the liberty of these bodies by the appointment of commissioners. <sup>29</sup>

5.2 Once a champion of the Justice Party, the European-owned *Madras Mail* had by the mid-1930s become impatient with its ineptness and was sickened by the Justice Party's preoccupation with patronage. Commenting in an editorial on 1 June, 1935 it observed that, 'If the Justice Party is really determined upon reorganization, it should be one of its first proclamations that, so far as it is concerned, the spoils system must go'. <sup>30</sup> On June 4, 1935 it carried a news item alleging that in a private meeting of the prominent members of the Justice Party, it was decided that the sum proposed to be set apart by the government of India for rural development should be spent through the party channels in order to boost up its image. <sup>31</sup> Erskine, Governor of Madras, reported to Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, in February 1937, that the peasants were fed up with Justice Party particularly in the southern India 'as every sin of omission or commission of the past fifteen years is put down to them'. <sup>32</sup>

6.1 The agriculturists ruined by the onslaught of the Depression demanded land revenue remission and the nationalists brought forward a resolution in the Legislative Council for this purpose. When the resolution for 12 1/2% land revenue remission was passed in the Council the Ministers remained silent and voted against the resolution when representatives of all parties spoke and voted in favour of it. The vernacular newspaper *Tamil Nadu* burst out:

It would not have mattered much if they had remained neutral. One has to presume from their having voted against the resolution that they forgot their responsibility to the Council. They can hold office only as long as they have the support of the majority in the council and they are bound to act according to the wish of the majority. If they insist upon the government reducing the kist as demanded by the majority, it will

surely be reduced. If the government do not reduce the kist so desired, they should resign their posts. It is only then that they will prove their gratitude to the public through whose votes they entered the Council and secured the posts of ministers. The very fact that the resolution has been passed indicated that they are bound to give effect to it. If they do not like to do so, the resolution would amount to a vote of censure against them, as remission of kist does not seem to be possible unless they do so.<sup>33</sup>

6.2 The conditions of tenants in zamindari tracts called for relief as the zamindars in the wake of Depression resorted to force to collect the rent due to them or evict the tenants. Eventually a bill to give security of tenure to the tenants in the estates was introduced when Muniswami Naidu was the Chief Minister in 1932. After Bobbili had replaced him as Chief Minister he managed to change the character of the bill entirely and the protective measures contemplated for the zamindari tenants were entirely "emasculated".<sup>34</sup> Muniswami Naidu had to lose the post of minister for evincing some sympathy for the zamindari tenants. In his statement presented to the Council on his resignation as Chief Minister B. Muniswami Naidu said, 'I did not provide a place in the ministry for a zamindar. I had no prejudice against any one, but in choosing my colleagues I had to be guided by the feeling in the party as a whole... The choice that I eventually made was not agreeable to the Hon. the Raja of Bobbili and some of his friends and consequently they began giving trouble in the party'.<sup>35</sup>

6.3 In the absence of any governmental measure, agrarian unrest broke out in zamindari estates. Situation became explosive in Sivagangai (Ramanathapuram district), Udayarpalayam (Thanjavur district) and Maniyachi (Tirunelveli district). The Congress openly canvassed for the abolition of zamindari system. But Bobbili's class interests inhibited him from intervening. The colonial administration dealt with the problem as a law and order issue. The police firings in all the three estates made the tenants in zamindari tracts to support the Congress and reject the Justice Party which they thought had no sympathy for them.<sup>36</sup>

6.4 The *Zamin Ryot*, reflecting the mood of the tenants of the late 1930s, remarked:

The Justice Party has disgusted the people of this Presidency like Plague and engendered permanent hatred in their hearts. Everybody, therefore, is anxiously awaiting the fall of the Justice regime which they consider tyrannical and the inauguration of Congress rule... Even old women in villages ask as to how long the Ministry of the Raja of Bobbili would continue. The country would never like to hand over the Ministerships to the Justice party and allow the Congress to sit in a corner...<sup>37</sup>

6.5 In the wake of the fall in prices, the peasantry was sinking under the burden of rent, usury and land revenue. The leaders of the National Movement saw in the agrarian distress a great chance to draw the peasantry into the freedom movement. Rajagopalachari's choice of Thanjavur district for a Civil Disobedience programme shows that he was aware of the discontent among the land holders in the wake of Depression. Rajaji believed that he could mobilize all those who had grievances against the government.<sup>38</sup> In the non-co-operation movement of the early 1920s, the number of prosecutions hardly crossed 600, but during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930s, between April 1930 and March 1931, around 4754 had been imprisoned in the Madras Presidency.<sup>39</sup>

6.6 The Congressmen gave priority to the problems of peasants in the struggle for national liberation. No rent and no tax campaign was adopted by Congress as part of the Civil Disobedience programme. Under the pressure of Depression, socio-economic and political

demands were more sharply articulated in the Karachi Resolution of 1931. A government report presented to Parliament in 1932 said, 'The twenty fundamental objects of the Congress adopted at the Karachi session in March 1932 included the reduction of land revenue by 50 per cent and total relief to small owners. Lured by this political chimera... Congress leaders were not able to resist the opportunity of exploiting so fruitful a field as agrarian distress'.<sup>40</sup>

6.7 In the Andhra coastal regions, the Peasants' Protection League formed under the leadership of N.G. Ranga was strong and peasant struggles broke out in a number of places.<sup>41</sup> But in Tamil districts there was no such organization for the peasants except in the Thanjavur district where the rich peasants were to some extent united under the Mirasidars' Association.<sup>42</sup> There was the South Indian Federation of Peasants in Madras. But it was not struggle oriented.<sup>43</sup> N.G. Ranga's sympathizers in the North Arcot district formed a North Arcot Kisan Sangam. But that too was not active.<sup>44</sup>

6.8 The Legislative Council which was dominated by rich peasants fought a relentless battle during this period. The Congress led by Sathyamurthy extended its support to the MLCs from outside the legislature. In the light of the resolution recommending 12 1/2% remission passed in the legislature, the Congress gave a call to observe 26th November 1933 as Land Revenue Reduction Day.<sup>45</sup> The peasants convened meetings throughout the presidency on that day and passed resolutions demanding reduction of land tax. Sathyamurthy addressed the meeting organized on the Madras Beach. He demanded that the land tax be reduced by 33 1/3 percent. He called for the formation of a Land Revenue Reduction League for carrying on agitation for the reduction of land tax.<sup>46</sup> The peasants now finding their demand in the Congress agenda backed all their programmes whole heartedly. A resolution passed by the executive committee of the South Indian Federation of Peasants on the eve of election in 1937 reveals the attitude of the peasants towards Congress.

This federation resolves that in the coming Assembly elections the proper and class wise course for peasants to follow is to vote for the Congress candidates in general and to utilize all their organizational and other resources to strengthen those Congress candidates who give their unequivocal assurance of support for the implementing of the peasants charter of minimum demands through their work both within and without the legislatures....<sup>47</sup>

7.1 The Depression worsened the living conditions of the weaker sections of the society, both in the urban and the rural areas of the Presidency. The return of plantation workers from Ceylon, Malaya and Burma in the wake of closure of several tea, coffee, rubber plantations during the Depression aggravated the unemployment problem in the Presidency. The influx of repatriates led to increase in the number of agricultural labourers and exerted downward trend on real wage rates. In Madras and Chengalpattu districts (Korattur and Mamandoor respectively) the agricultural labourers had been organized on class lines and hence agrarian revolts broke out. But in Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts the problem assumed a caste dimension and led to caste riots.<sup>48</sup>

7.2 In Ramanathapuram district, a police report noted that 'the movement of Adi-Dravidas towards their emancipation is almost a mass movement'. A Census Officer of 1931 attributed the growth of caste consciousness to emigration. The Dalits, as agricultural labourers, clashed with landholding Maravars in the district leading to the posting of police pickets. By

1923 M.C. Raja and his supporters had withdrawn from the Justice Party and moved closer to the Congress. The Congress, in particular Gandhi, espoused the cause of Dalits and supported their right to enter temples, thus gaining political mileage. When Gandhi toured Madras in 1933 for his Harijan Fund, the Dalits gave him a rousing reception all over Tamil Nadu.<sup>49</sup> It has to be remembered that Gandhi's visit to Tamil district was subsequent to the signing of poona pact which the Dalits today think betrayed their cause.

8.1 Indian businessmen were also now drawn closer to Congress. In Madras the business class had Southern Indian Chamber of Commerce, formed in 1910 as a counter weight to the Madras Chamber of Commerce where European traders were organized, to lobby with the colonial administration and fight for the trading interests in South India. The Chamber sent memoranda and petitions to the government of Madras and the Central Government, voicing its views on every other matter affecting the interests of traders and industrialists in the Presidency. A study of the annual reports of the Chamber reveals that in most of the economic matters it invariably concurred with the Indian National Congress. Whether it was on currency exchange ratio or Income tax or supper tax issue, or land revenue question or imports policy or Ottawa pact, the views of the Congress and the Chamber were identical.<sup>50</sup>

8.2 From 1927, the Southern Indian Chamber of Commerce began to participate in all the agitational programmes announced by the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). It boycotted the Simon Commission and First Round Table Conference and supported the boycott of foreign clothes movement of the Congress launched in 1930.<sup>51</sup> In the wake of Depression, Indian business suggested that the government help trade and industry by checking foreign imports. They demanded substantial reduction of railway freight on agricultural products, the imposition of import duty on foreign rice and wheat, a revision of land revenue policy to provide relief to agriculturists and measures for facilitating marketing, warehousing, financing and movement of crops.<sup>52</sup> The government's failure to meet any of the demands of Southern India Chamber of Commerce strengthened the tendency among South Indian traders to regard the Congress, rather than the government, as an ally.

9.1 The boycott of foreign goods which had been going on as a part of the political movement since the Depression started also aggravated the conditions of handloom weavers. Owing to the boycott of foreign yarns, all those weavers who were weaving clothes of finer counts were thrown out of work, since the finer yarn was unprocurable from Indian Mills. In Coimbatore 10,000 weavers were thrown out of work. Previously these weavers were engaged in a prosperous trade of supplying to North India fine clothes of cotton with silk and gold lace headings and borders. In Salem, the weavers who were doing work similar to that in Coimbatore were also put to misery.<sup>53</sup> The ruined handloom weavers looked to Congress for their betterment.

9.2 The concentration of a large number of weavers in certain centres united them, making their actions in defence of their interests more massive. In many parts of Presidency, the handloom weavers enthusiastically took part in the programme of picketing the foreign cloth shops. The Congress volunteers who picketed the foreign cloth shops in Coimbatore district were mostly drawn from the weaving community. Sundaram of the All India Spinners' Association, P. Nachimuthu Gounder, its Director, O.K.S.R. Kumaraswami (Tiruppur Kumaran), Viswanatha Nair, Narayanaswami, Appukutti Raman Nair, Subbarayan and



Nachimuthu formed the first batch of Congress volunteers in Tiruppur to take part in the programme of picketing. They marched in procession, carrying the national flag, singing national songs and defying the prohibitory orders. As they were nearing the police station on the Main road, a number of police constables prevented their march. The volunteers stopped but they refused to disperse. Thereupon the police conducted lathi charge and all the volunteers fell down on the road after severe beatings. Kumaraswami (Tiruppur Kumaran) whose skull was fractured, did not regain consciousness and he died on 12th January, 1932<sup>54</sup> and eventually became a symbol of martyrdom. This incident gave the Congress an opportunity to emotionalize the weavers and involve them militantly in the struggle for national liberation.

10.1 The Congress evolved a labour programme to win over the factory workers. The programme finalized at the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress (1931) included a living wage for industrial labour and the 'right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes through arbitration'.<sup>55</sup> Towards the end of 1934, the Madras Labour Union began to move closer to Congress. During the 1936 Madras Municipal election campaign, the Madras Labour Union urged the workers at its meeting to vote for Congress and explained how their lot would be improved under Congress rule. The Congress had lifted its ban on entry into legislature by then. The publication of a Congress Election Manifesto, drawn up for the 1937 provincial elections and published just before the municipal elections spelt out in some detail how the Karachi resolution would be implemented.<sup>56</sup>

10.2 On 7 October, 1936, during an election tour of south India, Nehru addressed a meeting organized by the Madras labour Union which was attended by an enthusiastic crowd of 7,000 workers. In his speech Nehru told the workers that Congress was the only political party which would look after their economic interests. The Justice Party was not able to establish links either with the Madras Labour Union leaders or with the workers in the mills.<sup>57</sup>

11.1 Meanwhile the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed that abolished Dyarchy and granted provincial autonomy. A bicameral legislature consisting of an Assembly of 215 members and a Council of 54 to 56 members came into existence under the new Act. Both the Congress and the Justice Parties started making preparations for the elections under the new constitutional scheme. On the Congress side, Satyamurthy was the most effective campaigner. The only person who could match Satyamurthy on the side of the Justice Party was A. Ramaswamy Mudaliyar. The Congressmen could blast the Justices on their acquiescence in the repressive laws of the British. They prided themselves on their sacrifices during the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience movements and placed definite programmes before the people on the national issues. On the other hand, the Justice Party could only be defensive. It had no definite policy or programme on most vital matters affecting the nation. The Justices continued their usual attacks on Congress as being dominated by Brahmins.

11.2. The Justices sought votes claiming that they had better training and traditions than the Congressmen to undertake great administrative responsibilities under Provincial Autonomy. The Congress told the people that, 'conditions would change for better only when a government with a national outlook, and not subservient to the exigencies of interests foreign to those of the country, was established by the sanction of the masses of the people, by an

administration constituted and controlled by the people.<sup>58</sup> The local Congress leaders like S. Satyamurthy and C. Rajagopalachari told the voters that they should return to the Legislative Council those who would represent their grievances and fight for them.

11.3 The Congress in all its election meetings of mid 1930s, narrated one "Thali Incident" which showed the Justice Party in bad light. A Magistrate by name Dodwell, presiding in a court in Tellichery, sentenced Mrs. Prabhu, a civil disobedience accused, to fine and imprisonment. The Magistrate insisted on her paying the fine on the spot. On her pleading inability, he asked her to remove the "thali" and lay it on the table. An advocate present in the court explained the sacred nature of "thali" to the Magistrate and pleaded with him not to insist on her removing the "thali". But the Magistrate was adamant and the lady had to remove the "thali" with the help of some women present there. Satyamoorthy told the people wherever he went, during election campaigns, that the Justice Party did not move its little finger over the incident. When Satyamoorthy won the election to the Legislative Assembly in 1934, he said that it was the "thali incident" that got him votes.<sup>59</sup>

11.4 In the preamble to the election manifesto of 1937, the Congress stated, 'These years had seen the development of economic crisis in India and the world which had led to a progressive deterioration in the constitution of all class of our people. The poverty-stricken masses are today in the grip of an even more abject poverty and destitution and this growing disease urgently and instantly demands a radical remedy. Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers; today they cover and crush other classes also, the artisan, trader, the small merchant, the middle class intelligentsia. For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social problems and end the exploitation of our masses'.<sup>60</sup>

11.5 'Pending the formulation of a fuller programme' ran the election manifesto, 'the Congress reiterates its declaration made at Karachi that it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land, giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue. The question of indebtedness requires urgent consideration and the formulation of a scheme including the declaration of a moratorium, an enquiry into and scaling down of debts and the provision of cheap credit facilities'.<sup>61</sup> In regard to industrial workers, the election manifesto said, 'the policy of Congress is to secure them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as the economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employees and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form unions and to strive for the protection of their interest'.<sup>62</sup>

11.6 As the *Indian Annual Register* commented, 'The promises made in the election manifesto by the Congress, while seeking suffrage, roused hopes, that the Congress government, if voted to power, would give relief to them. Perhaps agrarian distress forced the Indian National Congress to give up the policy and programme of non-co-operation and to undertake the responsibility of government under a hated act'.<sup>63</sup> It was said that the Congress rule would usher in a positive millennium of high wages and low rents. In some districts, canvassers put down in their note books the names of individual peasants and the

amount of their rent that would be cancelled if the Congress won the election'.<sup>64</sup> 'A vote to a non-Congressman is a power of attorney to him to sell you and your children into perpetual serfdom to Britain. It is a warrant committing the nation to political purgatory,'<sup>65</sup> so commented a Congressman at the time of electioneering.

12.1 The Congress polled 64.5 per cent of the votes and won 159 out of the 215 seats in the Assembly and 27 out of the 46 elective seats in the two houses put together, representing 73.8 per cent of the seats. The Justice Party got only 18 seats in the Assembly and 7 in the Council.<sup>66</sup> Justice stalwarts like P.T. Rajan, the Kumararaja of Venkatagiri and A.P. Patro were defeated. Even the leader of the party, the Raja of Bobbili was defeated by a margin of 6,000 votes.<sup>67</sup> It was the most striking Congress victory in any of the provinces.

#### Notes

1. E.P. Irschick, *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s* (Madras, 1986), p. 149.
2. C.J. Baker, *The Politics of South India* (New Delhi, 1976), p. 242.
3. R. L. Hardgrave, *The Dravidian Movement* (Bombay, 1965).
4. P. Rajaraman, *The Justice Party: A Historical Perspective, 1916-1937* (Madras, 1980), p.233.
5. D.A. Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics - The Madras Presidency, 1817- 1920* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 281.
6. Andre Beteille, *Society and Politics in India: Essays in Comparative Perspective* (New Delhi, 1997), p. 101.
7. Marguerite Ross Barnett, *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India* (New Jersey, 1976), p. 47.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 23
9. E.A. Horne, *The Political System of British India with special reference to the Recent Constitutional Changes* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 68-102.
10. *Ibid.*
11. S. Krishnaswamy, *The Role of Madras Legislature in the Freedom Struggle* (Delhi, 1989), p. 79.
12. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (London, 1949), p. 900.
13. *Ibid.*, p.881.
14. *The Journals of David E. Lilienthal Papers* (New York, 1964), pp. XXIV-XXV.
15. See K.A. Manikumar, *Economic Depression and Its Impact: The Tamilnadu Experience, 1929-1937*, a ph.D dissertation submitted to the University of Madras, 1987.
16. S. Krishnaswamy, *The Role of Madras Legislature in the Freedom Struggle*, pp. 217-227
17. *Proceedings of Madras Legislative Council* (hereafter PMLC), Vol. LXI -I, 1932, pp.42-43.
18. *Justice*, July 15, 1935.
19. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1935.

20. *Andhra Patrika*, March 17, 1932, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.12, 1932, p. 383.
21. *Swadesamitan*, January 30, 1934, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.2, 1934, p.79.
22. *Sutandira Sangu*, January 28, 1933, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.1, 1933, p.87.
23. *Madras Retrenchment Committee Report*, 1931-32, p. 20.
24. *Dravida Kesari*, Madras, June 8, 1935, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No. 6, 1935, p. 376.
25. *India*, June 10, 1932, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No. 20, 1932, p. 628.
26. *India*, August 28, 1931, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.36, 1931, p. 1199; *India*, 14th October 1931, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.8, p. 1415.
27. *Sutandira Sangu*, Madras, 17th October, 1931, *Report on Native Newspapers* No.8, p. 1415.
28. *India*, March 25, 1932, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.14, 1932, p. 439.
29. *Sutandra Sangu*, February 26, March 5 & 9, 1935, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No. 3, 1935, p. 167.
30. Arnold David, *The Congress in Tamil Nad (1919-1937) Nationalist Politics in South India* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 179.
31. Quoted in *Justice*, June 5, 1935.
32. Arnold David, *The Congress in Tamil Nad*, p. 177.
33. *Tamil Nadu*, February 1, 1934, *Report on Native News papers*, No.2, 1934, p.79.
34. C.J. Baker, *Politics of South India*, p. 207.
35. *PMCL*, Vol. LXIII, 1932, p: 545.
36. K.A. Manikumar, "The Impact of Great Depression on the Social Life of Tamils", *Artha Vignana*, Vol XXXVIII, No.3, September 1996, pp.259-273.
37. *Zamin Ryot*, Nellore, 25th October, 1935, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.11, 1935, p. 658.
38. Irschick, *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s*, p.119.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
40. *India in 1931-32*, pp.5-6.
41. *Fornightly Reports*, First half of November, 1933.
42. *Ibid.*, for second half of November, 1933.
43. *Ibid.*, for second half of November, 1934.
44. *Ibid.*, for first half of May, 1937.
45. *India*, March 13, 1933, *Report on Native Newspapers*, No.3, 1933, p.135.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Letter No. 2320 (MS) Development Department*, dated December 18, 1936.

48. K.A. Manikumar, *Economic Depression and Its Impact*, pp. 252-300.
49. C.J. Baker, *Politics of South India*.
50. K.A. Manikumar, "Role of Capitalists in India's Freedom Struggle: South Indian Scenario, 1937-1947", K.K.N. Kurup(ed.) *Last Decade of India's Freedom*.
51. K.A. Manikumar, *Tamil Traders in the National Movement, 1900-1947*, Unpublished Paper, 1998.
52. See *Reports of Southern India Chamber of Commerce from 1930 to 1937*.
53. *Report of the Economic Depression Enquiry Committee*, 1930, pp. 14-15.
54. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. I, 1932, pp. 2-4.
55. N.F. Dufty, *Industrial Relation in India* (Bombay, 1964), p. 48.
56. Eamon Murphy, *Unions in Conflict - A Comparative Study of Four South Indian Textile Centres, 1918-1939*. (New Delhi, 1981), pp. 127-129.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.
58. *Hindu*, July 19, 1930.
59. *Justice*, July 13, 1935.
60. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1936, p. 188.
61. R. Coupland, *Indian Politics, 1936-1942 - Report of the Constitutional Problem in India, Part II* (London, 1944), p. 137.
62. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1936, p.188.
63. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, 1937, p.25.
64. R. Coupland, *Indian Politics*, p. 126.
65. *Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress*, Vol. X, p. 355.
66. In May 1936, a new party called, "People's Party" had been formed in the province. The Raja of Pithapuram led this party.
67. N. Perumal, *Bobbili* (Coimbatore, 1960), p.128, quoted in P. Rajaraman, *The Justice Party*.

## சிலம்பு காட்டும் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன்

டாக்டர் இரெ. இராசபாண்டியன்,

தமிழ் விரிவுரையாளர்,

தமிழ் முதுகலை ஆராய்ச்சித்துறை,

திரு கொளஞ்சியப்பர் அரசு கலைக்கல்லூரி,

விருத்தாசலம் -606 001.

சிலப்பதிகாரக் காலத்தில் பாண்டிய நாட்டை ஆண்டு வந்தவன் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன். இவன் இலங்கையை ஆண்ட முதலாம் கயவாகுவின் காலத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவன். கயவாகுவின் காலம் கடைச்சங்கத்தை ஒட்டியதாக இருக்கலாம். பத்தினித் தெய்வத்திற்குச் சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் எடுத்த விழாவின் போது இலங்கையைச் சேர்ந்த இக்கயவாகு மன்னன் வருகைதந்த செய்தியை இளங்கோ அடிகள் தெரிவித்துள்ளார். எனவே, சிலப்பதிகாரக் காப்பியத்தில் இடம்பெறும் இப்பாண்டிய மன்னனின் காலமும் கடைச்சங்க காலத்தை ஒட்டியது - ஏறத்தாழ இரண்டாயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முற்பட்டது எனத் தெளியலாம்.

பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் என்ற பெயரில் சிலப்பதிகாரக் காலத்தில் மதுரையை ஆட்சி செய்தவனும், புறநானூற்றின் நூற்று எண்பத்து மூன்றாவது பாடலாகிய 'உற்றுழி உதவியும் உறுபொருள் கொடுத்தும்' என்னும் பாடலைப் பாடியவனாகக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ள ஆரியப்படை கடந்த பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனும் ஒருவனே என்கொள்ள இடமுள்ளது. ஏனெனில்,

"வடஆரியர் படைகடந்து

தென் தமிழ் நாடு ஒருங்கு காணப்

புரைதீர் கற்பின் தேவி தன்னுடன்

அரைசு கட்டிலில் துஞ்சிய பாண்டியன்

நெடுஞ்செழியனோடு" (சிலப். 23; கட்டுரை 14-18)

என்று சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ள பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன். வட ஆரியப்படைகளை வென்று தென்மழிநாட்டை ஒன்றிணைத்து மதுரையை ஆண்ட செய்தி தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. எனவே, ஆரியப்படை கடந்த பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனும் சிலம்பு காட்டும் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனும் ஒருவனே என அறியமுடியும். இந்தப் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனைப் பற்றிச் சிலப்பதிகாரம் தெரிவிக்கும் செய்திகளை மேலோட்டமாகப் பார்த்தால் 'ஆராயாது செயல்படுவான்' என்ற முடிவுக்கு வந்துவிட வேண்டிய சூழ்நிலை ஏற்பட்டுவிடும். ஆனால், சிலப்பதிகாரம் இம்மன்னனை உயர்வாகக் காட்டியுள்ள உண்மையை உணர வேண்டும் என்ற நோக்கில் இக்கட்டுரை படைக்கப்படுகிறது.

**பாண்டியன் ஆராயாமல் செயல்படுபவனா?**

பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன்மேல் நாம் சுமத்தும் ஒரே குற்றச்சாட்டு, அவன் 'ஆராயாமல் கோவலனைக் கொலை செய்தான்' என்பதே. நம் நெஞ்சில் தோன்றும் இந்த உணர்வே கணவனை இழந்த கண்ணகிக்கும் அன்று தோன்றியுள்ளது. எனவே, பாண்டிய மன்னனைப் பார்த்து அவள் கூறிய முதல் சொல் 'தேரா மன்னா' (ஆராயாத மன்னன்) என்பது ஆகும். ஆனால், தெய்வ நிலையை அடைந்த கண்ணகி,

"தென்னவன் தீதிலன்; தேவர்கோன் தன்கோயில்

நல்விருந்து ஆயினான்; நானவன் தன் மகள்"

(சிலப். 29 :பாடல் 10)

என்று கூறியுள்ளாள். பாண்டியன் தீங்கு இழைக்காதவன் என்றால், கோவலனைப் அவன் கொன்றது தவறு இல்லையா? என்ற கேள்வி எழும். கோவலனைப் பாண்டியன் ஆராயாமல் கொலை செய்தது நீதிநெறிப்படி தவறுடைய செய்கைதான். எனினும் மதுராபதித் தெய்வம் தெரிவித்த கோவலனின் பழவினையின் தாக்கத்தால் தான் ஆராயாத தன்மை பாண்டியனிடம் ஏற்பட்டுள்ளது என்று பின்னர், கண்ணகி உணர்ந்துள்ளாள். எனவேதான், 'தென்னவன் தீதிலன்' என்று தெரிவித்தான்.

பாண்டியனின் ஆராயாத செய்கைக்கு முழுப்பொறுப்பும் கோவலனின் பழவினை என்றால், பாண்டியனின் மரணத்திற்குக் கண்ணகி பொறுப்பேற்க வேண்டிய நிலை ஏற்படுகிறது. முழு உண்மையையும் உணராமல், பாண்டியன்மேல் கண்ணகி குற்றம் சுமத்தியதால், அரசு நெறியிலிருந்து தான் பிறழ்ந்ததாகப் பாண்டியன் கருதி வீழ்ந்து உயிர்துறந்தான். கண்ணகி தனது உண்மை உணராத நிலையை அறிந்து, தான் செய்த தவற்றையும் (பாண்டியன் இறப்பு) எண்ணி வருந்தினாள். எனவே, தென்னவன் தீதிலன் என்று உரைத்ததோடு 'நானவன் மகள்' என்று மேலும் உரைக்கிறாள். பிள்ளைகள் செய்த பிழையைப் பொறுப்பது பெற்றோரின் கடமையல்லவா? அதைப்போல் பாண்டியனின் மகளாகிய நான் செய்த தவற்றையும் அவன் பொறுக்க வேண்டும் என்று கருதியே 'நானவன்தன் மகள்' என்று தெரிவித்துள்ளாள்.

**மக்கள் பிழைக்கே பொறுப்பான பாண்டியன்**

சோழநாட்டில் பராசரன் என்னும் பெயர் கொண்ட பார்ப்பனன் ஒருவன் வாழ்ந்து வந்தான். வளம் மிக்க தமிழ்மறை வல்லவர்க்கு வானளாவும் பொருள் கொடுத்து உதவிய சேரனைக் காண வேண்டும் என விரும்பிய பராசரன், நாடுகளையும் மலைகளையும் கடந்து சேரநாட்டிற்குச் சென்றான். அங்கு, சேர மன்னனைக் கண்டு பெரும்பரிசில்கள் பெற்றுத் திரும்பினான். வழியில் திருத்தங்கால் என்னும் இடத்தில் ஓர் ஆலமரத்தின் கீழ்த்தங்கி இளைப்பாறினான். அங்கு வந்த பார்ப்பனச் சிறுவர்களிடம் "என்னோடுவழுவின்றி வேதம் ஒதுவோர்க்குப் பரிசு வழங்குவேன்" என்று தெரிவித்தான். அவ்வூரில் வாழ்ந்து வந்த வார்த்திகன் என்னும் அந்தணனின் மகன் தக்கிணாமூர்த்தி என்பவன். அவன் மழலைச்சொல் மாறாதவன். அவன் வழுவின்றி வேதம் ஒதக்கேட்ட பராசரன் முத்துப் பூணூலும் அணிகளும் வழங்கிவிட்டுச் சென்றான்.

அழகிய அணிகலன்களைத் தக்கிணாமூர்த்தி அணிவதுகண்டு பொறாத காவலர்கள் சிலர், 'மன்னனுக்குச்சேர வேண்டிய புதையலை வார்த்திகன் அபகரித்து விட்டான்' என்று அவனைச் சிறையில் அடைத்து விட்டனர். வார்த்திகனின் மனைவி கார்த்திகை என்பவன், தன்கணவன் சிறைப்பட்டது கண்டு அழுது புலம்பினான். அவளது குற்றமற்ற தன்மையைக் கண்டு 'ஐயை' கோயிலின் கதவு திறக்கப் படாமல் பூட்டிக்கொண்டது.

ஐயை வருந்தும்படியாக ஏதோ கொடுஞ்செயல் தன் ஆட்சியில் நிகழ்ந்துள்ளது என உணர்ந்த பாண்டியன், நன்கு ஆராயும்படி காவலர்க்குக் கட்டளையிட்டான். அவர்கள், வார்த்திகன் சிறைப்பட்ட செய்தியை அறிந்து வந்து சொன்னார்கள். இது நேர்மையற்ற செயல் என உணர்ந்த பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் உடனே வார்த்திகனை விடுதலை செய்யுமாறு பணித்தான். திருத்தங்கால், வயலூர் ஆகிய ஊர்களையும் அவனுக்கு வழங்கினான். நிலத்தில் தன் நெஞ்சு பதியுமாறு பணிந்து வணங்கினான். கொற்றவையின் கோயிற்கதவும் திறந்தது.

சிறைக்கோட்டத்தைத் திறந்து அனைவரையும் மன்னித்து விடுதலை செய்யுங்கள் என்றும், புதையல் என்றாலும், முயன்று சேர்த்த பொருள் என்றாலும் அவற்றை அவர்களே வைத்துக்கொள்ளலாம் என்றும் பறையறையச் செய்தான். தனது காவலர்களால் நேர்ந்த தவற்றை நன்கு ஆராய்ந்து போக்கியதுடன் மேலும் அதுபோன்ற தவறு நேராவண்ணம் பறையறைவித்த செய்தியையும் அறியமுடிகிறது. இச்செய்தி, பாண்டியன் ஆராய்ந்து சரியான முடிவெடுப்பவன் என்பதை உணர்த்துவது ஆகும்.

## செங்குட்டுவன் கூற்றும் இளங்கோ கூற்றும்

மலைவளம் காணச் சென்று பேரியாற்றங்கரையில் வீற்றிருந்த செங்குட்டுவன், குறவர்கள் வாயிலாகவும் சாத்தனார் கூற்றாகவும் கோவலன், கண்ணகி, பாண்டியன், கோப்பெருந்தேவி ஆகியோர்க்கு நிகழ்ந்தவற்றை அறிந்து வருந்தினான். பாண்டிய மன்னன் உயிர்துறந்ததை அறிந்து அவனது பெருமையைப் பின்வருமாறு தெரிவித்தான்.

"பாண்டிய மன்னன் அரசியல் நெறியிலிருந்து பிழைத்த செய்தி எம் போன்ற வேந்தர்களின் செவிகளில் விழும்முன்பே, தாம் தம் உயிரைப்போக்கிய செய்தி வந்துவிடவேண்டும் என்று கருதி உடனே உயிரை விட்டுவிட்டான் போலும். ஆராயாத செயலால் வளைந்த பாண்டியனின் கோலை அவனது உயிர் நிமிர்த்திச் செங்கோலாக்கிவிட்டது (சிலப்.25:வரி 94-99) என்ற பகுதியில் செங்குட்டுவனிடம், 'பாண்டியன் தவறு செய்துவிட்டான்' என்ற புரிதலே உள்ளது" என்பதை உணர முடிகிறது.

இளங்கோவடிகள், வாழ்த்துக்காதையில் தமிழகமக்கள் அனைவரையும் அழைத்துப் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனை வாழ்த்திப் பாடுகிறார். அவ்வாறு வாழ்த்தும்போது பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் உயிர்துறந்தமைக்கான காரணத்தைப் பின்வருமாறு விளக்கியுள்ளார்.

முற்பிறப்பில் கோவலன் செய்த தீவினையின் காரணமாக இப்பிறப்பில் அவன் கொலையுண்டான். கோவலனைப் பிரிந்து வாழும் கண்ணகியின் கண்களிலிருந்து வழியும் நீரைப் போக்கவே தனது உயிரைப் பாண்டியன் துறந்தான் என்று தெரிவித்துள்ளார். (சிலப். 29:பாடல் 13)

தவறு எதுவும் செய்யாத பாண்டியன் ஏன் தனது உயிரைக் துறக்க வேண்டும்? பழவினையால் கோவலன் உயிர்துறந்தமைபோல் பாண்டியனுக்கும் உயிர்துறக்கும் தீ நிமித்தம் ஒன்று இருந்ததாக மதுராபதித் தெய்வம், கண்ணகியிடம் உரைத்துள்ளது.

"ஆடித்திங்களில் கிருட்டிணபக்கத்து அட்டமியும் கார்த்திகையின் குறையும் சேர்ந்த வெள்ளிக்கிழமையன்று ஒள்ளிய எரியாவது உண்ண மதுரையும் அதன் அரசும் கேடும்" (சிலப்.23: வரி 133 137) என்னும் தீநிமித்தத்தின் காரணமாகவே பாண்டியன் உயிரைத் துறந்ததும் மதுரை அழல்வாய்ப்பட்டதும் நிகழ்த்துள்ளன எனத் தெளியலாம்.

செங்குட்டுவனது கூற்றின் மூலம் 'பாண்டியன் தவறு செய்தான்; தான் துறந்த உயிரால் அத்தவற்றிலிருந்து தப்பினான்' என்று அறிந்த நாம், இளங்கோவடிகளின் வாழ்த்துப் பாடலிருந்து 'பாண்டியன் தவறு செய்யவில்லை' எனத் தெளியமுடிகிறது.

### மதுராபதித் தெய்வம் பாண்டியனின் புகழுரைத்தல்

மதுரையை அழற்படுத்திய கண்ணகியின் முன் தோன்றிய மதுராபதித் தெய்வம், பாண்டியனின் புகழை உரைத்துள்ளது.

"மறையோதுவோரின் நாவிலிருந்து எழும் ஓசையல்லாமல் ஆராய்ச்சி மணியின் நாவசையும் ஓசையினை இதற்குமுன் பாண்டியன் கேட்டதில்லை. அவனை அடிதொழுது பணியும் பகைமன்னரின் தூற்றுதல் அல்லாமல் தன் குடியினரின் பழிதூற்றுதலுக்கு ஆளாகும் கொடுங்கோலன் அல்லன்" (சிலப்.23: வரி 31 34) என்று தெரிவித்த செய்தியைக் கண்ணகியும் கோவலனும் மதுரைக்கு வரும்போது எழுந்த வேத ஒலியுடன் ஒப்பிட்டு நோக்கினால் மதுராபதித் தெய்வம் உரைத்ததன் உண்மை விளங்கும்.

இரவு முழுவதும் நடந்து அதிகாலையில் கோவலன், கண்ணகி, கவுந்தியடிகள் மூவரும் மதுரைநகருக்கு வந்து சேர்ந்தனர். அப்போது மதுரை மதாநகரில் எழுந்த ஒலிகளை இளங்கோவடிகள் பதிவு செய்துள்ளார்.

"அழித்தல் தொழிலைப் புரியும் சிவனின் திருக்கோயிலிலும், பெரும் புகழ்பெற்ற மன்னனின் கோயிலும் பல்வகை இசைக்கருவிகள் இசைத்தன. அவ்வேளையில் இடையிடையே



காலை முரசம் பெரிதாக முழங்கும் ஓசையும், நான்மறை அந்தணர் வேதமோதும் ஓசையும், தவச்செல்வர்கள் திருநாமங்களை ஒதுவதால் எழும் ஓசையும் எழுந்தன" (சிலப்.13: வரி 137-142) என்று பாண்டியனின் காதுகள் வேதஒலியைக் கேட்ட தன்மையை அறியமுடிகிறது. இதிலிருந்து மதுராபதித் தெய்வத்தின் கூற்றின் மெய்த்தன்மை புலனாகும்.

பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனின் காலம் கடைச்சங்கத்தை ஒட்டியகாலம் என்பது இந்த ஆய்வின் மூலம் பெறப்படுகிறது. சிலப்பதிகாரம் காட்டும் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனும், ஆரியப்படை கடந்த பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் என்று புறநானூற்றில் குறிக்கப்பட்டவனும் ஒருவனே என அறியமுடிகிறது.

பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் ஆராயாமல் செயல்படுபவன் அல்லன்; ஆராய்ந்து செயல்படுபவன் என்பதும், கோவலன் கொலையில் அவன் ஆராயாமல் செயல்பட்டதன் காரணம் கோவலனின் பழவினை என்பதும் தெரியவருகிறது.

பாண்டியன் குற்றமற்றவன் என்பது கண்ணகித் தெய்வத்தின் வாயிலாகவும் வாழ்த்துக்காதையில் தமிழக மக்கள் வாயிலாகவும் இளங்கோ அடிகளால் அறிவிக்கப்படுகிறது என்பதையும் இக்கட்டுரை தெரிவிக்கிறது.

## THE LATER PANDYAS-(FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> C. AND AFTER)

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The Pandyas, an ancient ruling dynasty of Tamilaham, were at the height of their power during the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D., began to steadily decline. They came to be ruled by the Madurai Sultans in the 14<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and later were over shadowed by the Banas in the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Nayaks of Madurai became their overlords, while being themselves under the hegemony of Vijayanagara. The Pandyas, though made Tirunelveli their main seat of power, yet spread their tentacles of influence in the Madurai - Ramnad region. Though not independent, they enjoyed local power, being on cordial terms with Vijayanagara, through their subordinates, the Nayaks of Madurai. The Battle of Talikota became the climacteric of the Vijayanagara city, if not the empire, followed by a civil war of succession between rival claimants, leading to insurgence of some southern powers including the Pandyas.

For this study, the sources consulted are A.R.E., E.I., S.I.I., Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, V. Rangacharya's *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, and several well known published works such as K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's. *The Pandyan Kingdom*, K.V.Raman's *Pandyan Varalara*, S.A.Q's Hussainis *The History of the Pandya Country*, N. Sethuraman's *The Later Pandyas* (paper), *Triveni*, *Sen Tamil* (Journals), etc.

Identifying the later Pandyas, fixing their chronology and tracing their genealogy is a game of ninepins. Prefixing grandfather's and father's name to their own, naming uterine brothers alike, extending the regnal tenure of rulers by various scholars put us in special difficulties. The Pudukottah Plates (1583) starting with the mythical genealogy of the Pandyas proceed towards their historical pedigree and thus come to our rescue.

The Pudukottah Plates name as their grantors Ativirarama of acc 1564 (1564-1606) and his cousin Varatunga (1586-1595), though a scholar would extend his last date to 1613<sup>1</sup>. As per the grant, Abhirama and Ahavarama are said to be brothers of the line of the illustrious Arikesari Parakrama or Tenkasi Parakrama. Abhirama is dated between 1535-44 and was the progenitor of his two sons both called by the same name-Parakrama alias Kulasekhara, the elder ruling from 1543 to 51 and the younger from 1551 to 63. Both have the same birth star Aswati<sup>2</sup>. The elder one's last date is extended to 1560 by Sewell. The younger is called Dharmaperumal, Ponnin Perumal, Alagan Perumal, Nelveli Maran, etc. He was crowned in the year A.D. 1552. (T.A.S., PP. 104-5). He was titled Viravenbamalai on that occasion, meaning he wore a garland of verses sung in his praise in *venba* metre. He was then called Viravel and in Sanskrit Salivatipati, Salivritisvara, etc.

The elder Parakrama's sons were Gunarama and Varatungarama. The younger Parakrama's sons were Ativirarama of acc, 1563 and his namesake of acc. 1564, who is the younger of the two. The Pudukottah Plates are silent on Gunarama's accession to the throne. He lived in 1555<sup>4</sup> and his birth star was Mula<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps he was content to receive some taxes assigned by Ativirarama, as per the Tenkasi record.<sup>5</sup>

The next rulers in succession chronologically would be Ativirarama (1563-83). It is difficult to number the Ativiraramas. Earlier Parakrama Kulasekhara of acc. 1543 and Kulasekhara Ativirarama of acc. 1549, whose inscription has been found in Ramnad<sup>6</sup> were

also called so. So we are unable to accept the numbering of Ativirarama of acc. 1563 and his brother Ativirama of acc (1564) as 1 and 2, as has been done by some scholars<sup>7</sup>. Both were the sons of Dharmaperumal alias *Salivatipati* [sic]. Ativirarama, the younger of the two ruled from 1564-1606. The elder's regnal tenure is twenty one years; the younger's fortytwo years Pudukottah Plates refer to the existence of the younger one, who was crowned on the demise of the elder in 1583- the date of the document. Those scholars who would opine that he lived beyond 1583 would insist on his regnal tenure being extended to 1610 (V. Rangacharya 1562-1610) and in the existence of only one Ativirarama. The two can be clearly distinguished from each other by their birth stars-that pf acc. 1563 being *punarvasu* and that of 1564 acc being *dhanishta*<sup>8</sup>. Also inscriptions of Ativirarama of a regnal tenure longer than twenty one years would belong to the younger one.

The elder Ativirarama is called *Sivalavel*, *Sivala deva*, *Sarvabhauma* on account of his scholarship. Both are called Alagan Perumal and Srivallabha. The younger was called besides Abhirama after his grandfather.

In the line of the latter, the next ruler in the chronological order of succession, based on the year of accession, would be Varatungarama, the cousin of the two Ativiraramas above mentioned. Varatunga (1586-1595) was also called Vel Vira-maran, and was crowned in 1588<sup>9</sup> (a) when he was called Abhirama Vira Pandya and his other name is Abhirama Sundareswara. His last date is extended to 1613<sup>9</sup> (b), carrying him over to the civil war of succession to the Vijayanagara throne leading to the Battle of Topur (1616) Varatungarama's birth star was *pushya*.

In the line of Ahavarama, whose daughter married Achyutaraya of Vijayanagara (1529-42), we come across his son Srivallabha titled Iranda Kalam Edutta (1534-45). He had a son by name Srivallabha.

We are told about a certain Maravarman Sundara Pandya III (1531-55/61) of b.s. Hosta and A.S. Pushya (b.s-birth star; A.S-Acc. Star) (Sewell, op.cit., p. 381).

Another Pandya Alagan Perumal or Alagan Sokkanar Kula-Sekhara Parakrama of B.S. Asvati and acc. 1573 has been indentified<sup>10</sup>.

A Kun Pandya Alagan (Sundara) dated 1574 made a grant to the Goripalayam Mosque at Madurai, which was confirmed by Virappa Nayaka of Madurai (1572-95) (Sewell).

As for the political condition of the period under study, the later Pandyas were subject to the Nayaks of Madura, who, in turn, owed allegiance to Vijayanagara. Between 1543 and 1560, many records of Sadasiva are available in Tirunelveli region-Alwarkur-ichi, Karivalam Vandanallur, Mannarkoil, etc. <sup>11</sup> His record of year 1550 is also available in Ramnad. We have seen about a Pandyan inscription dated 1549, there, which is nearer in point of time to Sadasiva's. It implies a more or less cordial relationship between Vijayanagara and the Pandyas. Sadasiva ruled between 1542 and 1570. During his period, in about A.D. 1565 the Battle of Talikota took place, which was the climacteric of the Vijayanagara city, if not the empire. It became a turning point in the history of Tamilaham. Prior to the battle, the Nayaks of Madura were faithful to Vijayanagara from Visvanatha Nayaka, its founder (1529-64) to Krishnappa Nayaka (1564-72). Help was sent to Vijayanagara by the said Nayaka. The agent of Sadasiva, Aliya Ramaraya summoned to his aid all his dependants from the Krishna to Ceylon<sup>12</sup>. The Pudukottah Plates inform us that Ramaraya was killed in

the Battle of Talikota. Virappa Nayaka swerved from his allegiance to Vijayanagara about 1579-83, as he was unwilling to pay tribute to Vijayanagara. Venkata was the Vijayanagara Viceroy over the Tamil Country at the time of Sriranga I. (1578-86).

The shifting of the capital to Penukonda, Chandragiri and Vellore made the presence of Vijayanagara more felt than before by the Southern powers. As per the Pudukottah Plates (1583) the Battle of Vallamprakara<sup>13</sup> took place between Venkata and Achyutappa of Tanjore on one side and Virappa Nayaka of Madurai (1572-95) and his ally Varatunga Pandya (1586-95) on the other. It had varying fortunes of success. What is of interest to us is, whenever chance had it, the Pandyas would not hesitate to raise their banner of revolt. After the battle, perhaps, there was a kind of sulking loyalty to the Vijayanagara sovereign. The Tenkasi Gopuram record dated Kali 4689 = 1588<sup>14</sup> confirms the victory of Varatunga at Vallam. In verse 3, Varatunga is said to have overthrown a Villavan Ravivarman V probably a Chera (1595 -1607) at Vallam. If Varatunga's regnal period is to be extended to 1613, as aforesaid, his participation in the civil war leading to the Battle of Topur (1616) in collusion with Jaggaraya of Vijayanagara and Muthu Virappa Nayaka of Madurai (1609-23) is anybody's guess. Though the Battle of Topur reversed the fortunes of Gobburu Jaggaraya, who fell in the battle, and the Madurai Nayaka and perhaps his Pandyan ally Varatunga, in case of the extension of his date to 1613, and the victorious army under Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore and Yachama Nayaka of Vijayanagara pursued the rivals as far as Tiruvadi; it marked a sure sign of resistance to established authority by the Pandyas, when chance arose.

Perhaps the Pandya was engaged in the insurrection against Vijayanagara prior to the Battle of Topur, as year 1613, his last date stops short of it.

Though on the political wane, the period of the later Pandyas saw a cultural brilliance. They made a singular contribution to the Tamil muse. Ativirarama of acc. 1563 was a Tamil poet of merit. One of the donees in the Pudukottah grant is a Naishadam Ramakrishna.<sup>15</sup> He seems to have read out Harsha's Naishadam in Sanskrit to Ativirarama and helped him translate it into the Tamil *Naidam*, an *audadam* for poets. It contains 1173 verses and is "famed for its poetic beauty" and striking similes<sup>16</sup>. His other works are too well known to be elaborated. Many *Siva Puranas* were composed by him evidencing his devotion to Siva. His *Tirukkaruvaipathir ruppalthandadi* is called *Tiruvassagam* in miniature-Kurma, Linga puranams, Kasikandam, Narunthogai, Vayu sangitai, etc. His *Verriverkai* meant for children is proverbial for the simplicity of style<sup>17</sup>. His guru was Swamidevar (Ganapathi Bhatta). Rajanatha Kavi was the composer of the Dalavay Agraharam Plates of the king (1595).<sup>18</sup>

His cousin Varatunga was another literary celebrity - a devotee likewise. He composed *Karuvai padirruppattandadi*, *Kalithurai andadi*, *Venba andadi*, *Brahmottarakandam*, *Kakkokam*, etc. His guru was Isana munivar of Veppattur<sup>19</sup>. A poet Kasi Kaliyan composed Tenkasi gopuram Inscription (1588) in which he sangnan, Kudai and Vanmagalams in praise of the King.<sup>20</sup>

The early Pandyas had founded the Tamil Sangam. The later Pandyas effected a Tamil renaissance and earned a lasting reputation thereby.

The later Pandyas did yeoman service to religion, and art. Alagan Perumal Ativirarama (acc. 1563) built the Kulasekharamudaiyar Siva Temple and a shrine to Goddess Kulalvoymoli

Nachiyar at Tenkasi in 1568<sup>21</sup>. The king's namesake of acc. 1564 built the Srivallabha Vinnagar temple at Tenkasi<sup>22</sup>. The Subramania Temple at Ilanji and the Krishna Temple at Srivilliputtur were built by Ativirarama (1564-1605)<sup>23a</sup>.

A Kun Pandya (Vide Sewell) 1574 had made a grant of land to the Goripalayam Mosque at Madurai, which was confirmed by Virappa Nayaka (1572-95) of Madurai<sup>23b</sup>. Thus the Pandyas not only displayed intense fervour towards their own religion but were munificent to others. They thus practised religious tolerance.

Various grants inform us about their *danas*. The Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Varatunga. S. 1504=1582) tell us that he granted the village of Muruganeri to a Chandrasekhara, son of Chokkappa Pandita, a medical doctor<sup>24</sup>. The village Silaripatti was given to Govindabhatta, son of Udayambhatta<sup>25</sup>. These donations go to prove that the Pandyas still wielded influence in the Madurai region. The village Sivalanathar was established and taxes on house-sites were remitted by Alagan Perumal Ativira Pandya Sivaladevar of acc 1558<sup>26</sup>. The village Pudukottah was given to Brahmanas as per Pudukkottah Plates (1583).

The name Abhiraapattinam was the perversion of Ativiraraman pattinam<sup>27</sup> erected by Ativirarama. He instituted the worship of Goddess selliamman in it.

A poet from Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaranathan received land as Tiruppattukkaniyatchi<sup>28</sup>. Thus poets were honoured.

They donned the Brahman titles Dikshitar and Somajiyar by performing *yagas* e.g. Varaguna Srivallabha al. Kulasekhara Dikshitar.

Thus the later Pandyas made up for the loss of their political power through their meritorious cultural contributions. Though they were mainly in Tirunelveli, they made their presence felt in regions such as Madurai and Ramnad through their various grants and service to religion. They issued inscriptions and copper plates indicative of their enjoying local autonomy short of complete independence, which they sought after, whenever chance had it.

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## MAHAMANDALESVARAS OF PADAIVIDU RAJYAM

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Padaividu Rajyam was an administrative unit of the Vijayanagara Empire. It consisted of the entire Vellore District, Tiruvannamalai District and a few parts of South Arcot and Chenglepet Districts of the present Tamil Nadu. It was a vast region in the northern part of the Tamil Country. The Vijaya nagara Emperors divided the whole Empire into Rajyams (or) provinces for the convenience of administration. They ruled these provinces through representatives who were the members of the royal family. They were called *Mahamandalesvaras*. Padaividu Rajyam was one among the two *Maharajyams* of Vijayanagara Empire; it played a vital role in the history of Tamil Country in several spheres. The *Mahamandalesvaras* rendered their good services to the *Rajyams*. From 1362 A.D. down to the Krishnadevaraya's reign these provinces were ruled only through the *Mahamandalesvaras*. During the period of Krishnadevaraya, the name of *Mahamandalesvara* underwent a change. It came to be called as Nayaka.

*Mahamandalesvara* means "The Great Lord." Generally the princes and the royal family members were appointed as the *Mahamandalesvara* of the *Rajyam*. They enjoyed substantial powers in their provinces. They occupied an important place in administrative hierarchy of Vijayanagara Empire and their position was considerably high. They wielded absolute authority practically as an independent chief in their territories. They held their own courts, ministers, sub-ordinate officers and army within their territory. The princes while appointed as *Mahamandalesvaras* assumed the title *Udaiyar*. They were also allowed to assume royal titles appropriate to their respective dynasties, Kumara Kampana was mentioned in one inscription as "Sriman Mahamandalesvaran Ariraya Vibhatan Bashaikkutappuvarayakandam

Muvarayakandan Srivira Kampana Udaiyar."<sup>1</sup>

The other *Mahamandalesvara* Saluva Narasimha was inscribed in a inscription dated 1473 A.D. as "Mahamandalesvara Medinisvara Gandan

Kattari Saluva Dharanivaraha Narasimharaya Udaiyar."<sup>2</sup>

The *Mahamandalesvaras* were empowered to use the royal and enjoyed honours and privileges. The most important duty of the *Mahamandalesvaras* was to protect the Rajyam from the attacks of the enemies. When Banas occupied Kanchi, *Mahamandalesvara* Saluva Naasihma made an attack on them and drove them out and thus protected the region<sup>3</sup>. In order to assist the emperor, he had to maintain certain troops through the *amaranayakas* and send these forces to the King at the time of war and necessity. Those who did not maintain the necessary forces had to pay heavy tributes to the State<sup>4</sup>. If they failed to maintain certain military forces he was severely punished and their lands lapsed to the state.<sup>5</sup> They were given the right to issue their own coins. Caesar Fredrick a Portuguese traveller mentions that governors issued small copper coins within their provinces.<sup>6</sup>

The *Mahamandalesvara* was a supreme magistrate who has to maintain law and order. Further, he was also the chief revenue officer of the province who has to collect all the taxes and pay to imperial exchequer. Fernao Nuniz says that the provincial governors had to pay the King their revenues as fixed by him annually during the first nine days of the month of September<sup>7</sup>. They had the power of imposing the new taxes and discard the old ones. Saluva Narasimha donated land as *Ulavu Kaniatchi* to Sadasivanayaka at Devikapuram in Padaividu *Rajyam*. While granting gift of land he had levied a number of old and new taxes called *Pazhavari* and *Puduvai*<sup>8</sup>. The Tirukkachchur inscription of Viruppana Udaiyar, dated 1442 A.D., mentions that *Mandradis* of Alagan and Kannalan were made as *Tiruvilakku Kudis* for their services; he has also given a gift of land as *Sarvamanya iraiyili* which is exempted from land tax<sup>9</sup>. The involvement of the emperor in the affairs of *Mahamandalesvara* was generally very rare.

Provincial governors met their expenses only from the revenue of provinces. They were not paid any salary. For their services they received Crown lands. The authority was not extended over the *amaram* lands of the Nayakas. They also did not interfere in the case of *brahmadeya* villages. Bukka I wanted to extend his Kingdom towards the Tamil Country in the South and desired to strengthen the Hindu fold. His desire was fulfilled later by his son Kumara Kampana, who conquered the Sambuvarayas of the Padaividu territory in the year 1362 A.D.<sup>10</sup> This conquest was very clearly explained by Ganga Devi, wife of Kumara Kampana, in her *Madhuravijayam*<sup>11</sup>. After this victory Padaividu *Rajyam* was elevated as one of the provinces in the Vijayanagara Empire. Kumara Kampana became the first *Mahamandalesvara* of the Padaividu *Rajyam* and ruled upto 1374 A.D.<sup>12</sup> By conquering Padaividu, he saved the Tamil Country from the hands of the Muslims. His reign of viceroyalty in this region is regarded as the brightest period in the history of the region. An inscription at Madampakkam dated 1363 A.D. indicates that Kumara Kampana gave the village of Annamanagalaparru to his general Gandaraguli Marayyanayaka, for his brave deed in defeating the Sambuvaraya and conquering *Rajagambiramalai*<sup>13</sup>.

According to epigraphical sources, there are about 132 inscriptions which were engraved during the period of Kumara Kampana. The earliest of these inscriptions comes from Avur near Tiruvannamalai and is dated 24<sup>th</sup> September 1352 A.D.<sup>14</sup>. He took personal interest in the administration of the Padaividu *Rajyam*. He reorganised the temple administration and the functions of the temple. He brought it under his direct control and maintained it efficiently through his subordinates. Two inscriptions of Kumara Kampana at Serkadu dated 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1363 A.D. mentioning about the free colonisation in the temple precincts for the people and he ordered that the taxes collected from them should be utilised for the temple repairs and maintenance.<sup>15</sup> He did not stop with the conquest of Padaividu *Rajyam* and further invaded the South of the Tamil Country. He defeated the Sultanate of Madurai and extended his sway over South. Under his rule, the socio-cultural life of the people of this region as in other parts of the Tamil Country was remarkable. After Kumara Kampana his son Jammana Udaiyar became the *mahamandalesvara*, who governed the region only for a few years i.e. from 1374 A.D. 1377 A.D.

Thiruvannamalai inscription dated 17<sup>th</sup> December 1374 A.D. mentions that Jammana Udaiyar made a gift of land for reciting the Vedas during the Rajavibatan Sandhi in the temple for the pacification of the soul of his father<sup>16</sup>. Religious activity continued during his



period considerably. Virupanna Udaiyar became the next *Mahamandalesvara* of Padaividu *Rajyam*, who governed it from 1377 to 1400 A.D.<sup>17</sup>. The Alampundi Copper plate of Virupanna Udaiyar mentions that he made extensive conquests into the South of the Tamil Country and even in the country of the Sinhalese. After subduing them, he duly presented the booty collected from these territories to his father<sup>18</sup>. During his period, almost the whole of the Tamil Country was conquered. It was then divided into five *Rajyams* viz., Chandragiri *Rajyam*, Padaividu *Rajyam*, Tiruvadigai *Rajyam*, Chola *Rajyam* and Madura *Rajyam*. Thus he consolidated the Tamil Country. His period was characterised by the centralization of the authority. The Soraikavur Copper plate of Virupanna Udaiyar refers to his religious faith towards Saivism and the various services to the temple. He gave land gifts to Rameswaram temple, Srirangam and Chidambaram temples and established the Brahmanical faith<sup>19</sup>. Another inscription of Virupanna speaks that he had maintained refuge centres for the *Kallavelaikkarar* who sought refuge in this region. He ordered the three *Pallis* and five kinds of artisans to assign duties and protect them from all dangers<sup>20</sup>. The Perunagar inscription mentions that the weavers of Perunagar left their district and migrated elsewhere on account of heavy taxation. At that time Virupanna reduced certain taxes and persuaded them to resettle in their territories<sup>21</sup>.

Virupanna also known as Udayagiri Virupanna, a son of Harihara II, was a good scholar and a master of various arts. He was the author of the *Narayanivilasam*, a Sanskrit drama<sup>22</sup>. His period was also remarkable in the history of Padaividu *Rajyam*. After him Prince Bukka II acted as governor for few years, probably between 1400 and 1405 A.D.<sup>23</sup>. It seems that nothing substantial was contributed by him to this region. Prince Vira Vijaya Bhupatiraya was the *Mahamandalesvara* of the Padaividu *Rajyam* from 1406 to 1421 A.D.<sup>24</sup>. The inscription of Bhupatiraya dated 1410 A.D. indicates that he gave liberal donations to the temple authorities<sup>25</sup>. The inscriptions further state that there was a considerable economic and religious activity in this region during his period.

Emperor Devaraya II (1422-1446) made several changes in the policy of appointing the *Mahamandalesvaras*. The post of *Mahamandalesvara* was no longer an exclusive prerogative of the members of the royal family. Able and efficient officers, influential local chieftains and nobility were also chosen and appointed as governors. However, when the number of *Rajyams* increased as a result of the expansion of the empire, there was no proportionate increase in the number of efficient princes in the royal family to be appointed as *Mahamandalesvaras*. During the time of Devaraya II, Prince Srigrindra (1424-1425)<sup>26</sup> and the subordinate officers Tipparasanayaka<sup>27</sup> and Silupparasar<sup>28</sup> and some other officials governed the *Rajyam* due to non-availability of efficient princes of the royal family. However, royal family members alone were called *Mahamandalesvaras* and other governors were usually mentioned as *Dandanayakas*.

Saluva Narasimha was the *Mahamandalesvara* of the Padaividu region from 1452 to 1485 A.D.<sup>29</sup>. During his administration, the Banas occupied the region of Kanchi for some time. But they were driven out and the Bana leader Bhuvanekaviran Samarakolahalan was completely defeated. Saluva Narasimha extended and strengthened his power<sup>30</sup>. At this time the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara came to an end in 1486 A.D. Saluva Narasimha usurped the throne of Vijayanagara and founded the Saluva dynasty. He ably administered Padaividu *Rajyam* with other territories of the Tamil Country through the local chiefs and

Nayakas. Narasa Nayaka and other chiefs governed this region during his period. This period also witnessed a slow change in the administrative set up. Henceforth the Nayakas began to occupy the *Mahamandalevaras* place in the provincial administration.

Some of the *Mahamandalevaras* of Padaividu *Rajyam* became the Emperors of the Vijayanagara Empire. Virupaksha and Saluva Narasimha, served as *Mahamandalevaras* of Padaividu *Rajyam* and then became the Emperors. Padaividu *Rajyam* served as a training ground for many princes of the royal family. Among various provinces of the empire Padaividu *Rajyam* alone had the credit of sending its *Mahamandalevaras* to the imperial throne.

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## KONGU VANCHI OR RAJA RAJAPURAM

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The history of Kongunadu is closely connected with the history of Tamilnadu. Kongunadu forms an integral part of Tamilnadu both in the medieval and modern times. The Dharapuram taluk lies in the southern part of the Kongu nadu or Erode district and is situated on the bank of the river Amaravathi. It is an under developed plain mostly sloping gently eastward towards the Cauvery. Many highways like *Karatturai Peruvai*, *Salattu Peruvai*, *Solamadēvi Peruvai*, and *Melai Peruvai* passed through Dharapuram. Because of its political and economic importance, Dharapuram was the headquarters of the traders during the medieval period. The inhabitants of this area were *Vettuvās* and that is why the city got the name *Viradapuri* or *Viradapuri*.

The *Kongu Desarajakkal*, a historic tale, refers to an imperial Chola King Aditya (871-907 A.D.), who had fought with Vettuvās in Kongu, won a victory and had his coronation at *Dhalavanpuram*. Dharapuram was also known as *Parantakapuram* after the name of Parantaka Chola (907-955 AD), the imperial Chola. We come to know about this name only from the inscriptions of *Kongu Cholas*. There is also another view that the name was given after the ruler Pandyan Parantaka Nedunjadayan or Parantakan Veeranarayanan of early Pandya dynasty.

An inscription of Varaguna II king of the Pandya dynasty was found from Piramium near Dharapuram which refers to the king hailing from *Chandradityakula* and ruling the Kongu. Another inscription of Kandan Ravi found from Ponnivadi helps us think that the name *Parantakapuram* was given after the Pandya king.

### Raja Rajapuram

This name is mentioned in the *Kongu Chola* inscriptions. *Kongu Cholas* were the feudatories of the Imperial Cholas. Hence they might have given the name Raja Rajapuram after the emperor Raja Raja I (985-1014 A.D.) the imperial Chola in honour of his overlordship. But there is another view about this Raja Raja that he belonged to the Chera dynasty and ruled over Kongu in the later part of the 11th century. Often there were conflicts between the *Kongu Cholas* and the *Virakerālas*. It is believed that this *Virakerāla* might have ruled over Raja Rajapuram for few years and hence his name to the place.

The name is found in the following inscriptions in the places Piramium, Sevur, Ponnivadi, Kongur, Avinashi, Pariyur, Pugalur, Modakkur, Vijayamangalam and Thingalur. Again, the Ponnivadi inscriptions mention about the existence of the fort there *Adikilthalam* (or) cantonment.

An inscription from Dharapuram mentions that Raja Rajapuram was an *Adikilthalam*. *Adikilthalam* is situated on the highways. If we divide the word *Adikil-Thalam*, we can get the proper meaning of this word. *Adi* means to attack, the *kil* means to defeat or street or *Kil* means east or under. *Thalam* means *Padai* or cantonment. *Adikil* means a place under the traders. In short, *Adikilthalam* means a place where the army of the traders was kept.

supplied the nurse and the child Chengamaladas with food and clothes; while they were there it came to the knowledge of the *Rayasam* Vengana who had been employed as a Secretary by Vijayaraghava Nayak, that the off-spring of the King was concealed at Nagpatnam. He accordingly came to that place and after an interview with the nurse and Chengamaladas decided to stay in the house of merchant for some years. When Chengamaladas attained the age of ten, he took along with him the nurse who had brought him up and the Secretary Vengana and enroute to Bijapur, had an interview with the Padshah of Secunderabad.<sup>4</sup> Idal Khan, the Padshah of Secunderabad, received him kindly and promised to assist him.<sup>5</sup> At his court was his Vazir, Shahji who had four sons. Of these four, the first son was in charge of the district of Poona, the second son was holding the Jagir of Bangalore and the third son the Jagir of Gingee. While the last son, Ekoji was staying with his father at Bijapur. Ekoji was the son of Tukka Bai, the second wife of Shahji. The Padshah now despatched Ekoji to Tanjore placing him at the head of 12,000 horses and a strong infantry force and instructed him to instal Chengamaladas on the Tanjore throne after conquering it from Alagiri Nayak. The Padshah presented Chengamaladas with an elephant and howdah, four horses and a palanquin which he was to use on his triumphant entry into Tanjore.<sup>7</sup>

Ekoji, followed by Chengamaladas and Vengana reached Bangalore, the seat of his brother. After staying at Bangalore for one full month, he started again and reached Gingee. At Gingee he gathered some more troops and with this large force proceeded to Kumbhakonam. He demanded that the entire country should be handed over to Chengamaladas and threatened to take the city by force. Alagiri having come to know the advance of Chengamaladas, gathered a strong force of 10,000 soldiers and ten cannons and took his stand at Ayyampetta, from where he was attacked by the forces of Ekoji.<sup>8</sup> 400 Marathas and 500 of Alagiri's people fell in the battle. Alagiri was unable to inspire his army to maintain the engagement, they fled without looking behind them till they reached the fort of Tanjore. Hence, Alagiri sent supplicatory letters to Chokkanatha of Trichinopoly, but the latter, guided by pride and resentment rather than by policy, refused to interfere or send any aid.<sup>9</sup>

Ekoji now laid siego to Tanjore and Vengana, the Niyogi brahman who was inside the fort busied himself in promoting disaffection. The Manuscript states that Alagiri finding himself in danger of being arrested and imprisoned in consequence of the machinations of the brahman, fled with his entire family and immediate dependents, during the night and took refuge in Mysore.<sup>10</sup> Ekoji subsequently has the son of Vijayaraghava mounted on an elephant who made a public entry into Tanjore. Ekoji entrusted the ceremonials of his being crowned to the Niyogi Brahman and retired with his troops. The ceremony of crowning took place. Subsequently, the nurse pointed the spot where the treasure accumulated by the youngman's ancestors had been deposited; there were twenty lakhs of pagodas and six lakhs of pagodas in jewels. With a portion being reserved for the newly crowned king, munificent donations were made to Ekoji and others who had been active in the restoration. Chengamaladas paid Ekoji one lakh *varahas* and other suitable presents of cloth and ornaments, etc. four elephants, eight horses dressed in silver and gold ornaments, etc. worth one lakh *varahas* were presented to the Sardars who accompanied Ekoji. Further, Ekoji was given as 'inam' (present) of fifteen lakhs of rupees and his dewan peshwa was presented according to promise, with two lakhs of rupees. Two other generals of Ekoji, Khan and Syed

Sahib were each presented with one lakh rupees. A Nazar inclusive of tribute of twenty lakhs rupees was paid to the Padshah of Bijapur and a further sum of five lakhs was also paid to the Padshah for the expenses of Durbar. Besides all these payments, the actual expenses of the entire expedition from the day it started from Bijapur to the day it concluded were due from Chengamaladas who in payment of these dues assigned the revenues of the three Subhas of Kumbhakonam, Mannarkoil and Papanasam. Ekoji was asked to collect these revenues till the amounts due to him were realised, till which time the three subhas were mortgaged to him.<sup>11</sup>

Chengamaladas was proclaimed ruler of Tanjore and he began to rule from about A.D. 1674. He was not allowed to rule peacefully even for a short time as there was internal dissension among his followers. Chengamaladas acting on the advice given by the nurse who had rescued him from the tragedy in A.D. 1673 and brought him up faithfully is said to have appointed the chetty of Nagapatnam who had protected him in his exile as his *pradhani* and Dalavay instead of giving it to Vengana who was eagerly expecting to be raised to these offices.<sup>12</sup> He also gave his own seal along with all kinds of presents and mounting him on the royal elephants gave him a public entry into the town. With all this the Rayasam Vengana was deeply grieved. Vengana quitted Tanjore in great anger and met Ekoji at Kumbhakonam. He induced to take possession of Tanjore for himself. Ekoji did not agree and warned him that severe punishment would be inflicted if the Padshah came to know about this. About the same time he received the written information of the death of Padshah. Vengana again assured him that he would give the kingdom of Tanjore to him. The circumstances were favourable for him to occupy Tanjore. Ekoji entered Tanjore by the Eastern gate accompanied by the troops. Rayasam Vengana had already written to Chengamaladas that in spite of his remonstrance, Ekoji was marching against Tanjore and advised him to escape from the Fort, the best course that could be adopted in the circumstances. He assured that they might regain Tanjore on a favourable opportunity. The young Raja of Tanjore and his ministers were in great fear.<sup>14</sup> As Chengamaladas had no persons capable of making resistance, he himself with the whole of personal attendants went out through the Western gate of the fort and took refuge in Ariyalur.<sup>15</sup> The Palaiyagar of the place Rangappa Malavarayan received him with all honour and took him under protection. Venkana informed Ekoji of the flight of Chengamaladas from the fort and Ekoji there upon entered the fort without any opposition. The gate through which they triumphantly entered the fort came to be known as Fateh Darwaza from that date.<sup>16</sup> Thus Ekoji was able to capture Tanjore at very little cost. After establishing himself there, Ekoji with the help of Vengana who had intimate knowledge of the country subdued the surrounding chiefs viz., the Nattuvans, Palaiyagars, etc. "and collected tribute from them. He reconquered the territory belonging to Tanjore that had been annexed by the Setupati and established strong garrisons therein. Rayasam Vengana by his ability<sup>17</sup> brought the whole kingdom firmly under Ekoji and restored order in the country. But Ekoji and his friends thought that Vengana was a dangerous servant considering how faithlessly he had acted towards his former masters Alagiri and Chengamaladas. They suspected that he might act in the same deceitful manner towards Ekoji and wished to keep him under restraint. But Vengana came to hear of this in time and escaped secretly from Tanjore blaming his own genius.<sup>18</sup> The kingdom of Tanjore thus passed under the rule of Ekoji.

The Marathas' occupation of Tanjore must be considered to have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1675 as it is mentioned that Ekoji took Tanjore in the month of Magha of Saka 1596 corresponding to February- March A.D. 1675.<sup>19</sup> Nelson also in his *Madura District Manual* says that Ekoji marched upon Tanjore in the early part of A.D. 1675 and made himself master of the Tanjore Kingdom, with the exception of Sathiyamangalam which was siezed by Mysore.<sup>20</sup>

#### References:

1. Alagiri Nayak is stated as the foster brother of Chokkanatha by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 325 and by P. Viridhagirisani in *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, P.162. But T.V. Mahalingam in his *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Vol. II, P.345 says Alagiri was the son of the nurse of Chokkanatha Nayak. *History of the Carnataca Governors* also supports this view. So on the basis of manuscripts it is concluded that Alagiri Nayak was the son of the nurse of Chokkanatha Nayak.
2. William Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Madras, 1835, Vol. II, p.200.
3. J.H. Nelson, *Madurai District Manual*, Madras 1868, p. 195.
4. William Taylor, *loc. cit.*
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9. *Tanjavuri Vari Charitra* found William Taylor's Catalogue of Mackenzie Manuscripts, Madras, 1862, Vol. III, p. 178.
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12. V. Viridhagirisani, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, Annamalainagar, 1942 p. 164.
13. William Taylor, *op.cit.*, p.203.
14. *Tanjavur Andhra Rajula Vari Charitra* translated by S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar in his *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p.325.
15. William Taylor, *loc. cit.*
16. *Tiruchirappalli Purvottaram* found in T.V. Mahalingam's Mackenzie Manuscripts, Vol. II, p. 347.
17. *Idem.*
18. *Tanjavur Andhra Rajula Vari Charitra* translated by S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar in his *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p.325.
19. V. Viridhagirisani, *Top.cit.*, p. 165.
20. J.H. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 195.

## MOHAMMAD ALI AND THE THIRD MYSORE WAR (1790-92)

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The later half of the eighteenth century witnessed a series of life and death struggles between the local powers to protect their local Kingdom's and the Company to establish their imperial hegemony in South India. Among the local powers, Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot in the Carnatic, helped the English against Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, the rulers of Mysore. An attempt is made here to study the factors that led Mohammad Ali to support the Company against Tipu Sultan in the Third Mysore War and its impact on him.

Ever since Mohammad Ali became the Nawab of Arcot in 1752 A.D., he strengthened his diplomatic relations with the Company at Madras to annex the Mughal territories situated in the Carnatic<sup>1</sup> and possessed by the Wodaiyars of Mysore. It became a bone of contention among the local Muslim powers in South India. The hostility between the local powers paved the way for the intervention of the Company. In the name of providing financial aid and protection, the Company tried to bring the Nawab under its control. He was forced to enter into a treaty with the Governor-in-Council at Madras on 24th February 1787. By it Mohammad Ali agreed to give 4/5 of his total revenue, excluding his family *jagirs* and charities, to the Company for the conduct of the war against Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the treaty strengthened the position of the Company in the Carnatic at the cost of Mohammad Ali. It further empowered the English to avail the earliest favourable chance to invade Mysore.

Tipu Sultan's attack on the Travancore Kingdom on December 29th 1789, ruled by Rama Varma, an ally of the English, provided an opportunity for the latter for an invasion of Mysore.<sup>3</sup> By then, Mohammad Ali wrote to the Governor of Madras that frequent wars with Mysore "is like a poison to me, my country and subjects, who have not yet recovered from the distresses consequent on the late destructive war". Decided to reduce Mysore, Mohammad Ali proposed to the Company that if the latter restored Cuddapah and Mysore *payeenghat* territory to him after the defeat of Tipu Sultan, he would spend four-fifths of his revenue towards the expenses of the war<sup>4</sup>. The Company agreed to give Cuddapah and Mysore *payeenghat* territory to Mohammad Ali.<sup>5</sup> The Company therefore decided to annex the remaining places possessed by Tipu Sultan. Despite the Nawab consented to extend his help to the Company without any condition. As per the previous treaty, it promised to give him political benefit because they wanted to obtain his sincere help during the war. The Company also received the support of Rama Varma of Travancore and Rajah Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman of Pudukottai.

On May 26th 1790, the British General, William Meadows, with fifteen thousand soldiers moved from Tiruchirapalli to Mysore.<sup>6</sup> They completed the conquest of Karur, Aravakurichi, Dharapūram, Coimbatore, Erode, Dindigul, Satyamangalam and Palaghat in



September 1790.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime, on July 4th, 1790, the Company concluded a joint alliance with Nizam Ali of Hyderabad and Madhava Rao Narayan, the Maratha ruler at Panagal against Tipu Sultan.

It provided that Nizam Ali and Madhava Rao Narayan were to assist the company with not less than thirty five thousand forces each. In return, the English agreed to give an equal share of the conquest in Mysore to Nizam Ali and Madhava Rao Narayan.<sup>8</sup>

However, Mohammad Ali was unhappy with the Company for not including a provision in this treaty for safeguarding the promise of restoring places to him after the defeat of Tipu Sultan. The Nawab argued that as he was the representative of the Mughals, he had every right to secure Cuddapah and Mysore Payeenghat, which once formed the portin of the Mughal empire. He urged the Company to modify the provisions of the treaty which it signed with the Nizam and the Maratha ruler in order to protect his interest in Mysore.<sup>9</sup> The Company, in fact turned down the proposal of the Nawab because the Nizam was very much interested in annexing Cuddapah for him.<sup>10</sup> If they insisted the Nizam and the Marathas to change the provisions of the treaty signed with them, they would not extend their help to the Company. Further, they felt that since the Nizam and the Marathas supported their policy of expansion towards Mysore, Mohammad Ali could not oppose them. Thus the Company deliberately changed their policy after securing the assurance of support of the Nizam and the Marathas.

Subsequently, the Company proposed to take over the revenue administration of Mohammad Ali. According to the treaty which was signed between him and the Company on 24th February 1787, the Nawab proposed to give 4/5 of his revenue to the Company to meet the expenses of the war. However, the Company argued that due to the failure of the Nawab to repair tanks and the tyranny of his amildars assumed rigours, the ryots neglected cultivation<sup>11</sup>. Further, in the beginning of July 1790, the Mysore forces attacked the Carnatic and plundered the areas between Chengamah and Chettaput.

They destroyed the crops, burnt, down the houses, and carried away thousand bullock load of different provisions worth of ten thousand pagodas to Mysore.<sup>12</sup> It also seriously affected the agricultural activities. The Company argued that in the existing circumstances, if the Nawab retained the management of his territory, he could collect a limited revenue and from this the payment of 4/5 of his total collection to the Company would be appear inadequate for them to meet the expensive war agasinst Tipu Sultan.<sup>13</sup> Hence, the Madras Council demanded from the Nawab to surrender the revenue administration of his territory to the Company, on the condition of receiving 1/5 of the collection for meeting his expenses.<sup>14</sup>

Mohammad Ali was reluctant to surrender the revenue administration to the Company's Officials. He agreed to pay six lakhs Pagodas within eight weeks<sup>15</sup> as a part of his debt of 2123403 Pagodas<sup>16</sup> 34 cash and 35 *fanam* which he owed to the Company till the end of July 1790.<sup>17</sup> The Nawab also proposed to create a Board of Treasury consisting of five of his officers for the collection of revenue, which could be inspected by the Company's Collector for the regular payment of 4/5 of the collection to the English.<sup>18</sup> The Company refused to accept the proposal and on 7th August 1790, Governor-in-Council took a decision for forcible assumption of the management of the Nawab's territory and its revenue collection.<sup>19</sup> However, the Company restored the *Jagir* lands possessed by his family members and the private *Jagirdars* and the enam and garden lands.<sup>20</sup> Defending their policy, the Company

argued that assumption of the territory of the Nawab was done for the improvement of agriculture and thereby enhance the revenue<sup>21</sup> and also to protect the territory of the allied powers<sup>22</sup>. The Company constituted a Board of Assumed Revenue at Madras for supervising the revenue administration of the Nawab's territory.

The Nawab once again became unhappy with the Company for interfering in his revenue administration. According to him, "I have placed a word in the hands of the Company for my defence, and their servants may turn the weapon to my destruction."<sup>23</sup> "The Nawab further added, "I am the hereditary sovereign of the country, and at Liberty to act as I please"<sup>24</sup>. So, in legal ground, the Nawab urged the Company to surrender his revenue administration. The appeal of the Nawab went unheeded. The Company utilised the revenue collected from the Nawab's territory to continue the military operations with vigour and speed. The Company's general Hamilton Maxwell captured Vaniyambady on 25th October 1790.<sup>25</sup> Besides, assisted by the vassals of Tipu Sultan, the Company established their power in Malabar.

Tipu Sultan tried to seek the help of Mohammad Ali against the British. He made an earnest appeal to end his hostility towards Mysore and to help him against the Company<sup>26</sup>. Mohammad Ali refused to assist Tipu Sultan because the latter did not propose to give any reward to the Nawab. On the other hand, Mohammad Ali was confident of getting political benefits in Mysore, as a result of his alliance with the Company.<sup>27</sup> So, Tipu Sultan continued the hostility towards the Nawab. If Mohammad Ali supported the Sultan of Mysore, there would have emerged a political union between the two Muslim rulers in South India and thereby the Nawab could have preserved at least his political union between the two Muslim rulers in South India and thereby the Nawab could have preserved at least his political stability in the Carnatic region. Subsequently, the political stability of Mohammad Ali was seriously shaken.

The Mysore troops invaded the central division of Arcot and annexed peramacoil on 22nd January 1791.<sup>28</sup> The loss of peramacoil was so great for it provided accommodation to many thousands of people of Arcot. As a result of its loss, the property of the people was stripped off, and being there was no means of subsistence many people were exposed to the horrors of famine and starvation<sup>29</sup>. Regarding the effect of the invasion of Mysore troops, the Collector of the Central division of Arcot wrote that it consisted of mere than 300 villages, but he could see not more than 10 or 15 people.<sup>30</sup> Among the people taken as captives by Tipu Sultan, some of them were the Company's officials.<sup>31</sup> James Landon, who was the Collector for Revenue Administration of the Centre division of Arcot escaped to Fort St. George along with his escort for safety<sup>32</sup>. According to James Landon the absence of the Company's forces to give protection to the people, facilitated Tipu Sultan's troops to indulge in ravage and destruction.<sup>33</sup>

The worst affected districts due to attack of Tipu Sultan's forces were Tiruchirapalli, Southern Division of Arcot, Centre division of Arcot and the northern division of Arcot. Due to chaotic situation, the harvesting of ripened crop and sowing another crop was stopped.<sup>34</sup> Further, the affected people of the Nawab's territory ran skelter pelter to safe places, for protection. For instance the peasants, the renters and other category of people from Valudavur, Trivady and Villupuram in the Centre division of Arcot got protection in Pondicherry.<sup>35</sup>

The preparation of Cornwallis to conquer Mysore made Tipu Sultan to leave the Carnatic and moved to Mysore for its protection. However, Cornwallis defeated the Mysore troops in the battle of Bangalore and captured it on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1791.<sup>36</sup> Later Tipu Sultan was defeated at the battle of Srirangapatnam on 6th February 1792.<sup>37</sup> Tipu Sultan demanded from the Company arrangement for peace negotiations.<sup>38</sup> The English also thought that if they continued the expedition till the destruction of Tipu Sultan the Nizam and the Marathas would have to be given equal shares in the war and thereby they would emerge as stronger powers.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, Cornwallis did not like to crush the power of Tipu Sultan. But, he decided, "Tipu Sultan's power should be reduced to such an extent that he should no longer be in a position" to work against the Company and their friend Mohammad Ali in the Carnatic.<sup>40</sup> Thus the Company negotiated for a peace settlement. The preliminary peace settlement at Srirangapatnam was made between the Company the Nizam and the Marathas on 23rd February 1792. The Definitive Treaty of Perpetual Friendship was concluded at Srirangapatnam on 18th March 1792. The Company annexed the northern Mysore Payeenghat (Kaveripattinam, Salem, Namakkal, Jegadevapalayam, Tirupattur, Krishnagiri, Vaniyambadi etc.), Dindigul, Coorg and Malabar region. The Nizam annexed Cuddapah, Cumbum, Ganjikota and Bellary. The Marathas annexed Ganjendragarh, Gadag, Savanur, Kittur and Dharwar.<sup>41</sup>

The financial and military support extended by the Nawab of Arcot, the Nizam, the Marathas, the Rajah of Travancore and others helped the Company to defeat Tipu Sultan. It collected a net amount of thirty three lakhs, thirty six thousand five hundred and eight one star *pagodas* from the Nawab's territory during their revenue administration besides receiving the support of his military.<sup>42</sup> It wanted to avoid any position from the Nizam and the Marathas. So they fulfilled the conditions of the alliance entered into with them. On the other hand, the Company ignored the promises given to the Nawab because they did not like to increase his power. The Nawab was very unhappy over the Company for their failure to safeguard his interest and to give him benefit of the war. In fact, ever since, Mohammad Ali had become the Nawab of Arcot, he tried to annex the disputed areas from Haidar Ali, the ruler of Mysore, and from his son Tipu Sultan. However, the Company did not allow the Nawab to annex any place. On the other hand, the Company retained a portion of the disputed places. The Company defended themselves that the support extended by the Nawab helped them to protect his territory from Tipu Sultan.

The Company wanted to get the support of Mohammad Ali to resist Tipu Sultan in future. Further, they wished to please the Nawab for their denial to give him any benefit in Mysore. Therefore, on 12th July 1792, the Governor-in-Council entered into an agreement with Mohammad Ali, by which the former consented to include him as the ally of the Company, if they would conclude any treaty with Tipu Sultan. Mohammad Ali, on his part promised that he would not intervene in the political affairs of Mysore without the permission of the Company. Besides, the Nawab promised to support the Company in case of an outbreak of a war against Tipu Sultan. It also provided that the Company would have right to collect the customary tribute from the poligars of the Nawab.<sup>43</sup> It also restored the Assumed Territory to Mohammad Ali. Hence, the Nawab was satisfied himself at least for the promise given by the Company to consider him as their ally, and thereby he was confident of getting benefit in Mysore in future.

The war has tremendous impact on the Nawab's administration. As the Company retained the revenue collection of the Nawab under its Control, he did not have enough money to run his administration. The Nawab had to pay about 15 months arrear of salary to his soldiers till 13th November 1790. So, two Company's discontented sepoys of Mohammad Ali who were not paid salary along with two dismounted troops of the Nawab's cavalry, resorted to *dharna* on the road leading to the Chepauk House, the residence of the Nawab.<sup>44</sup> The mutinous soldiers were suppressed by the Company general Col. Ross with the help of 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys.<sup>45</sup>

As the Nawab was forced to receive the money for his expenses from the Company during the war, he remained like a pensioner for a short-time. Since the Company were pre-occupied with collecting money from the Nawab's territory and defeating Tipu Sultan's forces, they did not protect the people of Mohammad Ali. It favoured Tipu Sultan to take large number of people as captives. Further, the Nawab's people suffered due to lack of food and frequent disturbance. Since Mohammad Ali failed to offer protection and service to his people, he lost his reputation in public life. Regarding the humiliation met by the Nawab, when he wrote to the Madras Council, he added "I hope for kindness and compassion from your Lordship, I have no hope of compassion from Robbers" (the English)<sup>46</sup>. Further, he mentioned that as the British were motivated by selfish interest and blinded by private profit they made him disgraced in the eyes of his enemies<sup>47</sup> and his people at his old age. Thus due to the participation of the Nawab in the Third Mysore War his position was weakened regarding both politics and economy.

### Conclusion

The Nawab's participation in the Third Mysore War and the assistance rendered to the Company marked an important stage in the establishment of their power in South India. Eventhough, Mohammad Ali agreed to provide financial assistance to the Company by the treaty of 1787, he took part in the war hoping to annex a portion of Mysore Kingdom. Thus the Nawab's participation in the war was partly due to his obligation and partly due to his desire for gaining political benefit in Mysore. The Company had not liked to increase the status of the Nawab. So they did not give him any reward. On the other hand, the Company established their power over a portion of Mysore at the expense of the Nawab. Further, the English secured the right to interfere in the administration of Mohammad Ali. In fact, the developments connected with the war crippled the economy and political status of Mohammad Ali and thereby he became further a dependent on the Company.

### Notes and References:

1. The disputed area included Dindigal, Karur, Erode, Coimbatore Dharapuram, Sathiamangalam, Kaveripuram, Salem, Namakkal, Kaveripattanam, Krishnagiri, Vaniyambadi and Tirupattur which situated to the south-east of Eastern Ghats in the Carnatic.
2. C.U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, etc. Vol.5, (Calcutta, 1864), pp.40-45.
3. From Fort William to William Meadows in Council, dt.17 March 1790, Military Consultations (Hereinafter referred to as Mil. Cons.), Vol. 134B, p.912.

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## TIPU SULTAN'S EMISSARY TO FRANCE

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The eighteenth century India presents a scene of feudal principalities which lacked the spirit of nationalism and the concept was something beyond the imagination of the people and the rulers. The immense contribution made by Tipu Sultan, "the Tiger of South India" towards the nation building and national integration is conspicuous. At a time when national unity, social solidarity and religious harmony were threatened by divisive forces of all kinds, from within and without, he stood prominently as a symbol of consolidation of national forces against colonialism in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Tipu Sultan, the great hero of Mysore, had maintained contacts with foreign powers particularly with France, which was the foe of Britain to drive out the British vestiges from the Indian soil. Though he had stood firmly against the British, he had to fall because the other Indians (the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas) including his own relatives ganged up against him and behind the British which resulted in becoming the whole of India to be a slave country.<sup>2</sup>

Tipu, inspired with hostile feelings against the English, was most anxious to unite himself closely with the French, by whose assistance he hoped to subvert the power he both feared and hated. With this object, he deputed an embassy in 1784 to France which was instructed to secure the co-operation of that government.<sup>3</sup> But the reception which his envoys met with at Constantinople, was so unfavourable that they returned home in vain. Another embassy was sent to Constantinople on 9th March 1786 to extract from the Sultan Saleem, the Grand Caliph of Islam, a firman acknowledging Tipu as the legal ruler of Mysore.<sup>4</sup> The mission consisted of Mir Chulem Ali, Latif Ali Beg, etc., met the Caliph, who acknowledged the greatness of Tipu and gave presents. The team returned successful to Mysore via Alexandria and Jeddah. On the way they visited Mecca also.

Meanwhile, another embassy had left for France in July 1787 under the leadership of an official named Osman Khal.<sup>5</sup> The other members were Akbar Ali Khan, Muhomad Darwesh Khan and Pierre Monneron, a Pondicherry merchant. They met Louis XVI, the king of France on 3rd August 1787, who granted some vague promises of military help to Tipu. Thomas Jefferson who was the then U.S. ambassador in Paris reported that the pomp at Versailles palace was unusual for the occasion.<sup>6</sup> The Paris people were greatly excited because of the visit of Mysore embassy.<sup>7</sup> The mission returned to the mother land during July 1789 without effecting any results because the political atmosphere in Paris was not so congenial. They brought along with them some craftsmen and technicians from Paris. When Saleem, the Sultan of Turkey and head of the Caliphate wrote to Tipu Sultan in 1798 about the atrocities of France on Muslim countries and requested him to refrain from hostile activities against the English, Tipu Sultan defied the authority of the Caliph, by opposing the English hegemony for the sake of our great land.<sup>8</sup>

The last embassy was deputed to France on 11th July 1798 under the leadership of Hassan Ali and Sheik Ibrahim. The team reached the port of Mauritius, when Gen. Melartio Governor General of France in the island received the envoys with 15 gun salute on 20th. Due to the domestic problems in France, the embassy could not reach Paris. Melartio

openly addressed to the people that he would recommend to his home government to do all possible help to Mysore. He also declared that he had great respect and good opinion about Tipu and the people of Mysore.<sup>9</sup> All those missions prove beyond doubt that Tipu was a great nationalist who wanted to elevate the prestige of our land. On the request of Mysore Government, the French forces under the leadership of Napoleon came up to Egypt, but were defeated at the hands of English by Duke of Wellington. Had Napoleon got success in the battle of Nile, he would have come to India to help Tipu.<sup>9</sup> The history of India would have been different. Unfortunately, the nature was not favourable not only to Napoleon but also to Tipu Sultan. Nevertheless, he was an indomitable hero of south India, who played a vital role in shaping the history of Mysore.<sup>10</sup> Tipu was a broad minded secular king, who issued coins bearing Siva and Parvathi and donated liberally to the Hindu temples in South India.

#### **A note on Mir Ghulam Ali:**

Mir Ghulam Ali who headed the embassy to Constantinople, in 1786, played a vital role in the palace of Mysore.<sup>11</sup> He was born in 1758 at Srinivasapur in Kolar District of Karnataka. He was one of the trusted men of Tipu Sultan.<sup>12</sup> He entered into the service of Mysore Government under Hydar Ali in 1780. He was put in charge of Police administration. He served the Mysore Government till the battle of Srirangapatnam in 1799. As a naval Officer he was appointed as a Senior Naval officer at Mangalore. He had an acquaintance with French Commander Francois Ripaud at Mauritius and talked to him in his French language.<sup>13</sup> He was an ambassador to Turkey. He was called Ghulam Ali of Silver chain. As a memento of his visit to Mauritius, he received from the ill-fated king Louis XVI of France, a handsome medal about three inches in diameter and one eighth of an inch thick. This medal is in the possession of Mir Muhammad Habibullah Sahib, a distinguished gentleman of Krishnagiri in Dharmapuri District of Tamil Nadu.<sup>14</sup> (Krishnagiri was the headquarters of Bara Mahal during the time of Tipu Sultan. It was called Faluk-Ui-Azam) On one side of the medal is the king Louis XVI's head looking to the right, the letters in the medal run like this "Ludovici XVI. France, Et Nov. Rex." On the reverse side is the head of his wife Marie Antoinette, looking to the left. After the battle of 1792, Mir Ghulam Ali played a great role in formulating a treaty with British General Cornwallis. As wakil, he took the children of Tipu to Vellore as hostages.<sup>15</sup> After the overthrow of Tipu in 1799, Mir Ghulam Ali, whose office as Moriem was abolished, was admitted to a pension of Rs.52, which he drew until 1816. The British Government appointed him as District Munsiff at Krishnagiri in 1816.<sup>16</sup> He held this office till 1834 the year of his retirement. He received the pension of Rs.150 till the end of his life in 1863.

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## PUCKLE'S LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN TINNEVELLY DISTRICT

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### Introduction:

Tinnevely district, situated in the southern tip of the Indian sub-continent, occupied a prominent place in the socio-economic, educational and political transactions of the British colonial system in the Madras Presidency. Ever since the British colonial rule was established in the Madras Presidency, the Company resisted to introducing some changes in its approaches to revenue matters, the vital item of their rule. The Government by fair or foul means created situations of taking over the revenue administration of native states. However, the colonial rule had left some marks in its revenue policy. Evolution of a stable revenue policy is one of the remarkable features of the history of Tinnevely from 1858 to 1947. In this article an attempt has been made to study Mr.R.K.Puckle's (the then Collector and Settlement Officer) Land Revenue Settlement in the Tinnevely District.

Tinnevely was the second district in the Madras presidency to witness the introduction of the new techniques.<sup>1</sup> In 1861, the Government decided that the district should be surveyed with a view to its settlement on the latest *ryotwari* principles. Demarcation began in 1862, and in 1866 Mr.R.K.Puckle was appointed to the district as Collector and Settlement Officer.<sup>2</sup> To begin with, Puckle dealt with the tracts of Tinnevely, not with taluks, and divided the district into its four natural divisions.

They were: 1. The *Nirarambam*,<sup>3</sup> a stretch of country, comprising of the entire Tinnevely region (at the time 345 Villages), irrigated by the river Tambraparani and its affluents.

2. The *Kadarambam*,<sup>4</sup> a region not so much irrigated, extending from the north to the south of the district and containing 409 villages.

3. The *Palmyra Forest*,<sup>5</sup> the sandy tract of Tinnevely was generally referred to in the Settlement Records, in which palmyras largely take place of cultivation.

4. The *Plain of black cotton soil* (the modern Kovilpatti, North srivankundam and Sattur) comprising 188 villages.

The classification of this soil commenced only after obtaining a general view of the characteristics of the district. Soil in Tinnevely<sup>6</sup> was generally divided into two broad classes. They were *regar* or *black cotton* and red *ferruginous* soils.

The next stage was to ascertain the amount of crop each class or sort of soil could produce. Paddy was taken as the standard crop of wet areas and in the dry areas, cholam, cambu and ragi.<sup>7</sup> A fair out-turn of the standard grains was then ascertained per acre and it was called *grain-out-turn*.<sup>8</sup>

The next process was the classification of the soils of individual fields. Each class of the soil was sub-divided into three sorts.<sup>9</sup> They were merged into *seven* primary *tarams* for *wet* and *seven* primary *tarams* for *dry* lands, based on the grain value of the land.<sup>10</sup> In

addition to the two separate *tarams*, another one was the *Olapperi* or permanently improved lands.

The next step was to ascertain the yield of each variety of soil. Experiments in this direction had already been made in 1865 in regard to wetlands in all the taluks of Tinnevely district under the supervision of the Collector Mr. Banbury.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Puckle made further experiments, compared his results with those previously obtained and those now obtained by the ryots themselves and finally found the average out turn per acre, on the best wet land, at the comparatively lenient figure of 1200 Madras measures.<sup>12</sup>

The yield of each quality of soil having been ascertained the money assessment had to be determined for each class. The average of the market prices of paddy for twenty years, 1844 to 1863 was struck.<sup>13</sup> This being the merchants' price, a deduction of 15 per cent was made to cover the cost of cartage, seller's profits and soon, and in the end a commutation rate of Rs. 3-9-10 a *kottai*<sup>14</sup> or Rs. 108 a *grace* was obtained. But, finally, rates were fixed with reference to the average to-on price prior to *fasli*<sup>15</sup> 1263, deducting certain arbitrary percentages for the cost of carriage from the interior. The resulting rate of commutation for paddy as Rs. 66-10-8, Cholam 100-0-0, Cumbu 83-5-4, Ragi 83-5-4, Varagu 50-0-0 per Madras garcel<sup>16</sup>. The commutation rates were next applied to the grain values of the various *tarams* of soil, and each was thereby provided with a money valuation of its productive value. The calculated expenses were deducted from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 3 per acre of wet land from Rs. 4-2-8 to Rs. 3 per acre of dry lands.<sup>17</sup> The new rates were introduced in *fasli* 1284 (1874-75).

In 1874, Mr. Puckle was appointed to act as Director of Settlement but he retained the general supervision of the settlement work of the district. The immediate charge of the work being left with Mr. A. T. Arundel, who was the Additional Sub-Collector. Mr. Puckle's tenure was interrupted by his promotion to the Board of Revenue in the same year. But he reverted to the post of Director of Settlement in 1876 and continued to supervise the Tinnevely settlement until its close in 1878.<sup>18</sup>

### The First Re-settlement of 1903-1904

In 1904, following the expiry of the period of land revenue settlement adopted by Mr. Puckle, steps were taken for resettlement. Mr. D. T. Chadwick was appointed as the District settlement Officer and in 1905 he sent his proposals.

The result of enquiries made in all parts of the Tinnevely district was to show that the economic history of the district during the preceeding thirty years had been one of the marked progress. The settlement had been followed by a striking increase of cultivation of the more valuable crops. As a sequel of the first re-settlement, the Government had announced taluk wise re-settlement notification.

The Commutation rates fixed by the resettlement was paddy Rs. 124, *Cumbu* Rs. 136, *Ragi* Rs. 134 and *Varagu* Rs. 87 per Madras measure. The rates of assessment per acre ranged from eight annas to seven rupees for dry lands and three rupees to fourteen rupees for wet lands.

### The Second Resettlement, 1935-36

The Second Re-settlement which was due in the year 1935 was taken up by Mr. S. K. Chettiar, I.C.S. But even before he could make any progress, he had to abandon the work as the Government decided by then to dispense with re settlements once and for all.

The Tinnevely district which was impoverished, because of higher assessment, before the introduction of the new settlement, began to show considerable economic progress. The expansion of cultivation during the period of the first settlement brought 2,45,000 acres for agricultural operation.

The first settlement led to the conversion of the village economy from subsistence to cash. Low assessment encouraged many nomadic tribes to settle in particular places and resort to agriculture.<sup>19</sup> The practice of abandoning the land due to high assessment came to an end.

### Conclusion:

But this settlement created economic differentiation and stratification. It strengthened the economic dominance of the high caste and, therefore, made it more difficult for the depressed classes to challenge the status of high caste.

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11. *Report of the Settlement of the Land Revenue of the province under the Madras Presidency* (Madras : Government Press, 1877), pp.151-152
12. *A Madras Measure* has a capacity of 104 cubic inches and contains 118 *tolas* of rice struck or 128 *tolas* heaped. The usual heaped measure may therefore be taken at 113 cubic inches of capacity. A *cullam* is thus about 1.22 bushels and 133 1/3 *cullum* go to make up the Madras *garce*. The measure varies in different taluks of Tinnevely and in same it is about one sixth less than the above calculation.

13. H.R.Pate, *ip.cit.*, p.294.
  14. *Kottai* means a cubic measurement to count the grain produce.
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## NATURAL CALAMITIES (FAMINES) IN TINNEVELLY DISTRICT IN THE 19th CENTURY

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Judged from the letters of the Jesuit fathers, famines were almost a recurrent phenomenon during the 18th and 19th centuries. The term famine refers to extreme scarcity of foodgrains in a region. Famines, floods and epidemics frequently visited the Madras Presidency, especially Tinnevely district during the administration of the English East India Company.

Famine is spoken of as having swept away large number of people in this district on seven occasions since 1799. The most devastating of these famines broke out during 1811-1816. Referring to the famine of 1811-1816, *Fr. Bertrad* says that millions of people perished. Much havoc was caused by the famine and the entire region was plunged into a state of misery.

Natural and human factors rendered the Tinnevely region susceptible to frequent famines and epidemics. Due to non-availability of irrigation system, the agriculturists relied only upon monsoon for cultivation. Wherever monsoons failed, the entire Tinnevely region experienced crop failure.

Lack of communication facilities played a vital role in ushering in famines. The condition of civil lines was quite deplorable. During the rainy season, roads were breached and made the famines more intense and severely affected the economic life of the people in the Tinnevely district.

Uncompromising taxation policy of the Company added to the misery of the common people. Over assessment, exaction, harassment and exodus had created conditions favourable for the outbreak of famines frequently. The tariff policy of the Company also was partly responsible for the occurrence of famines.

### Some Worst Famines :-

Towards the close of the 18th century, Tinnevely region was badly affected by severe famines. As the seasonal rains failed, all water resources got dried up, plants withered away and the paddy fields wore a dreary appearance. Extreme scarcity of water and foodgrains in the Tinnevely region resulted in the migration of the inhabitants to fertile areas. Further the administration gained a complete monopoly of trade in foodgrains and raised the prices intolerably high.

In Tinnevely, 1791 and 1792 were years of severe scarcity, caused mainly by the devastation of war, but partly also by drought. In 1791, a severe drought affected the entire Tinnevely region and in 1792 the famine was intense. It was during this critical hour that relief works were first started by the Madras Government for the support of the famine stricken people of Tinnevely.

In 1807-1808 occurred another severe famine in Tinnevely. Its worst effects were felt throughout the Presidency. The entire district suffered for want of food and the country was reduced to a state of absolute desolation.

The year 1807-1808 was disastrous for the trade and commercial activities too. Tinnevely stood first in South Carnatic in the cash collection charges but the famine of 1807-1808 badly affected the revenue collection.

A severe famine brokeout in the Tinnevely district during 1811-1814 after a period of heavy rains and raging epidemic. As a result, in 1811 all mud-made resources breached and washed away all the standing crops. All the water courses went dry and the crops also withered. The common folk of Tinnevely experienced havoc wrought by epidemic as well as famine. Several villages in the Tinnevely district were depopulated and the death toll also went up. Many of the surviving inhabitants deserted their villages and migrated to other areas like Travancore.

The epidemic and the prolonged condition of famine caused a cattle murrain which resulted in severe losses. The unusual rise in price rate resulted in health hazards, starvation and death. Roman Catholic and Protestant missions lent great support to the famine affected people.

Outbreak of severe famines frequently caused scarcity of foodgrains. The government distributed rice, brought from North India to the value of fifteen pagodas a day, to save hundreds of poor people from starvation.

#### Natural Calamities After 1814:

In 1823, again a severe famine broke out in Tinnevely district. More than two-thirds of *nanjai* and considerable percentage of *punjai* crops perished. It also caused severe drinking water problem. The *Inam* lands in the Tirunelveli district were badly affected by the outbreak of the famine.

During 1832-33, a famine broke out in Guntur in Andhra, which has rightly been called as *Guntur famine*, and it had its repercussion in Tinnevely also. Due to severe heat drought conditions, crops withered and cultivation declined considerably. Tuticorin was the worst affected region. The economic depression that affected the Madras Presidency intensified the famine.

#### Famine Policy Of The English:

Acute problems were created by natural calamities like famines and epidemics. The Company's Government failed to deal with the calamitous situation effectively. Relief measures were not at all properly organised, when the Company initially assumed the administration of Tinnevely district.

But in the Course of time, the Company realised the need for evolving a definite policy not only to prevent the outbreak of epidemics and natural calamities, but also to extend relief to the affected people. The inhabitants of the famine affected areas were employed in the repair of tanks and other water courses, free trade policy was recognised by the Board of Revenue. The Commission which was appointed in 1811 travelled the district totally and rightly pointed out that much of the poverty was because of the heavy assessment.

The outbreak of the famine of 1811-1816 compelled the Company administration not to interfere in the open market system, as it would lead to the feedings of the entire population of Tinnevely.

During this crucial period great public works were launched. However, one should hasten to add that the prime concern of the company was not welfare measures but exaction of revenue even during unfavourable conditions.

## CONTACT AND CONFLICT BETWEEN GANDHI AND KAMARAJ

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Gandhi was a dominant figure in the political arena of India from 1916 till his death in 1948. Kamaraj too entered politics more or less at the same time of Gandhi's entry into Indian politics. Based on the nature of their relationship the contact between Gandhi and Kamaraj may be divided into three phases.

First phase - the hero and the worshipper 1915-21

Second phase - the leader and the volunteer 1921-40

Third phase - co-workers 1940-48

### First phase - the hero and the worshipper 1915-21

Kamaraj's early life was one of misery and turmoil. He had experienced economic inequality in his school days. The affluent east and the poor west, the wings of the same community at Virudunagar, had created a lasting effect on Kamaraj's life.<sup>1</sup> Gandhi's principle of removal of racial segregation and introduction of non-violent method of fighting came as a great inspiration to Kamaraj. He did not show interest in studies and so stopped his schooling in 1915 at the age of 12.

Psychologists are of the opinion that the adolescent age of a person plays a vital role in moulding the character of that individual, who tries to choose his hero and emulate him. The principles and practices of the hero would have a deep impression and lasting value throughout his career. Kamaraj had chosen Gandhi as his hero and became a self chosen Congress worker. Gandhi was his guiding force with which kamaraj went against the prominent Justices of his own community who branded him as a "traitor". He saw Gandhi in 1921 and resolved to follow the lead of Gandhi in all his endeavours.

### Second phase - the leader and the volunteer 1921 - 1940

Kamaraj's worship of Gandhi at heart blossomed into voluntary and selfless social and political activities. After 1921, he plunged into politics directly as a full time Congress volunteer. There are various stages in his progress in the Congress from an ordinary volunteer to the position of Provincial Congress President in 1940. Firstly, he attended all public meetings by calling prominent leaders to address people in and around Virudhunagar. Thirdly, he himself conducted meetings. He actively took efforts to enforce Gandhian constructive programmes. His participation in *Flag Satyagraha*, *Sword Satyagraha*, picketing of liquor shops, boycott of foreign cloth and agitation against Simon Commission with a stream of volunteers were all the expressions of his whole hearted service to Gandhi and the nation.

The trial to his loyalty towards Gandhi came when Satyamurthi sought his help to enlist members to Swaraj Party in support of Council-entry. Tamilnadu politics was rather gloomy when Satyamurthi, a firebrand speaker supported Council - entry and Rajaji, a lieutenant of Gandhi in the South opposed it.<sup>3</sup> Kamaraj had to pull on with both leaders of opposite camps and, at the same time, fulfill the ideals of Gandhi.

It was then possible for the central leaders to work together in spite of their ideological differences. But, at the provincial level, where they had to meet the people directly, the



pros and cons of their activities were assessed and the public support would change accordingly. Consequently, the Congress of Tamilnadu was divided. In 1931, Rajaji came out of his political isolation and wanted to contest for Provincial Congress presidentship<sup>4</sup>. The political rivalry between Rajaji's group and Satyamurthi's group was visible when the former's group withheld its participation in the procession arranged by Satyamurthi. This was considered as a calculated insult by Kamaraj<sup>5</sup>. This sort of groupism still grew when Rajaji got the University Graduate Constituency from Satyamurthi<sup>6</sup>, promising him ministry post but did not fulfill the promise.<sup>7</sup>

As to the relationship between Gandhi and the two leaders, Gandhi seemed to have more confidence in Rajaji than in Satyamurthi, probably he thought that Satyamurthi was more fit as a politician and parliamentarian than a social and constructive worker. In 1937 Gandhi wrote "My relations with Satyamurthi are excellent, sometimes out of consideration for me he lets his daughter ply a *Charka*"<sup>8</sup>. But, Kamaraj was a believer of *Charka* and the whole constructive programme of Gandhi. It was Kamaraj who advised Satyamurthi not to accept the post of Vice-Chancellor of Madras University from the British which might dilute the Civil Dis-obedience Movement in 1939<sup>9</sup>.

However, Kamaraj was more loyal to Gandhi than Satyamurthi. There was one occasion to prove this in 1939, Kamaraj was striving hard to bring Satyamurthi as the president of TNCC. In the same year, there was a contest between Gandhi's candidate Pattabi Sitaramaia and Subas Chandra Bose who was known for his anti-Gandhian views, for the post of president of AICC. Bose questioned the hold of Gandhi over the Congress<sup>10</sup>. In this contest the Congress Socialists backed Subas. When Kamaraj was engaged in canvassing for Satyamurthi for the TNCC Presidentship, the Congress Socialists wanted Kamaraj to support Bose under the impression that in his profound love for his guide Satyamurthi, Kamaraj would yield to their wish. But, Kamaraj bluntly refused to support Subas saying that he could not sacrifice his loyalty to Gandhi for the sake of Satyamurthi's victory in provincial election<sup>11</sup>. Likewise, when V. Srinivasa Iyengar, who resigned from the Congress in 1939 over his difference with Gandhi sought the help of Kamaraj to rejoin the Congress, Kamaraj refused after knowing that his inner motive was to oppose Gandhi from within<sup>12</sup>.

Kamaraj's loyalty to the Gandhian ideals of non-violence met with a challenge when he was arrested in 1931. Arrested under security clauses he was kept in Trichi jail<sup>13</sup>. In the jail, Communist classes were conducted by the revolutionaries. Jeevanandam wrote, "in January 1932 I entered the prison as a Congress man, in November I came out as a Communist."<sup>14</sup> Having strong faith in Gandhism, Kamaraj was not moved by the revolutionaries. But the police had suspicion on him, arrested him again, and framed cases involving him in violent activities through the secret association called *Samyavathi Sanga*.<sup>15</sup> But his loyalty to Gandhi was a well known fact that even a person belonging to the rival party i.e. Justice Party, came forward to give evidence<sup>16</sup>.

### **Third phase-co-workers 1940-1948**

Kamaraj held the post of Provincial Congress president from 1940 to 1952. During this period, while Gandhi was the recognised leader of the whole nation, Kamaraj was for Madras Presidency. However, the success of any national movement depends on planned actions at the provincial level. Here the relationship between Gandhi and Kamaraj was as co-workers.

Kamaraj's personal relationship with Gandhi was rather strained, perhaps due to Gandhi's under-estimate of him and also due to his confidence and unshakable faith in the intellectual capacity of Rajaji. After the death of Satyamurthi in 1943, the already existing Rajaji-Satyamurthi rivalry was transformed into Rajaji-Kamaraj rivalry. Both Kamaraj and Rajaji were dedicated Congress leaders and devoted Gandhians but not much was common between the two in their approach to problems and loyalty to the Congress. There was strong public opposition to Rajaji and his 'Formula' that necessitated disciplinary action against him<sup>17</sup>. But Rajaji and Gandhi had cordial relationship throughout. To Gandhi, Rajaji was his "Conscience Keeper"<sup>18</sup> and dearer than life itself<sup>19</sup>. Rajaji, however, decided to rejoin the Congress, since all his attempts at conciliating Jinnah and the Muslim League met with failure. By this time, the Congress high command wanted that Rajaji should not only be admitted but also be allowed to take leadership in the Congress<sup>20</sup>. His intellectual explanations could convince the party officials but not the mass in Tamilnadu. Rajaji wanted Gandhi to give a statement that would enable him to regain his popularity.<sup>21</sup> Gandhi's letter to Gopalasamy served the purpose; wherein he wrote "To accuse Rajaji of betrayal is not to know him. He is too good to do anything mean."<sup>22</sup> When the letter was published, there came the announcement of Rajaji's election to the TNCC from Thiruchengodu without the knowledge of its president, Kamaraj. So Kamaraj challenged the election which was declared invalid on 31 October, 1945.<sup>23</sup> However the entry was possible by the efforts of the high circle of the Congress.

Gandhi's visit to Madras in January, 1946 and his writing in the *Harijan* about the 'clique' affected Gandhi-Kamaraj relationship. To prevent the inconvenience of huge crowd, the time and venue of his landing at Madras was kept secret. It seemed that the TNCC president Kamaraj was also kept unaware of the arrival plan, but he got the news from a journalist and went to welcome Gandhi.<sup>24</sup> A trip was organised to visit Madurai and Palani temples. Rajaji and Kamaraj accompanied him. At Palani, "Kamaraj was left behind because of a sudden change in Gandhi's programme which necessitated Kamaraj's taking a car to catch the train at Dindugal"<sup>25</sup>.

After his return, Gandhi wrote article in the *Harijan* dated 10 February 1946 in which he mentioned that he was pained to find a 'clique' against Rajaji.<sup>26</sup> Kamaraj felt hurt since he firmly believed that it was aimed at him. Gandhi, throughout his tour did not miss any change to praise Rajaji, but the people raised a voice of opposition to it. Kamaraj by nature was a man of few words. He could not have a free and intimate conversation with Gandhi due to language problem. Obviously, Kamaraj kept distance and also was pushed to a distance. Gandhi wrote, "Sri Kamaraj Nadar was with me on the same special. He was with me to the temple of Palani Hills. But there is no doubt that Rajaji and Gopalasamy were closer to me during my journey"<sup>28</sup>.

Mean while Gandhi's visit to Madras was looked with doubt and said only to boost the morale of Rajaji. People began to play down this trick of Rajaji. Gandhi replied: "My visit has nothing to do with Rajaji being a premier. I was not interested in elections or offices. But since I was challenged I had no hesitation in saying that, Rajaji was by far the best man for the purpose in the southern presidency and if I had the disposal in my hands, I could call Rajaji to office."<sup>29</sup> When Kamaraj resigned his post of Presidentship of Parliamentary Board as a mark of his passive resistance to Gandhi's remarks, Gandhi wrote, "why worry

about the word 'clique'? . . . of course I have used the word deliberately. I must not withdraw it"<sup>30</sup>. Gandhi was given threats of fast by many followers of Kamaraj. To them he said, "I must state that I can not give up my opinion honestly held even if the whole world fasts against me"<sup>31</sup>. When the matter was closed by the mediation of Dr. P. Varadarajalu Naidu requesting Gandhi not to interfere in Tamilnadu politics, Gandhi consoled Rajaji writing "why do you worry about events? Do your duty and never think of results . . . It is enough you and I have acted right"<sup>32</sup>. The result of the controversy was that Kamaraj clung to his position not to withdraw his resignation and Gandhi too refused to withdraw his word "clique".

Kamaraj's resignation and his conflict over 'clique', however, did not hinder his devotion to Gandhian principles and methods which continued unabated till his end.

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**A LESS KNOWN FREEDOM FIGHTER OF TUTICORIN-DISTRICT:  
A PROFILE OF THYAGI A. MASILAMANI PILLAI, A.D. 1885-1949.**

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Writing about India's heroic sons of the Freedom Movement Bipan Chandra, et.al., say, "The movement did not lack exceptional individuals, both among the leaders and followers. It produced thousands of martyrs. But heroic were those who worked for years, day after day in an unexciting, hum-drum fashion forsaking their homes and careers and losing their land and very livelihood".

A. Masilamani Pillai of Tuticorin was one of those unsung martyrs of India. For nearly half a century, not only this great Gandhian, but also his family, participated in the yajna of the freedom struggle. Mrs. Jebamani Ammal the wife of Mr. Pillai was an elected member of the Madras Legislative Assembly for a number of years. Both of them declined the awards conferred on them.

This paper attempts to bring to focus the less known heroes of the freedom movement from the South, particularly, from the Christian community, who also had a significant part to play in the epic struggle for independence.

**Early Life And Background:**

It is a happy coincidence that Mr. Pillai was born in the momentous year 1885, when the Indian National Congress came into existence. It looked as if he was born to dedicate his whole life for the service of the nation.

His ancestors had already served the Travancore Princely State. But they fell from royal favour on becoming Christians. This marked the beginning of the saga of sacrifice<sup>2</sup>.

Thereafter, the family moved to the Thirunelveli District, the breeding home of heroic freedom fighters such as Kattabomman, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, Subramanya Siva, Subramanya Bharati and a host of outstanding patriots.

Tuticorin had become the cradle of the nationalist activities of Mr. Pillai. His parents were Mr. Arulanandam Pillai and Mr. Savariammal. He had his early education under the Jesuits at St. Xavier's School at Tuticorin. Under the paternal care of Fr. Martin, he groomed and shaped the youngster in faith and patriotism.

After completion of his schooling, he tried his hand at many odd jobs at running a Timber depot, Rice Mill and building contracts. That was the time when the national struggle for independence was raging the Tamil Country.

Mr. Pillai was naturally attracted by the movement. He became a full-time volunteer of the Indian National Congress, then directed by such stalwarts as V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, in Tuticorin. In 1909 Mr. Pillai married Mrs. Jebamani Ammal, daughter of panditha Savariraya Pillai, member of the royal Asiatic Society and professor of Tamil in St. Joseph's College, Thiruchirapalli. Since then the patriotic couple took a solemn vow to shun delights

and commit themselves totally and entirely to the service of the nation and of the Church<sup>3</sup>.

### **Service In The Congress:**

Mr. Pillai began his service in the Congress as an humble volunteer involved in propagating the ideas of the movement. He roused the people with his powerful oratorical skill, senatorian voice, and organising ability. He founded the "Servants of India Society" in Tuticorin.

It was not so easy in those days to get involved in the movement sacrificing everything braving the strong hand measures of the British oppression. Many Congress leaders have praised the service of Mr. Pillai all through his life<sup>4</sup>.

### **Association With National Leaders:**

Mr. Pillai was a contemporary and a close associate of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai. He helped his political mentor in many ways. They used to call themselves brothers. When Mr. Pillai was in prison V.O.C. came forward to bail him out. The letter of V.O.C. written in this connection is still preserved by the family as a priceless treasure<sup>5</sup>.

During Gandhiji's visit to Tuticorin in 1922, the father of the Nation allowed Mr. Pillai's family to be photographed with him. Gandhiji addressed a huge gathering there. In those days there were no micro phones. Mr. Pillai was called to restore order when the crowd became restless. He translated Gandhiji's address. He was always in demand to render into Tamil the speeches of eminent personalities like Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

### **SATYAGRAHI MASILAMANI:**

During the *Salt Satyagraha* in 1930, Mr. Pillai courted arrest and was imprisoned in the sub-jail of Tuticorin. The conditions in the jail were horrible. It was customary for the prisoners to carry the urine pot every day in the morning. It was in fact the duty of the prison servants. He refused to carry the pot and made the servants do it. The jail officials had a fearful respect for Mr. Pillai's courage and honesty. He was a man of principles and fighter for legitimate rights<sup>6</sup>.

### **INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA:**

Mr. Pillai's participation in the *individual satyagraha* in 1940 was a dramatic service still recalled in Tuticorin. When Gandhiji announced the *satyagraha* it was laid down that only ministers, legislators and office-holders should court arrest at first to be followed by other members. Mr. Pillai was only an ordinary member while his wife was a legislator. Mr. Pillai got a special permission from Gandhiji to court arrest before his wife did so.

On 20th January, 1941, Mr. Pillai offered satyagraha before a large gathering in front of the historic church of Our Lady of Snows on the Tuticorin beach standing just below the flag-mast. He was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs.200/-. His wife courted arrest on the same day. Their jail term was extended as both of them failed to pay the fine. During the Quit India Struggle in 1942, Mr. Pillai was again arrested under the National Security Act and was released only in 1944.<sup>7</sup>

### **Nation - Building Activities:**

Mr. Pillai was eager to translate the Gandhian ideas of social reconstruction into action. He went to all the nook and corners of the district and conducting picketting of today shops. He himself would compose songs describing the evils of drinking. He used to meet

the poor peasants and workers in the area and infuse in them patriotic feelings and self-esteem.

He organised the rural people to start blue-metal quarries as a way of employment. He founded schools for adult education spending his own money, when he owned a timber depot. He used to make "Charkas" and distribute them free to the people. He even appointed a weaving teacher at his own expense to supervise the work. The yarn that was produced in the institute was sent to Gandhiji as a gift.<sup>8</sup>

#### **A Family Dedicated To The Nation:**

Not only Mr. Pillai but the members of the whole family once dedicated to the service of the nation. Since the beginning of Provincial Autonomy in 1935, his wife Mrs. Jebamani Ammal continued to be a member of the Madras Legislative Assembly till 1956. She is the first Christian woman on an all India level to get such a distinction. Mr. C.J. Varkey, former Education Minister in the Cabinet of Rajaji praised her as the "Unique lady of India". Three daughters of Mr. Pillai and a son have dedicated themselves to divine service. Two of his grand daughters also have chosen such a vocation. His family has proved to the world that Christians are as much patriotic if not more, as any Indian". On his death Mr. Pillai was buried with the Khadhi out fin and the Gandhi cap" as desired by him.<sup>9</sup>

#### **End Of A Saga Of Sacrifice:**

When Mr. Pillai's earthly life came to an end in 1949, very handsome tributes were paid to him by people who knew him.

A leading Journal said "He was a catholic who has devoted himself heart and soul to the service of the Mother Land".<sup>10</sup> V.O.C. once said that "he was happy that he had an opportunity to serve his motherland through Mr. Pillai".<sup>11</sup>

Rajaji hailed Mr. Pillai as the first South Indian volunteer who dedicated himself to the service of India and her liberation from foreign rule".<sup>12</sup>

Dr. P. Varadaraju Naidu said that "he could never forget the sufferings and sacrifices of Mr. Pillai".<sup>13</sup>

Thiru. Vi. ka. regretted that "while the nation has lost a patriot, the religion a bakta, he lost a sincere friend"<sup>14</sup>

In the words of M.P. Sivagnanam, "Mr. Pillai was a pure patriot, an emotional speaker, who dedicated his life for the liberation of India without expecting any thing in return".<sup>15</sup>

In the village of Silanatham there is a Masilamani Pillai memorial library. The Tuticorin municipal office has the honour of Mr. Pillai's Portrait among the galaxy of eminent citizens of Tuticorin who had rendered great service to the people.

#### **CONCLUSTION:**

Mr. Pillai deserves to be recognised as one of the formost patriots of the South. We are indebted to him and his family for the sacrifices he had made. Moreover, Mr. Pillai and his illustrious family have explored the myth that the Christian community was not aware of the glorious days of the freedom struggle, but have fully participated in it without reservation. The fact that his great contemporaries at the local and national level held him in high regard and respect is a great tribute to the man and his mission.

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## **SALT SATYAGRAHA IN COASTAL AREAS OF TAMIL NADU - A CONTEMPORARY RESPONSE TO VEDARANYAM MARCH**

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The Indian National Movement is one of the protracted events of far reaching consequences. Every event in this great struggle that took place in every part of India is a significant one. The nationalists of India carried on their relentless struggle against the British rule with great devotion and commitment. Their steadfastness to their goal of achieving freedom, and their sufferings and sacrifices in the liberation movement against the foreign rule have few parallels in the history of the world.

In the second decade of the present century Gandhiji entered the scene and presented programmes for converting the national movement into a non-violent mass movement. His major programmes during 1919-1947 included Non-Co-operation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement. Started in December 1920 the Non-Cooperation Movement was withdrawn in 1922 as a result of violence erupted in Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh. However, he carried on his nationalist activities assiduously giving clarion calls to the people to spread the message of nationalism.

In 1930, Gandhiji announced the Civil Disobedience Movement and sent shock waves to the imperial authorities. As a part of the Movement, he undertook the Dandi March for breaking the abnoxious Salt Laws. Tamil Nadu followed suit and the nationalists led by C. Rajagopalachari popularly known as "Rajaji" undertook the Vedaranyam March in April 1930. In fact, the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha was one of the momentous events. The March began on 13th April from Thiruchirapalli. There were 99 volunteers in the Satyagraha March and the Satyagrahis belonged to different parts of Tamil Nadu and a few were from Bombay.<sup>1</sup> The Satyagraha March proceeded through many towns in Thiruchirapalli and Thanjavur. On the way, there were great ovations from people and enthusiastic welcome was offered to the Satyagrahis everywhere. Particularly, people from Tiruvadi, Thanjavur, Kumbakonam and Thiruthurai pundi thronged to the routes of the marchers to offer their support to the nationalist cause. Finally, the Satyagrahis reached Vedaranyam and after some initial prayers and fastings, they began their Civil Disobedience activity. Rajaji led the contingent into the swamp and made preparation to collect salt against prohibitory orders. Thus, he broke the Salt Laws. As a result, he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for six months. Soon after, the nationalists were led by K. Santhanam and the Salt Law breaking activities continued. The police authorities arrested all of them and sentenced them to six months simple imprisonment. But the undaunted Satyagrahis were not dismayed. Stream of Satyagrahis continued this activity every day and this perplexed the British authorities very much. Hundreds of Satyagrahis were arrested and convicted. Yet, their enthusiasm and morale never broke down. This in fact gave a great jolt to the British Government. Particularly, the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha broke the very spirit of the British authorities in the Madras Presidency. Also, this was followed by many other campaigns like Toddy shop picketing and Boycott of foreign goods to which people of Tamil Nadu rendered great support.<sup>2</sup> However, this was not the only campaign that caused consternation in the minds of the British authorities. A few other Satyagraha activities in the coastal areas of Tamil Nadu also gave a rude shock to the imperialists. Since, the great nationalist, Rajaji led the Vedaranyam March, much focus and importances were given to

this incident. But Salt Satyagraha in Madras and Tuticorin was also vigorous and it had the similar intensity in respect of patriotic sentiments.<sup>3</sup>

In Madras, T. Prakasam and K. Nageswara Rao and K.V. Ganapathy formed the volunteer group and carried on the Salt making and other demonstrations. During the later part of April 1930, the Satyagraha consisting of men and a few women went to the sea shore and engaged in salt making operations. During 22nd and 27th April enthusiastic volunteers picked up quarrels with the police authorities during the salt making operations. There was so much tension all over the city and normalcy was restored only after few hours. It is learnt that the Satyagrahis at Madras were also keen on violating prohibitory orders and breaking the Salt Laws. Their enthusiasm was very much manifest in their Satyagraha campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

Salt Satyagraha activities were vigorous in certain coastal areas of Thirunelveli district also. Particularly, in Tuticorin, Ovary, Tharuvaikulam, Veppalodai and Anjengo Salt making operations were carried on by Congress volunteers. They were led by local leaders namely S. Palaniyandi Mudaliar and K.P. Yagneswara Sarma. Though their attempts were checked by the Salt Department officials and police forces, the volunteers were steadfast in carrying on their activities. Many volunteers were arrested and sentenced. Yet, the spirit could not be controlled. In fact, the incessant activities of the nationalists in the Salt Satyagraha movement in Tuticorin and other coastal areas of Thirunelveli district startled the British authorities to a great extent.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the coastal areas, the Salt Satyagraha Movement was carried on in inland areas also. In the Kongu region consisting of Coimbatore and Salem districts, the Volunteers were intent in attempting to make salt from saline soils during April and May 1930. Though they were not very much successful in their attempts the enthusiasm and nationalist spirit in breaking the Salt Laws inspired the people in other parts of Tamil Nadu.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the Salt Satyagraha Movement in Tamil Nadu evoked greater enthusiasm and spirit among people. Every part of Tamil Nadu wanted to contribute their share towards the national struggle and in that context, the nationalist-minded people evinced keen interest in this struggle. Their participation in the movement and great support to the nationalists invigorated the liberation struggle which very much baffled the imperialists. Men and women involved themselves in the movement with great enthusiasm and it is this spontaneous response and co-operation of the people that bewildered the British authorities who with the passage of time decided to quit India.

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## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MADURAI CORPORATION

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Madurai is the second largest city of Tamil Nadu. Situated in the south central part of Tamil Nadu on the banks of the river Vaigai, Madurai is nearly 500 K.M. south of Madras the capital of Tamil Nadu<sup>1</sup>, and about 260 KM north of Cape Comorin, the lands end.

The institutions of the local self-Government have been there in Madurai since ancient times. The functioning of the local self-government of the past was entirely different from that of the present. The institution of local self-government in ancient Tamil Nadu could be traced to the post-Sangam period. The *Urs*, the *Manrams* and the *Poduyils* represented the village assemblies, of those days. In the medieval days the *Sabha* was the highest court of justice. It dealt with all matters related to the Brahmins. The existence of the three types of village assemblies namely the *Ur*, *Sabha* and the *Nadu* in the medieval times is known from the Tamil inscriptions belonging to the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. The *Ur* was an assembly of the entire mass who had the land in villages. The *Sabha* was the assembly of the *brahmadeya* villages, given as tax-free gifts to the Brahmins. The assembly of a locality or *Nadu* division was called *Nadu*, which was administered by the *Nattars*. The *Ur* or the grama was the basic unit of local administration in the Pandya Kingdom. This type of local administration was similar to that of the later Cholas<sup>2</sup>.

During the Mughal period *Kotwal* was the main figure in the organisation of local government in the Mughal towns<sup>3</sup>. The period between 1750 and 1850 noticed a change. The collapse of the Mughal Empire resulted in the establishment of British rule in India. The East India Company obtained a Charter from James II in 1687 giving the Company the power to establish a Corporation in Madras. So a Municipal Corporation, the first of its kind in India, under the British rule, was introduced in Madras on 29 September 1688.<sup>4</sup>

To become a Municipality a town should be the head-quarters of the taluk and the population should not be less than 10,000. The Census of 1851 shows that Madurai had a population of 41,601 and so a Municipal Council was constituted then in 1866.<sup>5</sup> It was done with four non-official Commissioners, a Vice-president and the President who was the District Collector. In course of time, the Commissioners were redesignated as Councillors and the President as Chairman<sup>6</sup>. The first Madurai Council had the District Collector V.H. Leving Esq. as the President.<sup>7</sup> The Municipality raised its revenue, fees and grants-in-aid. A major portion of it was spent on the maintenance of the police and roads, drainage and sanitation. For the year 1868-1869, the income of Madurai Municipality was Rs.61,147 and the expenditure was Rs.74,404.<sup>8</sup>

The number of Commissioners of the Madurai Municipal Council was increased to sixteen, of which five were officials and eleven non-officials. The Madurai Municipal office was housed in the Tirumalai Nayak Palace in 1871-72. The council also opened a maternity

hospital in 1873 and granted a dispensary in 1876<sup>9</sup>. The Chairmanship was handed over first to a nominated and then to an elected non-official. The Chairman was made the Executive Officer<sup>10</sup>. It was in the year 1885-86, the Commissioners became members and the President, the Chairman. In 1892 the strength of the Council was increased to twenty four and of these eighteen were elected and six were nominated<sup>11</sup>. In 1898 a Secretary was appointed to assist the Chairman. It was decided in 1902 to have a full-time salaried Chairman<sup>12</sup>. The salary of the Chairman was between Rs.400 and Rs. 600. Until 1920 no important changes were made in Municipal administration.

The strength of the Council was raised to thirty six, which remained unchanged till 1968. Despite the fact that the population had increased several times and the area of the Municipality had doubled, there was no change in these thirty six members of whom twenty seven were elected and nine appointed<sup>13</sup>. As the power of the Collector was reduced and that of the Chairman increased there was a glamour for the post of the Chairman.

A Sourashtra lawyer L.K. Dulasiram became the first elected, non - official, salaried Chairman of the Municipality.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that they had paid Chairman for the Madurai Municipal council from 1921-1930. In 1921 it was Rs.600 and in 1930 it was Rs.900.<sup>15</sup> The city of Madurai had become too big to be controlled by a Municipality. Ultimately, the Council was superseded in August 1931 and the administration was placed in the hands of a Special Officer appointed by the government<sup>16</sup>. The Madras Act XV of 1933 empowered the government to appoint Commissioners of Municipalities. S.Samuel Pillai became the First Commissioner of Madurai Municipality in July 1933.<sup>17</sup>

The following are some of the marked achievements of Madurai Municipality. It was the first to supply water through pipes from 1886.<sup>18</sup> Again, it was the first to maintain an ambulance car in 1940<sup>19</sup>. In the same year, all the Kerosene Oil lamps were completely replaced by electric lights.<sup>20</sup> Compulsory education was introduced initially in the schools in seven wards. Consequently, the attendance and results were remarkable in these wards. It maintained ninety nine miles of roads with electricity lights. It also maintained its own power house, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The Madurai Municipal Council celebrated its centenary in 1966. What started as a township of about one square mile around the Meenakshi Temple in the year 1866 with a population of 41,601 had grown at the end of the century into a modern city of nine square miles with a population of 4.5 lakhs. In 1866 the annual income was Rs. 36,000 and it was raised to Rs.1.80 crores in 1966.<sup>22</sup>

Till April 1969 there were thirty-three wards with thirty six members. After the amendments of 28 April 1969, the total area was divided into forty five wards and allotted for forty eight members. This type of Municipality is called special grade Municipality. According to the Census of 1971 the population had further grown to 5.49 lakhs. Because of the density of the population, colleges, industries, hospitals, medical centres, industrial training institutes and milk dairy, etc., were to be started. All these were not constructed in the city because of the paucity of space. Hence they have to be instituted in the sub-urban areas. This resulted in the extension of the city as well as the upgradation of the Municipality into a Municipal Corporation<sup>23</sup>.

The raising of the status of Madurai Municipal Corporation into a Corporation was felt necessary. A resolution in this regard was adopted unanimously in the Madurai Municipal Council in 1959,<sup>24</sup> but it went unheeded during the rule of the Congress Government of

the State. When Muthu assumed the Office of the Chairman of the MC, much work in this direction was done. As a Chairman Muthu frequently insisted upon the State Government to raise the status of Madurai into a Corporation for the development of the city. Meanwhile the Commissioner M. Lakshmi Rathan, I.A.S. went to Madras for the talks regarding the upgradation of Madurai as a Corporation. He had talks with the state government on the 23rd of March and 5th and 6th of April 1971.<sup>25</sup> As a close associate of the then Chief Minister M.Karunanidhi and also an influential member of the D.M.K.Party Muthu could achieve his object, of course, after much persuasion<sup>26</sup>. The Government of Tamil Nadu passed a Special Act raising Madurai Municipality into a Municipal Corporation on 27th April 1971, which was called the Madurai City Municipal Corporation Act 1971, extending to the City of Madurai<sup>27</sup>. As per the new Act, the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the existing Madurai Municipal Council holding office on the appointed date were to continue in office as Mayor and Deputy Mayor of the Corporation respectively<sup>28</sup>. In accordance with the Act passed by the Legislature, Muthu became the first Mayor and V. Lakshmi Rathan, I.A.S., the first Commissioner of the Madurai Corporation<sup>29</sup>.

Since 1971 the Corporation functions under two main divisions, namely the Deliberative Wing and the Executive Wing. Mayor is the head of the Deliberative Wing and Commissioner is the head of the Executive Wing. The members, called Councillors, are elected through adult franchise. The President, elected from among the members for a period of one year, is known as the Mayor. The government deutes one officer to help the day-to-day administration of the Corporation and he is known as the Commissioner<sup>30</sup>. The Deliberative Wing of Madurai Corporation functions through six standing committees and the executive wing functions through ten departments. Each department has its head.

The growth of the Madurai Corporation during its chequered history of twenty five years was remarkable. The Corporation worked for the development of the city. As per the Act enacted by the rural development and local administration department, thirteen more villages had been included to extend the area of the Corporation on 30th January 1974. The neighbouring thirteen more villages were incorporated and the area was extended to 51.84 square kilometres<sup>31</sup>. According to the 1981 Census, the population of the city increased to 9,04,362<sup>32</sup>.

Then the election of the Council was conducted on 27th July 1978 and some new wards were created to enhance the total number of wards to sixty-five. Nine members were nominated. From 8th August 1978 onwards the second new Council started functioning. The Council comprised of sixty-five elected and nine nominated members, totally seventy four<sup>33</sup> and it functioned for a period of six years upto 29th July 1984.<sup>34</sup> At present, the third council of the Madurai Corporation has been functioning under the Mayorship of Kuzhanthai Velu since 26th October 1996<sup>35</sup>. The Corporation has futher made some improvements during the Mayorship of Patturajan. The building for the office of the Corporation was built in 1974 at the Tallakulam Tank and named as Arignar Anna Maligai.

Being a Corporation, Madurai gives much importance to the civic administration. Providing protected drinking water, laying roads within the city limits, clearing the slum areas, constructing and maintaining Corporation buildings, keeping the city clean and beautiful are some of the basic duities of the Corporation. The growth and development of Madurai city warranted the formation of the Corporation which in the preceding years had done some appreciable work. At present, it is engaged in avoiding the traffic problems in the City.

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## REORGANISATION OF STATES ON LINGUISTIC LINES: THE CASE OF MADRAS

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The State's Reorganisation in 1956 brought into being states on linguistic lines. The former Madras State with predominant Tamil population emerged as a result of this process. While the *Aikya Kerala Movement* resulted in the formation of Kerala State with Malayalam speaking population a similar movement in some parts of the former Madras State brought about the rise of Madras with the Tamil population.

After 1947 Kerala witnessed a movement towards a united Kerala. The initial step taken was the Union of Travancore and Cochin into the State of Travancore- Cochin in 1949. Following upon the favourable recommendation of the Central Government State Reorganisation Commission headed by Justice Fazal Ali, Travancore- Cochin and Malabar were joined into one Malayalam-speaking Kerala State on November 1, 1956. It is said that the formation of Kerala State was the reestablishment of the ancient Chera Kingdom in modern form and fulfilled the dreams of the Malayali people.

While this movement took place in those parts of Kerala which became the New Kerala State there was also an agitation by the Tamils in Travancore for the merger of the Tamil areas with Tamil nadu (then Madras). It was the Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress formed in 1945 which marked a definite landmark in this direction. The agitation was launched on the basis of the supposition that the southern and eastern regions of the State formed part of the homeland of the Tamils.<sup>1</sup> (Tamil-speaking population settled in the Taluks of Tovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Devicoolam and Shencottah). In 1938 a group of Tamil scholars and businessmen started the Tamil Movement with a view to safeguard their interests and for literary progress. A meeting was held on 1 May 1938 which resolved to hold an *all - Travancore Tamilian Conference* to consider the place of Tamil in the Travancore University and to press for other demands of the Tamils. Gradually the Tamilians conceived the idea of a separate province to Tamilians in Travancore. To this effect the Tamilian Conference held at Rajakkamangalam in Agastheeswaram taluk on 11 October 1938 put forward the demand for the creation of a separate province of Nanjinad consisting of this predominant Tamilian taluks.

Though the Tamilian Association worked on these lines there were also many people-many activists - who took active participation in the State Congress agitation. A section of the Tamils of Nanjinad expressed their solidarity with the State Congress. On the other hand, the Nanjinad Tamilian Association disapproved the activities of the State Congress.

In 1940s there was much of political awakening that was visible among the Tamils, asking for a due share in the administration of the State.

The formation of a linguistic province of all - Kerala was a demand voiced by Malayalees and this resulted in the merger of the native states of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar District of Madras Province. After the United Kerala Convention at Trichur in April 1947 the leaders of the Tamil Nadu Congress gave importance to their demand for securing a separate province within Travancore till the reorganisation of states on linguistic lines while the Diwan announced the independence of Travancore, the Tamil Nadu Congress adopted an independent course of action. The Tamil Nadu Congress decided to start

direct action against the Diwan's declaration of independence. The T.N. Congress pressed their demand for a separate Tamil province. However, Travancore acceded to the union and in September 1947 the ruler granted responsible Government to the people of the state. There occurred rivalry between the T.N. Congress and the State Congress in the predominantly Tamil areas in South Travancore. As a result of the agitation launched by the Tamil Nadu Congress to attain the goal the reorganisation of State was effected in the case of Kerala by taking away from Tamil Taluks (Tovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam and Vilavancode and half of Shencottah ) in South Travancore and they were merged with Madras State.

The formation of the new state of Madras was effected in such a manner that it left discontent one way or other in Kerala and this materialised as part of a wide linguistic reorganisation of states.

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## MADRAS-ANDHRA BORDER DISPUTES AND PATASKAR AWARD.

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As certain districts were not homogenous in socio-linguistic sphere it became difficult in carving out the boundaries of the newly formed states. The State's Reorganisation Commission by and large depended on the census of 1951 and treated the districts as the units for territorial readjustments. As these figures and facts were not always relevant and as village speaking identical languages were dispersed across borders, the report did not come upto the expectations of all linguistic groups. As a result, readjustment across the borders were demanded and border commissions were to be appointed to settle these issues.

The new state of Andhra was carved out of the composite state of Madras taking district as the unit. The question of the rectification of the border disputes between these two states was to be dealt with by a boundary commission.<sup>1</sup> It was to be considered by both the Governments concerned immediately after the formation of the state of Andhra on 1 October 1953 and it was decided that the censusship of the disputed areas in the border district should be sorted out and village-wise linguistic data of the area prepared before the question was pursued further.<sup>2</sup>

In July 1955 the Government of Madras suggested to the Government of Andhra that the border dispute between Andhra and Madras could be settled by mutual agreement between the two. In the mean time, in order to resolve the dispute between these two states Justice Pataskar Commission was appointed by the Central Government. M.P. Sivagnanam intensified the north boundary agitation to protect the interest of the Tamils. In December 1956 both the Chief Minister of Madras and Andhra agreed that this dispute should be left to mediation.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, H.V. Pataskar, the Deputy Law Minister, a Judge appointed to solve the Madras-Andhra boundary problem started his work immediately. He never consulted the Tamil Nadu Government at Madras and the Andhra Government at Hyderabad. Both the Governments gave the needed details to Pataskar.<sup>4</sup> On behalf of the North Boundary Protection Committee and Tamilarasu Kazhagam M.P. Sivagnanam met Pataskar at the Raj Bhavan on 26 December 1956 and explained everything in writing about the demands, appeals of the Tamils and the opinion of the opposition. Pataskar also assured that he would do justice to the Tamils.<sup>5</sup>

Suddenly, the Andhra Government refused to co-operate with Pataskar and created hurdles in the settlement of the border problem. Hence the Tamil Nadu Government sent an appeal to the union Home Minister Pant requesting his intervention. The Minister complied with the request and finally he was able to get the co-operation of the two governments. Pataskar had completed his enquiry and submitted his recommendation to the Central Government.<sup>6</sup> The copies of the recommendations were sent to the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu and Andhra. But the news reporters without any legal sanction published the reports in the newspapers. They said that the Thirutani Taluk and some other villages in Puthur and Chittoor Taluks would be separated from Andhra Pradesh and given to Tamil Nadu. Similarly, some villages in Ponneri and Tiruvallur Taluks would be joined with Andhra Pradesh. Under these circumstances the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee raised its protest against the

report of Pataskar. Minister Bhaktavatsalam also talked directly against the report of Pataskar.<sup>7</sup>

If the recommendations of Pataskar had come into force then Tamil Nadu should have to give up the Arani River Dam to Andhra. Hence it was felt that the irrigation of the lands in Chingleput district would be affected. Therefore the zamindars also raised their protest.<sup>8</sup> Tamilarasu Kazhagam under the leadership of M.P. Sivagnanam (Ma. Po. See) also raised its banner of revolt against the Pataskar Commission. However, due to the timely intervention of the Central Government the matter was resolved amicably. As Congress party was ruling both at the centre and the states the matter came to a peaceful resolution.

### **Recommendations of Pataskar**

1. Totally 322 villages including the whole of Thirutani Taluk (except one small village) 30 villages in Chittoor Taluk, one village in Puthur Taluk were to be separated from Andhra and given to Tamil Nadu. The total population in these villages who would come to Tamil Nadu was 2,39,502.

2. Out of 34 villages in Tiruvallur and Ponneri Taluks of Chingleput District, 13 villages including the areas of the Arani River Dam would be given to Andhra.

3. 3 Legislative Assembly members of transferred areas from Andhra would be going to Tamil Nadu. But no M.L.A. of Tamil Nadu would go to Andhra.

4. In the Rajya Sabha one more seat would be given to Tamil Nadu whereas one seat would be reduced for Andhra.

5. The temple towns of Valli Malai, Tiruvalangadu and Thirutani would be attached to Tamil Nadu.

6. Since there was 38.4% of Telugu speaking people, 31.5% of Kannada speaking people and 22.4% of Tamil speaking people in Hosur taluk of Salem District. Besides there was no linguistic group having 50% of population and there was no geographical contiguity between Andhra and Hosur. Thus this would remain in Tamil Nadu.

7. The Arani Dam would go to Andhra. But Tamil Nadu and Andhra should make an agreement in such a way that sufficient water should be sent to the lands of Tamil Nadu from the water stored in the dam.<sup>9</sup>

According to the report of Pataskar Venkadam did not form the northern boundary of Tamil Nadu. Not only that the Tamil areas in Puthur and Chittoor would also be not given to Tamil Nadu. The irony was that Tamil Nadu Government never demanded these areas to be joined with Tamil Nadu.<sup>10</sup>

The Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and the Tamil Nadu Parliament Congress Committee made a unanimous decision that the recommendations of Pataskar should not be put into force and that Tamil Nadu and Andhra should maintain the same old boundaries. They made the same request to the Central Government also.<sup>11</sup> M.P. Sivagnanam after knowing the decision of the Congress Party accepted the recommendations of Tamilarasu Kazhagam Working Committee and the Northern Boundary Defence Committee without any conditions and sent the same to the Prime Minister Nehru and the Internal Affairs Minister Pandit Pant through telegrams<sup>12</sup>.

The Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu and Andhra were called by Pataskar to Delhi to discuss the report. The State Congress sent a Committee headed by Kamaraj to the Prime

Minister to insist that the report of Pataskar should not be accepted.<sup>13</sup>

On behalf of the northern border Tamils also, a committee under the leadership of M.P. Sivagnanam went to Delhi. The Committee which went to Pant's house at 7.00 a.m. accidentally met Pataskar, when they were making enquiries about his report especially about the Arani River Dam. He replied that nothing was mentioned about the river Arani in the petition given by the Tamil Nadu Government. He added that he had given more number of villages than demanded by the Tamil Nadu Government. He also commented that now the problem that was raised about the River Arani Dam had got some inner motive.<sup>14</sup> After that they met Pandit Pant. He reminded them that their party had already promised to accept his recommendations without putting any conditions or protests. Pant said that the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Governments were given one month time to give their views on the recommendations.<sup>15</sup> He further said that whatever might be the recommendations of Pataskar the Tamil Nadu and the Andhra Chief Ministers had agreed to give their consent and had given it in writing. He declared that he would not permit them to get back in their promises and that they could go with hope in their heart.<sup>16</sup>

The Committee which returned from Delhi met the news reporters. It told that Madras Government would not accept the recommendations of Pataskar. And the Central Government was also in favour of that. It refused to accept the decision of an individual. Actually the situation was very critical as the Tamilarasu Kazhagam was left alone. Since the Tamil Nadu Government, Tamil Nadu Congress, D.M.K., and the Communist party were not prepared to give their support to the Tamilarasu Kazhagam in getting the Thirutani Taluk and the River Arani. Tamilarasu Kazhagam also yielded and accepted the recommendations of Pataskar. M.P. Sivagnanam explained that the Tamil Nadu Government never mentioned about the Arani River in its petition. Further, if the Government of Kamaraj refused to comply with the recommendations he would revive the agitation. Since the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu and Andhra felt that the situation might go beyond their control, they met at Hyderabad and finally accepted the recommendations which came into force in April 1960.<sup>17</sup> In fact for a Temple Tamil Nadu lost a dam of vital importance.

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**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**  
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**Social Attitudes Towards Women in**  
**Tamilaham**  
**Gender Perceptions in Tamil**  
**Literature**

"Women's Decade", ushered in an era of social consciousness among women, commonly called the "fair sex" or "weaker sex" or the "second sex". Now-a-days, gender justice is heard everywhere and fought everywhere. A poem of "Namakkal Kavignar" Ramalingam Pillai greatly intrigued the writer. Woman was portrayed as a loving daughter, a partner in life, a caring mother and hostess and elevated by her qualities to be the very personification of a goddess. This idealisation and deification of women prompted this modest attempt to visualise attitudes towards women through the medium of Tamil Literature.

The concept of equality has exercised a powerful emotional appeal in the struggle of women to free themselves from exploitation and oppression. Women have not only claimed that they are equal to men in capacity and moral worth, but also demanded equal rights and equality of opportunities. Modern liberal education has made them come out from their alienated life and taken up managerial jobs, soldiers' responsibilities and discharge duties which once revolved on men. They had to struggle for achieving this change. This struggle brought to the fore many feminists, who dedicated their lives for women's liberation.

However, the struggle of the earlier feminists was for the democratic rights of women. It included the right to education and employment, the right to win property, the right to vote, the right to birth control, the right to divorce and so on. In fact, they fought for legal reform, i.e. for a legally equal position in society. Feminism now includes the struggle against women's subordination to the male with in the home, against their exploitation by the family, against their continuing low status at work, in society and in the culture and religion of the country and against the double burden in production and reproduction. In addition, feminism challenges the very notion of femininity and masculinity as mutually exclusive, biologically determined categories.

Women are regarded as the highest embodiment of purity and power, a symbol of religiousness and spirituality. They are also viewed essentially as weak and dependent creatures requiring consistent guidance and protection. There are certain differing attitudes among men and women. They are: (i) the male is more desirable than the female and that (ii) the male is qualitatively superior to the female. These have created in men what is called Androcentrism.

Based on Tamil thoughts, the history of Tamilnadu may be divided into the following time periods.<sup>1</sup>

The period of nature (primitive) system - *Iyarkai Nerik Kalam*, (pre-Sangam and Sangam periods);

The period of moral consciousness - *Ara Nerik Kalam*, (later part of Sangam and Pallava periods);

The period of religious faiths - *Samaya Nerik Kalam*, (Pallava-Pandya and Chola periods);

The period of metaphysics or the search for reality - *Tattuva Nerik Kalam*, (Pandya, Vinayanagar, Nayak and early British periods) and the period of influence of Science - *Ariviyal Nerik Kalam*, (the second half of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century).

The first three periods reveal lot about women directly or indirectly. She has been man's mate, his life partner and mother of his children. When ethics of the society were codified, more restrictions have been put on her as she represented the family's honour. Men were also warned against resorting to prostitution, which was scorned at. From free-moving, free-mixing in a secular society, women gradually felt to a secluded life. With the emergence of the didactic poetry and philosophy of Buddhism and Jainism, the decline in the status of women started. Besides, asceticism was also advocated for women and they were expected to be *pativratas* (chaste and faithful wives). A chaste women was defined as one who will not even enter the thoughts of another man. The Tamil works categorise such, chaste women into three kinds: Women of *apriori* chaste, *bpriori* chaste and *cpriori* chaste. A chaste women like Kannagi<sup>3</sup> was adored as the Goddess of virtue.

Following this trend, certain usages degrading the personality of women sprang up only to make women secondary to man. To cite one instance : "கல்லாளும் கணவன், புல்லாளும் புருசன்". But this was denied in the reverse order. Women participating in social functions and aesthetic arts was denied. If they did so, they were denied heavenly bliss. *Sivagnanabodham*<sup>4</sup> became the basis of *Saiva Siddhanta* (theology relating to Saivism), which emphasises the ephemeral nature of any thing connected with the material world and confined itself to religious and philosophical discussions. Even if there is a reference to women in it, it is of a derogatory nature. For instance, a fifteenth century writer, Arunagirinathar, in order to establish that worldly pursuits are undesirable, condemns womanhood in no uncertain terms.<sup>5</sup> However, the works of Tayumanavar<sup>6</sup> and Ramalingaswami<sup>7</sup> propogated the path of reconciliation among various sects of faith. The subsequent genre of poetry called the *Cirrilakkiyam* (Minor Works) - *Kuravanchi*, the *Natakams*, *Thuthus*, etc., depict women particularly the temple women (*devadasis*) as cunning, scheming and avaricious. They are said to have had their eyes on the wealth of others. This genre arose only to give some direction to men who often visited prostitutes and squandered the family wealth on them and made family women poor and wretched.<sup>8</sup>

The Age of Science, a direct impact of western education, brought into existence a new generation of prose writing, which brought into the fore a large number of novels, stories, short stories, satirs, essays, and commentaries. Associated with this was the national movement and social reform, which wanted total overhauling of the wretched life of women. Stories have been women having woven as the themes, depicting the ideals, aspirations and attitudes of society.

Early Tamil works, the Sangam and post-Sangam works, mirror an idealistic status of women. Ka.Na.Subramaniya Pillai<sup>9</sup> observes that in the ancient Tamil literature there is the absence of the concept of women as slaves of men. To cite a *sutra* in *Tolkappiyam*<sup>10</sup>, the man and woman lived together in amity and equality. Since the husband was respected, the family stood united. The wife was like a minister to her husband. For a woman chastity

meant maintaining the filial love and obeying the words of her husband.<sup>11</sup> Tiruvalluvar says that the most important quality of womanliness was chastity.<sup>12</sup>

Since a husband has to protect his family, he goes out for earning by doing some profession. The wife at home manages the income in the most productive and frugal way. He thus mixes with the society. But, she has no opportunity to do so; hence confined to her household. She thus becomes the *Illal* and a filial partner in life. The relation between the husband and wife is cemented by love (*Anbu*). The husband (*Thunaivan*<sup>13</sup> or partner) listened to his wife within the house and wife respected his wishes in public. This became the tradition. This tradition continued until the philosophic systems got crystallised in Tamil Nadu. In this partnership, both of them equally share burdens of family; male outside home and female at home. There was no chance for testing who was the most important and powerful. But because of the north Indian *sastraic* and *sutraic* influence, women are bound to protect their husbands by their loyalty, subservience, filial love and honesty. The concept of chastity binds women more than men stems from the responsibility of motherhood in ensuring the proper lineage. However, Tiruvalluvar says that it is not proper to restrict women to protect them. They must be able to protect their virtue by their own mental discipline.

Besides, such restrictions and strict rules on women's chastity prevent their from going astray. Tamil social milieu does not stand in the way of granting equal rights to women. But, for the welfare of the society, it lays stress on certain duties and limitations.

In earlier times, women were free to contribute to public welfare. None found fault with Mangayarkkarasi, the wife of Kunpandya who contacted Tirugnanasambandar for creating a new religious life at Madurai. Greek accounts stand testimony to women rulers in Tamil land in the ancient period.<sup>12</sup> Karikalan, a Chola king, had for his advisor a poetess by name Vennikuyathiar. Many poetesses<sup>13</sup> obtained gifts from the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings for their scholarly works. Many of the wives of *Nayanmars* enjoyed equal rights with their husbands and led a fulfilling life. Parents did not impose restrictions on daughters who preferred asceticism. This is evident from the stories of Tilakavatiyar and Umaiammai. Even Manimekhalai was not forced into prostitution which was her family tradition. The change has then set in.

According to *sastras*, if it was impossible for a man and woman to live together, it was then open for them to get separated. *Satheya*<sup>14</sup> *noolkal* record that if the parents are unable to arrange a suitable marriage for their daughters within a reasonable period after they attain puberty, then the daughters have a right to choose their own partners. It would appear that the literature of the period advocated compassion and consideration towards women.

Widow remarriage was performed in certain families even though it has not been spoken of highly in *Tolkappiyam* and other works. Tamil works insist on widow's to observe *Kaimmai* (widowhood). Widows could also lead an ascetic life like *Madhavi* as referred to in *Silappadikaram*. Sangam works show that intercaste marriages were accepted.<sup>15</sup> The story of Sundaramurti Nayanar<sup>16</sup> further adds credence to this fact. He was a *Adisaiva* but married Paravaiyar who belonged to the *Rudraganika*<sup>17</sup> tradition and also Sangiliyar who belonged to the Vellala caste.

According to the above account in the traditional Tamil society the indicators of good status of women were: The concept of partnership in family life with specific duties and rights, the emphasis on the merits of chaste women, clandestine love followed by marriage, honour bestowed on learned ladies and the recognition of the women's rights to choose their partners.

Prof.K.K.Pillay<sup>18</sup> comments that "While the woman of the Sangam age was treated as an equal to man and was given a position of respectability, later she was at times looked down upon as almost venomous. This is evident from the ethical work "*Iniyavai Narpadu*".<sup>19</sup> It is probable that this deterioration in the position of women was caused by the growing influence of Jainism and Buddhism in South India. In addition, the Brahmanic works brought to Tamil Nadu many evil practices such as child marriage, dowry and the cruel practice of *sati*. Their position further deteriorated roughly during the period between fifth and seventh centuries A.D. when most of the *Padinen Kizhkanakku*<sup>20</sup> (18 Minor Works) were composed. There is reference to the prohibition of husband beating his wife with a stick (*Tirikadukam*<sup>21</sup>. :3) The same ethical treatise despises the wife who disobeys her husband<sup>67</sup>. The increased subordination of the wife to her husband is also seen in *Sirupanchamulam*, another work belonging to the same group. It contains the code of conduct for the household woman which includes implicit obedience to the husband even if he is a tyrant and the partaking of the remnants of the food left over by the husband (*Sirupanchamulam*:53). This shows a definite degradation in the status of women in the household and in society.

With regard to the position of widows Prof. K.K.Pillai adds "....from the earliest strands of available Tamil literature we learn about her despicable position. But it is doubtful whether *sati*, the self immolation on the husband's funeral, was commonly prevalent among the Tamils of old". In fact, a widow was subject to several inhibitions and restrictions soon after the death of her husband. Such women had their hair on the head removed. Thus there are several references in the *Purananuru* anthology which advert to the practice of widows shaving off their locks of hair as a sign of mourning. This practice was in vogue in early Tamil society of the Sangam age and continued in the days of Epics. *Silappadikaram* states that Madhavi resorted to it as soon as she heard of Kovalan's death.<sup>22</sup> The widow had to discard all ornaments including the tali and bangles which were the distinctive symbols of a married woman. The widows were called "Kalikala Magalir" by reason of their discarding their ornaments. In later times the widows were called "Arutali" or one bereft of the tali. It confirms the distinctive importance given to tali as a symbol of wifehood. Generally, a widow's appearance was not appreciated.

Regarding the evil of prostitution, Prof. K.K.Pillai records thus: "...*Karpiyal* or wedded life of the married couple invariably followed the *Kalaviyal* (clandestine love). Theoretically the observance of a moral code in conjugal relationship was enjoined on men no less than on women (*Kural* 149). But there seems to have existed a wide gulf between theory and practice. Frequently, menfolk deviated from the legitimate path". According to the traditions of early Tamils, ideal was *aintinai* <sup>23</sup>. Both *kaikkilai*"<sup>24</sup> and "*peruntinai*"<sup>25</sup> were considered unsuitable for higher section of the society. One form of *peruntinai* was a man's relationship with *parattaiyar* (harlots) and it was looked down upon as unnatural and unbecoming of the cultured. *Tiruvalluvar* condemns this illicit relationship in unmistakable

terms. His chapter on *Varaivin Magalir* (public women) constitutes a vehement protest against the dreadful evils of harlotry. *Tolkappiyar* too is well aware of the unholy practice. The anthologies on love like *Ainkurunuru*, *Agananuru*, *Narrinai* reveal that in actual practice harlotry had become a well established institution. "The didactic poems like *Naladi Nanuru*<sup>2</sup> and *Inna Narpadu* refer to harlotry, if only to condemn it vehemently. But inspite of disapprobation by moralists, resorting to harlots and concubines had persisted through the ages."

Jivakacintamani of Tiruthakkatevar, an epic of literary merit, points to polygamy as an accepted norm, especially among upper classes. *Kundalakesi*, an epic of tenth century by Nagu Dathanar speaks of a Vaisya woman killing her husband in self defence and then becoming a Buddhist nun, showing that Jainism and Buddhism opened their doors to women wanting to be ascetics.

We find that in the days of ethical works, in order to discipline family life and ensure rightful progeny, the chastity of women was stressed upon. Valluvar's *Kamatthi Pal* (Chapter on Love), highlights in twenty five sections, as to how love should be between the husband and the wife. This is refreshing as no discrimination between the sexes is evident. *Naladiyar* works say that marriage is only for lowly people while the noble minded will choose asceticism.<sup>29</sup> *Tirikadugam* recognises the importances of a life partner but denounces women resorting to meditation even for mere misunderstandings. The *Sirupanchamulam* says that a woman must be protected by a father, brother, maternal uncle, husband or son<sup>30</sup>, suggesting a woman's need for protection. In the work *Eladi*<sup>31</sup> hatred for women seems to be stepped up. Women's words are described as unrealistic. At the same time, if she is given away in marriage to a person who seeks her hand then her parents are assured of a prosperous life, thus seemingly supporting love marriages (*Eladi*-49). *Nanmanikadigai*<sup>32</sup> says that a house without a wife is no home and is bound to end in ruin.<sup>33</sup> A woman is expected to be a *patni* (chaste wife) while no such code is imposed on man. A mother is elevated to the position of deity<sup>34</sup>, while a wife is expected to be obedient to her husband and run the family wisely even with a small income. The *Innanarpadu*<sup>35</sup> advises that a quarrelsome wife should be ignored and comments on the uselessness of a beautiful but loveless wife.<sup>36</sup> It stresses on protecting a mother throughout her life.<sup>37</sup> *Acharakovai*<sup>39</sup> exhorts men to avoid living near a harlot's house.

Karaikkal Ammaiyar assuming the form of a ghost to worship Siva may be interpreted as a contrast to the traditionally timid women. Perhaps it was the animosity towards Jainism which looked down upon women and advocated celibacy that the women<sup>41</sup> of the Chola period supported the revival of Saivism which praises *Sakti*, the consort of Lord Siva. One aspect to be remembered and noted is that the traditional concepts with regard to women such as chastity of wife, importance of mother and the twin attitude of regard to the mother and disrespect to a mere woman continued upto nineteenth century.

Literature has conditioned women through authoritative works and has allotted specific roles for men and women. Women are expected to be meek, submissive and patient. Maha Vidvan Krishna Pillai (1827-1900) has commented on a wife's virtue and duty quoting authorities,<sup>42</sup> in his compiled work *Kaviya Dharma Sangiragam*. It is a compilation from various literary treatises and has a chapter on *Pativrata Dharmam* or the duties of a virtuous wife.



The gist of the above work is as follows: A chaste wife is one:  
 Who attends to her husband through understanding his  
 needs without importance to her own likes and dislikes;  
 who is religious and god fearing;  
 who will be an equal partner to her husband just like  
 the two wheels of a cart;  
 who will be a hospitable and warm woman;  
 who eats after, goes to bed after and wakes up earlier  
 than her husband;  
 who dresses only for her husband;  
 who shares the joys and sorrows of her husband;  
 who considers chastity as dearer than her life;  
 who lives for the pleasure of her husband;  
 whose duty is to attend on her husband and to carry  
 out her husband's slightest wish promptly - and whose  
 duty is to please and satisfy her husband.

This is nothing but a restatement of the  
 north Indian *sastraic* and *sutraic* subversion  
 of what was the opposite in early Tamilaham.

Literature also projects and advocates double standards, one for men and another for women. As a result, society expects a woman to be a virgin before marriage and chaste thereafter. She was not allowed to divorce her husband (applicable to the majority) whatever the provocation was and if she was widowed, she rarely remarried.

A working woman has to bear all the brunt, come home on time and continue to consider her earning role as supplementary to that of the husband. Finally, the onus of family welfare and well being is on the woman and not on man. A few authors like Natesa Sastriyar depict a kind of low opinion of women by mentioning a few common proverbs which were derogatory to women.

Literature abounds with references to the low status given to women as in the works of Pattinaththar and Thayumanavar who were strong critics of women.

While such accounts were few and far between, but along with the negative portrayals<sup>43</sup> given in literature, they exercised a greater influence and did greater harm to women's position and status in society.

The traditional portrayals assign woman only to the role of a wife and that too an ideal wife. However, in this traditional portrayal, sympathy is shown to the widows and appeal is made for their being treated in a decent and humane manner. Divorce is considered as no solution and is generally frowned upon.

A unique feature is that these traditional portrayals are common in literature throughout the period, i.e. from later nineteenth century to the present day. Another interesting

feature is that these portrayals are to be seen even in the writings of women authors. The undue eulogising of the concept of motherhood and the ideal wife has conditioned the minds of both men and women and prevented the development of flexibility and adaptability which is necessary for the evolution of social progress in tune with changing times.

The negative portrayals in literature have been equally harmful to the healthy growth of women, their personality and their potential. Thus women's education suffered most because it was generally believed that education spoilt women, made her arrogant or even unchaste and made her unfit as a wife. The third negative aspect is the aversion shown to a working woman. This has not only affected her entry into the labour market but also deprived her of respect in society which she deserves.

Literature however is not heartless to women's sufferings and their miserable condition. There is enough reference to show that the miserable condition and sufferings of women were understood, graphically portrayed and suggestions to mitigate their lot are made. Man is called upon to treat his wife with affection and consideration. Different suggestions are made for lessening the suffering of women. Majority of the writers considered education as a panacea for all the ills of women and therefore advocated it.

Some writers forcefully championed the women's cause. In the earlier decades it was Bharati and Thiru. Vi. Ka. and later writers Bharathidasan, EVR 'Periyar' and Jayakanthan. Among women authors Hema Anandatheerthan and Rajam Krishnan champion the cause of women.

Dr. Mu. Va. vividly describes in his novels the troubles and toils women have to undergo and stresses the need for more freedom and education.

As Dr. Thani Nayagam says, Dr. Mu. Va. "Utilises the changing patterns of social role of women and declares that she is equal to a man and should enjoy true freedom and marry on equal terms once she becomes economically independent."<sup>44</sup> Dr. Mu. Va. is considerate with working women. He compares working women and the less literate house wives as walking in slush and walking on a sandy beach.

He gives a new definition to *karpu* (chastity). Old definitions of the term is of no use today. As long as one is loyal to her husband while living with him, that will do.<sup>45</sup> His characters Nirmala,<sup>46</sup> Vijaya<sup>47</sup>, Vadivu<sup>48</sup> and Ponni<sup>49</sup> are all created to stress this point.

He supports divorce. According to him marriage is a friendly contract. As one is entitled to part from a friend, if they do not see eye to eye, so should one have the freedom to part with the husband. He always suggests the teaching profession especially at the primary level for his women characters.

He tries to reform Tamil women by his novels. This can be felt vividly through all his novels. His novels strive to reduce their suffering and promote better understanding between men and women.<sup>51</sup> This trend continues in the seventies and eighties also. Hema Anandatheerthan, in her book "Eththanai Kodi Inbam" mentions sending of girls for jobs has become quite common in middle class families. But they prefer jobs for their girls than higher education. However, it is Jayakanthan who breaks fresh grounds on man-woman relationships. He points out how the social evil of prostitution and keeping of concubines has crept in due to the poverty of lower class women and the deceit practised on ignorant and helpless wives in his novel "Vizhudugal" and "Pralayam". He discusses sex relationship freely which hitherto was considered a taboo.

Rajam Krishnan, in her realistic portrayal of the life of insecure labour class points out how every parent's worry is about marrying their daughters.<sup>59</sup> She throws light on the innumerable suffering of women due to gambling and drinking habits of their husbands. Some of them prefer to living away from their husbands rather than undergoing the torture of such life. Though apparently possessing greater freedom, the women of the lower classes are limited by traditions and the male superiority in every sense besides being crushed by poverty.

The nineteen eighties saw the first concerted attempt to study women's question in detail as a result of the impact of the *Decade of Women*. And a unique picture of this decade is that majority of the writers were women themselves.

While Soundaram Kokila appreciates "Mangaiyar Sadanaigal" (achievements of women) Bhanumathi Rajagopalan in her short story "Oru Thavam Thodarkirathu" (A Penance Continues) emphasises the concept of a women's auspiciousness and keeping *kunkumam* is associated with her husband alone and that the wives, acceptances of the presence of another woman in her husband's life is due to economic reasons as well as a result of conditioned attitudes. Charukesi speaks of traditional power game in her short story "Ulaga Mamiyargale Ondru Serungal" (Mothers in law of the world, unite). Ushadevi in her (Maratha Parinamangal unchanging Traditions) mentions how a man has greater freedom to choose his life partner than a girl.

Goda Parthasarathy in her novel "Penn" (woman) implies that it is upto a woman to make or mar a man, even though she portrays the traditional, flexible and patient wife striving for family's welfare. So does Padmasani eulogises ideal-woman in her "Illathu Arasikku". R. Choodamani in her novel "Aradanari" (Half woman) attempts to enforce the acceptance of equality of sexes and changing roles in the family by the society.

From Thiru Vi.Ka's. deifying women in his "Pennin Perumai" to the portrayals of independent thinking women by Shivashankari, Anuradha Ramanan and Balakumaran, society's changing attitudes towards women are clearly revealed in contemporary literature.

From the writings of Mayuram Vedanayagam Pillai, who portrays woman as chaste and virtuous, we find reference to woman in various terms such as *Illal*, *Manaiyal* and *Grihini* (indicating housewife), *Kathali* and *Priyai* (upholder of the family), *Pari* (bearer of burden) *Talavi* and *Nayaki* (partner of man), *Pattini* (chaste woman) and *Tunaivi* (partner in life and death). The woman is identified only in relation to her man. *Karpu* or chastity in a woman is stressed by majority of writers, like Veerasami Chettiar, Thiru.Vi.Ka., Ramalingam Pillai, etc. Idealisation of the motherhood concept is evident from Bharathi's writings to the contemporary literature of today. The inferior status and pitiable position of women burdened by child marriage, dowry, *purdah*, submissive nature, difficulties of widows, single woman, polygamy are graphically portrayed by Bharathidasan, Kanmathiyar, Madavaiyah and others. Women's potential and capabilities are stressed by Bharathi, Neelambikai and Dr.Varadarajan. The working women, the professional women and the career-oriented women, are projected in the writings of Jayakanthan, Sivasankari, Balakumaran and Vasanthi, thus ushering an era of changing scenes and attitudes. Ku.Pa.Rajagopalan, Bharathidasan, Bharathi, 'Thanthai Periyar', Anna and Kalaingar portray modern concepts regarding women. They would like to see woman progress through education and employment. The writings of Rajam Krishnan, Vimala Ramani and Anuradha Ramanan are rational analyses of women's

status and they advocate breaking the chains of defunct traditions. Thus we find changing trends in the portrayal of the gender concerns which can be categorised as rousing the consciousness of women and men.

On the whole, literature did not help women much because of its not championing forcefully the cause of women's education and property rights.

While a number of authors advocated education for women, it was more for making her a better wife and not for improving her personality or status or for her achieving academic excellence. Some authors feel that an educated girl will make greater demands on her husband; demand to be consulted in choosing a husband. In fact economic independence is the base for the elevation of a human being's status. In this, literature has let down women badly. There is hardly any strong support or propaganda for women's property rights and economic independence. As a result, suggestions to improve women's status did not succeed. What were projected in literature only strengthened the attitudes and concepts stressed by religion and tradition. This was all the more tragic because in the absence of the development of social ethics and of social reforms regarding women's conditions it was literature which had to play a very aggressive and crucial role in raising the condition and status of women. In reality, literature hampered her development in a natural and free manner. An identity as an individual and consequently of a status in society. It served as the third main pillar along with religion and traditions firmly moulding the woman into an ignorant, meek and submissive creature rather than help her to develop into a woman, full blooded and free personality who can face her man on terms of equality, affection and natural understanding.

### **Conclusion**

Females constitute nearly 49% of the population in Tamilnadu (i.e. 27,420,371 females to 28,217,947, males). The sex ratio is 972 females to 1000 males, and literacy rate is 52.29% as against males with 74.88%. The status of women in Tamil Nadu as it exists today is the combined product of past influences and modern factors. Though women are faced with social and self-imposed handicaps, they are increasingly becoming aware of their rights. The contribution of women for the preservation of our culture, in its religious and social perspective, cannot be minimised. Tamil women have tried to maintain a balance between tradition and modernity. Women continue to be the pillars of family stability.

Women and men are equal in every human concern in this world. They are equally competing in almost all spheres of work and power and are equally achieving the set goals. Culture, economy and polity may be barriers to women to a certain extent. Since *feminism* challenges male superiority and domination in society, at work and in the home and since it questions male authority based not on ability but on gender, it forces men to review their attitudes. In the long run, *feminism* will be good for both women and men, for *feminists* seek the removal of all forms of inequality, domination and oppression. Men would have fewer economic responsibilities and pressures and would be able to express their own individual inclinations in the ethos. *Feminism* would liberate men from the roles and images that society demands of them besides achieving women's equality, dignity and freedom of choice.

### References:

1. Velupillai, A., *Tamil Ilakkiyathil Kalamum Karuththum*, Madras, 1985, 3rd edition.
2. *Apriori* chaste women: those who fell into the funeral pyre of their husbands instantly; *Bpriori* chaste women: those who commit themselves after some hesitation; *Cpriori* chaste women: those who continue to live for bringing up their children or enter into the life of asceticism (Editor).
3. Kannagi, the heroine of *Silappadikaram*, a model of a chaste wife, who was glorified as Goddess and worshipped for her virtue by the Tamils. This custom had spread to Ceylon also.
4. *Sivagnanabodham*, one of the most important of the fourteen works connected with Saiva Siddhanta System, written by Meykantar around the first part of the thirteenth century.
5. Arunagiri led a life of filth and prostitution. He turned a leper and people isolated him. He then decided to commit himself by falling down from the temple tower of Annamalai. [See for details K.Sadasivan, *Devadasi System in Medieval Tamil Nadu*, Trivandrum, 1993].
6. Tayumanavar (1706-44), a disciple of Mauna Guru, well versed in Sanskrit and Tamil, a true Saivite, spoke of reconciliation among faiths for the first time. His work called Tayumanaswamigal *Tirupadal Tirattu* has become the Upanishad of Tamil language. He is considered a Siddhar by some.
7. Ramalinga Adigal (1823-74), the founder of worship of *Arul Joti* (the Flame of Grace) and *Sarva Samarasa Sanmarga* Sangam, stressed on *Jivakarunyam* (kindness to all living beings).
8. See K.Sadasivan, *op.cit.*, last chapter.
9. Pillai, Subramaniya, Ka.Na., "Pennurimai" (Women's Rights), a Chapter in *Tamizhar Samayam*, Madras, 1969., pp. 134-140.
10. *Tolkappiyam* speaks of the fourfold caste division, but does not give evidence of a degraded life of women.
11. Mentioned in *Konrai Vendan*, written by Avvaiyar, a poetess of Chola period.
12. *Tirukkural*, Adikaram 6, verse 54, "What possession of greater value can one have than a wife if she be firm in her loyalty to her partner in life."
13. The terms *Thunaiyan* and *Thunaiyi* stand for a partnership in life. They refer to a kind of equality, a kind of inseparableness, (Editor).
14. *Tirukkural* Adikaram 6, verse-57, "Of what use is that purity which is brought about by physical restrictions and isolation to which women are subjected? Their own sense of pure life is the best watch".
15. One of the sixty three *Nayanmars* (Saivite Saints.)  
(a) Megasthenes in his *Indica* makes mention of a Pandya Queen Pandaea, the daughter of Heracles, who is said to be Lord Krishna's daughter. This story finds no evidence for further corroboration (Editor).

16. Some well known poetesses of Sangam age were Avvaiyar, Adimandiyar, Velli Vidiyar, Kakkaipadiniyar and Nachchellaiyar. A few like Bhudapandian Devi Perunkoppendu and Pari's daughters were poetesses belonging to royal families.
17. *Sathey*, works belonging to *Shakti Cult*. (*Sathey* is a corrupt form of *Saktheyal*).
18. This is referred to in verse no.40 of *Kurunthogai*, one of the eight anthologies of Sangam works. It refers to the union of two hearts, irrespective of their family antecedents. It can be taken to mean the approval of intercaste marriage. But whether caste system existed then is debatable.
19. One of the Saivite Saints whose songs are found in *Tevaram*.
20. *Rudraganikaiyar* were dancing girls devoted to Siva and other gods. They were *devadasis* or temple dancers, who dedicated their lives for dancing in a temple and propitiated the deity through their arts. [See.K.Sadasivan, op.cit.]
21. Pillay, K.K., *A Social History of Tamils*, pt.I, Madras, 1975, pp.387-392.
22. A treatise in Tamil belonging to fifth century A.D. sung by Budan Chendanar consisting of forty verses.
23. This is a work of later Sangam period (A.D. 250 to 600) consisting of eighteen divisions sung by thirteen poets belonging to different periods with six parts on *Agam* (mental and emotional aspects) and twelve parts on *Puram* (physical and external aspects).
24. This work belongs to the *Padinen Kizhkanakku* group. It consists of hundred verses written by Nalladanar, a Vaishnavite poet. He discusses the relationship between the husband and wife in thirty five verses. Each verse refers to three ethical concepts and hence the name *Tirikadukam*.
25. *Silappadikaram*, XXVII, 107.
26. *Aintinai* may be defined as mutual love of normal people.
27. *Kaikkilai* is one sided or unreciprocated love.
28. *Peruntinai* is a pattern of abnormal or ill matched love, like a man courting a woman older than himself or forcing a lady who is undecided or unwilling to return his love by threats or molestation.
29. *Naladi Nanuru* is same as the *Naladiyar* (containing four lines to a verse), and it consists of hundred verses. It comes under *Padinenkizhkanakku* works.
30. *Naladiyar*, 54, 60.
31. *Sirupanchamulam*, 61.
32. *Eladi*, a work sung by Kanimedaviyar. It consists of eighty songs and belongs to *Padinenkizhkanakku* group.
33. *Nanmanikadigai* is a work belonging to the *Padinenkizhkanakku* written by Vilambi Naganar and consisting of one hundred and four verses. It seems to have some influence of Sanskrit literature.
34. *Nanmanikadigai*, 20.
35. *Nanmanikadigai*, 54.

36. *Innanarpadu* is also a *Padinenkizhkanakku* work written by Kapilar consisting of one hundred and sixty four messages. It points out things to be avoided to attain happiness.
37. *Ibid.*, 2 and 1.
38. *Ibid.*, 12
39. *Achara Kovai* consists of one hundred verses written by Peruvayil Mullaiyar. It stresses on internal and external purity.
40. Women like Tilakavati and the queen Mangayarkarasi.
41. The authorities used were (1) *Aranericharam*, 158, 159, 161 and 164, (2) *Viveka Chinthamani*, 63, (3) *Tolkappiyam*, (Puraththirattu Karpudai Magalir) - 77.
42. By negative portrayal is meant creating images of women with emphasis on the negative aspects with contemptuous references such as woman as possession, quarrelsome, cruel as mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, greedy, denying her education, casting as persons on working women and moulding her to play a particular role with no reference to her potential.
43. S.V. Subramanian and A.A.Manavalan, ed., *Dr.Mu.Va.* (Collection of research papers on Dr.Mu.Va.). Madras, 1975, p.69.
44. M.Varadarajan, *Karithundu*, Madras, 1974, p.239.
45. Heroine of *Karithundu* of Mu.Va.
46. Secondary heroine of *Nenjil Oru Mul* of Mu.Va.
47. Heroine of *Nenjil Oru Mul*.
48. Secondary heroine of *Karithundu*.
49. Secondary heroine of *Petramanam* by Mu.Va., Madras, 1970.
50. *op.cit.*, "Dr.Mu.Va. article by Selvi C.V.Geetha on Female Characters of Dr.Mu.Va.'s novels, p.71.
51. Anandatheerthan, Hema, "*Eththanai Kodi Inbam*", Madras, p.61.
52. *Ibid.*, p.138.
53. *Ibid.*, pp.9-10.
54. *Ibid.*, p.45.
55. Rajam Krishnan, "*Irudiyum Todakkamum*", Madras, 1981, p.27.
56. *op.cit.*, Rajam Krishnan, p.29.

## RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE USILAMPATTI AREA, TAMIL NADU

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Archaeological field work carried out in the Usilampatti area in July 1998 has brought to light a site with microliths, a rockshelter with paintings, an urn burial site and a Late-Medieval period memorial stone.<sup>1</sup> This paper discusses the significance of these findings.

The field investigation was undertaken in the valley lying to the west of Usilampatti (37 Km west of Madurai), enclosed by the Varushanadu-Andipatti hills and its off-shoot, the Kudiraimalai (Fig.1). This hill range has many seep-springs, rockshelters and is rich in food resources including small games, roots, etc., on which a few scores of Paliyans still depend for their subsistence.

### Archaeological Remains Near Puchchipatti

Puchchipatti is a small village lying 5 Km west of Usilampatti. An urn burial site was found ca. 100 m to the northwest of this village and a site with microliths (tiny stone artifacts) was found 2 km north of the village at the foot of the Varushanadu-Andipatti hills.

### Urn Burials

The urn burials were exposed, when the area was brought under cultivation. At this site, broken parts of urn and stone slabs, which covered the burials, were noticed on surface as well as in an exposed section. A few fragments of pottery, including a base portion of an urn with mat impression were collected. At present this site is completely destroyed. With the help of the information provided by the local people, it can be estimated that this site covered an area of about 3 ha. No black-and-red-ware sherds were noticed during our investigations at this site. Though precise dating of these burials is not possible at this stage of research, they can be tentatively placed anywhere between the mid-first millennium B.C. to mid-first millennium A.D., on the basis of the studies carried out in the upper Gundar basin, which lies 5 km south of Usilampatti, beyond the Kudiraimalai (Selvakumar 1996a, 1996b). It is not clearly known whether the black-and-red-ware is present at this site or not. If the absence of black-and-red ware is clearly established, it can be considered that this site belongs to a later period.

### Microliths

Microlithic artifacts such as simple as well as retouched flakes, cores and debitage were found at an open-air site, which covers about 20 m x 10 m in area. The artifacts are mostly made of quartz, but for a few chert specimens. Weathered pottery of unidentifiable cultural affiliation also occurs along with the microliths. There are two rockshelters nearby this site, but without any significant archaeological evidence on the surface. In the absence of any recognizable cultural materials, fixing the culture-chronological context of this site is problematic. The presence of microliths alone is not sufficient to assign this site to the Mesolithic period, for there is evidence to suggest that microliths were in use even during the



historical times (Jacobson 1970: 23). Moreover, the investigations carried out in the upper Gundar basin also indicate that microliths were continued to be used in Early Historic period (Selvakumar 1996a, 1996b). It is worth while to mention here that the Paliyans, a food-gathering group, which at present lives in the colonies constructed by the Tamil Nadu Government at Kurinjinar and Vasinagar, used to occupy these rockshelters and their vicinity, till the eighties. Hence, the pottery found along with the microliths could have been an intrusion into the Mesolithic period, or probaly, the food-intrusion into the Mesolithic period were responsible for the pottery and the microliths. Only a detailed study can shed light on this issue.

### **Archaeological Remains Near Kullanuttuppatti**

Kullanuttuppatti lies 8 km west of Usilampatti. A rockshelter with paintings (Fig.2) and a memorial stone were discovered near this village.

#### **Rock paintings**

The existence of tock-shelter, locally known as 'Chittira kal Podavu', with paintings was brought to our attention by a Paliyan. This shelter lies 1.5 km north of Kurinjinar (which lies one kilometer south-southwest of Kullanuttuppatti) on the slope of the Kudiraimalai, and it has a seep-spring nearby. This shelter is visited by shepherds and occasionally by the Paliyans.

The main shelter (No.1) is formed by two monoliths resting on the north eastern and south western sides at a distance of ca. 2m. On top of the southeastern monolith rests a boulder, forming a shelter above (No.2), which measures 2 m × 1 m with a varying height of 50 to 60 cm. From this shelter (No.2), one can have a commanding and picturesque view of the valley. Ancient paintings are found on the ceiling of shelter No.2., whereas the walls of the main shelter (No.1) have only the paintings of very recent period.

The paintings mostly have figures of animals and birds besides a few human figures, in different orientations. All the figures were executed in white pigment, except one, which is red in colour. Due to the weathering, most of the figures appear slightly brownish. The noteworthy figures of the paintings include two deer, one of them is a horned-deer and resembles *Cervus unicolor*. There is also a drawing, which probably represents a cattle. Birds like peacock, chicken or jungle fowl are also seen. Another interesting figure is that of an elephant, which appears to have been mounted by a human, who attacks another human figure with a spear like object.

The chronology of the paintings is problematic, as no datable cultural material was found in the neighbourhood of the shelter. In a pit dug by the shepherds at the shelter a few weathered pottery fragments were found. However, their cultural context is uncertain. The level and degree of weathering indicate that these paintings were made in different time periods. The deer figures appear to be quite old. The figure depicting a human mounted on an elephant holding a spear like object can be ascribed to the Iron Age or Historical period, as the spear depicted appears to be made of iron. This figure is relatively less weathered, when compared to the two deer figures. Hence, these deer figures can be tentatively dated to pre-Iron Age, i.e. in the first half of first millennium B.C. or earlier. Unless any of the direct-dating methods (Bahn 1998: 142-168) are used, the chronology of these paintings cannot be reliably fixed.

A few freshly, but poorly, drawn paintings are also found in this shelter. The Paliyans report that the shepherds, who rest in these shelters made drawings.

### Memorial Stone

A memorial stone and a small sculptural panel, both facing east, were found 200 m to the southwest of the village in the land of Mr.Chinna Moopan. On stylistic grounds the memorial stone and the adjoining panel can be dated to the Vijayanagar-Nayak Period, i.e. fourteenth to seventeenth century A.D.

Memorial stone: Dimension,  $1.8 \times 0.50-0.40 \times 0.28$  m.

The Memorial stone has multiple sculptural panels on three sides with more emphasis on the eastern side, where the two central panels occupy relatively more area, and are carved in detail. The rear side is blank.

#### Eastern side:

There are four panels on the eastern side:

Panel No.1 (the bottom-most panel) has a human figure playing an instrument resembling *mrutanga*? and a female figurine holding flowers?. Panel No.2 has a comparatively large male figure, which represents the hero, on a prancing horse decked with saddle and other ornaments, and an attendant is shown holding an umbrella over the hero. Panel No. 3 has a human figure in *sugasana* on a pedestal with the hands in *anjali hasta*, who is flanked by flying attendants (*Gandharvas*?) holding fly whisks and parrots. At the bottom of the panel is a human figure with an arched decoration above the head(?). This scene probably represents the carrying the soul of the hero to the heaven by the *Gandharvas*. The top-most panel (No.4) shows a male figure fighting with a tiger; his sword is shown piercing through the body of the tiger, and a dog attacking the rear of the tiger is also depicted; the whole scene is provided with an arch with a pointed top (*Prabhavali*).

The southern and northern sides of the pillar have multiple panels depicting warriors holding a bow and an arrow or a sword or a spear and/or a shield and standing or seated female figures holding flowers.

Sculptural Panel: Dimension,  $0.7 \times 0.5-0.4 \times 0.28$  m.

On the southern side of the memorial stone in another stone with an arched top, depicting a male and a female figures seated on a pedestal in *Suhasana*.

### General Observations on the Memorial stones

Memorial stones are reported from different parts of India. However, they are concentrated in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (Settar and Sontheimer 1982). In Tamil Nadu, they are mainly found in the north western part, especially in the Chengam area (Nagaswamy 1974; Settar and Sontheimer 1982; Rajan 1992). The memorial stones of Tamil Nadu can be grouped into two broad categories, viz,(1) those which belong to pre-14th century period (Early Phase) and (2) those of 14th and later centuries (Late Phase).

Most of the memorial stones of Tamil Nadu belong to the Early Phase. The memorial stones of the Early Phase are characterized by a single panel depicting the theme, such as the hero fighting with the animal, etc. In most cases they have inscriptions mentioning the deeds of the deceased. It appears that the sculptures carved the most of the memorial stones of the Early Phase do not have much refinement.

In the Late Phase, memorial stones in the form of pillars having multiple panels numbering three or five or more were introduced. Some of these pillars have been conceived as to represent temples, and are provided with architectural features such as *nashikas*, *kutus*, niches and *kalasas* etc. Comparing to the Early Phase, the stones of Later Phase have more brahmanical influence as we find evidence for the incorporation of concept of *Swarga*. In some of the stones, the *gandharvas* carrying the soul of the deceased to the upper world are also depicted (Vanamamalai 1975: Rajan 1992). However, during the Later Phase, the memorial stones resembling the specimens of Early Phase also continued to exist. Madurai region, mostly, has memorial stones of the Late Phase and they are invariably associated the Telugu and Kannada speaking communities.<sup>3</sup>

1. This field work was carried out as a part of the first author's post-doctoral research project sponsored by Indian Council of Historical Research. He is indebted to ICHR for the fellow ship and Prof. K. Paddayya for this support.
2. The urn burial site at Puchchipatti was discovered by Mr. Gandhirajan.
3. The first author has discovered four memorial stones in the upper Gundar basin (Selvakumar n.d.). These memorial stones are mainly worshipped by Telugu and Kannada speaking people. Some of stones are locally known as 'Jakkamma temple'.

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## **GLITTERING ROMAN GOLD COINS OF NATTAMPATTI**

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### **Discovery**

A history of sorts was created at Nattampatti, a village located at a distance of about 120 Kms North-West of the present venue of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, on the Quilon-Srivilliputtur - Madurai Highway in the first week of May '98. Labourers engaged in laying a water pipeline on the southern side of the road connecting Nattampatti with Coonoor came across a copper pot at a depth of two metres from the surface.

When the seal of the pot was opened it contained more than eighty gold coins glittering in the evening sun. The matter was brought to the notice of the Tahsildar, Srivilliputtur, and in turn to the Sub-Collector at Sivakasi. When the news of this discovery reached the Collector's bungalow at Virudhunagar, the wife of the District Collector, who herself is a doctorate in Archaeology, informed the Historical Exploration Centre at Rajapalayam about it. By the time archaeologists from the above centre reached Nattampatti the local police have brought the available gold coins under their custody.

### **Basic Data**

Nine gold coins were given to the experts of the Historical Exploration Center. All of them weighed about 3 gms, circular in shape and of 24 carat purity. Both the sides of coins have clear engravings and writings.

After visiting the find spot and analysing the nature of the soil stratigraphy Historical Exploration Centre collected some pottery pieces of coarse red ware and polished red ware from the site. There were evidence in a pit at the exact spot where the copper pot was recovered.

### **Legends & Symbols**

Measurements of each gold coin was done in the beginning. Diameter of the coins varied from 1.7 to 2 gms. and thickness was invariably about 1.5mm.

The obverse of the coins have the portraits of Roman emperors and their names in Roman script. Reverse sides have portraits of some female deities with labels. Altogether there are three to four types of coins.

The first type depicts a tall lean figure with a scepter on the right hand and a royal gown on the left put upside down.

A seated female deity is found in the second type of coins ; her crown resembles the one worn by Roman emperors. Her seat is highly ornamental.

The next type has a standing male figure in profile looking to the right. The figure carries a pot on the left hand and a sceptre on the right.

The fourth type depicts a pair of figures on an ornamental pedestal.

Attempts were made to read the letters in legends and names of deities. Some of the accepted readings are DN Theodosius Augustus, DN Leo, VICTORIA AAVVCCE, CON CORDI, SALUS REPUBLICAE, OL NURI and CONOB.

### **Dating**

First reports of the Nattampatti Roman gold coins were given by the Historical Exploration Centre at Rajapalayam. Circumstances and stratigraphic evidence point to a date of about the first century A.D. to those coins.

After the discovery of Nattampatti coins the Historical Exploration Center, Rajapalayam, contacted scholars from the Deccan College PGRI, Archaeological Survey of India and the Madras Government Museum to confirm its dating.

The Curator for Archaeology at Madras Government Museum gave a pertinent classification of Roman coins in Southern Tamilnadu:

- a) Those used as currencies for trade transactions, and,
- b) Those that were worn as ornaments (*Kasumalai*).

Had anyone tried to analyse the symbols and names on both the sides of the coins he could have accepted our dating. Of course the coin pointed out by the writer carries the Roman Greek letters looking like that of a ruler of about 420 A.D. But other names, symbols and divinities portrayed on the reverse in particular definitely point out to the date of about 50 A.D.

Further, the coins of Thiruthangal (near Sivakasi), the forerunner of the Nattampatti hoard, is hardly 20 Kms as the crow flies.

But the names of Kings and legends point to the Byzantine era of the Roman History. All the royal names found on Nattampatti coins point to King Theodosius I (405-474 A.D.) and Leo-I (457 to 474 AD). It has to be remembered in this context that all the coins were discovered within a pit at Nattampatti

### **Importance of the Coins**

Nattampatti coins have provided the first set of gold coins of the Roman period to students of Archaeology. Coins of other metals like Silver and Copper are already known to us from Thiruthangal (near Sivakasi), Uttamapuram (Cumbum), Alangulam, Kuluthapalayam and Mahabalipuram. Further, the infiltration of Roman coins from the western coast possibly took place through the Kongu Country in the north and the Shencottah pass in the south.

Last but not the least if the Nattampatti coins have to be put in the fourth-fifth century A.D., then we get an important source material for the so-called Kalabhra inter-regnum in the Tamil Country.

## BANDAR - A SANGAM AGE PORT

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The Sangam works speak of many busy trading ports and harbours<sup>1</sup>. Among them Bandar in the West Coast is known for trade in pearls. *Padirrupattu*<sup>2</sup> refers to this as:

Kodumanam patta Vinaima narunkalam.

Bandarp payantha palar pugai Muttam.

"The ornaments of semi-precious stones manufactured from Kodumanam and the pearls from Bandar are laudable".

Kodumanam of Sangam Age is the modern Kodumanal, situated on the northern bank of the river Noyyal, a tributary of Kavery, about 26 kms west of Chennimalai, Erode District, Tamilnadu. Archaeological excavations conducted in Kodumanal establish the fact of the existence there of a conspicuous *Bead Industry* of 1st century B.C<sup>3</sup>. Further investigations in Kodumanal have helped us establish the fact of the occupation of the site from the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. to the middle of 1st millennium A.D<sup>4</sup>. During that contemporary period Bandar was also a brisk trading centre. Recent archaeological discoveries have established that the present *Bandar-pattinam* was the ancient port city of Bandar of Sangam Age<sup>5</sup>. This coastal site is situated 39 kms east of Muthupet in Muthupet-Mimisal section of the East Coast Road. During an agricultural operation (Acqua-farm culture), an ancient mound near the sea-shore was cleared and many ancient coins, beads and pearls could be unearthed.

Subsequently, the site was examined by a trial excavation by the Chennai Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. The trial excavations have yielded materials datable from the 1st century B.C to the 16th century A.D. The potteries encountered in the site include *Black-and-Red-ware*, *Red-ware*, *Black-ware*, *Brown-slipped ware* of early historic period. The presence of Chinese contact in the medieval period is indicated by the occurrence of Chinese *celadan wares*. Remains of *ring well* in the site show the existence of a fairly large coastal settlement comparable to Arikamedu. Other antiquities unearthed here include pearls, beads and terracotta objects.

Interestingly, numismatic evidences place the site as datable from the 3rd century B.C to the 15th century A.D<sup>6</sup>. The presence of *punch-marked* coins, late Roman, Chola and Late Pandya coins proves the brisk trade from the 3rd century B.C to the late medieval period<sup>7</sup>.

Literary evidences record the continuance of the locality around Bandar as a very brisk ancient commercial centre from early historic times onwards. Besides the Sangam Works, the hymns in the *Panniru Thirumurai* herald the glory of this centre that extended upto Punavayil not far away from Bandar. Punavayil is situated on the mouth of river Parukkai

which forms the outskirts of Bandar. The ancient port continued upto the Parakkai river is attested to by the surface collection of ancient potteries of early historic period.

Thirugnanasambadar, while describing the Punavayil Siva temple states that it was a famous ancient centre and entry point from sea<sup>8</sup>.

However, a vivid picture of the trade activities here is found to be recorded by St. Sundarar<sup>9</sup>, contemporary of Cheraman Perumal Nayanar (c.700 A.D.). It is said that Punavayil was seen crowded with merchants bargaining with the local hunters who probably brought forest harvests for sales in the city. By this time, 'deforestation' also took place in and around Bandar as attested to by him. It is said that due to "deforestation" the deers and wild pigs from the forest took asylum in and around the Punavayil Siva temple<sup>10</sup>.

Thus, the occupation of Bandar and its environs by merchants and traders throughout the age beginning from the Sangam period to the beginning of 8th century A.D is indicated in the Tamil works. The coins discovered here can chronologically be placed as under: *Punch-marked* coins, late Roman copper coins, imperial Chola coins, late Pandyan coins and Nayaka period coins. The inscriptions in the Punavayil Siva temple further confirm the place as an important religious centre during the medieval period<sup>11</sup>.

Archaeological excavations conducted in Kodumanam (modern Kodumanal) establish a clear sequence beginning from 5th century B.C. to 300 A.D. Kodumanal as the famous centre of a *Bead Industry* was also established in the excavations. As a contemporary port city, the Bandar (modern *Bandarpattinam*) could have also flourished as an alternative port for embarkation during Chola period next to Nagapattinam<sup>12</sup>. Its continuance as an important port till 15th century A.D is also attested to now.

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8. *Panniru Thirumurai*, 3-7.
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## ECLIPSE OF BRAHMADEYAS (TAMIL NADU) DURING THE KALABHRA PERIOD-A STUDY

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In Tamil Nadu, the *brahmadeya* system had its origin in the Sangam age, but it underwent a period of eclipse during the Kalabhra period (C.300A.D to 600 A.D) This aspect of the Kalabhra rule in Tamil Nadu was first discussed in detail by Professor K. Sadasivan in his paper presented in a Conference held at the *Purathatva Eva Sanskriti Parishad*, Bodhgaya in 1984 under the title "The Kalabhra Inter-regnum: A Revolt Against Vedism in Tamil Nadu" and the summary of which appeared in Professor K. Subrahmanian's edition of This author has made use of his findings and sources for making an indepth study of this specific aspect of the *brahmadeyas*. The available epigraphic and literary materials in Tamilnadu and Karnataka bring to light that the Kalabhras entered into the Tamil territory, enfeebled the Chera, Chola and Pandya rulers and occupied Tamilnadu.<sup>1</sup> This was possible for them because of the political and moral decline that had already set in the Tamil Country. Because of the Jaina persuasion the victors perhaps joined hands with the native Jains and Buddhists<sup>2</sup> whose hold in Tamilnadu had a profound impact on the society and attempted to change the social structure and reduce the brahmins to an insignificant position. An attempt is made here to examine the circumstances that led to the eclipse of the *brahmadeya* system under the Kalabhras.

Many studies have shown that Vedic-brahmanism had already made its entry into Tamilnadu in the Sangam age.<sup>3</sup> Even then many scholars still believe that the Vedic way of life began to spread in the far south during the Pallava rule. The truth is that when the Kalabhras had occupied Tamilnadu, they found that the Vedic religion had already struck its roots in the country and its influence was felt in Tamil politics, society, religion, culture and thought.<sup>4</sup> The Sangam works<sup>5</sup> themselves disclose the penetrating influence of Vedic concepts, ideas, beliefs and practices, social institutions and values. This is further discerned from the post-Sangam works of the Christian era. Religious concepts such as the worship of Agni (fire), performance of sacrifice with *mutthee* (triple fire), pouring of ghee, chanting of Vedic *mantras*, coming around the sacred fire, singing and dancing, worship of Indra, Varuna, Vishnu and Rudra, the wearing of sacred thread, belief in incarnation, the effects of *karma* and *dharma* in successive births, brahman superiority, *brahmadeyams*, untouchability and political beliefs such as *adhiraja*, *rajasuya*, *tulabhara* and *hiranyagarbha* are found mentioned in the Sangam and post-Sangam works.<sup>6</sup> These religio-political ceremonies and their performance by the brahmins have consequenatly led to the establishment of more brahmadeyas.

The stratification of the Tamil society on the basis of birth and the superiority of the priestly class in it, the priestly power of legitimatization and the Tamil king's preference for Vedic ways of life had some adverse impact on the polity of the State. Their love for wealth, wine and women and their materialistic attitude towards life,<sup>7</sup> no doubt, had reduced them to impotence. Following the ways of kings, the people also indulged in easy morals and corrupt



practices. This led to a general decline in standards.<sup>8</sup> Besides, much unity was lost among the warring groups of the Tamil kings,<sup>9</sup> who appear to have fallen an easy prey to an invader. In the words of Prof.K. Sadasivan, "Internecine wars, injustice of rulers, moral degeneracy, social imbalance, religious ritualism and political disunity invited the Kalabhra invasion, their occupation of Tamil country and the disestablishment of brahmanical privileges and perquisites".<sup>10</sup>

As pro-Jains and pro-Buddhists, the Kalabhras could not tolerate the hold of the ritualistic, sacrificial and expensive religion on the people. They were well aware that it was this socio-religious and economic background against which Mahavira and the Buddha rose in the North, some thousand years ago. Moreover, the Jains and Buddhists laid much stress on non-killing especially of animals, in sacrifices. This view finds its best exposition in *Tirukkural*. Tiruvalluvar says, "Not to kill and eat (the flesh of) an animal is better than pouring forth of ghee, etc. in a thousand sacrifices".<sup>11</sup> He exhorts to refrain from slaughter of animals for food. That, according to him, is far better than performing so many sacrifices and *yagas*.<sup>12</sup> Influenced perhaps by such virtuous ideals and fed up with so many sacrifices, common men disapproved of the killing of cattles for performing the highly expensive sacrifices (*yagas*). But, the then prevailing political power prevented them from revolting.

However, to the Kalabhras most of the Vedic socio-religious concepts and values in the beginning were antithetic and antagonistic. But to an orthodox section of the Tamils, who professed Vedism, the Kalabhras, their rule, their religions and their thoughts appeared to be alien and repulsive. To thwart the challenges of this section of the society, the Kalabhras engineered the anti-brahmanical activities. It was Prof K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, who was the first one to state that this religious antagonism provoked a political revolution in Tamilnadu.<sup>13</sup> He further says, "There was no love lost between these interlopers and the people of the land they overran".<sup>14</sup> To Prof K.P.Aravanan it was the first organised revolt of the Tamils against the Aryan hold over the Tamil doctrines and values which had already made a mark on the Tamil society.<sup>15</sup> He, therefore, calls it a *cultural revolt*. But, Prof K.Sadasivan says that it was neither a 'political revolt nor a cultural revolt', but only a religious revolt.<sup>16</sup> Having first dethroned the three Tamil kings, the Kalabhras thus master-minded the 'religious revolt'.

According to the Velvikkudi plates,<sup>17</sup> as a prelude to this religious revolt, the Kalabhras imprisoned many *adhirajas*. Having captured political power, the Kalabhras undertook the systematic propagation of their persuasion and annihilation of the ritualistic religion. In its course, the more orthodox and Vedic brahmanic religion seems to have clashed with the more puritanic and philosophic religions of Jainism and Buddhism.<sup>18</sup> To steer clear their way they are said to have laid their hands on the brahmans and confiscated their *brahmadeya* villages. As said earlier, the Velvikkudi grant of Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan<sup>19</sup> refers to the confiscation of the village of Velvikkudi, a *brahmadeya* granted to a brahman from Korkai (Korkaikilan) by Palyagasalai Mudukudumi. Peruvaludi. The recently discovered Pulankurucchi inscriptions,<sup>20</sup> further confirm such an act of the Kalabhras. According to this record, villages like brahmadayam were given to the chieftains who accepted the Kalabhra supremacy.<sup>21</sup> In the meantime, in other parts of South India, *brahmadeyas* received the royal patronage of the Satavahanas and the Vakatakas.<sup>22</sup>

Evidences show that the Kalabhras engineered a revolt against the special privileges enjoyed by the brahmans. The evidence from the Dalavaipuram Copper-plates may be cited

here as an instance. It brings to light the dislocation of brahmana households and giving away of the already gifted lands.<sup>23</sup> In the wake of the revolt the brahmins had lost their *ekabhoga-brahmadeyas*<sup>24</sup> and had to flee for safety.<sup>25</sup> The Kalabhra threat to their lands reminded the brahmins of the 'Kali age'.<sup>26</sup> For instance, the *brahmadeya* villages such as Tirumangalam and Somacikkurucchi, which were granted<sup>27</sup> to the brahmin scholars by Kadungon,<sup>28</sup> were perhaps lost in the "troubled times".<sup>29</sup> Thus the lands, which once remained as the private property of the brahmins, were now left desolate. When reclamation started, one Kilavan of Kadattirukkai appropriated the fertile land of Somacikkurucchi, the *brahmadeya*, and delimited the appropriated portion and named it as Madurataranallur.<sup>30</sup>

During the post-Kalabhra period, one brahmin named Narayanan Kesavan, the loyal officer of the Pandyan king and the resident of Thirumangalam, requested the king Parantaka Viranarayanan to grant a new charter, amalgamating the two villages Madurataranallur and Thirumangalam with Somacikkurucchi.<sup>31</sup> Further, *Periapuranam*,<sup>32</sup> mentions an earlier event, which corroborates the Jaina encroachment of Saiva property at Tiruvarur to build their monastery. These events, no doubt, add support to the Kalabhra non-brahmanical movement which was gaining ground in Tamilnadu immediately after the Sangam period.

When resisted, the Kalabhras resorted to persecution of the Saivites. *Periapuranam* bears ample testimony to the Jaina-Buddhist persecution of the brahmins. Murtinayanarpuranam<sup>33</sup> provides an earliest instance of religious persecution by the Jains. Murtinayanar is said to have lived at the end of the third century A.D. The murder of Meipporul Nayanar<sup>34</sup> is construed as another instance of the Jaina persecution. Another torturing persecution was that of Saint Appar.<sup>35</sup> In addition, M. Arunachalam thinks that it was because of the religious persecution that Karaikkal Ammaiyar immediately left Madurai for her native place.<sup>37</sup>

When such acts of religious persecution could not bring about the desired changes in the Vedists, the Kalabhras resorted to desecrate a few temples and erect on their ashes *viharas* and *Pallis*. One of the remarks of Tirumular<sup>38</sup> that "if a temple stone is removed (temple ruined) curse befalls on the king and the priests" is held to indicate the Jaina vandalism. Prof I.K. Sharma in his work "The Development of Early Saiva Art and Architecture", lists many early prominent Saiva centres later turned into Buddhist centres of worship, such as Gudimallam, the Kapatesvara temple in Chejerla, Amaravati and Indrakiladri hill in Vijayawada.<sup>39</sup> This suggests a systematic undoing of early Saivite centres, probably with Kalabhra support. In Srilanka, the *Culavamsa*<sup>40</sup> informs us of the hands of Mahasena (A.D. 274-310) in the destruction of Saivite temples and the construction of Buddha *viharas* on their ruins.

The Kalabhras also resorted to suppress Vedism by discouraging all arts associated with the old order. Those who professed the Vedic religions were hated, and the women were denied of salvation.<sup>41</sup> Eladi, one of the Eighteen Minor Works, supposed to have been written by a Jaina poet, provides a very good instance in support of this view.<sup>42</sup> R. Shyama Sastri, after an analysis of the prevailing socio-religious condition, says that many practices and customs previously existent gradually disappeared at the close of the third or fourth century of the Christian era.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, women of light songs and dance and easy virtues have necessarily gone down in status. In the days of the Chinese pilgrims the singer and the courtesan were compelled to reside outside the village walls along with the fishermen

and the scavengers.<sup>44</sup> Bhagavad Ajjuka Prahasana,<sup>45</sup> a farce written by Mahendravarma Pallava, accords an unenviable status to ganikas in society.

Since the Kalabhra rulers disestablished the traditional and hereditary rights and privileges enjoyed by the brahmans, there might have developed a kind of mutual suspicion among the rulers and the brahmans. This might have resulted in the refusal of coronation to Kurruvanayanar, perhaps a Kalabhra, by the temple priests of the Chidambaram temple, when he is said to have approached them.<sup>46</sup> But the legend says that Siva intervened and persuaded the priests to crown him as he was a great Saiva.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps, this might be a later addition and hence unreliable.<sup>48</sup>

In due course, opposition to the Kalabhras gained momentum. It may be said that although the Kalabhras had the support of the Jains and the Buddhists, they slowly lost the support of the mass. The reason for this is not far to seek; but it can be found from their religious propagation itself. Their adherence to 'extreme puritanism', the principle of 'no salvation to women' and pessimistic approach to life had adverse effect on the people. Blind adherence to rigorous ethics and self mortification could not bring to the people the long awaited solace. It is evident from *Mattavilasa Prahasana*<sup>49</sup> that the Jaina way of life was very austere and weary. When their lives became miserable and unbearable the people wanted a change, a change in favour of the Vedic order and thus they took recourse to the old ritualistic religions.

On an examination of the above facts, it becomes obvious that the Kalabhras were the followers of the Jaina and Buddhist faiths. It is therefore quite natural for them to support their own religions against others. As such, there arose some religious antagonism against the brahmans. It is known that Accyutao the Kalabhra king himself, was a Buddhist and the political revolution which the Kalabhras engineered was provoked by religious antagonism. They uprooted many *adhirajas* and abrogated *brahmadaya* rights.<sup>50</sup> As a result, the *brahmadaya* system underwent a period of eclipse under the Kalabhras from about the 3rd century to the end of 6th century A.D. However, after the destruction of the Kalabhra vestiges by Simhavishnu Avani Simha in Tondaimandalam in 550 A.D. and Kadungon of Pandyamandalam in 575 A.D, the *brahmadaya* system made a successful reappearance with more vigour under the Pallavas and the Pandyas. Learning from their early misfortunes and experiences, the brahmans stabilised their position with the support and patronage of the Pallava and Pandya kings after the fall of the Kalabhras. This, in turn, encouraged the growth and ascendancy of the brahmadeyas on an unprecedented scale in the succeeding epochs.

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22. In the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. nearly 80 per cent of 36/37 Vakataka inscriptions refer to land grants given to brahmans. For example, huge cash donations and gifts of cows, elephants, horses, etc., as well as donations of villages with privileges such as apaveam, are known from the Satavahana inscriptions of 2nd century A.D. *The Hindu*, (Open Page), Oct.5, 1983, p.23.
23. *The Ten Pandya Copper-plates*, p.135. See Also Rajan Gurukkal, "Non-Brahmana Resistance to the Expansion of Brahmadeyas : The early Pandya Experience", *IHC.*, Annamalainagar, 1984, p.161.
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## JAINISM UNDER THE EARLY PANDYAS

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The history of Jainism in the Pandya Country can be traced back to a few centuries before the advent of the Christian era. Historical tradition is such that at the close of the 4th century B.C., king Chandragupta Maurya of Magadha and a large gathering of Jaina monks under the leadership of Sruktaakevalin Bhadrabahu migrated to Sravanabelgola in Karnataka and spread the gospel of Jina to the laity. Subsequently, after the demise of Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu, their disciples led by Vishakacharya moved further south into the Tamil Country and sowed the seeds of Jainism.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that these mendicants reached the Pandya Country first and other areas slightly later. Very likely, their arrival to the Pandya region could have taken place in the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

Although corroborative evidence in support of Vishakacharya's migration into the far south is conspicuous by its absence, the spread of Jainism from Karnataka is echoed in an early *Brahmi* epigraph at Sittannavasal. Accordingly, Kauti Iten monk of Eruminadu (Mysore region) resorted to a monastery (cave) at Sittannavasal in about the 3rd century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Several Jaina caverns with *Brahmi* inscriptions, datable to 3rd - 2nd century B.C., are found around the Pandya capital as well as at distant places. The best known examples are at Muttupatti, Mangulam, Marukaltalai, Anaimalai, Alagarmalai, Arittapatti, Kongarpuliyankulam and Kilavalavu. These ascetic-abodes are incontrovertible evidence for the flourishing nature of Jainism as early as the 3rd century B.C.

### **The Sangam Pandyas and Jainism**

The Pandyas of the Sangam age were liberal in their religious outlook, and therefore, all religions including Jainism flourished during their rule also. This is evident from *Maduraikkanchi* and *Silappadikaram* referring to the existence of Jaina monasteries (caves) at the outskirts of Madurai.<sup>4</sup> The *Silappadikaram* also mentions a shrine of a *yakshi* worshipped by the cowherdess Madari at Madurai.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, most of the early Jaina caves, already referred to, continue to throb with religious activities under the Sangam Pandyas. Curiously enough, Kadalan Valuti, an officer of the Pandya king Nedunjelivan, dedicated a monastery (cave) to the reputed monk Kaninanda at Mankulam.<sup>6</sup> The king's brother-in-law and nephew commissioned stone beds in the same resort for the benefit of Kaninanda and his disciples.<sup>7</sup> Although king Nedunjelivan had not made any specific benefaction, his family members and one of his officials took keen interest in the monastic establishment at Mankulam. The role of other Pandya kings or their close relatives in supporting the Jaina creed does not find place either in literature or in lithic records.

### **The Kalabhras and Jainism**

The Kalabhras who subverted the Chera, Chola and Pandyas of the Sangam age are said to have extended patronage to heretical sects, the Jains in particular. Most of the eighteen minor didactic works were composed by Jaina poets during their rule. The *Dravida Sangha* was established by Vajranandi ascetic in 470 A.D. at Madurai.<sup>8</sup> The Pulankurichi monastery in Sivaganga district is stated to have received some benefaction from one Kurran

of the Kalabhra family.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the Kalabhra rule till about the middle of the 6th century A.D. was also favourable for the growth of Jainism.

It must be remembered at this juncture that the early form of Jainism was simple and thereby, iconic and ritualistic worship of Tirthankaras and their attendant deities received little attention. This is borne out by the early bald-caves of Jaina recluses till about the 6th century A.D. However, a transformation had taken place since the 7th century A.D., with the advent of *Bhakti* movement.

### **Bhakti Movement and Neo Jainism**

In the religious history of Tamilnadu, the 7th century A.D. marks the revival of brahmanical religions on the one hand and the decline of heretical sects on the other. The *bhakti* movement spearheaded by the Saiva Nayanmars and Vaishnava Alvars coupled with the temple-building activities of the ruling classes led to rapid growth of Saivism and Vaishnavism. The *bhakti*-saints, in their attempts at popularising brahmanical religions, undertook extensive pilgrimage tours to temple centres, sang in praise of their presiding deities with soul-stirring hymns, roused the religious feelings of common man, performed miracles and, at the same time, vehemently condemned the customs and practices of the Jains and Bauddhas.<sup>10</sup> This resulted in religious animosity and sectarian rancour. Religious disputes to assert the superiority of Saivism over Jainism are said to have taken place at Madurai, Tiruvarur, Tiruvottur and Palaiyarai. The hymns of *Periyapuranam* even allude to persecution of Jains.<sup>11</sup> As a result, Jainism faced an unexpected decline in the 7th century A.D.

However, soon it recovered from adversities and came to possess a fresh lease of life by adjusting itself to the circumstances and accommodating some elements from brahmanical religion. In this process of assimilation, neo-Jainism paid much importance to idolatory and admitted ritualistic worship of Tirthankaras and their attendant deities. Sometimes, prominence was given to the worship of *yakshis* like Ambika and Padmavati. The early ascetic-abodes which lost importance in the wake of *bhakti* movement, began to bristle with religious activities once again and came to possess exquisite bold reliefs of Tirthankaras and *yakshis*, to which regular ritualistic worship was performed. Jaina caverns at Anaimalai, Alagarmalai, Tirupparankunram, Uttamapalayam, Kilakuyilkudi, Aivarmalai, Kalugumalai, Chitalai etc., in the Pandya region are some of the best examples bearing testimony to this new development.

Moreover, renowned monks like Ajjanandi, Vajranandi, Uttanandi, Gunasagaradeva, Santisena and a host of others played a dominant role in popularising their religion and accelerating its growth.<sup>12</sup> Although changes were accepted in the mode of worship, their doctrines remained the same without modification. Neo-Jainism thus became colourful and stronger than before, and hence, it could easily counterbalance the growth of brahmanical religions. This new trend of Jainism coincided with the early Pandya rule in southern Tamilnadu.

### **Early Pandyas' Patronage**

The early Pandya rulers, with the exception of Arikesari Parankusa (Kun Pandya), were invariably followers of brahmanical religion. But their adherence to brahmanism had not resulted in the negligence of Jainism at all. For instance, Maran Sendan (-624AD) was

instrumental in scooping out the earliest rock-cut temple at Malaiyadikurichi to the Jaina faith. The unfinished rock-cut at Chokkampatti is undoubtedly a 7th century Pandya dedication.

Arikesari Parankusa (624-674 A.D) was an ardent Jaina, at whose liberal patronage Jaina ascetics played a leading role in promoting their religious faith. According to *Periyapuranam*, when the Pandya king was seriously affected by a 'burning fever', the Jaina monks failed to cure his disease, while the Saiva Saint Gnanasambandar succeeded in alleviating his misery.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the Jaina recluses could not establish their superiority over Saivism in polemical and other means of disputes with Sambandar. Consequently, Sambandar is alleged to have instigated the king to persecute the Jaina mendicants and destroy their places of worship. Arikesari Parankusa got himself converted to Saivism after realizing the greatness of Lord Siva.<sup>14</sup> Although the *Periyapuranam* gives an exaggerated version of religious disputes at the Pandya capital, there is no denying of the fact that Jainism had to face stiff opposition from brahmanical advocates, resulting in a severe setback in the 7th century A.D. This declining trend was not confined to the Pandya territory only, but also included other parts of the Tamil Country. However, the period of its adversity did not last long and once again it gained momentum in the 8th century A.D.

Among the other Pandya monarchs, Srimara Srivallabha (811-860 A.D) and Parantaka Viranarayana (866-911 A.D) lent adequate support to Jainism and its institutions. Srivallabha's rule witnessed the renovation of the celebrated Sittannavasal rock-cut temple with an addition of a structural *mukhamandapa* at the instance of IlamGautama, a reputed Jaina *acharya* of Madurai.<sup>15</sup> The edifice was also exuberantly painted with themes such as lotus tank, Srivallabha and his queen witnessing the celestial nymphs performing intricacies of dance etc.

Parantaka Viranarayana's rule also saw the growth of Jaina religion. His lithic records found at Aivarmalai, Anaimalai, Arittapatti, Kalugumalai and Eruvadi bespeak of the flourishing condition of the monastic establishments at these centres.<sup>16</sup> Great Jaina revivalists like Ajjanandi, Arishtanemi and Gunasagaradeva were his contemporaries who dedicated their life for the cause of their religion.<sup>17</sup>

In the latter part of the 10th century A.D., the Pandyas had to frequently bear the attacks of the imperial Cholas. Subsequently, they were subjugated and their territory came under the sway of the Cholas. In their attempts at liberating themselves from the Chola overlords, the Pandyas crossed swords with them very often, but could not succeed in overpowering them. This state of political insecurity was not conducive for further growth of Jainism in the Pandya region. As a result, Jainism began to disintegrate and its peace-loving adherents gradually migrated to Tondaimandalam.<sup>18</sup> Infact, except for a few Jaina centres, others lost their pristine glory with the eclipse of the early Pandya power.

### **Early Pandya Jaina Centres**

#### **1. Madurai area**

With the resurrection of Jainism in the 8th century A.D., apart from the old ones, several new centres sprang up in the Pandya territory. Many caverns found within a radius of 25kms. from Madurai were frequented by Jaina recluses even before the advent of Christian era. Although these ascetic-abodes shrank into oblivion in the 7th century, they



once again began to pulsate with life and vigour between the 8th and 10th centuries A.D. Among them, those at Anaimalai, Alagarmali, Arittapatti, Kilavalavu, Kilakuyilkudi, Muttuppatti, Chettipodavu and Tirupparankunram are worthy of note.

Anaimalai, about 12 kms. from Madurai, attained its height of glory mainly in the 9th century A.D. A series of sculptures representing Tirthankaras and attendant deities were carved inside the cave. One of them was commissioned by the reputed Ajjanandi, while others were caused to be sculptured by devotees like Enadi Nadi, Saradan Araiyan, Evviyam Pudi and Cheliya Pandi. These sacred images were taken care of by the village accountants of Porkody and some revenue officials of Venbaikkudi.<sup>19</sup>

Arittapatti also became an important Jaina centre in the 9th century A.D. The renowned preceptor Ajjanandi, during his stay at this place, commissioned an image of Adinatha on behalf of the accountants of Nerkodu. Jaina adherents of Vaniyakkudi village agreed to protect this figure.<sup>20</sup> Adinatha is shown in *ardhaparyankasana* and canopied by a *trichatra* above.

Muttuppatti near Vadapanji has a huge cavern containing two sculptures of Tirthankaras, identically shown seated in meditative posture. Obviously, they represent Adinatha and Mahavira, the first and last Tirthankaras. The former was consecrated by ascetic Kanagavira Periyadigal, while the latter by Maganandi, the disciple of Kurandi Ashtopavasi acharya.<sup>21</sup>

Kongarpuliyankulam, 14 kms, south-west of Madurai, has a series of six caverns serving as abodes of monks. A near by boulder was chosen to carve an image of a Tirthankara, seated in *dhyana* pose, and this was the sacred work of the revered Ajjanandi.<sup>22</sup> A similar sculpture was also commissioned by Ajjanandi at Alagarmalai.<sup>23</sup> Both these figures bear the elegant style of the 9th century Pandya art.

The monasteries at Kilakuyilkudi, Chettipodavu and Tirupparankunram also came to possess lovely figures of Tirthankaras and *yakshis* in the 9th century A.D. They were caused to be made by either the recluses or lay followers. A shallow cavern known as Chettipodavu near Kilakuyilkudi contains a row of five sculptures representing Ambika *yakshi*, Adinatha, Neminatha, Mahavira and Siddhayika, all carved in an alignment. These were caused to be sculptured at the instance of ascetics Abhinanda Bhattara and Gunasenaperiyadigal in the 9th century A.D.<sup>24</sup>

The Aivarmalai hillock at Aiyamapalayam in Palani taluk is studded with a number of Jaina icons on the overhanging boulders of caverns. Among them, Parsvanatha was considered to be the principal deity whose main image along with that of his *yakshi* was renovated during the reign of Parantakavirananarayana (870 A.D) by Santivirakuravar, the disciple of Gunavirakuravadigal. He had also made a gift of 505 *kanam* of gold for offering worship to these images and for feeding an ascetic.<sup>25</sup>

Other sculptures of Tirthankaras on the hillock were commissioned by ascetics like Ajjanandi, Indrasena, Perumadai Mallisena of the Virasangha and lay followers like Varadapani, Muvendan and Padamulattan hailing from different villages.<sup>26</sup> It deserves special mention that Mallisena of the Virasangha order, a native of Perumandur (Perumadai) near Tindivanam, stayed at the Aiyamapalayam monastery during his Chaturmasya vrata and caused to be made an image of the Jina.<sup>27</sup> Inscribed records in characters of the 9th and

10th centuries below these images the prolific nature of Jainism at this place under the Pandyas.

Uttamapalayam in Periyakulam taluk was yet another important 9th century Jaina centre. A series of sculptures in two rows depicting several versions of Parsvanatha and other Tirthankaras find place on a hillock locally known as Karuppannaswamy rock. These figures exhibit the typical 9th century Pandya style. The fragmentary inscription of Srimarasrivallabha (835 A.D) found below the first three images refer to their installation by some persons whose names are lost.<sup>28</sup> A few of the remaining icons were commissioned by great ascetics like Ajjanandi and Arishatanemi.<sup>29</sup> The monastic establishment at Uttamapalayam was presided over by Anantavirya Adigal who is said to have gifted 11 *kasus* for maintaining a lamp before the principal image. Being a hillock inhabited by Jaina munis, it came to be called "Tirugunagiri" and its principal deity "Tirugunagirideva".<sup>30</sup>

## 2. Sittannavasal

Sittannavasal, 16 kms, west of Pudukkottai town, is one of the celebrated Jaina centres, having a natural cavern and a rock-cut temple. The origin of the rock-cut temple is dated back to the 7th century A.D.<sup>31</sup> However, its *mandapa* was repaired and renovated and was also provided with an additional structural *mukhamandapa* by Ilam Gautama, the great *acharya* of Madurai during the reign of Srimara Srivallabha (815-862 A.D).<sup>32</sup> Besides, paintings were also executed on the ceiling of the shrine as well as *mandapa* and on the massive pillars.

These paintings form a class by themselves, and the main theme depicts the Khatikabhumi "where the good ones rejoice while washing themselves, as they pass on from one region to another in order to hear the discourse of the Jina in the Samavasarana structure".<sup>33</sup> The lotus tank contains ducks and fishes gleefully swimming amidst lillies and lotuses, elephants playfully plucking out lotus flowers, buffaloes immersing their body into the water and three monks gathering flowers for offering worship to the Tirthankara. The most magnificent paintings are of the Pandya king (Srimara Srivallabha) wearing a lovely crown, accompanied by his queen and the two celestial dancers of exquisite feminine charm, executed on the corbels of the pillars. Although much of these frescoes have disappeared with the passage of time, the remnants throw welcome light on the art of painting under the early Pandyas.

## 3. Virasikhamani

Virasikhamani is a village 14 kms south west of Sankarankoil in Tirunelveli district. The hillock adjacent to the village has three natural caverns with a number of stone beds cut at different levels. The first cave served as the resort of Atuman Jinendra and his disciples in the 8th century A.D.<sup>34</sup> Sculptural depictions of Jaina deities are conspicuous by their absence. However, outlines of a conch and a single foot-print are incised on one side of the cave. These are believed to be the symbolic forms of Neminatha, the 21st Tirthankara. The name of the village, Virasikhamani also lends support to this conjecture as Neminatha is popularly known as Sikhamaninatha in Tamilnadu.<sup>35</sup>

The second cave is carved with a beautiful lotus design having a pair of foot-prints at its centre. These foot-prints are that of Sage Sahajananda, and were carved at the instance of one Avayampukkan.<sup>36</sup>

The third cave accommodates five stone beds cut at its rear end, and they are devoid of pillow-lofts as well as lithic records. Although inscriptions of early Pandya kings do not find place at Virasikhamani, no doubt, it flourished during their rule. But, subsequently, Saivism was on its ascendancy here and thereby, a rock-cut temple of Siva came to be scooped out. The name of the village Virasikhamani also got changed into Viravinoda-Chaturvedimangalam in the 11th century A.D., revealing its affiliation to the brahmanical sect.<sup>37</sup>

#### 4. Chokkampatti

An unfinished Jaina rock-cut temple of the 7th century A.D. could be seen on the slopes of Chokkampatti hillock, situated 24 kms, north-east of Tenkasi in Tirunelveli district. The edifice consists of a shrine preceded by a rectangular *manadapa* supported by two massive pillars. Its empty sanctum is guarded by two *dvarapalakas* carved more or less in an erect position. The niches on either side of the entrance have life-size, but partially finished icons of Dharanendra *yaksha* and Padmavati *yakshi*. Dharanendra holds a lotus flower in his right arm raised in *anjali* while the left rests on the hip. His head is adorned by a *makuta* canopied by a three hooded serpent which lends to his identification with Dharanendra.<sup>38</sup> The figure of Padmavati, shown in *tribhanga* posture, stands gracefully with heavy bosom, raises her right arm in *anjali* and keeps the left in *lola hasta*. Its benign countenance, hefty body, bulbous breasts, thick folds of the abdominal muscles etc., add charm and splendour to the image. Unfortunately, its lower part remains unfinished.

The presence of Dharanendra and Padmavati in the niches of the shrine would evidently reveal that the temple was intended for Parsvanatha Tirthankara. Had it been completed, it would have remained an early Pandyan monolithic masterpiece.

The work of this temple seems to have been abandoned abruptly in the 7th century A.D., for reasons not definitely known to us. However, scholars like K.R. Srinivasan and K.V. Soundararajan feel that its abrupt stoppage of work could be attributed to the sectarian animosity between brahmanical creeds and Jains in 7th century A.D.<sup>39</sup>. Hence, no attempt was taken up to complete the temple even at a later period.

#### 5. Malayadikuruchchi

Not far away from Chokkampatti on the road leading to Sankarankoil from Tenkasi lies the hamlet Malayadikuruchchi, having a rock-cut temple scooped out by a local chieftain Pandimangala Adirajan alias Eran Sattan at the instance Maran-Sendan in his 17th year (617-?) of his reign<sup>40</sup>. Originally, it was a Jaina foundation, but subsequently got converted into a Saiva shrine. Consequent to its conversion, it was remodelled to accommodate images of brahmanical deities. However, outlines of the chiselled off figures of a Tirthankara in the sanctum and a *yaksha* on elephant's back in the *mandapa* could be seen even at present. Moreover, the circular medallions of the pillars retain diminutive carvings of Tirthankaras. Thus, the rock-cut's earlier affiliation to the Jaina faith is indisputable.

It has been rightly pointed out by K.R. Srinivasan that its conversion to the Saiva faith was a sequel to religious antagonism between the Saivites and Jains during the reign of Arikesari Parankusa<sup>41</sup>. However, it was transformed into a full-fledged Siva temples with elegant sculptures of Hindu deities in the early 9th century only. Whatever be the case, in its originality, the Malayadikuruchchi temple could have been proud of being the earliest Jaina rock-cut in the Pandya region.

## 6. Eruvadi

The twin hillocks, locally known as "Irattai porrai", at Eruvadi, lying 7 kms north of Valliyur town in Tirunelveli district, has a cavern inhabited by Jaina monks in the 9th century A.D. Two medium sized and identical images of Adinatha and Mahavira were carved on the overhanging boulder of the ascetic-abode. These sacred images were caused to be made by Ajjanandi during his itinerary to Eruvadi.<sup>42</sup> Members of the nearby Nattarruppokku village assembly agreed to take care of these icons and to make provisions for the regular conduct of their worship. Moreover, Irumbattuvelan Sattan, an official of Parantakaviranrayana, made an endowment of some lands in 909 A.D. in order to meet the expenses incurred in connection with the worship of these images.<sup>43</sup>

The choice of the twin hillocks to carve the "twin Tirthankaras" i.e. first and last Jinas, by Ajjanandi seems to be rather intentional and not by chance. This is indirectly alluded to in the epigraph that the first and last (Adi-Antam) Arhats took to their abode at the 'Tiru-iruttalai aruvalam' i.e., twin hillocks<sup>44</sup>.

Eruvadi ceased to be a Jaina centre after the 10th century A.D. as brahmanical religion gained currency then onwards. Temples dedicated to Siva as well as Vishnu came to be built here in subsequent centuries. However, the Jaina cave remained unaltered till recently. Now, it is worshipped as a temple of Vaikunthaswamy by the local people.

## Melapparaipatti

It is an insignificant village about 11 kms from Koilpatti in Tutucorin district. A small boulder at the village contains a series of five miniature Tirthankaras, below which are carved two bold reliefs of Adinatha and Mahavira in a niche. Both of them are seated alike in *dhyana* on a low pedestal and canopied by a *trichatra* each. These sculptures exhibit stylistic features of the 9th century Pandya art. Attempts were made to sculpture some more figures next to them, but owing to the fragile nature of the rock, further work had been abandoned.

## 8. Kalugumalai

Kalugumalai, situated 19 kms west of Koilpatti, was the most important Jaina centre during the early Pandyan regime. It was known as Tirunelechchuram between 8th and 11th centuries A.D. The hillock on the northern side of this village was frequented by Jaina ascetics who at one stage inhabited four of its natural caverns. The one on the eastern side is the biggest and served as the abode of the principal monk. The whole length of the rock above this cavern was converted into a veritable gallery of exquisite diminutive sculptures of Tirthankaras in three rows interspersed by bold reliefs of Adinatha, Neminatha, Mahavira, Parsvanatha, Bahubali, Ambika and Padmavati in specially cut niches. These bold reliefs are masterpieces of the 9th century Pandya art, and were commissioned by ascetics and *sravakas* from different parts of Tamilnadu.

The monastery at Kalugumalai was presided over by Gunasagaradeva and looked after by a host of his disciples<sup>45</sup>. Being a great centre of religious learning, it attracted ascetics, nuns and lay followers from a number of villages like Kottaru, Kurandi, Tiruchcharanam, Kalakkudi, Nalkurkudi, Pidangudi, Karaikkudi, Alattur, Erahur, Pereyirkudi, Ilavenbai etc<sup>46</sup>. Besides, monks and nuns from far-flung centres like Tirumalai, Tirupparattikunram, Perumandur and Tirunarungondai had gone over to Kalugumalai in con-

nection with religious propagation, and during their stay, they caused to be made fine images of Jaina deities<sup>47</sup>.

Lay followers made adequate arrangements for the conduct of offerings and worship to these sacred images. Land, sheep, money etc., were gifted by devotees for the purpose. Arrangements for lighting perpetual lamps in front of the bold reliefs were also made by them<sup>48</sup>. It deserves special mention that Dharmavittan of Nallur-Tumburkurram and Madevanakkan of Nallur Milalaikurram, both from Thanjavur area, cut two wells for irrigating agricultural lands and for providing *aharadana* (food) to *Vairagis* (ascetics) and *Bhattaras* (monks) expounding Jaina Siddhanta to the laity. These acts of benevolence were done during the reign of Parantakaviranarayana<sup>49</sup>. Moreover, two guards, Tirumalaiviran and Parantakaviran, were also appointed to protect the Jaina monastery and its landed properties by the king himself<sup>50</sup>. The Pandya king's support to the Kalugumalai monastic establishments is thus evident from his lithic records.

Kalugumalai continued to be a stronghold of Jainism till the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century A.D. after which it began to disintegrate consequent on the rise of Saivism as well as Chola occupation of the Pandya region.

### 9. Tiruchcharanattumalai

Tiruchcharanattumalai, otherwise known as Chitalar, 5 kms. north-east of Martandam in Kanyakumari district, became a centre of Jaina importance in the 9th century A.D. The very name of the hillock would bear testimony to its association with *Charanas* (*Sramanas*) or Jaina monks. There are three shrine-chambers accommodating images of Mahavira, Parsvanatha and Padmavati *yakshi* in the natural cavern of the hillock. Besides, three rows of miniature figures of Tirthankaras with bold reliefs of Ambika *yakshi*, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira at regular intervals are carved on the overhanging boulder of the cavern. Among the bold reliefs, the image of Ambika, gracefully standing in *dhvibhanga* pose beside her lion mount and flanked by her sons and lady attendant, is an excellent specimen of early Pandya art. The mastery of the craftsman is elegantly portrayed in her slender form, attenuated hip, descending breast and smiling countenance.

The icon of Parsvanatha, canopied by a five-hooded cobra, stands in *kayotsarga*, unmoved by mundane life. Padmavati stands gracefully to his left, while Dharanendra kneels before him. This group of images together with the others were carved at the instance of monks like Ajjanandi, Utanandi and Viranandiadiga<sup>51</sup>.

Sculptures inside the cavern seem to have been commissioned during the reign of Ay Vikramaditya Varaguan, a vassal chief of the Pandyas, in the 9th century A.D. In the year 889 A.D., Muttuvala Naranakuratti, a nun, endowed a perpetual lamp, a lamp-stand and a gold flower of 2 *kalanju* weight to the *yakshi*<sup>52</sup>. Another nun, Gunantangi Kuratti, of Pereyirkudi made a gift of gold ornaments to be worn on the same *yakshi* in 896 A.D.<sup>53</sup>. The special importance given to the worship of *yakshis* in medieval times is illustrated by a number of lithic records and sculptures.

Tiruchcharanattumalai continued to be a Jaina centre, unlike others, till about the middle of the 13th century A.D. Thereafter, it became a place of Hindu worship. This is borne out by an inscription dated in 1250 A.D., mentioning one Narayana Tamilappallavarayan of Kilvembanadu donated some money for the expenses of the Bhagavati temple at

Tiruchcharanattumalai<sup>54</sup>. Obviously, at that time, the image of Padmavati in the cave was provided with a plaster coating and transformed into Bhagavati. Still it happens to be a temple of Bhagavati and Hindu devotees from both Kerala and Tamilnadu offer worship on specific days. Although Padmavati *yakshi* got metamorphosed into Bhagavati, other Jaina images retain their original forms even at present.

#### 10. The Nagaraja Temple at Nagercoil

Kottaru alias Nagercoil in Kanyakumari district was a Jaina centre from about the 9th century A.D. to 16th century A.D. The present Nagaraja temple on the northern part of the town was originally a Jaina structure, which after the 16th century came to be worshipped by Hindus as a sacred shrine of Serpent god and goddess.

Although Nagercoil was a place of Jaina importance in medieval times, Jaina relics prior to the 16th century have not survived at this place. However, some 9th century lithic records from Kalugumalai in Tutucorin district refer to reputed Jaina recluses of Kottaru like Pushpanandi, Uttanandiadigal, Vimalachandra, Santisena and Santisenapperiyadigal who had consecrated images of Tirthankaras at the Kalugumalai monastery<sup>55</sup>.

The existence of the Jaina temple at Nagercoil in the 12th century is also attested to by some inscriptions from Puravarasari and Kanyakumari<sup>56</sup>. Late medieval sculptures of Mahavira, Parsvanatha and Padmavati, and some inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries found in the present temple, mentioning names of two Jaina Panditas, Kamalavahana and Gunavira, are indisputable evidence of its Jaina affiliation and good state of preservation<sup>57</sup>. Very likely, in the year 1588, it passed into the hands of the Hindus who began to worship it as the temple of Nagaraja (TiruAnantalvar) and Nagaramman.(consort of serpent king<sup>58</sup>).

#### Loose Sculptures

Isolated images of Tirthankaras exhibiting 9th and 10th centuries Pandya style of art have been reported from Kayal, Nagalapuram and Kulattur in Tutucorin district. These places were, no doubt, centres of Jaina habitation in medieval times, but structural vestiges of the temples have not been found there. The sculpture of a Tirthankara from Kulattur is delicately carved on a conical stone, and stylistically, it resembles the Kalugumalai specimens. The Nagalapuram figure, now on display in the Chennai Government Museum, on the other hand, is a massive icon in the round and is devoid of accessory carvings like triple umbrella, creeper design and even the chauribearers. The tenth century specimen from Kayal lacks the charm and vigour of the above examples.

#### Resume

Jainism had a chequered history over three and a half century under the early Pandyas. It had gained wide popularity amidst early Tamils even before the Pandyas' emergence into the political arena around the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. A large number of ascetic-abodes with *Brahmi* inscriptions and a volume of literary compositions by Jaina poets would testify to the elated position enjoyed by Jainism. Early form of Jainism was essentially a puritanic, moral based religion. Hence, idolatory and ritualistic worship had a little place in it.

The advent of Pallavas in Tondaimandalam and Pandyas in the far south, their large scale building of brahmanical temples, the *bhakti* ideology popularised by Nayanmars and Alvars, their antagonistic approach towards heretical sects etc., led to a temporary decline of Jainism in the 7th century A.D. Among the Pandyas, Arikesari Parankusa, who then

professed Jainism, was either converted or reconverted to Saivism by Gnanasambandar. In the sequel, the Chokkampatti temple remained while the one at Malaiyadikurichchi got converted into a Saiva shrine. Due to sectarian animosity, Jaina lithic records as well as literary works of the 7th century would subscribe to the above view.

However, the period of its adversity did not last long and within less than a century, it could see its resurrection. It was achieved patiently by accommodating iconic and ritualistic worship analogous to brahmanism. Yakshi cult found a prominent place in Jaina pantheon, and came to be held more or less on par with that of the Tirthankaras. As a result, Neo-Jainism became colourful and attractive, and could counterbalance the growth of brahmanical religions. It was in this process of transformation, the earlier bare ascetic-resorts, besides the newly inhabited ones, metamorphosed into cave temples with exquisite portrayals of Tirthankaras and *yakshis*. *Abhisekha*, *naivertya*, *aradhana*, special *pujas* etc., formed an integral part of the worship of these images. Provisions were made by lay devotees for the conduct of worship and the upkeep of monastic establishments.

The role of great *acharyas* and nuns in propagating Jaina doctrines and popularising the worship of cult images had a tremendous effect in the growth of Jainism. Ajjanandi, Arishtanemi, Uttanandi, Gunasagaradeva and a host of others are held to be revivalists of Jainism in the Pandya region. During their itineraries to Jaina centres for religious propagation, they had also taken care to consecrate images of Tirthankaras and their attendant deities. The reason which impelled them to consecrate icons and encourage ritualistic worship was, no doubt, to gain more popularity among people and, at the same time, to remove brahmanical hatred against Jaina adherents<sup>59</sup>.

Early Pandya rulers like Srimara Srivallabha and Parantaka Viranarayana were very tolerant and paid much importance to Jainism. Their rule witnessed the growth of Jaina institutions at Sittannavasal, Anaimalai, Aivarmalai, Kalugumalai, Uttamapalayam and Eruvadi. Among all early Pandya Jaina centres, Kalugumalai emerged as the hub of religious activities in the 9th century A.D., attracting Sramanas and Sravakas from all over Tamilnadu.

Structural temples of the early Pandya period seem to have existed at Nagercoil, Kulattur, Kayal and Nagalapuram. With the passage of time, their architectural members have disappeared completely, leaving bare the consecrated images to posterity.

The Chola subjugation of the Pandyas in the 10th century A.D. brought about adverse effects on Jainism also. The land of the Pandyas witnessed frequent wars and blood sheds, as a result, it became uncogent for further growth of Jainism. Moreover, the Cholas had not been so keen in lending support to Jainism in the newly conquered Pandya region as they had done in their homeland as well as the already annexed Tondaimandalam. Consequently, it resulted in the exodus of Jaina population to Tondaimandalam where they could profess their religion peacefully without any hindrance.<sup>60</sup> Jainism, thus began to disintegrate and, in course of time, disappeared from the land of its proliferation.

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spent for feeding each Brahmana were one *alakku* of ghee, five dishes of curry, five *ulakku* of curd, two arecanuts and betel leaf all supplied until he was satisfied.

An inscription from Sendalai of 879 A.D. refers to an *ambalam* used for the supply of drinking water to the way-farers during summer.<sup>9</sup>

### Temple Land

Consequent on the grant of various villages and lands made over to the temple on the various occasions by different categories of *dinars*, the temple gradually became one of the largest landholders. Since the temple was the chief landowner, it acquired a central place in the realm of agrarian economy. Through its land power it also helped in the development of agricultural industry in the area. It also acted as an intermediary for transferring the cultivable rights received from the landowners, like kings, chieftains and other well-to-do members, who generously endowed lands for the temple to the tenants, sub-tenants and tillers for cultivation and supply of the items specified in the grant. The temples also gave lands to the temple employees for their services. Thus the temples indirectly paved the way for the distribution of land from the land owning donors to the others.

The lands donated to the temple were referred to as *iraiyili* (tax-free land). *Irai* is the land tax to be paid to the king and his establishments. The village assemblies were responsible for the payment of land revenue.

Sometimes the temple fund was also utilised to meet out the payment of *Irai dravyam* for the land donated by the individuals. The early Pallava Charters refer to 18 kinds of tax exemption (*pariharam*) on the donated lands.\*

The donors not only gifted lands to temple but made arrangements for its cultivation and irrigation. Many land donations were accompanied by the irrigation facilities provided by the donor himself.<sup>10</sup> In some cases the king and village administrative bodies also made necessary arrangements for irrigating the temple lands.<sup>11</sup>

Another greatest service rendered by the temple was in the field of reclamation of waste lands by bringing them under cultivation. Private individuals could easily do this. An inscription from Sendalai records that an individual made a fallow land belonging to the temple at *Niyamam* cultivable and made it tax-free and restored it to the same temple for charitable purposes.<sup>12</sup>

### Temple as a Bank

Large sums of money and gold which flowed into the temple treasury in the form of gifts and other ways were either invested in land or lent out to the people. The activity of such giving and receiving loans respectively to and from the people and other institutions had become one of the major functions of the temple. Eminent scholars like K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, A. Appadorai, T.V. Mahalingam, C. Minakshi and others have regarded the temple as people's bank in those days. But the temple did not discharge all the functions of a modern bank. One of the main functions of a bank is to give interest to the depositors but the temple never gave any such interest. The fixed deposits invested in the temple were mostly donative in nature and were made for certain purposes.<sup>13</sup> Giving loans by the temple was one of the important social services. Most of the loans were given for productive activities such as cultivation, cattle-breeding and trade.<sup>14</sup>

The customers of the temple bank included village assemblies, Brahmins, temple employees, farmers and others. The loans included both cash and kind. At the time of lending loans, the temple was very strict in the matter of collecting interest and repayment. An inscription from Tiruvotriyur states that the borrowers of loans from the temple had to pay interest before the *ani* (temple supervisor or a place or treasury of the temple) of Tiruvotriyur.

Treasuries were also attached to temples.<sup>15</sup> They were known in the inscriptions as *devar pandaram* or *Sri pandaram*. Temple treasury was also mentioned in the *Tevaram* hymns. Sundarar in one of his poems requested the God of Nagaikaroganam to supply jewels, cloths, etc. from the *koyil-pandaram*.

### Temple as an Employer

The temple played an important role in the socio-economic life as an institution providing employment opportunity to a large number of people. A large number of employees, irrespective of caste or creed, were engaged for various categories of works. Thus the temple became a major source of employment for the people, next to the State. The servants attached to the temple were known by the term *koyil parivaram* or *talipparivaram*, *koyil paniseivargal* or *koyil paniseimakkal*, *uliyakkarargal*, *tirukoyil udaiyar*, *aganaligaiyar*, *unnaligaipperumakkal*, etc.

The various categories of servants engaged in a temple can be broadly grouped into male and female. This broad group can also be classified into many sub-categories.

- i. those engaged in the purely spiritual services;
- ii. those employed in the administration of the temple;
- iii. those appointed to render various kinds of other services.<sup>16</sup> Besides the regular employees, many persons were also hired by the temple temporarily or on a part-time basis.

Male servants were larger than that of female servants in any temple. This group of workers can be classified into skilled and unskilled servants. Skilled servants were the spiritual functionaries like priest and his assistants, Vedic scholars including teachers and reciters of *mantras* or sacred texts in the temple, administrative functionaries like treasurers, accountants and superintendents and dance masters, musicians, both vocal and instrumental, masons, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters and potters, etc.

The temple was also a centre of learning. Educational institutions attached to temples were known as *Ghatikas*, *mathas*, *salais*, etc. The Velurpalayam plates record that Narasimhavarman II had built the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram and recognised the *ghatika*. The *ghatika* was a powerful force in the political sphere too. The Vaikunthaperumal temple label inscription tells us that *ghatikaiyar* of Kanchipuram took part in the events of the accession of the Pallava King Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

According to the *Amarakosa*, *matha* was an abode of the scholars and others. *Mathas* were located in the temple precincts or in the vicinity of the temple complex.<sup>17</sup> The earlier reference to a *matha* in Tamilnadu comes from Pillaipalayam (Kanchipuram) inscription belonging to the time of the Pallava king. Dandivarman's (796-846 A.D.) copper-plate grant contains valuable information about the *salai* and its activities in the field of education.

Both primary and higher education were imparted in these centres free of cost. Besides religious studies, language, grammar, philosophy, military and medical science, music and astronomy were also imparted. The teachers of these institutions are referred to in the epigraphs as well-versed in all branches of knowledge. The students were expected to maintain discipline and study sincerely. If they failed to comply with the basic rules, they and the ascetics were given suitable punishments. Besides being the centres of learning, the *mathas* took care of the public welfare by providing board and lodging facilities to the pilgrims.<sup>18</sup>

### Temple as a Repository of Fine Arts

The fine arts like music, dance and drama served as the proper media of worship from very early period. Saint Sambandar says that God is pleased very much and gives boon if we praise him with musical songs.<sup>19</sup>

Music in the temple was of two types - vocal and instrumental. The temples maintained a number of both male and female singers and reciters of sacred texts. There is a reference in the *Periyapuranam*, describing Sambandar, as a talented vocalist, who defeated in a musical competition his companion Tirunilakantayalpanar, who was an expert on the *yal*. Female singers in the temples were known as *padiyilar* and *pendugal*.

Different types of instruments were played in the temple during the time of the daily services and on festival occasions. *Tevaram* hymns enumerate a variety of musical instruments used in the temples. They are *idakkai*, *udukkai*, *kattirigai*, *kazhal*, *kuzhal*, *sanku*, *murasu*, *muravam*, *mizhavam*, etc.

During the time of the Pallavas the temples took special interest in the development and refinement of dance. An epigraph (731-796 A.D.) of Nandivarman Pallavamalla found at Kanchipuram seems to be the earliest epigraphic evidence to the dancing girls associated with temple. The Pallava and early Pandya inscriptions contain no information about dramatic performances in the temples.

The temples appointed various professional musicians, dancing - girls, dance - masters, skilled - masons, architects etc., to perform their respective duties during the festive and other occasions. In order to promote the specialisation or mastery in their respective fields, the temples arranged competitions among the artists on certain occasions, and rewarded the best performer.

### Conclusion

Thus the temple during the early medieval period under study was an important religious as well as a socio-economic institution and in that capacity it afforded very good opportunities for the nourishment of the refined culture of the times.

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## LANDSCAPE AND PEOPLE IN MEDIEVAL THIRUNELVELI

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### **Chola Settlement:**

The present Thirunelveli was called by the same name during the Chola period of Rajendra I. Then it was a settlement donated to the temple known by the term *devadanam*. This settlement was entrenched by the officials of the Cholas. These officials made an enquiry into the expenses and needs of the temple and found that the temple itself spent its own money for the purchase of grocery things. Accordingly, the officials ordered that there was no need for the deposit of king's taxes 18 *kasu* to the temple treasury and allotted some lands to a group of people *Valanjiyar*<sup>1</sup> (fisher men).

During the period of Kulottunga I, this settlement was brought under Raja Raja Pandinadu, Mudikonda Chola Valanattu Kilvemba Nadu. Its adjacent village in the same *nadu* was Tirukunrathur<sup>2</sup>.

### **Pandya settlement:**

During the Pandya period the landscape of Thirunelveli attained several changes is indicated through the numerous inscriptions which are enclosed in the appendix. Especially this settlement was under the direct supervision of Pandya king Jatavarman Kulasekhara I. He converted Thirunelveli into a brahmin habitation settlement known by the name Kulasekhara chaturvedi mangalam<sup>3</sup>. For this purpose he formed a big tank in his own name Kulasekarappereri. However, it remained as a temple donated brahmin settlement (*devadana brahamadeyam*)<sup>4</sup>. In four sides, this settlement was surrounded by the forest (*kadu*)<sup>5</sup>. In the eastern side, there was a street of adjacent village by name western *mangala* street. There was also a narrow street, *Kurunteru* which consisted of houses. In this side, there was also a road called sacred street (*tiruvidi*)<sup>6</sup>.

In the southern side of Thirunelveli, the land scape was one of the combined feature of minor water passages and land pieces. There were many minor passages known by the name:

Idaichapokku, Erusevakankalpokku, Sararkalpokku, Puliyodukalpokku, Maracerikal pokku, Nanarkalpokku<sup>7</sup>. In this area, the peculiar feature is that the land which received water from the passages was called after the name of the passages themselves.

The northern side forest underwent many reclamation process during the period of king Jatavarman Kulasekhara I. In the forest there were many smaller ways known by the term *sevvai*<sup>8</sup>. They went from eastern direction to the west. They led to a temple Elamkondan. A big way by name *tirunthumamrai* pilaru was formed. The forest cutters (*Kadu Vettigal*) had cut a pond. In this area 1Y2 *veli* land was allotted for the formation of another *brahamadeyam* settlement. It was a settlement for Vaishnavite brahmin in the name of Anavarathathana Chaturvedimangalam and was formed in the year 1198<sup>9</sup>. For this purpose the individual constructed a tank in the name of Tirunthumamaraippereri. The whole 1Y2 *veli* forest was reclaimed by cutting the forest, and clearing the woods. It was

converted into wet land, dry land, garden and habitation sites. The unit of land division, a *ma* was made as 16×16 with 18 feet rod. In this *ma* square fields and minor channel (*Kannaru*) were formed. The lands are divided into pieces known as *cey*<sup>10</sup>. Those piece lands (*cey*) were serially numbered as first, second, third and so on. Likewise there existed 23 divisions of land. Those lands were classified as eighth grade (*ettam taram*). During the year 1227, an attempt was made by the village assembly *sabhai* to disturb the grade and to make it in the category of *virivu*. But the Pandya King Sundara Pandya did not admit for such changes.<sup>11</sup>

The landscape further changed due to the formation of further irrigation sources. Two channels by name Pallikondan vaykkal and Melai vaykkal were created. A passage (*nirpoki*) from Tirunthumaraipperi went from its western side towards the north.

#### **Elaboration of irrigation village into a Commercial town:**

During the period of Jatvarman Kulasekhara I, Thirunelveli, an irrigation village, created many streets and residential quarters of the trading people and expanded as a town. A big way was laid which led to the bund of Kulasekhara tank<sup>12</sup>. During the year 1193, a separate big street by Suttavalli *Perunteru* came into being where the oil mongers lived<sup>13</sup>. In the year 1216, a big street known by the inscriptional term *Perunteru* was laid<sup>14</sup>. The houses in the street were bigger in size, which could be categorized as palaces (*maligai*). A town by name Kulasekharapuram alias Thirunelveli Tirukamakottam was formed adjacent to the temple<sup>15</sup>.

#### **People in Devadana Brahmadeyam Kulasekhara Chaturvedimangalam:**

As Thirunelveli remained a temple donated *brahmadeyam*, the brahmin population dominated the affairs of the village. Their organisation *sabhai* functioned in this village by allotting lands. It had a distinctive committee namely *Pannai velai cheyvarkal*<sup>16</sup>, which was not known in earlier history. These members did the work exclusively related to farm works in Thirunelveli. *Sabhai* members endorsed the work done by the above committee. However, this *brahmadeyam* was not a composite settlement of native brahmin members of Thirunelveli. Many of the members had from various regions, especially from the villages of Tirukudamukku, Perumparrapuliyur of Tanjore region. The brahmin in the period of 13th-14th centuries were affluent. Some individuals possessed material wealth as to dig a big tank, big road, and a brahmin settlement.

Though the village was controlled by the brahmin *sabhai*, the merchant communities were so active in this area. The merchants were variously called *vaniya nagarattar*, *sankarapadiyar*, and *vaniyar*<sup>17</sup>. They lived in two areas : one at Suttamalli *perunteru*, and another at *nagaram* settlement of Kulasekarapuram nearer the temple. They did commerce in oil. They were not small merchants, but whole salers, because many of their titles indicate that some of them did trade in big baggages (*mapothi*), and some of them did trade in a wider territory (*mandalam*). Some of them were land holders (*Udaiyan*)<sup>18</sup>. These merchants lived as a group of families known by the term *Karai*<sup>19</sup>. During 1233, ten *Karai* people lived together, and jointly accepted the money. They remitted taxes known as *antharayam* to the temple<sup>20</sup>. Each group (*Karai*) had a representative person.

A category of oil merchants *Sankarapadiyar* were also a powerful group. In one instance they influenced the Pandya king Jatavarman Kulasekhara I and received orders for the collection of king's taxes from certain pieces of land<sup>21</sup>.

Another group of the people lived in medieval Thirunelveli were *kaikolar*. They were a military group of people. They lived as a group with one name, but it was not a kinship organisation. However, they possessed individual hereditary land holding (*Kani*)<sup>22</sup>. There was also another group by name *Kaikot senapatigal*. They were commanders. They lived as a group and possessed the land collectively. They possessed a title *rayan*<sup>23</sup> which may mean a kinship group. These *Kaikolar* and the merchants possessed the same title *rayar*.

#### **Idaiyar :**

These people were shepherds. Some of them served in the temple and were called *nivanthakarar Vettikudi*. Their family consisted of whole brothers and the elder brother was important among them. Their successors were called *Varkathar*. They possessed the title *Kon*, *Senapati*, and *Padaittalaivan*, they were illiterates.

#### **Social possessiveness of the people :**

The people of Thirunelveli were possessive in nature. This is reflected in many of the inscriptions. They, like *Vaniyar*, *Nagarattar*, and *Sankarapadiyar*, did receive money directly from the individual instead of temple for the supply of oil to the temple. This type of transaction indicates that those types of people were independent, and could not be controlled even in the name of god. This sort of tendency prevailed not only among the rich persons, but also among the landless cultivators. This led them to become more possessive, aggressive and nevertheless to cherish a segmented social behaviour.

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## **THE DUTCH IN TUTICORIN: CLOTH PRODUCTION AND TRADE UNDER THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (A.D.1663-1757)**

**Dr. S. Jeyaseela Stephen**

Pondichery

The pearl and chank fishing industry of the South Eastern Coast of the India attracted the attention of the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century and it also invited the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century to capture it from the hands of the Portuguese. The Dutch established their first trading factory at Kayalpattinam on the South Eastern Coast of India in 1645 with the permission of Tirumalai Nayak of Madurai. There they developed interest in the pearl fishery operations but were driven out from Kayalapattinam after three years, under the orders of the Nayak of Madurai owing to problems.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, they conducted expeditions and attacked the Portuguese settlements in 1649, demanding ransom of money so that they could reestablish themselves on the Pearl Fishery Coast. The Tamil Muslim merchants with their mercantile organisation consisted of fifty four members in the region, who were waiting for an opportunity to drive away the Portuguese, came with an assurance to help the Dutch in 1652, when the Portuguese at Alican near Tiruchendur were attacked.<sup>2</sup> The participation of the Dutch in the trade prospects on the Tirunelveli Coast received a new impetus only after the capture of the Portuguese settlement of Tuticorin and its occupation on 2 January 1658. Further, when the Dutch commercial headquarters of Nagapattinam replaced the port of Pulicat in 1689, they focussed their attention Don to obtain cloth more on the Tirunelveli region besides the Coromandel Coast.<sup>3</sup> By this time, pepper and spices that had dominated the Indo-European trade came to be replaced by the growth of trade textiles to Europe and also in a large scale trading within Asia. As the aspects of the textile production and trade of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) on the Tamil Coast had not been well explored by scholars till date, there is a need felt for the present study and this paper uses the contemporary sources in Dutch.

Tuticorin became the main trading port of the Dutch East India Company and it was placed under a chief who along with council controlled residents and other servants of the VOC. As the Dutch were only permitted by the Nayak of Madurai to conduct trade, Adrien Van der Mijden, the Dutch Governor was sent by the Admiral and Special Commissioner, Rajklof Van Goens, in February 1659, to negotiate a treaty with the ruler of Madurai to secure a privilege that would permit the Dutch Company to fortify Tucticorin.<sup>4</sup> The negotiations were conducted with Parimalappa Pillai, the chief minister of the Nayak had turned down the Dutch request for permission to build a fort at Tuticorin.<sup>5</sup> In reaction to this, the Dutch attacked the English factory at Kayalpattinam and plundered it because the Nayak had permitted their rival to trade in pearls, chanks, coir and rice on the Coast.<sup>6</sup> Let us examine how the Dutch evinced interest in cloth production and trade in this region in the due course of time.

### **Textile Dying Units of the Dutch Company**

The Dutch were driven to take interest in the procurement of cloth meant for export and in its trade in the Tirunelveli Coast when there was heavy demand for textiles export to Batavia and The Netherlands in 1661. They did not set up weaving units at all, but procured

cloth from the weavers and merchants. As they were unable to get the export cloth on time owing to delay in the textile processing works, they began to undertake textile dyeing to suit their taste and requirements of export. In this connection they had established their first dyeing unit at Kayalpattinam in 1663 and the second unit at Tuticorin in the same year.<sup>7</sup> The main idea of the VOC to start these two dyeing centres was also an experiment mainly to avoid being compelled to obtain textiles from the Coromandel Coast. The Dutch were pushed to establish their third textile dyeing unit in Madurai town, deep in the hinterland to develop their export textiles. Dyeing of red cloth in Madurai was not very successful, because the work progressed very slowly and the material was inferior. The dyers of the town also had not taken notice of the serious advice and threats addressed to them. However, little profit was made on the consignment of the textiles sent to Batavia exported from Madurai via the port of Tuticorin.<sup>8</sup> The Dutch purchases of textiles included annually around 4000 bales in Madurai. The varieties of cloth in 1663 included gunny, salepouris, percalles, ginghams, white cloth and catechies.<sup>9</sup> The Dutch in 1665 also had set up a fourth unit for dyeing blue cloth at Tengapattinam.<sup>10</sup> The gunny that was available at Tengapattinam was ordered to be produced by Philipp d'hoze, the junior merchant of the VOC and he was chiefly made responsible for sending the textiles to Tuticorin. This gunny was mainly used for packing cinnamon.<sup>11</sup> Further, the good quality of pack thread that was also available on the Tirunelveli Coast was also purchased by the Dutch although it was dearer than the price quoted in the Coromandel Coast. It was also mainly needed for packing cinnamon meant for export.

These four dyeing units of the VOC received the dye stuffs from Tuticorin where dye roots were found in the nearby areas. These dye roots were collected by the inhabitants of the region and half of it had to be delivered to the Dutch Company because these dye stuffs were considered to be the prerogative of the VOC. The natives who collected the dye stuffs were therefore allowed only half of the roots for their trouble. The Dutch Company's share of dye Coromandel Coast where there was demand. In some cases, dye stuffs were also sent to Jaffna for dyeing the cloth which were to be exported to Batavia market.<sup>12</sup>

The textiles purchased in the Tuticorin region were mainly exported to Sri Lanka. The following table contains the value of purchase in Tuticorin and sale value at Galle in Sri Lanka on the various types of cloth in 1695.

Types of cloth	No. of pieces	Purchase value (in florins)	Sale value
Raw salempouris	1074	3875-18-8	6369-15-0
Bleached salempouris	260	987-9-5	1560-0-0
Guinees	443	3434-3-9	5584-10-0
Sail cloth	11½	34-10-0	46-10-0

Source : See note 13.

## Organising Joint Stock Company of Merchants

Besides engaging in the dyeing of cloth which was needed according to their taste for export, the Dutch also actively collected textiles through the practice of signing contracts with the individual merchants. In course of time, the Dutch attempted to form a company of merchants from various places on the Tirunelveli Coast to develop textile trade on the pattern of joint stock partnerships of merchants introduced in the 1650s by Laurens Pit, the Dutch Governor on the Coromandel Coast.<sup>14</sup> This was mainly because many individual Muslim merchants like Periyathamby Marakkayar conducted trade in textiles with Sri Lanka, obtaining and transporting all cotton goods from Kilakkarai on his own account having the entire management of this business there.<sup>15</sup> This heavily affected the prospects of the Dutch trade in textiles.<sup>16</sup> The textile trade could not be improved easily since the individual merchants prevented the Dutch Company from obtaining cloth by raising the price. The chief merchant who supplied cloth to the Dutch at Tuticorin was called Baba Prabhu. He died on 4 April 1696 and the Dutch trade suffered.<sup>17</sup> Whether these native powerful merchants did it with a view to make the Dutch leave the region or whether they wanted to make huge profits had not been clearly stated in the Dutch records. Thus to avoid and eliminate the direct competition with *leverencijs* (the individual suppliers) and merchants for the supply of cloth, the Dutch attempted to form a company of merchants on the Tirunelveli Coast and this plan materialised only during 1697.

The following is the list of merchants from different places who had formed a company to help the Dutch in the textile supplies.

Sl.no	Names of the places	Names of the merchants
1.	Tuticorin	Balthazar Stephanus Muthu Pillai Chetty Andre Morat Andre Fernando
2.	Alwar Thirunagari	Appar Suriyan Abanava Pillai Arumugam Narayana Chetty Chidemaga Mudi Marudha Otti Moopanar Mariyadai Chetty Thilagan Kutty
3.	Manapadu	Thome de Melho Gosia Moopanar Sivasamy Pillai

These native traders had agents every where in the region to collect textiles. The company merchants supplied cloth to the Dutch and this system appeared to be the safest

method since the Dutch did not buy textiles competing with the private traders. The joint stock company of merchants had also been found working very well since the market prospects could not be ruined. Thus the competition in the textile procurement was avoided by trying to secure the largest number of cloths in order to increase the profit of the VOC. It was made sure that even if the price of textiles went high, the increased amount of price was not paid from the funds of the Dutch Company but it was only borne by the native merchants as per the deed. There was no fear or risk involved in this system for the Dutch trade in textiles.

### **Dutch Residencies, Collection Centres and Store Houses of Textiles**

As the Dutch had a residency at Tuticorin in 1697, it was felt necessary by them to erect fortifications. Therefore they spent money for building a small stone fortress with four bastions. Thus the place had sufficient protection against the attack of the rivals in trade. The *hoofd* (chief) of the Dutch trading station at Tuticorin appointed was Kryn Caperman, who by profession was a *Koopman* (merchant). The VOC desired the works related to the painted textiles had to be continuously undertaken at Tuticorin without any break as there was market for the cloth. The company merchants at Tuticorin delivered cotton goods, gunny and pack thread to the Dutch Company.<sup>19</sup> At Alwarthirunagari, the Dutch had a small stone house as a dwelling for the resident and for the storing of the company's textile goods. The chief of the place appointed in 1697 was Jan Bierens, the *boekhouder* (book-keeper) of the Dutch Company.<sup>20</sup> At Manapad, a resident called Hubert Caperman was appointed and he too was a *boekhouder*. Here, the old Portuguese church was used by the Dutch as a warehouse. The total value of textiles that reached f. 2.35 million to The Netherlands in 1697, the Tuticorin based textile export trade formed 4.29 per cent.<sup>21</sup>

In order to facilitate export of more textiles in Tuticorin, the Dutch expanded their activities at a few more places in addition to the three main places from where they received cloth from the company merchants. At a place called Kuttapuli, the Dutch set up an *olabankzaal* (thatched shed) for storing the cotton textiles when it was first delivered by the native merchants. Later, these cloths were sent to Manapad at the first opportunity so that they do not remain very long before dispatch to the port of Tuticorin.<sup>22</sup> At Punnaikayal, there was a clerk called Joannes Teerling lived in a house and one of the Portuguese churches there was used as a warehouse there.<sup>23</sup> At Kayalapattinam, Lucas Pool, the Dutch resident was appointed to collect the textiles and he also had the command over the Virapandyanpattinam area. Further Piji, the Dutch official was asked to undertake strenuous efforts to see whether the weavers of Madurai town could supply the cloth required for the Dutch, especially as that of the fine types of textiles produced in the Coromandel but at a cheaper price.

### **Dutch Trade in Textiles**

The trade in cotton textiles by the Dutch from Tuticorin had been carried on in a very small scale before the year 1697. The main reason for this was the disturbed political conditions that prevailed at that time. Repeated change of governments in the Pearl Fishery Coast with the frequent appointments and dismissals of *maniyakkarars* (receive former) led to anarchy and as a result production and trade of cloth suffered. The post of *maniyakkarar* was one that was much coveted. For the appointment to this post, large sums of money had been promised to the Nayak of the domain. In order to enrich themselves, the *maninyakkarars*

List of regular short fall of textiles exported from Tuticorin, 1751-1756

Year	To Batavia (quantity in bales)	To The Netherlands
1751-52	891	1332
1752-53	691	-
1753-54	-	1270 1/2
1754-55	-	1305 1/2
1755-56	-	1244 2/3
1756-57	-	1794

Source: See note 40

According to records, sufficient ready money was not available for the purchase of textiles in 1752.<sup>41</sup> The Dutch factor in Tuticorin received florins to the tune of 325286.08 from The Netherlands in 1753 for the purchase of textiles.<sup>42</sup> In the absence of funds, gold was used by the Dutch for buying textiles. An amount of 8246 13/66 reals of gold had been lying with the Dutch chief in Tuticorin in 1754 for the purchase of textiles.<sup>43</sup> An amount of 150510 *pagodas* were also sent to Tuticorin for the purchase of textiles in the same year. Further, copper from Japan was also received in Tuticorin towards the investment of funds for textiles.<sup>44</sup> Fall in the value of *pagodas* by 14 1/2 *panams* had affected the textile business of the Dutch Company at Tuticorin in 1754 and the VOC lost three *panams* on every *pagoda*.<sup>45</sup> This resulted in the short fall of textile supply. Thus the dutch factor in Tuticorin could not always meet the full order requirements either sent from Batavia and from The Netherlands owing problems of varied nature.

#### Types of Cloth Exported and Profit of the Dutch

Some fine types of textiles such as muslins were exported from Tuticorin to the Netherlands as early as 1749. The VOC officials in The Netherlands had requested the Dutch factor in Tuticorin to supply these muslins and it continued till 1752. Later trade in muslins suffered because the VOC officials in the Netherlands ordered for greater length of muslins of new assortments.<sup>46</sup>

Salempouris had been continued to be exported from Tuticorin in 1754. When contracting for the supply, the Dutch added one *panam* for each piece of fine salempouris because the VOC authorities in The Netherlands requested that cloth had to be with the new dimension of 33 cubits long and 2 5/18 cubits wide, whereas previously it was 32 cubits long and 2 1/4 cubits.<sup>47</sup>

Guinea cloth had been also exported from Tuticorin. The dimension of the guinea cloths that were manufactured formerly were with 76 cubits long, were now ordered to be supplied with 77 cubits. Similarly the Kalamkari cloths which were 32 cubits long had been asked to be manufactured with 33 3/4 cubits. The Dutch factor of Tuticorin was requested to pay more price for the extra length of these textiles as there was a heavy demand for these textiles in The Netherlands.<sup>48</sup>

Profit from the textile trade by the VOC at Tuticorin, 1751-55

Year	Value in florins
1751-52	38387-10-8
1752-53	45196-8-8
1753-54	41577-17-0
1754-55	27150-5-0
1755-56	46540-18-8

Source: See note 49

From the above study, we can draw certain conclusions. It is clear that the Dutch were the pioneers who developed cloth production and trade on the South Eastern Coast of India. They invested whatever capital that was available at their disposal. They introduced joint stock partnerships of merchants to develop cloth production and trade in Tuticorin area. In some places these joint stocks were dominated by three or four merchants and these joint stocks vanished after some time from the scene, as the method of trading with the Dutch Company changed. In common with the Dutch policies elsewhere, the Dutch Governor and his Council were unhappy about spending bullion or ready money for the textile purchases. The idea behind this was to find necessary capital within the trading zone by monopolising trade in certain commodities. The period under study witnessed an increase in demand for textiles required for the Dutch Company's trade but the officials in Tuticorin were faced with the problem of shortage of ready money. The increase in demand for textiles was not accompanied by an additional supply of gold required for purchase of coarse cloth. Thus, some times barter trade had also been conducted by the Dutch in Tuticorin. For instance they began to exchange the copper of Japan for textiles. The Dutch in Tuticorin had penetrated very much into the interior hinterland of the Coast where weaving was practised in selected towns like Madurai besides in the scattered villages of the hinterland.

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8. *Ibid.*, p.17.

9. *Ibid.*, p.37. The cloth lengths of Madurai and Manapad catchjis 21 1/2 ells. The cost of the cloth is florin 8 3/4 in The Netherlands in 1779. See, Madras Mss No 1134, in A. Galleti (ed.) *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 220.

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## SOCIO-ECONOMY OF PEARL-FISHING INDUSTRY OF GULF OF MANNAR DURING COLONIAL PERIOD

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The diving for pearl is highly remunerative and hence, the involvement of the society at different levels was inevitable in the history of the coastal region of Gulf of Mannar. One's control in this industry indirectly reflected his status in the society and so this industry always had a political importance. This paper deals with the rulers of the pearl and chank fishery, the merchants, the middlemen and the divers and the shares enjoyed by them during the fishery.

### Pearl Diving till Colonial Period.

The unknown author of *Periplus of Erythraean Sea* (60 AD?) mentions about the pearl fishery near the Port town Korkai ruled by Pandian. He also states that condemned criminals were used for the diving in that place (Mc Crindle, 1987:140). It may be inferred from the Sangam literature *Chirupanarruppadai* (55-56) and *Periplus of Erythraean Sea* that the King Pandian Nedunchelian who ruled Korkai might have employed the *Parathavas* who were ferocious and warlike. Fa Hien (401-410 AD) mentions that the King of Sri Lanka sent his guards to watch the pearl fishing ground, and the pearl fishers were charged three-tenths of the pearls obtained (Sastri, 1972:68). Though, almost all the Travellers right from Megasthenes leave passing remarks on the pearl obtained from Gulf of Mannar, only the above two remarks on the nature of the fishing industry for the ancient period are available.

Till the 11th century AD the evidence is silent regarding the individual contribution of the pearl diving but still there are many references to infer the continuous diving for the chank and pearl. In fact, there is inscriptional evidence of donation of the pearl ornaments to the temples by the imperial Cholas (SII, II: 395-397). The inscriptions give only sparse details. For instance, it is said in an inscription that the pearl fishing places were won by Kulothunga I (1070-1120 AD) (SII: III: 145) but we do not get any technical details in this record.

The Chinese traveller Chau Ju-Kua (1225 AD) alludes that the pearl fishery was owned by the Chola King and there was a foreigner who looked after the accounts of the income of the pearl fishery. He also refers to the fact that income was shared by the king and the divers at the end of the fishery (Hirth and Rockhill 1966:230). Marco Polo (1260-1300 AD) mentions that the merchants forming groups sailed to the pearl banks by boats and conducted fishing. One tenth of the collected pearls oysters went to the king and one-twentieth of the oysters went to the shark charmers known as *Abraiaman* (*kadal Katti* in Tamil) who bound the mouth of the sharks while the diving for pearl was held (Yule and Cordier 1993: 331-332). Wang Ta Yuan (1330 AD) a Chinese traveler remarks that all those collected oysters were taken to a common place belonging to the king and in that place half of the oysters were taken by the king as his possession (Rock Hill 1915: 385-387). Ma Huan (1451 AD) also refers to guarding of the fishing area by the officers in Sri Lankan region. Those who collected the oysters must take them to the authority, that is to the king, (Sastri 1972: 301). But he failed

to record the share of the divers or rulers.

The Arabians who visited as traders to the east coast of Indian region also started settling down and took pearl and chank diving as the profession during this period (Arunachalam 1952: 88-89). Attaining the goodwill of the rulers they slowly started having the monopoly of the fishery. Duarte Barbosa (1517-18 AD) gives the account that the Muslim and Hindu divers from the city of Kayal fished pearl oysters in the Sri Lankan region and the bigger pearls were taken by the king, smaller ones being the share of those pearl fishers (Dames 1967:117). He also refers to a wealthy distinguished Moor (Muslim) at Kayal, who was the head of the duties levied on seed pearls (small sized). He was so rich and powerful that all the people of the land honoured him as much as the king. And he could execute judgment and justice on the Muslims without interference from the king. The whole collection of the every Friday went to the boat owners. All the collection of the oysters in one day went to the king in each season (Dames 1967:124).

### **Diving Industry During Colonial Period**

Being suppressed by the Muslim rulers the Hindu fishermen took the help of Portuguese during the middle of sixteenth century. Gaspar Correa accounts that the Portuguese sent their naval force to protect them from the onslaught of the Muslims and the pirates and collected 1500 *cruzados* as the rental charge for the fishery in the year 1523 (Hornell 1922:16). In the year 1528 the whole pearl fishing rights were held by the Portuguese. The Portuguese started levying *stone money* as the tax on every stone used in the fishery. The stone tied at one end of a long rope is the essential tool of a diver to go down to the sea bed. One stone is used by two divers in turn, hence the *stone money* meant the tax on two divers. This tax varied with the kind of religion which the diver belonged to. Generally this was low in case of 'Christian Stone' and more for 'Muslim Stone', the 'Hindu Stone' lying in between those two cases (Codrington 1938:53). This partiality may be due to the religious faith of the government penalising the Muslims and Hindus (Hornell 1922:35). During this period the *stone money* on the divers would have been paid by the leader of a group or the merchants to the government and a share on the collection would have been paid as the salary of the diver. Pedro Teixeira (1586 AD) mentions that a part of collection and some money were given to the divers involved in the fishery and a full day collection went to the boat owner every week. Besides, one day collection in each years fishery went to the Nayak king. After the fishery was over the pearls taken from the oysters were carried to the custom house called *patare* of Nayak at Tuticorin. In that place four percent was levied on the seller of the pearls by the Nayak (Sinclair and Ferguson 1967:178-179).

The fishery rights were transferred to the Dutch in the year 1658. Tavernier mentions that the Dutch provided the protection and also refers to the discrimination in taxing the Muslim and Hindu divers. Attesting to this fact Juan Rebeiro (1685 AD) while referring to the Sri Lankan fishery he informs that the Dutch government sent the guards while diving was performed (Pieris 1909:164). During 1691 the fishery conducted in Sri Lankan region, the levy for the Christian stone was 6½ *Rix dollars*, Hindu stone was 9 *Rix dollars* and that of Muslim was 11 ½ *Rix dollars* (Hornell 1922:35). In the year 1708 Christian stone was taxed 7 *pardaws*, Muslims 12 *pardaws* and Hindu stone 9½ *pardaws* lying between the former cases (Hornell 1922:34). This suggests changes in tax system from time to time. In the year 1744 the *stone money* system was abolished and the fishery was rented to single individual or

to a group of renters (Hornell 1922:38). From the evidence it can be inferred that the rule of employing the maximum number of 5 stone (10 divers) in each boat was fixed in this year only. Before this there were unlimited number of divers employed in each boat.

In the year 1769 the rights of this industry were transferred to the British. During this period only the organised inspection of pearl banks before fishery was done. Moreover, the whole fishery was conducted by the Government. The boats for the fishery was inspected before it was admitted for the fishing. During this period 23 persons comprising 10 divers, 10 attendants, 1 boat owner, 1 boat steersman and 1 employee to bale out the water only allowed (Vane 1865:15-17).

The everyday collections were divided into six divisions and each division into four parts. Three parts of each of the six divisions were taken by the Government. The fourth part of one division was equally divided and taken by the boat owner, steersman and the man who bales out water. The remaining parts of other five divisions were shared by five stones (10 divers and 10 attendants) after deducting 90 oysters as the share of the superintendent, number man, clerk, shark charmer and the charity oyster for temples in each parts. Every part is divided into three parts. Two of them were taken by two divers and the other was equally shared by the attendants (Steuart 1843: 42-43). If we calculate the share of the diver during the British period it is about one-ninetieth of the a day's boat collection or one fifteenth of the average collection of the diver. The attendants of the divers were getting half the income of one diver.

### **Middlemen in the fishery**

Records suggest that Portuguese offered some privileges freely for the village leaders called *Pattangattian* or *Jati talaivan* for providing assistants in the fishery in selecting the fishing grounds, arranging for boats and divers. The privilege consisted of employing the divers and boats in the fishery for the *pattangattians* free of tax. Till 1832 the pearl fisheries were declared based on the independent inspections of the *Jati Talaivan* or the headman of the *parathavas* and this function was later taken over by the British (Rajendran and Chandrasekaran 1976:550). It seems that the privilege offered to them were abolished in that year by the British Government. Later, having the influence of the diving community, the headmen did not cooperate in providing the boats and divers to the British Government for the fishery. Understanding the problem of arranging the boats and divers, after some years they have been allowed to use himself the privilege. In 1889, the Madras Government recorded their appreciation of the assistance rendered by the *Jati Talaivan* and directed that his privilege of being allowed the take of two boats be continued. Each boat is understood to carry 10 divers. Subsequently, in 1891, the Madras Government while confirming the general principal of privilege remuneration to the headman named, adopted the more satisfactory regulation of placing of a sliding scale allowing him but one boat when Government boat numbered 30 or less, two for 31 to 60 and three for 61 to 90 and so on (Hornell 1922:43).

### **Role of Nayaks, Nawabs and Sethupaths**

The Nayaks who were the rulers of the region had an agreement with the Portuguese to allow the Muslim community to dive freely in the Kayal region with limited number of divers. In return, the traders of Portuguese articles were allowed to move inland by the Nayaks. This is evidenced from a copper plate mentioning that 7 free boats with 96 1/2 of stones allowed by the Portuguese should be superintended by Mudaliyar Pillai Maraikayar of

Tuticorin, head of the Muslim community. For that he was given 60 *Chacrums* per month and was favoured with ten stones to dive for him at Mannar and Tuticorin fishery (Hornell 1922:25). Besides the Portuguese also allowed some free diving boats to Sethupathi of Ramanathapuram also for guarding and providing pilots for the passage of the narrow strait called Pamban pass (Hornell 1922:26). Some of those free stones allowed by the Portuguese were donated to the temples by the Nayaks and the Sethupathis (Athiyaman 1998:147).

The privilege offered to the Nayaks, Sethupathis and local chiefs were continued even during the Dutch period. Altogether there were 385½ stones allowed free in the fishery conducted during 1691 (Hornell 1922:29). This has increased 389½ in the year 1694 and 398 in the year of 1708 indicating the numerical increase in privileged number of stones in course of time (Hornell 1922:33). As the power of the Nayaks and Sethupathis declined due to the internal strife the free boats allowed in the fisheries were induced in numbers and later they were rejected by the Dutch (Kadhirvel 1977: 82-84). In the year 1744 the *stone money* system was abolished and the fishery was rented to single individual or the group of the renters and the free stone allowed for the Nayaks and Sethupathis were also abolished (Hornell 1922: 38).

To have smooth commercial interaction and in fear of rising power of the British the Dutch allowed the Nawab of Carnatic then ruling the Madurai region, to employ 30 free divers in the fishery of 1747. But the privilege to the Sethupathi was rejected (Kadhirvel 1977:84). This was increased to 35 divers in the next year fishery (Hornell 1922:39). In 1754 Dutch allowed some free stones to Sethupathi also in the pearl fishery near Kilakarai but refused in the Sri Lankan fishery (Kadhirvel 1977:100). Later in the year 1771 the Dutch allowed the same privilege enjoyed by the Nayaks in previous decades to the Nawab of Carnatic, that is 96½ free stones and two boats of twenty divers to the Sethupathi of Ramanathapuram. Later in the year 1786 Nawab got the equal share in the profit received by the Dutch besides the employment of 36 boats in Sri Lankan fishery (Hornell 1922: 40). The records of the British Government are silent about the claim of Nawab or Sethupathis in the pearl fishing, implying the total monopoly of the industry by the British.

### **Income of Government in the Fishery**

Despite the worldwide demand for the pearls from the Gulf of Manner, the pearl fishery itself could not be conducted either annually or even with any predictable regularity. It is found that the pearl fisheries never formed any uniform pattern but were sporadic and that only 26 fisheries had been held during the last 156 years (Rajendran and Chandrasekaran 1976:550).

During Portuguese period there is almost no record referring the income of the fishery other than Gaspar Correa's account that the Portuguese sent their naval force to protect them from the onslaught of Muslim and the pirates and collected 1500 *cruzados* as the rental charge for the fishery in the year 1523 (Hornell 1922:16). Whereas the records of Dutch provide few information on the income of the pearl fisheries. The financial account of the fishery of 1708 states that the income on stone money was 38,983 *pardaws* besides the tax free stone money of 3,591 *pardaws* which was equal to 106,176 florins or 9000 pounds (Hornell 1922:34) which accounts for 4.321½ stones astonishingly large number. In the fishery of 1747 the rent collected on *stone money* amounted to 60,000 florins equal to 5,000 pounds. But during 1748 it amounted to 114,720 florins (9,560 pounds) and in 1749 was 63,600 florins (5,300 pounds).

Departmental fishing done by the English East India Company got Rs. 42,477-14-8 in the year 1784 when they held Tuticorin temporarily. Hornell (1922: 46-49) has given detailed account about the income to the Government during the Dutch and British period which varies widely and there were some years when the fishery miserably failed to yield any income proving the pearl fishing as an industry of fluctuating fortune.

### **Income of an Individual Diver and attendants**

In fact, the records are silent on the individual diver's income in the fishery. However, from the records if we calculate the share of the diver during the British period it is about one ninetieth of the whole days boat collection or one fifteenth of average collection of the diver. The attendants were given the pearl oysters equal to the half of the income of a diver. So an attendant would get one in one eightieth of the oyster collection of a day or one thirtieth of the collection of a diver in a day.

### **Traders of the Pearl**

During the Christian era though there is much evidence of the export of pearls to various countries from Gulf of Mannar region it is not clearly known on the identity of the traders of the pearl and chank.

The record found at Arsikere in the heart of Hoysala country dated to late twelfth century indicates a merchant prince called *Chatti Setti* with connections with the Ayyavole guild as an importer of pearls, horses and elephants (Merra Abraham 1988: 173). Only Marco Polo (1260-1300 AD) first mentions that the merchants divided into groups hired the divers for the pearl fishery. This implies that the merchants were renting the fishery or the collections were bought by the merchants whether after the fishery was over (Yule and Cordier 1993:331-332). But he does not mention whether the traders belonged to particular guild. Wang Ta Yuan (1330 AD) accounts that the pearls were classified by means of fine sieve and the officials levied duty for that (Rock Hill 1914 :386).

Duarte Barbosa (1518 AD) speaks about the wealthy pearl merchants of Hindu faith named *Chatis* and of the Muslim faith in Kayal area. Caesar Frederick (1563-1581 AD) a Venetian merchant quotes about the learned men employed in the fishery named *chittni* who were sorting the pearls with the help of sieves. He also mentions that after sorting, the merchants from all over the country come here to buy the pearl for trade (Caldwell 1982: 73). From the remarks of Frederick one can infer that the man employed for sorting would also have been a trader who can value the pearl before selling. Pedro Teixeira (1586 AD) quotes that the merchants gather at the Tuticorin fishery to buy the pearls but he does not mention about the class of the merchants (Sinclair and Ferguson 1967:179). Tavernier (1631-1688 AD) mentions that the merchants bought the pearl oysters and carried the pearls bought from Mannar fishery and Persian Gulf fishery to Goa for selling in the fair (Ball 1925: 93). Rebeiro (1685 AD) points out that depending upon the season of the fishery the pearls were bought in the fair conducted at the end of the Sri Lankan fishery by single whole sale merchant or merchants from various places (Pieris 1909:163-167).

From the accounts of Father Martin, a Jesuit missionary it is learnt that in the year 1700 AD the merchants advanced money to the boat owners and in turn the boat owners to the divers before the start of the fishery. But as the fishery failed due to scanty oysters the money advanced by the merchants were also lost (Hornell 1922:32). This implies that the

merchants who came over to the fishery book their pearl by advancing money to the boat owners. It is noteworthy to point out the comment of Father Martin that the Dutch were also buying the pearls from the divers but did not compel to sell it to them if the rates were not accepted by the seller (Sathyantha Aiyar 1924:303).

The Anantharangam Pillai diary elaborates about the pearl fishery of 1746 through a letter written by a pearl dealer named *Cinnavanda Chetti* of Nagapattinam to Pillai (Gnanathiyagu 1949:22). Robertson in-charge of Sri Lankan fishery in the year 1799 AD remarks that *Cundappa Chetty* of Jaffnapatnam was the regular renter of the fishery through bidding (Steuart 1942:83). Vane (1865:17) who was the superintendent of Sri Lankan pearl fishery mentions that after the fishery there was huge competition between the *chettis* and Moormen for buying the pearls. From this we can infer that the trade was also taken over by the Muslim from the Hindu merchants like the pearl fishing.

### Conclusion

From the above discussion the following points on the socio-economy of the pearl and chank fishing industry can be drawn. From the beginning of the Christian era to the fourteenth century the diving industry was accomplished by the *parathavas* who were the natives of the coast. The kings who ruled the coastal regions gave protection to them and for that king collected some share. The Arabians who came to this coast as traders took diving also as profession. Obtaining the goodwill of the king they gradually monopolised the industry and became wealthy. *Parathavas* who were forced to poverty took the help of Portuguese for protection from the Muslim and the king. They got converted and became Portuguese subjects. From then the *Parathavar* also became wealthy. When the Portuguese totally took over the industry they levied *stone money* as the tax. This tax was discriminatory for the Hindu and Muslim. To have a commercial control over the interior territory they allowed some privilege to Nayaks of Madura and Sethupathis of Ramanathapuram to employ some boats in their fishery. When the Dutch took over the pearl fishery in the seventeenth century the privilege earlier enjoyed by the kings continued. In 1744 *stone money* tax system was abolished along with the free stone privilege. The fishery was rented to the merchants. Due to the rising power of the British the Dutch allowed the Madurai king and Sethupathis some privilege in the pearl fishery. When the fishery was taken over by the British all the renting system was abolished and the fishing was directly done by the Government till the independence. From ancient period the traders of the other articles would have traded in the pearl also. From the 11th century to the British period one can infer from the available evidence that the traders named *Chetti* were involved in this trade. The same would have been true for the earlier period also. Arabin traders who settled in Mannar region also took part in the pearl trade. The *jathi talaivan* or *pattangattiyan* who were the middlemen between the rulers and the boat owners and divers enjoyed certain privilege throughout history.

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## INFLUENCE OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT ON THE BRITISH INDUSTRIAL POLICY IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1922-1947)

Dr. C. Balakrishnan

The whole of the nineteenth century was a period of peaceful exploitation of the economic resources of India by the British for the furtherance of their imperialist cause. But with the dawn of the twentieth century the British had to face several challenges. The benign atmosphere of the previous century had changed to that of fervent nationalist movement in the country. That too the birth of the Swadeshi Movement was a shot in the arm of economic nationalism and a group of economic nationalist like Vital Das Thackersey, R.N. Dutt, D.E. Wacha, G.V. Joshi, G. Subramania Iyer, Lajpat Rai, P.N. Bose, A.C. Sen, Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari and Dr. Nilratan Sirkar advocated the industrial development of India.<sup>1</sup> They held the British responsible for the industrial backwardness of the country and created awareness among the Indians about it. The economic evils of British rule were well exposed by them. They made a persistent demand for the economic improvement of India. They made such demand by conducting Industrial Conferences in several parts of the country. They were conducted as an adjunct to the Indian National Congress sessions. The Fourth and the Tenth Industrial Conferences were conducted at Madras in 1908 and 1914 respectively<sup>2</sup>. Their labour bore fruit only in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century.

### Creation of the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency

Among the many demands of the economic nationalists, the demand for the creation of a Department of Industry under the Director of Industries in every Province of British India was the most important one. Because it meant the end of the British policy of non intervention and *laissez faire* in India's industrial matters. The nationalists demanded that the Department of Industry was to deal with industrial questions and the setting up of an Advisory Board to advise the Government on industrial matters. In response to such a demand of the nationalists the Madras Government wanted to designate the already functioning Director of Industrial and Technical Inquiries into the Director of Industries with effect from 17 October 1908 in anticipation of the consent of the British Secretary of State.<sup>3</sup> The Director of Industries was to control pioneering enterprises and practical industrial education with the responsibility of establishing a Bureau of Industrial Information and Industrial Museum. It was only a very minimum effort at the Government level. But even that could not be tolerated by the European business community in India and it was against such policy of the Madras Government. As a result, Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, negated the proposals of the Madras Government in a despatch dated 29 July 1910<sup>4</sup>. He went further and condemned the Madras Government's policy of sympathetic co-operation with Indian attempts and directed it to observe the sacred principle of *laissez faire* on such matters. He ordered the abolition of the infant Department of Industries. The reactionary decision of Lord Morley aroused great dissatisfaction among the industrial nationalists throughout India. They protested against the abolition of the Department of Industries in the Sixth Industrial Conference held at Allahabad in 1910. And in the following February, the Legislative Council of Madras passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to reconsider his decision. There followed considerable correspondence between the Government of Madras, the Imperial Government and the Secretary of State as to the functions of a separate Department of Industries. Meanwhile, the demand of the nationalists for the creation of the separate Depart-



ment of Industries continued persistently. And, therefore, Lord Crèwe, Lord Morley's successor, could not prolong a decision on this matter. He was in favour of the constitution of the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency and it came into existence with effect from 1 April 1914.<sup>5</sup>

### **Effect of the First World War (1914-1918) on India's Industrial Condition**

The first world war had its own effects on the economic condition of India. It had well exposed the industrial backwardness of India. The stark reality was that during the war Indians suffered a lot as they were to rely upon foreign manufactures for even such small things such as match-sticks, needles, etc. The war had taught a lesson to every nation that it should strive to manufacture the articles required by it. One of the important effects of the war as far as India's industrial problems were concerned was that the Government of India was compelled to appoint the First Indian Industrial Commission in May 1916.

### **Report of the Indian Industrial Commission 1918**

The Indian Industrial Commission, appointed in 1916, was "instructed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit its recommendations". The Commission in its report of 1918 pointed out that there was a great demand for developing Indian industries.<sup>6</sup> The report also embodied a number of recommendations, the most important there of being the recommendation that the Government should actively interest itself in the industrial development of the country and aid it by adopting various measures such as equipping itself with an adequate scientific and technical staff. Thus the creation of the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency and the appointment of the First Indian Industrial Commission indicated the demand of the Indian nationalists for the active involvement of the Government in India's industrial matters. It resulted in the end of the earlier British policy of non-intervention and *laissez faire* towards India's industrial development. Synchronizing with the recommendation of the Indian Industrial Commission, the Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1918 also stated that a forward policy in India's industrial development was urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people. Therefore Industry was made as a Transferred subject under the control of Indian Ministers by the Montford Reforms Act of 1919.

### **British Industrial Policy After 1921**

Till 1921 Whitehall discouraged the extension of Government subsidies to industries in India. But the British administration in India could not simply ignore the rising tide of nationalism and the growing awareness of the Indians about the industrial backwardness of their country. Therefore the Government of India had convened a Conference of the Provincial Ministers and the Director of Industries in May 1921.<sup>8</sup> It also directed A.Y.G. Campbell, an officer on special duty at London, to prepare a report on the existence of State Aid to Industries in other parts of the world. His report pointed out that the theory and practice of State Aid to Industries in some of the industrial nations like Britain, France, Germany, the U.S.A. and Japan had reached by that time to a more advanced stage of development with three to four decades of experience.<sup>9</sup> The report was a quite revealing one to the British administration in India. Copies of the report were sent to the Provincial Governments for general guidance and active consideration. Thus the Montford Reforms Act and the pressure exerted by the nationalist movement led to the initiation of some steps towards the development of Industries and the evolution of British Industrial Policy in India.

## **Enactment of State Aid to Industries Act 1923 in the Madras Presidency**

The Provincial Government in Madras under the Justice Party passed the State Aid to Industries Act in 1923. It empowered the Government to assist the establishment and development of industries in this Presidency in various ways like the grant of loans, the guarantee of cash credits, overdrafts or fixed advances with banks, subscription for shares and debentures and grants on favourable terms of land, raw material, firewood or water. It provided for the constitution of a Board of Industries to assist the Government in dealing with applications for the grant of state aids.<sup>10</sup> A new Board of Industries with twelve members was constituted on 4 February 1924.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, a Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Information was set up in order to (1) assist persons desirous of starting new industries, (2) supply information in regard to reliable firms from whom machinery, appliances and accessories could be obtained, (3) indicate to find markets for finished products by putting manufactures into touch with consumers, wholesale dealers or exporters, (4) give technical advice and offer opinions on commercial possibilities of projected schemes and (5) arrange for a basis to be carried out of raw materials and indicate their commercial value.<sup>12</sup>

Under the yarchical Governemnt the British had to accept the policy of support for industrial development from public funds which was not possible in the earlier decade.

The establishment of the Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Information marked the beginning of a systematic and organised attempt of the Government in promoting industrial growth in the Province. Industrial Exhibitions in the districts and at the Provincial level were conducted regularly. The Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Information of the Government also helped industries participate in the All India Exhibitions and informed them about the International Fans conducted at London, Paris, Europe and other parts of the world. Such assistance encouraged the industries to exhibit their products not only at home but also abroad. The Bureau also rendered technical assistance regularly.

Though the State Aid to Industries Act enabled the Provincial Government to allocate some fund for assisting the industries, it could make only a fixed quantum of rupees four lakhs allotted every year due to the reason that Finance was a Reserved Subject under the control of the British Governor. Further the Act under section 9 did not permit grant of aid towards the establishment of new industry which had no assets at their inception.<sup>13</sup> It was a handicap to several aspirants who wanted to avail the Government assistance to start new industries.

The Madras Government made a total allocation of rupees twelve lakhs in their budgets from 1923 to 1926 and only 5 loans to the tune of Rs.5,47,200 were disbursed in the three years after the Act came into operation. It was expressed in the Madras Legislative Council that the help tendered by the Government under the Act was disappointing. The only industry that availed a major portion of the Government assistance was the Carnatic Paper Mills to the time of the Rs.4,64,000<sup>14</sup>. Want of industrial finance and lack of enterprising character on the part of the moneyed classes still acted as the factors preventing the emergence of large-scale industries in this Presidency.

## **Government of India and Industry**

Though Industry was made a Transferred subject since 1920 by the Montford Reforms, fiscal control was still maintained by the Government at the Centre. It appointed a Fiscal Commission in 1922 and on its recommendation a Tariff Board was set up in 1923.

The Fiscal Commission laid down that where it was considered necessary to produce some manufactured goods in this country the Government should take interest and by means of subsidies, bounties and protective tariffs help the people start industries. Likewise the British administration also step up the office of the India Trade Commissioner at London to do the work of Commercial intelligence. He was to introduce and find markets for Indian goods in the United Kingdom and abroad. A Central Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Intelligence was set up at Calcutta with a Director-General. He was to receive the statistics and reports on the Provincial industrial conditions. It served actually as a mechanism for the British to closely monitor the growth of industries in India. Though these developments paved the way for some routine monitoring of the growth of industries in India, the tempo that industry received after the First World War did not continue. It was partly due to the British policy of go slow methodically with bureaucratic regulation through various bodies and also due to the economic stringency adopted in the administration in the 1925's.

### **Economic Depression and Industry**

The World economic depression of 1929 had its own effects on Indian economy. The Madras Presidency with the rest of the world passed through a period of unprecedented economic depression and like all producers of primary products suffered severely from the fall of prices<sup>15</sup>. The impact of it could also be known from the increase of expenditure and the fall of receipts of the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency during the years 1920-21 and 1940-41 from the statement below :

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency.<sup>16</sup>

Year	Receipts	Expenditure
	Rs.	Rs.
1920-21	84,533	8,71,269
1930-31	1,40,413	18,60,054
1940-41	7,00,392	142,288

In 1930, section 9 of the State Aid to Industries Act was amended to empower the Government to grant loan to a concern upto a limit of Rs.40,000 even if it exceeded 50 percent of the value of its net assets<sup>17</sup>. Since 1933 there was increase in the supply of money to industries. Madras Province was allowed by the British to export her principal commodities like cotton, coir, jute, carpet and rug manufactures, tanned hides, skins, sandalwood oil, coffee, teak, magnesite, granite and magnesium chloride without duty to Great Britain after they recalled a trade agreement at Ottawa. During the Second World War while factories of Japan and Europe were actively engaged in war efforts India emerged in total as an important supplier of materials to the Middle and Far East. The index of industrial activity moved up from 114 in 1939 to 120.5 in May 1945. The paid up capital of Joint Stock Companies in what was then British India increased from Rs.2,904 million in 1939-40 to Rs.4,242 million in 1945-46. The number of workers from 1,751,137 in 1939 to 2,520,000 in 1944<sup>22</sup>. Thus the Second World War had its own effects on the industrial policy of the British in India.

## Conclusion

The foregoing study reveals the fact that though there existed the practice of State Aid to Industries in their own Empire, France, the U.S.A., Japan and other countries where industry made considerable progress, the British did not allow such thing in India even during the beginning decades of the 20th century. They followed the policy of *laissez faire* only to the detriment of the industrial progress of India. Therefore the national movement had to concentrate on this aspect of the British policy. As a result of the demand made by the national movement the British created the Department of Industries in the Provinces and the Madras Presidency had the privilege of having such one created in 1914. Similarly, the enactment of the State Aid to Industries Act in 1923 in the Madras Presidency was another milestone in the history of Industrial progress in this province. The non-intervention policy of the State was given a go by after the passing of the Act. The British created some mechanisms to monitor the industrial activity not only in the Madras Presidency but in other Presidencies also. The little concern that they had shown to Indian industrial development after the First World War disappeared soon during the interwar period and they had followed the go slow policy by creating bureaucratic mechanisms like the Tariff Board and the Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Intelligence. After the 1930's the British had shown some preferential treatment to the industrial goods from the Madras Presidency. That had resulted in the increase of trade with the United Kingdom during the Second World War period. Though there was good scope for the rapid development of industries in the Madras Presidency during the war period, shortage of machinery and plant hampered their progress. The capital available for industrial development was also very limited. There was no instrument for financing industry in a large scale other than the facility afforded by the State aid to industry. Cotton industry alone made a good progress. Next to it tanning industry was in a comfortable position. There existed a number of small industries related to agro-products, edible oils, rice mills, sugar and plantation industries in 1947.

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## THE LAWRENCE ASYLUM AT OOTACAMUND - A STUDY

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The British administration witnessed the establishment of charitable institutions for the well being of their people. Their policy of establishing an empire in India resulted in the formation of military cantonments of European soldiers. For educating the children of European soldiers they established schools on European models. Among the schools, the Lawrence Asylum earned high reputation during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this paper an attempt is made to study the role played by and achievement of the school for enlightening European children.

Sir Charles Wood was a firm believer in the superiority of the English race and institutions and believed that these institutions could serve as useful models for the world. He had a larger vision about education than many of the zealous educationists in India. He recommended a system of grants-in-aid to encourage and foster private enterprise in the field of education.

Sir Henry Lawrance, the former British Resident, Lahore, took great interest in the welfare of the British soldiers in India. He established two asylums in his name as "Lawrence Asylum", one at Sanawar [near Kasauli] and another at Mount Abu. He wanted to establish an asylum on the same model in any one of the Madras Presidency hill stations. He came forward to give Rs.5000/- down and Rs.1000/- per annum if action were taken within three months.<sup>1</sup>

In a meeting held at Ootacamund on the February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1856, it was resolved unanimously to establish an institution on the Neilgherrey Hills, for the orphans and other children of European soldiers in India, and a subscription list was opened on the spot itself<sup>2</sup>. The Lawrence Asylum was established in the building known as Caerla Verock in 1858,<sup>3</sup> in Ootacamund, the chief town of the Nilgiris, district, the principal sanitarium of India, the summer headquarters of the Madras Government, which is located in western slope of the Dodebatta mountain range.<sup>4</sup> The position of Ootacamund not only in relation to the Madras Presidency, but as regards the whole of India, gives it advantages over any other station. It could be reached within five days from Calcutta and three days of Bombay.<sup>5</sup>

The total number of British Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers connected with the Madras Army, including veterans and pensioners, may be stated at about 7500, of whom a large proportion was married men with families. The number of children receiving the Government allowance is 4,477, of whom 928 are orphans. The educational provision for these children at that time exclusive of the Roman Catholic Orphanage, consists of the Male and Female Orphan Asylum at Madras, providing together for about 500, Regimental and station schools. It may be assumed of educating a maximum number, 2000 children leaving. It is also feared that a large number of orphans are uncared for. In the case of the Asylums the training was intended to combine, like the Lawrence Asylums, to some extent industrial training with instruction. But their benefits were limited to orphans, and the advantage of a cold climate was wanting. The Regimental schools possess neither that advantage, industrial train-

ing, nor the most important of all, withdrawal from the evil influence of Indian Barrack life.<sup>6</sup>

The salubrity of the Ootacamund climate is so great as to allow Europeans and their descendants labouring in the open air, with a healthy gymnasium, wholesome diet, and salutary discipline. There is little doubt that the children of British brave soldiers, instead of pining and perishing in the plains, could be fitted for honourable and useful employments in the Railway, Telegraph, and other Departments. The object of the institution was to provide for the orphans and other children of soliders, a refuge from the debilitating effects of a tropical climate and the demoralising influence of Barrack life.<sup>7</sup>

A committee consisting of the Rev. Lord Bishop of Madras, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Rev. G.H. Evans, Chaplain of Ootacamund, and E.B. Thomas, Esp. Collector of Combatore, had been requested to commence the initiatory arrangements. The rest it was hoped could be effected through the help of the press, the co-operation of the Army, and the support of the Christian and philanthropic community generally.<sup>8</sup>

Due to the strict religious attitude of Lawrance that the Authorised Protestant version of the Bible should be taught to all Christians daily in the Asylum and the outbreak of the mutiny led to the abandonment of the project for a time. A resolution of the Committee of Management of the Ootacamund Lawrence Asylum recorded on the September 6<sup>th</sup> 1858 states that the rules of the Aboo-Lawrence Asylum should also be adopted to those of the Ootacamund Asylum. As early as 1859 an estate at Ootacamund called the Stone House was purchased for Rs. 22600/- for the institution.<sup>9</sup>

The male branch occupied the premises of Stone House and several other buildings on the Coonoor Road in the vicinity of Stone House Hill together with Lower Norwood, which was occupied simply as an outlying dormitory. The female branch occupied the dwelling lounge known as the Farington House, near the Government gardens. In the first instant, there were only 60 male students and 50 female students because of the limited accommodation afforded by private houses.<sup>10</sup> The children of military parents at Ootacamund were admitted as day scholars.

The donations received amounted to Rs. 37,727/- annual subscriptions to Rs. 6 1000/- and monthly to Rs. 396/- and the Committee expected to receive Rs. 20,000/- from the London Lawrence Memorial Fund and Rs. 6,500/- from other sources. Meanwhile correspondence had taken place between the Committee, the authorities, and the Secretary of State regarding the transfer of the institution to the care of the Government. Subsequently, a long discussion occurred as to the desirability of amalgamating with the Lawrence Asylum, the Military Male Orphan Asylum at Madras.

In the July 1860, the Government of India recommended the scheme to the Secretary of State and the Madras Public Works Department was called upon to prepare plans and estimates for a building to hold the children of both the Asylums.<sup>11</sup>

The Secretary of State made no reply until, 1862 but verified whether the boys in Madras Asylum, most of whom were of mixed blood, could benefit in health by change to the Ootacamund climate. In 1863 a site at Lovedale was selected for the building for the combined institution and early in 1865 plans and estimates amounting to some eleven lakhs were prepared for erecting them.<sup>12</sup>

Lovedale is three miles from Ootacamund on the summit and centre of the Nilgiris Hills. The mean annual temperature at Lovedale is 58. Chinna Dodabetta is on Lovedale and

at its foot there was the Asylum Reservoir. The Lawrence Asylum buildings and the ground cover an area of 730.76 acres.<sup>13</sup> In 1871 the main block was completed and in September of that year the amalgamation with the Madras Asylum was effected; 220 children being sent to Lovedale from the latter. The proceeds of the funded property of the Madras Asylum amounting to Rs. 4,89,000/- were devoted to the needs of the new joint institution as were also the profits of the Lawrence Asylum press in Madras. Then the number of boys were 330 and girls 60. The salubrity of the situation (which surpasses that of some of the healthiest public schools in England) was shown by diminished percentage of sick in hospital and the noblest appearance and healthy appetite of the children. Four years annual subscription of Rs. 50/- or a donation of Rs. 300/- gave a title to nominate a child.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Chisholm was the architect of the new building. The boys part is designed in the Italian Gothic style.

From 1884 the children of volunteers, who had served in the Presidency for seven years and upwards, were also admitted. In 1899 the standard of the institution in the Asylum was raised to the upper secondary grade.

The children were not to be taught by rules, which would be always slipping out of their memory. The great aim was being to make the children understand and discharge their responsibilities aright. Each child of sufficiently mature age, had his allotted duties to be performed for himself or for others, and was made to feel that of the discharge of these duties a strict account must be rendered to those placed over him by the Almighty.

The domestic arrangements were carried out by the boys and girls above ten years of age. The economy of the Girls School was presided over by a matron that of the boys, by a school Serjeant. There would be one such officer to every hundred children. Of native servants there were four attached to the Boys two to the Girls departments. Each elder girl and boy was charged with the care of one of the younger ones.

The Boys School was divided into companies looked after by a Serjeant Major, who was also a pupil teacher, a Serjeant, Corporal and Lance Corporal. Each elder lad took charge of one of the juniors as his comrade, for whose personal cleanliness and neatness of attire, he was responsible.

The female department was organised in the same manner and the discipline was carried out by Head Orderlies, and Assistant Orderlies, under the eye of the Matron. Thus each boy was practically trained to be thoughtful, considerate to others, and helpful, and each girl was accustomed to the management of young children, and taught to be tidy and careful. The utmost punctuality and regularity was insisted on in every department.

The girls made and mended all their clothing. Being employed, every alternate day in plain needlework in their workroom, on the remaining three days of the week they attended school and were taught in the same classes with the boys.

The subjects introduced by the school were Reading, including exercises on the derivation and meaning of words and their orthography and the grammatical construction of sentences. Arithmetic, Geography, History. As regards training in habits of industry, that of course, a main object kept in view was the domestic discipline of the Asylum. The importance of training in industrial art continued to occupy a prominent place in the plans laid out for future years. A public work class, a civil engineering class, a survey class, a submedical



class, a writer class were conducted. The boy's employment was so necessary to the eventual success of the Asylum as a training school.<sup>15</sup>

The boys received a training as to fit them for usefulness thereafter in various lines of life, while the girls were employed in such occupations as would tend to qualify them to become useful wives and mothers. Most of the indoor works in both the branches was done by the children and native servants. The Principal should keep a register of all pupils who left the institution, who had not obtained employment. He would furnish the President of the Eurasians and Anglo-Indian Association and the Agents and Managers of the Madras and South Indian Railway all reasonable assistance in his power in securing for them a fair start in life.<sup>16</sup>

In 1901, the rules of the institution, which had been twice altered since 1864 to meet the changes, which had occurred, were again revised and considerably modified. They were printed in full in the annual reports. Again in 1911 the institution rules had been amended. The legitimate children of European and Eurasians being officers or soldiers of His Majesty's British and Indian Military or civil, medical services or effective volunteers of civilians, whether connected with the public service or not should be eligible for admission. The cases of illegitimate orphan children should be dealt with specially by the Committee. The orphan children of fathers who had been killed in action or had died in Service were selected. Preference was being given to children of pure European parentage,<sup>17</sup> Scholarships were also awarded to the meritorious students.

In 1904 about 100 girls of Military Female Orphan Asylum from Poonamalee Road were transferred to the Lawrence Asylum. The Asylum was managed by a Committee consisting of the Colonel on the Staff Commanding the Southern Brigade, the Collector, Senior Medical Officer, the Superintendent of the Cordite factory, the Commandant of the Wellington Depot, the Civil Surgeon of Ootacamund and two other officials and three non-officials appointed by the Government. The Secretary of the Committee was the Principal of the Asylum.<sup>18</sup>

It was suggested at the meeting of the Committee to change the name of the institution as Lawrence Memorial School and again as Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School<sup>19</sup> from 1913 onwards as the public were very much aware of the aims and the objects of this school.

One of the express objects of the Asylum was to provide the children with a training, which would enable them to earn a livelihood. Prominent parts of its course of instruction therefore were the technical classes. The Lawrence Asylum system included healthy and simple diet, a sound and solid education, industrial training, inculcating of habits of obedience, order and cheerful activity, whether at work or play, all resting on a Christian basis. It was one of the pioneering institutions, which imparted useful education, and training during the last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such of this institution was not widely prevalent during this period. Hence Lawrence Asylum may be considered as one of the Model-Schools, which imparted useful training to the students, and it emerged as an example to others either for establishing such schools or imparting education in this pattern.

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## தமிழக வரலாற்றில் மே. வீ. வேணுகோபால பிள்ளையின் சமுதாயத் தொண்டு

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சென்னை - 600 021.

### முன்னுரை

தமிழராய்ப் பிறந்து, தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றித், தமிழக வரலாற்றில் பல்வேறு நிலைகளில் சமுதாயத் தொண்டுகள் ஆற்றி தமிழ்ப்பெரும் புலவராய்த் திகழ்ந்த மே.வீ. வேணுகோபால பிள்ளை துன்முகி ஆண்டு ஆவணித் திங்கள் 17ஆம் நாள் (31-8-1896-ல்) பிறந்தார்.<sup>1</sup>

இவர் பிறந்த நாள் திங்கட்கிழமை என்பதும், அன்று கிருஷ்ண ஜெயந்தி என்பதும், அந்த நாளில் பிறந்ததால் இவருக்கு "வேணுகோபாலன்" என்னும் பெயர் பெற்றோரால் இடப்பட்டது என்பதும், இவர் தம் அருமை அன்னையார் வாயிலாக அறிந்த செய்திகளாகும்.<sup>2</sup>

### பிறப்பு

மே. வீ. வே. பிறந்த குலம் யாதவ குலம். பின்பற்றிய கொள்கை வைணவம். தந்தையார் மேட்டுப்பாளையம் வீராசாமிப்பிள்ளை. தாயார் பாக்கியம் அம்மையார், உடன் பிறந்தவர் எழுவர். இவர் பிறந்த இடம் சென்னையை அடுத்த சைதாப்பேட்டைக்கு மேற்கிலுள்ள மேட்டுப்பாளையம் என்னும் சிற்றூர்.<sup>3</sup> செல்வ நிலையிலிருந்து வறுமை நிலைக்கு வந்தபோது மே. வீ. வேயின் மாதிரிப்பள்ளி வாழ்வு திண்ணைப்பள்ளிக்கூட வாழ்வாயிற்று.<sup>4</sup>

மே. வீ. வே. முதன் முதலாக அச்சத் தேய்க்கும் வேலையை எஸ்.பி.ஸி.கே. அச்சகத்தில் (இப்போது தையோசீசன் பிரஸ்) என்று வழங்கப்படுகிறது) ஆரம்பித்தார். அயராது உழைத்து பாடுபட்டார். விளையாட்டில் நோக்கம் காட்டாமல் கல்வியில் ஆர்வம் காட்டினார். சிறிது காலம் வழக்கறிஞரிடம் தூக்குத் தூக்கியாகப் பணிபுரிந்தார்.<sup>5</sup>

வழக்கறிஞர் டி. என். சேஷாசலம் ஐயர் அவர்களிடம் ஆங்கிலம் பயின்றார்.<sup>6</sup> கார. கோவிந்தராச முதலியாரிடம் தமிழ் இலக்கண இலக்கியங்களை முறைப்படி கற்றார். தமிழ்த் தாய்க்கும் ஆங்கில வாணிக்கும் நன்மகனாயும் நண்பராயும் விளங்கி இரு மொழிகளில் ஏற்றம் பெற்றார்.

ஓய்வுகிட்டும் போதெல்லாம் பயின்று வந்தார். 1920-23 ஆண்டு வரை பலரும் விரும்பும் வண்ணம் மே. வீ. வே பணியாற்றினார். சென்னை புரசைவாக்கத்திலுள்ள பெப்ரீஷியஸ் பள்ளியில் தலைமைத் தமிழ் ஆசிரியராக இருந்து தமிழ்த் தொண்டு ஆற்றினார்.<sup>7</sup>

மே. வீ. வே. 1927-ல் செப்டம்பர் திங்கள் ஐந்தாம் நாள் தமது 28-ம் வயதில் அரங்கசாமி பிள்ளை, தாயாரம்மாள் ஆகியோரின் மகளராகிய ஜானகி அம்மையாரை மணந்தார். இருவரும் மூன்று ஆண்மகவை ஈன்றனர்.<sup>8</sup>

1924-1938 வரை பெப்ரீஷியஸ் உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளியில் பணியாற்றிக் கொண்டிருந்தபோது சென்னை பல்கலைக் கழகத்தார் நடத்திய தேரவில் வெற்றிக் கண்டார். வித்துவான் பட்டம் பெற்றார். தமிழ்க்கல்வி பயின்று கிருத்துவக் கல்லூரியில் பணியாற்றி ஓய்வு பெற்ற பேராசிரியர் பொன். ஆ. சத்திய சாட்சி, தமிழ் ஆசிரியருக்குப் பல்வேறு வகையான பாராட்டை வழங்கினார்.<sup>9</sup>

சென்னை கீழ்ப்பாக்கத்தில் நடைபெறும் "குருகுலக்கல்லூரியில் மதப் போதகராய் இருந்து பலருக்குத் தமிழ் சைவ வைணவ நூல்களில் சிலவற்றைக் கற்பிக்கும் தொண்டிலும்" மே. வீ. வே ஈடுபட்டிருந்தார். டாக்டர் புரோலிக்குச் சாஸ்திரியார் என்னும் ஜெர்மனிய அறிஞர் மே.வீ. வே குருக்குலக்கல்லூரியில் (Gurukul College) நிகழ்த்திய சொற்பொழிவு கேட்டு பெருமதிப்பும் பேரன்பும் கொண்டார். 1938-ல் ஆசிரியர்த் தொழிலை விட்டு விலகினார். இதுவே மே. வீ. வே.

தமிழ்த்தொண்டாற்றத் தொடங்கிய காலம்<sup>10</sup> மே. வீ. வே. 1938-ல் உடல்நலக்குறைவின் காரணமாக ஆசிரியப் பணியை விட்டு எழுத்துப் பணியிலும் பதிப்புத் தொழிலிலும் தம் நேரத்தைச் செலவிடத் தொடங்கினார். தலைமைப் பதவிகளைப் படிப்படியாக பெற்று பல பாராட்டுக்குரியவரானார்."

### பதவிகளும் பட்டங்களும்

மே. வீ. வே. அண்ணாமலைப் பல்கலைக்கழக கம்பிராமாயணப் பதிப்புக்குழு உறுப்பினராயும், புரதைக் கம்பர் கழகத்தின் தலைவராயும், தமிழகப் புலவர் குழு தலைவராயும், புரதை பவானந்தர் பிள்ளைக்குழு ஆலோசனைக் குழு உறுப்பினராயும், தமிழ்நாடு அரசு உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளி பாடநூற்குழுத் தலைவராயும் விளங்கி அந்த இடங்களைத்தம் தகுதியால் உயர்த்திய பெருமையுடையவர். மே. வீ. வே. "மகா வித்துவான்" எனவும் அன்னைத் தமிழ் இலக்கிய நற்பணி மன்றம் "இலக்கணத் தாத்தா" எனவும் அன்னைத் தமிழ் தென்றல் திரு. வி. க. அவர்கள் "சிந்தாமணிச் செல்வர்" எனவும் இயல் இசை நாடக மன்றம் "கலைமாமணி" எனவும் பட்டங்கள் பாராட்டி உள்ளமை தமிழுக்கும் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்துக்கும் தமிழ் நாட்டுக்கும் செய்துள்ள பாராட்டுகளாகக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.<sup>12</sup>

### சமயப்பற்று

மே. வீ. வே. வைணவ சமயத்தில் மிகவும் பற்றுடையவர்கள். நாள்தோறும் காலையில் நீராடி, நெற்றியில் திருமால் சாற்றி தம் வழிபாட்டுக் கடவுளான திருமாலை வழிப்பட்ட பிறகே தம் பணிபைத் தொடங்குவார். அவர் திருமாலை வழிபடுவராயினும் பிற சமயங்கள் மீது எவ்விதக் காழ்ப்புணர்ச்சியும் கொள்ளதாவர். மணலி இலக்குமண சாமி அறநிலையத் தனிப்பொறுப்புச் சார்பில் வைணவ நூலாகிய திவ்வியப்பிரபந்தத்தை வெளியிட்டார். அப்பதிப்பு அன்றுவரை வெளிவந்த பதிப்புகளில் தலைசிறந்து விளங்கியது: பல பாராட்டுகளைப் பெற்றார்.<sup>14</sup>

மே. வீ. வே. தாய் மொழிக்குச் செய்த சேவையோடு நின்றுவிடாமல் சமுதாய மக்களோடும் பழகினார். தம்மால் இயன்ற உதவிகளையும் அறிவுரைகளையும் வழங்கிவந்தார். தம்மிடம் கல்விப்பயின்று மேல்நிலையில் இருப்போரிடையே பண்பாட்டு நெறிகளை வலியுறுத்தி வந்தார். தம் சமூக மக்களுக்குச் செய்ய வேண்டிய உதவிகளை செய்து அவர்கள் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு வழிகாட்டியாய்த் திகழ்ந்தார்.

### மாணவருக்கு அறிவுரை

"வித்துவான் பட்டம் பெற்றீர்கள். அதனைக் காற்றில் பறந்துவிடும் பட்டமாக்காதீர்கள். மேலும் மேலும் பயின்று தக்க அறிவைப் பெருக்கி கொள்ளுங்கள். பிறருக்கு வழங்குங்கள். வழியில் கேட்ட ஐயத்திற்கு வீட்டில் விடை எண்ணாதீர்கள். தக்கவாறு பொருளுணர்ந்து ஐயமற வெளியிடுங்கள்" என்பது மே. வீ. வே. அவர்கள் மாணவருக்கு இட்ட கட்டளை.<sup>15</sup>

### சிந்தாமணிச் செல்வர்

இரண்டாம் உலகப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த சமயத்தில் மே. வீ. வே. காஞ்சியைப் புகலிடமாகக் கொண்டார். அங்குள்ள சமணப் பெருமக்கள் ஒன்றுகூடி டி.எஸ். ஸ்டீபால் அவர்கள் தலைமையில் மே. வீ. வே. யைச் சந்தித்து சமணக் காப்பியமான "சிந்தாமணி நூலினைப் பாடம் சொல்லும்படி வேண்டினார்கள். சிந்தாமணி வகுப்பு நடத்தினார். பாடம் சொல்லி முடிந்தவுடன் "சிந்தாமணிச் செல்வர்" என்ற பட்டம் வழங்கி சிந்தாமணி நினைவு மலர் ஒன்றும் வெளியிட்டார்.<sup>16</sup>

### ஆசிரியர் குடும்பத்துக்கு உதவி

தம் ஆசிரியர் மறைந்த பிறகும் கூட தம்மாலான உதவிகளைத் தம் ஆசிரியர் குடும்பத்தாருக்கு அவ்வப்போது செய்துவந்தார். இதன் மூலம் நல்லாசிரியர் ஒருவருக்கு நன்மாணாக்கராய் வாழ்ந்தார் என்பதை அறியலாம்.<sup>17</sup>

## தமையனார் குடும்பத்துக்கு உதவி

மே. வீ. வே. தமக்கென வாழார், தம் பிள்ளைகளைப்போலவே தம் தமையனார் பிள்ளைகளையும் பட்டதாரிகளாக்கிப் பொறுப்புள்ள பதவிகளை அமர்த்திய பெருமை திரு. மே. வீ. வேக்கே உண்டு. வலக்கை செய்வதை இடக்கை அறியாமல் செய்யவேண்டும் என்னும் தத்துவத்தை வாழ்க்கையில் மேற்கொண்டு எத்தனையோ ஏழைப்பிள்ளைகளின் கல்வி வளர்ச்சிக்கும் ஏற்றத்திற்கும் காரணமாய் இருந்தார். திரு. மே. வீ. வே. அவர்கள் நன்னெறி அறிதல், பொறையுடைமை, எவ்வுயிர்க்கும் இன்னா செய்யாமை, கல்வி, அறிவுடைமை, நல்லிணக்கத்தோடு இன்சொல் கூறி நட்பு ஆகிய குணங்கள் ஒருங்கே அமைந்த அண்ணல் தம் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாய மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கும், தம் உடல், பொருள், ஆவி ஆகிய அனைத்தையும் தியாகம் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்பதைச் சொல்லால் மட்டும் கூறாது செயலில் காட்டி நிற்கும் செம்மல் என்றே இவர் தமையனாரின் மூத்த மகனார் திரு. மே. வீ. வே. அரங்கசாமி கூறுகிறார்<sup>18</sup>.

## சமய அறிவு

Vidwan Venugopala Pillai is a Great Scholar, Poet and Devotee. He worked together for over three decades in the Vaishnava Maha Sabha. He had mastered knowledge of Divya Prabhandham and Commentaries. His Lectures on Vaishnavam are vedry lucid, informative and great debt of gratitude by his Lectures and his writing. He has all the great qualities of a true Vaishnava - Purity, huminity, sevice, helpfulness and Industry. திரு. வேங்கடசாமி நாயுடு அவர்கள் மே.வி.வேயின் சமய அறிவை பின்பற்றுமாறு எடுத்துரைக்கிறார்.<sup>19</sup>

காஞ்சி ஸ்ரீ இராமகிருஷ்ணா மடத்தின்தலைவர் சுவாமி சுகானந்தாஜி மகாராஜி அவர்கள் மே. வீ. வே. அவர்களின் மதப்பற்று பற்றிய செய்திகளைச் சுருங்கச்சொல்லி விளக்கவைக்கின்றார்.

Besides his learning he is a good speaker, whenever he speaks in the Math his lecturers attact a good gathering of learned men andwomen. In spite of his heavy work he never fails to attend the religion discourses helped every sunday evening the Math. His behaviour towards others is very gentlemenly.

His public serices are always free. He is such a noble gentleman. His way of addressing to benefitting to a gentlemen. His clothes always very neat and clean. His good writing too. His hand writing will be mistaken for printed letters<sup>20</sup>.

## சமயப்பார்வை

மே. வீ. வே. வைணவச் சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்தவர் ஆயினும் பிறசமயங்களையும் மதித்து வாழ்ந்தார் என்பதற்கு சான்றுகள் உண்டு. எந்தச் சமயத்திலும் அச்சமயங்களைச் சார்ந்த பெரியார்கள் வாயிலாக இதனை அறியலாம்.

He is a staunch Vaishnavite by birth, yet, Vaishnavites, Saivities, Samarthas, Madhavas, Jains and Buddhist, like him very much because of his catholocity of our look.

எனவும், As Swami Vivekananda says, Mr.Pillai has come as a example of the gosal truth, "Character is the text for religion"<sup>21</sup>.

## சமூகத் தொண்டு

யாதவச் சமூகத்தின் வளர்ச்சிக்கு நிதித்திரட்டும் குழுவின் அங்கத்தினராயிருந்து பணிபுரிந்திருக்கிறார். மே. வீ. வே. இவர் யாதவ சமூக முன்னேற்றத்திற்கும் வளர்ச்சிக்கும் அவ்வப்போது தம்மால் இயன்ற தொண்டினை செய்திருக்கின்றார். அச்சமூகத்தார் மே.வீ. வேணுகோபால் பிள்ளையை 'குலம்காக்க வந்த கோமகனாகவே' கருதிவந்திருக்கின்றனர். யாதவ மகா சபையின் தலைவராயும் துணைத் தலைவராயும் இருந்து பணியாற்றி இருக்கின்றார்.

சின்ன காஞ்சிபுரம் பெளனி அண்ணாசாமிப்பிள்ளை யாதவ சத்திர மாணவர் விடுதிக் கட்டிடத்திறப்புவிழா 1975-ம் ஆண்டு செப்டம்பர் திங்கள் 14-ம் நாள் கோலாகலமாக நடைபெற்றது.

அந்த சமயம் அவ்விழாவிற்குச் சொற்பொழிவாற்றி மே. வீ. வே. அவர்களை சிறப்பித்தனர். மே. வீ. வே. பேச்சு (தமிழ் தாத்தாவின்) நா அசைவினையும், இனிய நாதமென ஒலிக்கும் குரல் நயத்தையும் கேட்டு மகிழ்ந்தனர்.<sup>22</sup>

**பல குலம் தழுவிய பண்பாளர்**

எந்த குலப் பெயராலும் ஏற்றம் தருபவர் மே. வீ. வே என்பதை உணரலாம். மே. வீ. வே. சாதி மதம் பேதமற்றவர் என்பதை கவிஞர்கள் நயம்படப் பாராட்டியுள்ளனர். பெரியோர் பலர் அளித்திருக்கும் பாராட்டுரைகள் மூலம் அவர் எவ்வாறு வாழ்ந்தார் என்பதையும், தமிழுக்கும் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்திற்கும் தமிழ் பயின்ற மாணவர்களுக்கும் எவ்வாறு தமிழ்த் தொண்டு புரிந்தார் என்பதையும் தெளிவாகக் காணலாம். அவர் தம் செயலில் அமைதியும் அறிவியல் அழகும் திறமையான புலமையும் இருந்தன. பலரும் பல்வேறு கோணங்களில் வழங்கியுள்ள சான்றுகளை, கொண்டு அறிய முடிகிறது.<sup>23</sup>

மொழி வாயிலாக தமிழ்நாட்டுக்குச் செய்த தொண்டுக்காகப் பேரறிஞர் அண்ணா, கலைஞர் டாக்டர் மு. கருணாநிதி, தமிழக கவர்னர் கே. கே. ஷா, பாரதப் பிரதமர் திருமதி இந்திரா காந்தி அம்மையார், டாக்டர் எம். ஜி. இராமசுந்திரன் போன்ற அரசியல் தலைவர்களால் பெரிதும் பாராட்டப்பெற்றுப் பரிசுகள் பலவும் வழங்கப்பெற்றார்.

தமிழ்ச் சமுதாய உலகில் மூன்று எழுத்துகளால் தமிழறிஞர் யாவரும் அறிய வெற்றிக்கொடி நாட்டியவர் மே. வீ. வே. விளம்பரத்திற்கு அல்லாமல் மறைமுகமாகச் செய்த சமுதாயத் தொண்டுகள் பல ஏழை மாணவர்களுக்குப் பணம் கொடுத்து படிக்க வைத்து இருக்கின்றார். தம் வாழ்நாள் முழுவதும் தமிழ் கற்க விரும்பிய ஏழை மாணவர்களுக்கு இலவசமாகக் கற்பித்திருக்கின்றார். எத்தனையோ தமிழ்ப் பேராசிரியர்களையும், தமிழ் ஆசிரியர்களையும் உருவாக்கி அவர்கள் வாழ்க்கைக்கு வளம் சேர்த்திருக்கின்றார். வெளிநாட்டு அறிஞர்களுக்கும் தமிழ் கற்பித்து உருவாக்கியிருக்கின்றார். தம் ஆசிரியர் குடும்பத்தைப் போற்றி பாதுகாத்தார். திருவள்ளூர் எப்படி எல்லாச் சமயத்தாரும் ஏற்றம் போற்றும் வண்ணம் வழிகாட்டியிருக்கின்றாரோ அவ்வழியைப் பின்பற்றி மே.வீ.வே, யாவரும் போற்றக்கூடிய உயர்நிலையில் தம் வாழ்நாளினைக் கழித்திருக்கின்றார் என்று மே. பெ. தருமன் அவர்கள் கூறுகின்றார்.<sup>24</sup>

பெண்கள் சமுதாயத்தில் முன்னேற வேண்டும், எனினும் முன்னேற்றம் ஒன்றே தங்கள் கடமையாகக் கொண்டுப் பெண்மையை இழந்து விடக்கூடாது. பெண்கள் தங்களுக்குரிய பெண்மையைப் பெரிதும் விரும்ப வேண்டுமே தவிர ஆண்மையை விரும்பி அவலங்கோலத்திற்கு ஆளாகக்கூடாது என்பார். அஞ்ச வேண்டுவனவற்றுக்கு அஞ்சி வாழ்வதே சமுதாயம் உயர வழிகாட்டும். தீமையை ஆதரித்து நன்மையை எதிர்க்க கூடாது. எல்லாம் தலைக்கீழ்ப்பாடமாகச் சமுதாய சீர்திருத்தத்தில் இறங்கினால் சந்தனம் பூசிக்கொள்ள சேற்றில் இறங்கியதற்கு ஒப்பாகுமென்றார்.

மே. வீ. வே. தமிழ்த் திருமணங்கள் சிலவற்றை முன்னின்று நடத்தி வைத்திருக்கின்றார். திருமண வழிபாடுகள் அனைத்தும் தமிழில் நடைபெறவேண்டும் என்பது மே. வீ. வே. அவர்களின் கருத்தாகும். சமுதாயம் புற ஒழுக்கத்தால் தலைசாய்ந்துவிடாமல் அவ்வொழுக்கத்தால் தலைநிமிர்ந்து நிற்க வேண்டும் என்பது மே. வீ. வே. யின் சமுதாயப் பார்வைக்கு கொண்டுள்ள எண்ணமாகும்.

திரைப்படங்கள் மூலமாக அப்படங்கள் உள்ளம் கெட்டு, உணர்வு கெட்டு, மதி கெட்டு, அமைதி கெட்டு, மக்களும் கெட்டுப்போகிறார்கள் என்றும், கீழ்த்தனமான உணர்வுகளுக்கு அடிக்கடி விருந்துகளும் பாராட்டுகளும் நடைபெறுவது அவ்வுணர்வுகளை மேலோங்கச் செய்வதற்கு பச்சைக்கொடி பிடிப்பதாகும் என்று சொல்லித் திரைப்பட வளர்ச்சிக்குக் கண்டு இதயம் புண்படுவார். தன்னனத்திருத்திக் கொண்ட மனிதனால்தான் சமுதாயத்தைத் திருத்த முடியும். தன்னளவில் திருந்தாதவன் என்றால் அத்தகையவனால் சமுதாயத்திற்கு கெடுதி நேருமோ என்று அஞ்ச வேண்டாம்.

## முடிவுரை

மே. வீ. வே. அவர்கள் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்திற்கு எண்ணற்ற பல தொண்டுகள் புரிந்துள்ளார். மே. வீ. வே. 4-2-1985-ல் மறைந்தார். இவர் ஆற்றிய சமுதாயத் தொண்டு யாதவ சமுதாயம் மட்டுமன்றி பிற சமுதாயத்திற்கும் உண்டு. தன்னால் ஆன உதவிகள் பலவற்றைச் செய்தவர். இவர் மறைந்தாலும் இவர் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்திற்கு ஆற்றிய பணிகள் என்றும் நிலைத்து நிற்கும். பெண் சமுதாயத்திற்கும் தம்மால் ஆன சமுதாயப் பொன்மொழிகள் பலவற்றை எடுத்துரைத்தவர். அவருடைய சமுதாயத் தொண்டு தமிழக வரலாற்றில் என்றும் நினைவு கொள்ளப்படும்.

நூல் பட்டியல்

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## SRI VAIKUNTHA SWAMIKAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

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Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tamil society comprised of a number of social groups in the name of caste, and Tamilaham had become a classic example of a land of caste and creeds. The highest strata of the social hierarchy was represented by the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. [TamilNadu in the past as at present has had no Kshatriya caste as such. The kings of the Sangam age were from the *Villavar* or *Idaiyar* or *Paratavar* of the geophysical regions and the rulers of medieval Tamil Nadu were all from the various segments of society, legitimised as the ruling class by the Brahmins brought from the Gangetic plain. The Aii kings of the Sangam and the early medieval periods and the Venadu kings of the later times were all from the *Idaiyar* or *Velalar* communities. Even at this time, no pure *Kshatriya* caste could be discerned in Tamil Nadu]. (Editor). They form the dominating and influential rich group of *savarnas*. The remaining bulk of the society including the Nadars, Mukkuvas, Pallas and Parayas formed the group of *avarnas*, who were considered unseables, unapproachables and untouchables. Till the beginning of the present century, it was the heyday and golden age of the upper castes and was, unfortunately, a dark age to the lower classes.

There was continuous and total exploitation by the *savarnas* of the *avarnas*. The rulers also found pleasure in pleasing only the Brahmins, who even directed the kings to bury alive many children of the downtrodden people.<sup>1</sup> They were not permitted to use wells, tanks, umbrellas, clothes, chappals, and ornaments. They were also not permitted to walk in the streets where even dogs could roam easily. They were illtreated as bonded slaves. The low caste men and women were sold in the markets.<sup>2</sup> At times an upper caste man killed a low caste man for he happened to cross him on the road.

There were more than one hundred and ten different kinds of taxes levied on the *avarnas*.<sup>3</sup> The taxes include pole tax, tax on palmyra trees, kuppa tax on houses, taxes for growing hairs of women, breast tax, moustach tax, marriage tax, festival tax, New Year Day tax, year ending day tax, etc.<sup>4</sup> It was reported that an *Ezhava* lady who could not pay the tax was given a punishment by cutting and removing off the breast.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the people migrated to the other places for escaping from the unbearable taxes.<sup>6</sup> Again, the downtrodden people were forced to do *uliyam* service for most of the day to the *savarnas*. The remaining time they worked for paying taxes. They found the life so difficult and miserable. Further, the low caste people were not permitted to adapt the customs and practices followed by the upper classes. The Government also punished those who supported the downtrodden communities.

It was in this social context that many of the social reformers made their appearance throughout the country. Many of the reforms of the reformers like the abolition of child marriage, encouraging widow remarriage, and abolition of *sati* were in favour of higher caste people only, for most of the reformers have hailed from the upper castes. These reformers got the support of both the Government and their people. The Christian Misssionaries also supported the reformers in carrying out the reform activities.



An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss and highlight the saintly life and the revelations of Sri Vaikuntha Swamikal that brought about far reaching socio-religious transformation in the social fabric of Tamilnadu.

Sri Vaikuntha Swamikal, a mid-nineteenth century social revolutionary reformer in South India, who had hailed from the suppressed rung of the caste ridden feudal oriented Hindu society, levelled vehement opposition against the caste Hindus. Long before the genesis of popular socio-religious reform movements, he gave the clarion call to the oppressed communities to liberate themselves from the clutches of the caste Hindus. Sri Vaikuntha Swamikals, socio-religious revolutionary reforms are largely responsible for awakening the conscience of the masses from their social slumber and for eliminating the existing evils and breaking the structure for the uplift of the poor and the emancipation of the suppressed section of the society. The saint viewed against the caste Hindus and the Governmental machinery and registered spectacular progress in the social front. To the establishment he proved to be a nightmare. Worn out customs and caste rules of the time were severely attacked and challenged by him. To the downtrodden, he was a ray of hope.

Sri Vaikuntha Swamikal's socio-religious, political and economic ideas were highly revolutionary. His aim to change the life of the people from the *kaliyugam* to the *dharmayugam* was also a revolutionary one. The method he employed for changing the society was again a revolutionary but peaceful one. But, due to the paucity of documentary evidences, it has become almost difficult to understand and assess the activities of the Swamikal while the contemporary writers ignored him for his opposition to the feudalistic and established Hindu institution; the London Misson Society reports give only a distorted picture of Sri Vaikuntha Swamikal. The London Mission Society reports seem to be inimical towards him as he was against the rapid conversion of the Hindus to Christianity. In 1874, they recorded : "in 1821 there were upwards of 1200 converts in these places (the villages comprising Thamaraikulam section in Kanyakumari district). It seemed as if the whole populations would soon be brought under the influence of cross. But a terrible check was given by the rise of *Muthukuttisami*. This cunning contrivance of *satan* has much impeded our progress in those parts and is still a great power."<sup>7</sup>

The Missionaries themselves have admitted the high esteem in which he was held by his followers. They reported : " formerly they (the people) were ignorant of the doctrine of the resurrection but now they believe that Muthu Kutti will come again, raise his followers from the dead, and take them to the heaven of the worshippers of Vishnu".<sup>8</sup> So great was his popularity that he commanded the implicit loyalty of his people that a shrine was erected over his *samadhi* and a village came in his name, namely, *swamithoppu* and an increasing number of Nizhal Thankals are found in various parts of South India.<sup>9</sup> It is evident that his followers had attributed a sort of divinity to him. E.J.D. Williams, an Evangelist of Kotayadi informs in his report about the followers of Muthu Kutti, a modern sect greatly on the increase and also notes that "people believed Muthu Kutty as the incarnation of Vishnu."<sup>10</sup>

The sacred well (*muntri kinnaru*) at Swamithoppu and the love flag (*ambu kodi*) are still venerated by the people. The festivals introduced by Swamikal are also well attended by devotees and followers. The large number of *Nizhal Thankals* throughout South India managed by different caste people including Nadars, Harijans, Kanikkars, Izhavars, Chettiars, Thevars, Panikers speak the veneration shown towards Swamikal. Swamikal's doctrines are revealed in *Ahila Thirattu*, *Sattu*, and *Arulmul*. In spite of their mythological aspects they

corroborate with the present institution of Swamikal. Thus an unbiased analysis of the L.M.S. reports and the existing institutions founded by Swamikal increase the authenticity of these books.

### Early Life

Sri Vaikuntha Swamikal was born in 1803 at Sasthankoilvilai, the present Swamithoppu, a village situated eight miles south-east of Nagercoil.<sup>1</sup> He was the second son of Ponnumadan and Veyilal. His parents gave him the name Mudisoodum Perumal. The name with the suffix 'Perumal' was used by the caste Hindus alone. Hence they demanded to the word *Perumal* from his name. Finally, drop the parents were forced to adopt a new name for their son Muthukutti.<sup>2</sup>

Young Muthukutti got the stereotyped schooling from the local teachers. They taught him the Hindu philosophy and literature like *Nalvali*, *Mudurai*, *Tirukkural*, and *Tiruvagasam*. Like his father he was a Vaisnavite<sup>3</sup>. He also learnt the Bible and understood the ideas of Christianity<sup>4</sup>. He worked hard for his livelihood and gave a share of his earning to the poor<sup>5</sup>. He never neglected any work as low but considered every work as great.<sup>6</sup> At the age of seventeen he married Paradevathai.

Muthukutti took a pilgrimage to the Lord Muruga temple at Tiruccendur for a sacred bath during the Masi (February) Festival. This brought out a thorough permutation in his life<sup>7</sup>. Immediately after sacred bath and prayers, it is said, he was infused with a new spirit and extraordinary power. He informed the people that Lord Vishnu had given him a rebirth as Srivaikunthar and deputed him to South India for the unification of lower caste people to begin the reign of *dharma*.<sup>8</sup>

Subsequently, he returned to Nancinad, stayed at Ampalapathi near Sothavilai and started his reform works. A great saint and an instinctive reformer, he was pre-eminently a humanist. He was healing the sick and teaching the good laws of God; he advocated friendliness towards all.<sup>9</sup> He made fierce criticism against the Government of Travancore. He severely reprimanded Swati Thirunal (1829-1849), the reigning Raja of Travancore. He condemned the excessive taxes collected from the downtrodden communities.<sup>10</sup> He demanded the introduction of welfare measures for the upliftment of the low caste people<sup>11</sup>.

When Swati Thirunal visited Sucindrum, the caste Hindus informed him that "A man from the untouchable Shanar community proclaims himself as Vaikuntha Swamikal, declares to abolish all castes"<sup>12</sup>. Believing their words, the king ordered an enquiry into the activities of the Swamikal<sup>13</sup>. On the basis of the enquiry report, the king ordered the immediate arrest of the Swamikal<sup>14</sup>.

The Swamikal was arrested and brought before the Raja of Travancore. There the king tried to test the divinity of the Swamikal and since the later refused to answer the questions, the king ordered his subordinates to take him to Trivandrum, where he was imprisoned at Singarathoppu, in the western side of Sri Padmanabhaswami temple.<sup>15</sup> During his imprisonment, a large number of followers rushed to Trivandrum to get the Swamikal's blessings. There also he continued his service of preaching and healing. The people spent their days near the jail and worshipped the Swamikal as their saviour.<sup>16</sup>

Thereafter the Swamikal was subjected to several trials and tribulations. He was put inside a hot lime furnace, forced him to stay in a narrow room, poured chilly powder on him, thrown him inside the cage of the tiger and also pushed him to walk amidst fire.<sup>17</sup> Least disturbed, it is said, the Swamikal came out safely from all these hard and harsh ordeals<sup>18</sup>. Now the king asked him through a royal order that in future the Swamikal would entertain only people of his own caste.<sup>19</sup> But the Swamikal refused to make any such declaration and tore the royal writ into pieces. After one hundred and ten days of imprisonment the king finally ordered the release of the Swamikal on the first week of March 1839. His devotees and followers accompanied him to Nancilnadu in a great procession and reached Ampalapathi.

### Political Reforms

Sri Vaikuntha Swamikal criticized and condemned boldly the policy of the king and also severely warned him that it would be the end of his monarchical Government. His attack on the king was on two fronts namely, the support to the caste Hindus and his policy of over taxation. He criticized the king as "Ananthaneesan" and the Britishers as "Venneesan"<sup>20</sup>. He also predicted that their fall would be natural and this country would be free soon, and, in fact, his prediction came true. Further, he condemned the king for encouraging ill-treatment towards woman. He declared that the chasity of woman would destroy his wrong Government. He gave due respect to women. He called upon the suppressed womenfolk to use upper cloth for their half-naked bodies. His instructions had a telling effect upon the ladies that they largely came forward to wear upper garments. It resulted in the upper cloth controversy. However, the Government was lately forced to permit them legally to wear upper garments.<sup>21</sup>

He called upon the menfolk to be bold enough to lead an independent life<sup>22</sup>. The men were prohibited from using turban on their heads. Therefore, the Swamikal encouraged his people to wear shoulder cloth and use turban on their heads.<sup>23</sup> This resulted in confrontations between the caste Hindus and the suppressed classes. But the Swamikal asked his followers to be quite and calm to maintain their self-respect. Even today the people who go to this *pathis and Nizhal Thankals* will use turban.

### Religious Reforms

Realizing the social disabilities of the backward communities the Swamikal took pity on them and decided to uplift the aggrieved by all possible means. In this attempt he had really contributed a mighty share to the modernization of the Hindu society. He took keen interest in removing the inequality based on birth and in establishing a casteless society<sup>24</sup>. As a first step towards religious reform, the Swamikal raised his voice against the Brahminical temples. Almost all his teachings were anti Brahminical<sup>25</sup>. He even assured the people that he would exterminate all the Brahmins<sup>26</sup>. He judged correctly that social justice and equality could be established if any Brahmin supremacy was effectively checked<sup>27</sup>. This was the beginning of the subsequent anti-Brahmin movement in South India, particularly Tamilnadu.

The Swamikal was equally against devil worship. He declared that he had burnt all the devils.<sup>28</sup> He also stood against animal sacrifice and placing intoxicating drinks before the deities. He declared that these are all superstitious beliefs and pleaded to do away with these practices.<sup>29</sup>

Besides, the establishment of *Nizhal Thankals* (Shadowy resting centres) was another revolutionary attempt, for these *thankals* gave shelter, supplies food, extended spiritual confidence and cured diseases of thousands of people. Instead of devil temples, there emerged *Nizhal Thankals* in almost all the villages. In fact, the devotees, before entering into the *Nizhal Thankals*, took bath, washed their dresses and then only would conduct mass prayers and *poojas* with purity of mind and body. These *Nizhal Thankals* have been established to propagate the doctrine of the Swamikal. It helped the people to unite together and realise the spirit of equality among them<sup>30</sup>. He believed in one God, one Religion and one caste. These religious reforms later paved the way for the temple-entry movement.

### ☆ Social Reforms

The establishment of *Samathuva Sangam* ( assemblage of equality) or (harmonious blending of people) was an important landmark in the history of social reform. Thousands of commoners including women joined as members. In the *Samathuva Sangam* he assumed the status of Lord Krishna and of it treated his five chief disciples as *Pancha pandavas* (the Five Pandava Brothers). He asked his trained disciples to go to different villages and preach his principles of equality and fraternity to the willing ears.<sup>31</sup> In fact, this attempt had a marvellous impact on the society and created an awareness to bring equality and unity among the down-trodden people.

His next attempt was following the practice of *Samapandi Bojanam* (elitarian feeding). This practice of interdining was introduced to stop the evil practice of untouchability. The people hitherto had no opportunity to eat with other high caste people showed so much of enthusiasm and brought food materials, took water in the *Munthirikinnaru* and prepared food and shared the meals together under the leadership of the Swamikal<sup>32</sup>. This had been the routine daily practice and was extended to all the *Pathies* and *Nizhal Thankals*. Again, the Swamikal instructed his followers to eat in the houses of low cast families and at one occasion, he asked two of his chief followers to go and take food from the house of Pichammal, a washer woman.<sup>33</sup> Consequent on this practice of interdining a deep rooted inter- communal relationship was created among the various communities.

### Samadharma Kudyiruppu

Instead of living in separate places, he called upon his followers and devotees of different castes to construct houses to live together in a particular place with all facilities. He asked the people to build compound ventilated houses with enough and more rooms. As a model he created a *Samadharma Kudyiruppu* at Muttappathi near Kanyakumari. In fact, this attempt to create a common colony for all sections created a sense of unity, equality and solidarity among the people. [This perhaps was in anticipation of the *Samathuvapurams* established by the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Kalaingar Karunanithi, in almost all districts]. (Editor)

His social reforms particularly the establishment of *Samathuva Sangam*, *Samapandi Bojanam*, and *Samadharma Kudyiruppu* definitely helped for the removal of unseability, unapproachability and untouchability. The present day Government adopts all these socio-religious and economic ideas for achieving social equality among the people.

Vaikuntha Swamikal made the pioneering revolutionary attempt to liberate the oppressed people from the grip of feudalism, age old superstition, caste prejudice and religious

disregard. An evaluation of his revolutionary ideas and contributions makes it clear that his social revolution represented the first organised reaction of the downtrodden masses against social tyranny in the modern history of South India.

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## இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசனின் சமூக-அரசியல் தொண்டு-ஒரு கண்ணோட்டம்

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விரிவுரையாளர்

ம.ச.பல்கலைக்கழகம்

திருநெல்வேலி.

இந்திய மக்கள்தொகையில் சுமார் 20 விழுக்காடுகள் கொண்ட தலித் மக்கள் 1500 ஆண்டுகளாகச் சமூகத்திலும், பொருளாதாரத்திலும், கல்வியிலும், அரசியலிலும் பின்தங்கி உள்ளனர். தலித் மக்கள் தீண்டத்தக்காதவர்கள்; அவர்கள் பொதுப்பாதையில் நடப்பதற்கும், பொது கிணற்றில் தண்ணீர் எடுப்பதற்கும், கோயிலில் உள்ளே செல்வதற்கும் அனுமதி அளிக்க மேல்சாதியினர் மறுத்தனர். இவர்கள் ஒடுக்கப்பட்டவர்கள் என்றும், அடித்தளமக்கள் என்றும், ஆதிதிராவிடர் என்றும், ஹரிசனங்கள் என்றும், அட்டவணை வகுப்பினர் என்றும், தலித்துகள் என்றும் அழைக்கப்படுகின்றனர். தலித் மக்கள் படும் இன்னல்களைக் கண்ட தலித்தினத் தலைவர்கள், தலித் சமூக - அரசியல் நலனுக்காகப் பாடுபட்டனர். அவர்களில் ஒருவர்தான் இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன். இவர் தலித் இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்.

1891-ஆம் ஆண்டு இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் பறையர் மகாசன சபையை நிறுவினார். தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்த தலைவர்கள் அனைவரும் இச்சபையை 1892-ஆம் ஆண்டு ஆதிதிராவிட மகாசன சபை என்று பதிவு செய்தனர். இச்சபையின் முதல் செயலாளராக இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் தேர்வு செய்யப்பட்டார். இவர் 1893ம் ஆண்டு பறையன் பத்திரிக்கையை ஆரம்பித்தார். இது தலித் மக்களுக்காக ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்ட இதழ்; ஆதிதிராவிட மகாசனசபையின் தூதுவனாக விளங்கியது. 1893-ஆம் ஆண்டு டிசம்பர் திங்கள் 23-ஆம் தேதி தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்கள் அனைவரும் சென்னை இராயப்பேட்டையிலுள்ள வெஸ்லி மிஷன் மண்டபத்தில் ஒன்று கூடி, ஒன்றுபட வேண்டியதின் அவசியத்தை வலியுறுத்தி இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் பேசினார். இனி நம்முடைய குரலை அரசாங்கத்தை நோக்கி எழுப்பவேண்டும் என்று சீனிவாசன் ஆதிதிராவிட மகாசனசபையில் பேசினார். இத்தகைய நிகழ்ச்சிகள் பறையன் தாளிகையில் வெளிவந்தன.

1895-ஆம் ஆண்டு டிசம்பர் திங்கள் 6-ஆம் நாள் இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் தம் இனத்திற்கு இழைக்கும் கொடுமைகளை வரிசைப்படுத்தி பறையன் தாளிகையில் எழுதினார். தங்களுக்கு சமூக - அரசியல் நீதி வேண்டும், கல்வியில், தங்களை முன்னேற்ற வேண்டும் என்று கோரிக்கைகளை இந்தியத் தலைமை ஆளுநர் எல்சின் பிரபுவிடம் கொடுத்தனர். அப்போது இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசனுடன் மயிலைச் சின்னதம்பிபிள்ளை, எம்.சி. இராசா ஆகியோர் இருந்தனர். இத்தகைய நிகழ்ச்சிகள் பறையன் தாளிகையில் வெளிவந்தன. தலித் மக்களின் குரலைப் பரப்பிய பறையன் தாளிகை 1900-ஆம் ஆண்டு நின்றுவிட்டாலும் பஞ்சமர், மகாவிசுதாதன், திராவிட கோசுலம், தமிழன், ஆதிதிராவிட மித்திரன் போன்றவற்றின் வாயிலாக இம்மக்களின் குறைகள் அறியப்பட்டன. இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் 1900-ஆம் ஆண்டு தன் இனத்திற்காக ஆங்கிலேய அரசிடம் முறையிட லண்டன் புறப்பட்டார். ஆனால் பின்னர் 1904 ம் ஆண்டு முதல் 1920 வரை தென்னாப்பிரிக்காவில் பணியாற்றி விட்டு தாயகம் திரும்பினார்.

இந்திய அரசியல்சட்டத்தை மாற்றி அமைக்க ஆய்வு செய்த அமர்த்தப் பட்ட குழுவை 1918-ஆம் ஆண்டு ஆதிதிராவிட மகாசனசபை சந்தித்தது. அதன் விளைவு 1919-ஆம் ஆண்டு இந்திய அரசியல் சீர்திருத்தச்சட்டத்தினால் ஆதிதிராவிடருக்குச் சட்டமன்றத்தில் இடம் கிடைத்தது. 1920-ஆம் ஆண்டு நடந்த தேர்தலில் நீதிக்கட்சி வெற்றி பெற்றது. ஏ.

சுப்பராயலு ரெட்டியார் முதல் அமைச்சரானார். இராசாராமராய நிற்கார் (பனங்கல் அரசர்), இராவ்பகதூர்கே. வெங்கடரெட்டி நாயுடு, ஏ.பி. பாத்ரோ ஆகியோர் அமைச்சராக இருந்தனர். இச்சட்டமன்றத்தில் ஆதிதிராவிட இனத்திலிருந்து எம்.சி. இராசா நியமனம் செய்யப்பட்டார். <sup>4</sup> எம்.சி. இராசாவும் இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசனும் நீதிக்கட்சியில் சேர்ந்தனர். செங்கல்பட்டு மாவட்டத்தின் நீதிக்கட்சித் துணாக இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் இருந்தார்.

இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசனின் இடைவிடாத போராட்டத்தினால் மேலும் மூவர் சட்டமன்ற உறுப்பினர்களாக நியமனம் செய்யப்பட்டனர். எம்.சி. மதுரைப்பிள்ளை, எல்.சி. குருசாமி, ஜி. வந்தனம்பிள்ளை ஆகியோர் பெருமைக்குரியவர்கள்<sup>5</sup>. இந்த அமைச்சரவை 19-11-1923 வரை பதவியிலிருந்தது. 1923-இல் நடந்த தேர்தலில் நீதிக்கட்சி வெற்றி பெற்றது. இந்த அமைச்சரவையில் இராஜா இராமராயநிற்கார் (பனங்கல் அரசர்) முதலமைச்சராகவும், ஏ.பி. பாத்ரோ, டி.என். சிவஞானம் பிள்ளை ஆகியோர் மற்ற அமைச்சர்களாகவும் பதவியேற்றனர். இச்சபையின் மொத்த உறுப்பினர்கள் 131 பேர். இவர்களில் 9 பேர் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்கள். தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவரிலும் சாதிவாரியாக நியமனம் தரவேண்டுமென இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் கூறினார். இதனடிப்படையில் என்.தேவேந்துருடு, எல்.சி. குருசாமி ஆகியோர் அருந்ததியருக்கும், ஜி. இராமராய ஆதி ஆந்திரருக்கும் பி. இராமன் தீயர்களுக்கும் எம்.சி.இராஜா, மதுரைப்பிள்ளை, இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன், பி.லி.எஸ். சுந்தர மூர்த்தி, ஆர். வீரய்யன் ஆகியோர் ஆதிதிராவிடருக்கும் உறுப்பினராக நியமனம் செய்யப்பட்டனர்<sup>6</sup>.

இச்சபையிலுள்ள தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட ஒன்பது உறுப்பினரும் ஒருமித்த கருத்துடன் தம் இனமக்களின் சிவில் உரிமைகள், கல்வி, வீட்டுமனை, பொது சுகாதாரம் முதலியவற்றிற்காகப் பாடுபட்டனர். ஆண், பெண் இருசாதி, வேறுசாதி இல்லை என்று ஓர் ஆதிதிராவிட சிறுவன் நெடுஞ்சாலையில் பாட்டுப்பாடிக் கொண்டு நடந்ததற்காக அவனைக் கட்டிப்போட்டு அடித்து குற்றம் சாட்டி கொடைக்கானல் நீதி மன்றத்தில் ஒரு ரூபாய் அபதாரம் விதித்தனர். சுதந்திரமாகச் செல்லும் பொது நெடுஞ்சாலையில் இம்மண்ணின் மைந்தன் செல்ல உரிமை இல்லையா? இதுவே சீனிவாசனின் சினம். இதற்காக 1924-ஆம் ஆண்டு சட்டமன்றத்தில் ஒரு தீர்மானத்தை முன் வைத்தார். இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் முன்வைத்த தீர்மானத்தை இச்சபை ஏற்று அரசுக்கு அதுபற்றி ஆணைபிறப்பிக்கும்படி பரிந்துரை செய்தது.

எந்த வகுப்பையாவது, சமூகத்தையாவது சேர்ந்த யாதொரு நபராகிலும் யாதொரு நகரம் அல்லது கால்வழிப்பாதையாலும் நடப்பதற்கு ஆட்சேபனை இல்லை. இந்த நாட்டில் உள்ள சாதி இந்துக்கள் எப்படி தங்குதடையின்றி அரசு அலுவலகம், பொதுக்கிணறு, குளம் அல்லது பொதுமக்கள் வழக்கமாய்கூடும் இடங்களை உபயோகிக்கலாமோ அல்லது பொதுவாக வேலை நடத்தப்பட்டு வரும் இடங்கள், கட்டிடங்கள் ஆகிய இவைகளுக்குள் போகலாமோ அம்மாதிரியாகவும் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினரைச் சேர்ந்த யாதொரு நபரும் போவதற்காவது, உபயோகிப்பதற்காவது ஆட்சேபனை இல்லையென்பது அரசின் கொள்கையாகுமென்று அவர்கள் மனதார ஒப்புக்கொண்டு அந்தப்படியே இதனை நடைமுறைப்படுத்தவேண்டும்<sup>7</sup>.

இதன்படி பொதுப்பாதையில் போகிறவர்களைத் தடுப்பவர்களுக்கு ரூ100% அபதாரம் விதிக்கலாம். கிணறு குளங்களை உபயோகிப்பவரைத் தடுப்பவர்களுக்கு ரூ 100% அபதாரம் விதிக்கலாம். கடைவீதிகளுக்குச் செல்லுபவர்களைத் தடுப்பவர்களுக்கு ரூ100% அபதாரம் விதிக்கலாம். இத்தகைய உத்தரவை அரசு நடைமுறைப்படுத்தும்படி மாவட்டக் கழகங்கள், வட்டக்கழகங்கள், நகர்மன்றங்கள் மற்றும் பஞ்சாயத்துக்களைக் கேட்டு கொண்ட பின்னும் இவற்றில் பணியாற்றியவர்கள் செயல்படுத்தவில்லை. அரசும் அதுப்பற்றிக் கவலைப்படவில்லை. ஆனால் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோரின் தலைவர்கள் இதுபற்றி சட்டமன்றத்தில் இடைவிடாது கேள்விகேட்டு இவ்வாணைகளை நடைமுறைப்படுத்த வற்புறுத்தினர்.<sup>8</sup> தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட உறுப்பினர்களை அரசு நியமனம் செய்வது வழக்கம் இந்த நியமனமுறையை ஆதிதிராவிட மகாசனசபை முதலிலிருந்தே எதிர்த்து வந்தது. 1924-இல் சென்னையில் கூடிய இச்சபை பல தீர்மானங்களை நிறைவேற்றியது.



நியமன உறுப்பினர் நியமித்தவருக்கே அன்றித் தன் இனத்தின்படி உறுப்பினராவதில்லை. எனவே அவர்தம் இனத்தின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்குத் தனித்துப்போராடி நன்மைசெய்ய முடியவில்லை. அதனால் நியமன முறையை இச்சபை மறுத்தது.

அப்படியே இனி நியமனம் செய்தாலும் ஆளும்கட்சியும், அமைச்சரவையும் ஆளுநரையும் சேர்த்து முடிவெடுத்து நியமனம் செய்யும் முறையைத் தவிர்த்து எங்களை ஆங்கில அரசே நேரடியாக நியமனம் செய்ய வேண்டும். அவ்வாறே நியமனம் செய்தாலும் ஆதிதிராவிட மகாசனசபை யார் தம் இனத்திற்கு பயன்படுவாரென யாரை பரிந்துரைக்கிறதோ அவரையே நியமனம் செய்ய வேண்டும். மேற்கூறிய தீர்மானங்களை அரசு ஏற்றது. அதனால் தான் இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் மீண்டும் மீண்டும் சட்டமன்ற உறுப்பினரானார்.

1926-இல் நீதிக்கட்சி தோற்றது. நீதிக்கட்சியைச் சேராதவரான சுப்பராயன் தலைமையில் அமைச்சரவை அமைந்தது. இதில் ஏ.அரங்கநாத முதலியார், ஆர்.என். ஆரோக்கியசாமி முதலியார் ஆகியோர் துணை அமைச்சர்களானார்கள். இச்சட்டமன்றத்தில் மொத்தம் 135 உறுப்பினர்கள் இடம் பெற்றனர். இதில் 1. எம்.வி. கங்காதரசிவா, 2. பி.ஜே. ஞானவரம்பிள்ளை 3. எல்.சி. குருசாமி 4. எம்.ஹம்பப்பா, 5. வி.ஜ. முனுசாமி பிள்ளை 6. வீ. இராமஜிரால், 7. ஏ.சுவாமிசகசானந்தா 8. என். சிவராஜ் 9. ஜி.ஆர். பிரேமய்யா 10. இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் 11. எஸ். வெங்கய்யா ஆகியோர் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோரின் உறுப்பினராக இடம்பெற்றனர்.<sup>9</sup>

1928-இல் சென்னை மாகாண ஒடுக்கப்பட்டோர் மாநாடு சென்னை பச்சையப்பன் மண்டபத்தில் கூடியது. அதன் தலைவரான இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோருக்குத் தனித்தொகுதி வேண்டும் எனவும் அதற்காகத் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர் வாக்காளர் பட்டியலைத்தயார் செய்து விகிதாச்சாரபடி உறுப்பினர்களை நியமிக்கத் தீர்மானம் கொண்டு வந்தார். இம்மாநாட்டில் எம்.சி. மதுரைப்பிள்ளை, என்.சிவராஜ், வி.ஜி.வாசுதேவப்பிள்ளை, வி.ஜ.முனுசாமி பிள்ளை, பி. எம். தாஸ், டி.என். அனுமந்தன், எம்.சி. கங்காதரசிவா, கே.வி.சாமி, இராவ்சாகிப் தாமலிங்கம்பிள்ளை ஆகியோர் கலந்துகொண்டனர்.

ஆதிதிராவிடர்களின் இடைவிடாத முயற்சியால் 1929-இல் வகுப்புவாரி பிரதிநிதித்துவம் அரசுத் துறையில் புகுத்தப்பட்டது.<sup>10</sup> 1932-இல் பூனா ஒப்பந்தம் ஏற்பட்டது.<sup>11</sup> பூனா ஒப்பந்தத்தினால் சட்டமன்றத்தில் உள்ள 148 உறுப்பினர்களில் 30 பேர் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்கள் என்ற வரையறை உறுதி செய்யப்பட்டது.<sup>12</sup> 1937-இல் இராஜாஜி அமைச்சரவையில்தான் முதன் முறையாக வி.ஜ. முனுசாமிபிள்ளை என்ற ஆதிதிராவிடர் அமைச்சராக நியமனம் செசய்யப்பட்டார்.<sup>13</sup> தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களின் சிவில் உரிமைகள், கல்வி, பொதுசுகாதாரம், அரசியல் முதலியவற்றிற்காக பாடுபட்டார் இரட்டைமலை சீனிவாசன்.

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## EDUCATION AND SOCIAL UPLIFTMENT

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Education is considered as a potential instrument of individual development as well as social upliftment. It is closely related to the utility of manpower and quality of life. It makes the people to understand their rights and status on one side and their duties and responsibilities on the other side. Those who have remained backward and underprivileged over years can be empowered by education to assert their rights and to fulfil their places in the society. Education is also found to be a powerful means for removing disparities, discriminations and disabilities in the society.

Education is also a tool for social change. The ingredients of education take the people towards rational thinking. It is an instrument which helps to develop the behavioural pattern of human beings. This powerful weapon played very vital roles both in political and social fields in the beginning of this century.

But, unfortunately, the privilege of getting education and equal opportunities as denied to many. Even at the dawn of twentieth century, the children from backward communities and depressed sections did not get the accessibility of schooling facilities. However, it was easily available to the forwards and economically advanced backwards of non-Brahmins. These communities availed those opportunities in their favour. No doubt, the educational thought and wisdom made a clear demarcation in the status of the people.

The awareness obtained through education helped one group to occupy key positions in administration and dominate in politics and the other one, the majority group, to realise their apathy and discontent in life. This was seen in the case of Brahmins. Because of the high literacy rate of Brahmins both in Tamil and English education, they were not only able to occupy majority of the positions in the administration but also had a comfortable life style. It also enhanced their position in the society. However, numerically this community formed only a very small percentage of the total population.

The non-Brahmins, on the other hand, were a group of castes who formed ninety six point five percent of the total population. They were mostly peasants, labourers and untouchables.<sup>1</sup> Only very few people among these communities had literacy. Even though their number was less, they too did not get the same positions that the upper caste people attained. It was one of the main reasons for their frustration and bitterness. This situation forced the latter to form their own political organisation, namely the Justice Party to protect their genuine rights.

The foremost principle of this party was to render social justice to the underprivileged. Social Justice in India is the product of social injustice. Our caste system and social structure are the fountain head of social injustice.<sup>2</sup> The caste system pushed forth Brahmins as the highly privileged caste with a high hereditary social status and stamped the vast majority of the people as "Sudras" and "Panchamas" fit only for manual labour. They were deprived of educational opportunities and confined to a low social status. In the

course of time, privileges for the privileged classes increased and other classes became more and more oppressed and depressed. Such a social structure bred inequality in status and denial of equal opportunities to all. Social Justice attempted to remove these glaring inequalities in the society. It seeks to implement equality of opportunities to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or community.

The concept of Social Justice had a strong and dynamic content with an inherent potency to bring equality in a society of unequals.<sup>3</sup> It ensures equality of treatment, equality of status, equality of opportunity and equality of results. While legal justice is controlled and conferred by law, Social Justice emanates from the pricking social conscience of the society to eliminate the gross injustice prevalent in the social structure. In a nutshell, it is a balancing wheel between the haves and the have-nots.<sup>4</sup>

Taking into consideration these situations prevalent in these days, the Justice Party mainly wanted to promote the goodwill and unity among non-brahmin classes and communities of Southern India. It also aimed at safeguarding their interests by means of adequate and communal representation as well as through social amelioration and re-organisation with an ultimate fusion of all castes and to promote their educational, social, economic, industrial, agricultural and political progress.<sup>5</sup>

Soon the movement for Social Justice entered a new phase with the formation of Justice Ministry in December 1920 under the dyarchical system. The eagerness of the Justice leaders to capture power coincided with the decision of the Congress to boycott the election. The policy of Communal Reservation which it had initiated as one of the major reforms aimed at reducing the Brahminical grip in appointments. When the Justice Ministry was formed it was looking forward in achieving civil equality through legislative measures.<sup>6</sup> Though the dyarchical system provided very limited powers to the provincial governments, the Justice Party Government attempted many reforms in social, political, economic and educational fields for the betterment of the common people.

In order to secure opportunities for the non-Brahmins in public services, the first Communal G.O. in the annals of Social Justice was issued in 1921.<sup>7</sup> This order ensured representation to Brahmins, non-Brahmin Hindus, the Indian Christians, Mohammadans and others (Europeans and Anglo-Indians) in the ratio of 5:2:2:2:1 respectively to enter Government services.

Yet it proved to be less beneficial to the untouchables.<sup>8</sup> On the basis of the resolution, the Government issued the second Communal Order on 15th August 1922, which extended the principle of proportionate representation for communities in appointments to the realm of promotions also. These Government Orders gave a check to certain extent to the dominance of the upper caste people.

Since their inception into power, the Justicites voiced that education also could improve the social conditions of the non-Brahmins. At the same time most of the people were dissatisfied against the slow educational progress. The people got disappointed over the voluntary system of education. They wanted that effective steps should be taken to bring down illiteracy. In a bid to achieve this goal, they favoured the introduction of an education act with provisions for free and compulsory education. Responding to popular aspirations, the Government passed the Madras Elementary Education Act of 1920.<sup>9</sup> Provision was

incorporated in to the Act for the introduction of compulsory education. It came into force on 1 April 1921 which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of elementary education in the Madras Presidency.

Following the introduction of this historic Act, the Justice Ministry introduced some educational measures which were really very laudable even today. The Provincial Government introduced half-fee concession scheme to the backwards and educational scholarship schemes to Hindu Adi-Dravida and other depressed classes.<sup>10</sup> Another landmark reform undertaken by the Government was the creation of separate department to look after the reclamation of Kallars. It also initiated steps to implement the compulsory elementary education act in selected areas and opened large number of primary schools in schoolless villages. Besides these, the Government paid due attention to 'night schools' which aimed at the promotion of adult literacy. The regional language of the respective area was introduced as the medium of instruction at Secondary School level. The Government also exempted the Adi-Dravida pupils from the payment of examination fees to the Secondary School Leaving Certificate (S.S.L.C.).<sup>11</sup> In order to help the poor students in addition to special scholarships, stipends and fee remission, Government introduced free meals, free supply of books, slates and clothing to them.<sup>12</sup>

Realising the need of mass literacy for social upliftment, the Justice administration attached top priority for the spread of education. The existence of rigid caste system and social taboos acted as the main deadlock against the progress of education. Due to these hindrances, the Government started separate schools for the depressed classes. It also made provisions to admit the children of depressed classes in common schools. Although it was the avowed policy of the Government to throw open all schools to the pupils of Scheduled Castes, in practice it was not strictly enforced.<sup>13</sup> Hence the Government issued the following instructions and guidelines to local boards and Officers of the Department of Education.

- (i) The public management schools, located in *agraharam*, *chavadi* or temple or the other areas from where the depressed class were excluded, were to be transferred to some locality where all classes of population had access.
- (ii) In cases where the private owner of a rented school building objected to the admission of depressed class pupils, the school was to be shifted elsewhere where there was no objection.
- (iii) Private managements were prevented from constructing school buildings out of public funds in places where the depressed class pupils did not have access.

All these measures were introduced and implemented with a prime aim of taking education to the doorsteps of the underprivileged of the society. These schemes were given top priority since all of them closely interwoven the society with upliftment. Moreover, these welfare and populous measures came into handy for the Congress and Dravidian Ministries in free India to expand these schemes to downtrodden and the socially weaker sections in a large scale.

Besides these educational reforms, to check the overall Brahmin influences in the name of religion, the Justice Party Government brought "Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Bill" of 1924 and it came into force as an Act from 1925. The Provincial Government with

its limited powers abolished the *devadasi* system boldly. The introduction of Madras State Aid to Industries Act of 1922 proved favourable industrial progress in the presidency.<sup>14</sup> The poor and downtrodden were allotted 'porompoke' lands as house sites. All these measures were implemented with an aim to remove social disparities prevailed in the society. In an attempt to fulfil its announcements and manifestoes, the Justice Ministry ventured upon these social reforms for the benefit of the backward and depressed classes. The schemes and acts introduced in the early part of the twentieth century really gave an impetus to the State Governments during the second half of this century to render Social Justice to the weaker sections of the Tamil Society.

The Self Respect Movement launched under the dynamic leadership of E.V. Ramasami Naicker aimed at liberty, equality and fraternity-equality including economic equality or equal distribution of national wealth. The entry of Ramasami Naicker with his new clarion call of Self Respect Movement awakened the sleep walkers of the society. The unjust social structure prevalent in this country with all its gross inequalities in status, income and opportunities divided the society into privileged class with all the advantages and the underprivileged class with all the disadvantages.

While making the constitution for free India, the constitution makers incorporated some special articles in the Constitution itself to render Social Justice. The concept of Social Justice is peculiar to India and a special feature of our Constitution. No Constitution of any country emphasised Social Justice to the extent as our Constitution has stressed. The reason is that no country has suffered so much social injustice as our country. That is why the Directive Principle under Article 38 of the Constitution proclaims the constitutional mandate that the State should strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing a just social order.

The struggle which started in the first quarter of the twentieth century yielded good results in the last quarter of the century by means of rule of reservation. The V.P. Singh Government made a milestone in this century by way of accepting the recommendations of the Mandal Commission's Report and passed orders to that effect. The Tamil Nadu Government on its part enhanced the reservation to sixty nine percent. Both the Central and State Governments made an indelible commitment to provide education for all by 2000 A.D. All these attempts opened new vistas or avenues in setting an egalitarian society.

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## EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF C.S.I. DIOCESE IN THIRUNELVELI AND TUTICOIN DISTRICTS

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The study of the contribution of the Missionaries to education assumes importance since more than fifteen per cent of the Indians have their education in Christian Educational Institutions. Of course, the Christian Educational Institutions in India represent about 14 to 15 per cent of the total number of Educational Institutions<sup>1</sup> This holds good to Tamil Nadu as a whole and to Thirunelveli District particularly. This needs a study to put their services in a better perspective. In fact, the Church of South India has established Educational Institutions at the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary levels. Nearly one fourth of the students in these two Districts pursue their studies in the Educational Institutions run by the C.S.I. Diocese.

The Thirunelveli Diocese has established more Educational Institutions than any other Christian denominations in these two Districts. The following are the Educational Institutions that are run/by the Thirunelveli Diocese.

Primary Schools	.. 485
Middle Schools	.. 153
High Schools	.. 5
Higher Secondary Schools	.. 29
Arts Colleges	.. 4
Professional Colleges (Education)	.. 1
Teacher Training Institutes	.. 4
and Special Schools	.. 3 <sup>2</sup>

### Primary Schools:

Elementary education is the basic need of every individual. The Constitution of India directs the States to provide free education to all the children of the age group of 6-14 years. Expansion of elementary education is resorted to in the pursuit of this goal of universalisation of elementary education.<sup>3</sup>

India has the "largest" elementary education system in the world. As per 1950-51 records there were 209, 671 elementary schools in India and the number went upto 565, 786 in 1991-92.<sup>4</sup>

Long before the Government paid serious attention to primary education, there had been a net work of Christian schools promoting literacy among the villagers and testifying to Christ. They have been the nucleus of the Thirunelveli Church.<sup>5</sup> There are 1,229 primary schools run by the Church of South India in Tamil Nadu,<sup>6</sup> of which 638 primary schools are scattered over the two Revenue Districts.<sup>7</sup> The number of children enrolled in these primary schools is 118,898. This includes 29, 678 Christian children also.<sup>8</sup>



### **Administration of Primary Schools:**

The administration of the primary schools is carried on by the Presbyter or the Pastorate Chairman concerned. He is the Correspondent of the schools. He is assisted by a Pastorate Committee.<sup>9</sup> The Primary Education Sub-Committee meets whenever necessary and makes recommendations to the Pastorate Committee concerning the transfer of teachers within the Pastorate or to other Pastorates.<sup>10</sup> The Committee recommends the applications of candidates through the Pastorate Committee for inclusion in the list of candidates for appointment as teachers.<sup>11</sup>

There is a Manager of all Primary Schools (Elementary and Middle) in the Diocese and he is appointed by the Bishop.<sup>12</sup> Rev. Monsingh has been the Manager of (T.D.T.A.) Middle and Elementary Schools since 1st June 1996.<sup>13</sup> The Manager is the Central Executive Officer of the T.D.T.A. Corporate Management for Middle and Elementary Schools.

The Elementary Education Sub-Committee of the Church Council receives through the Pastorate Chairman the list of candidates for appointment as teachers. It receives recommendations from the Pastorate Chairman for Inter-Pastorate transfer of teachers within the Church Council. Inter-Pastorate transfers are carried on through the Manager.<sup>14</sup>

The standing Committee on primary Education is constituted by the Diocesan Council. The functions of this Committee are:

- i) To foster Elementary Education in general;
- ii) To give permission for the opening of New Elementary Schools; and
- iii) To review the resolutions of the Church Councils relating to Elementary Education.<sup>15</sup>

### **Secondary Education (CSI):**

In 1917, there were nine High Schools for boys, two at palayamcottai; two at Tuticorin and one each at Magnanapuram, Pattamadai, Ambasamudram, Gopalsamudram and Ettaiyapuram.\* These Institutions were maintained by the Church Missionary Society at playamkottai. It was started in 1844 as an evangelistic agency under a well-recommended blind Eurasian teacher named Cruickshanks. Till 1870 he was at the Head of the Institution, and it was under his instruction that many families of the higher castes in palayamkottai turned Christians.<sup>16</sup>

Now there are 34 (CSI) High Schools in Tamil Nadu. Thirunelveli Diocese accounts for five High Schools. The total number of pupils in these five High Schools are 1,516 including 471 Christians.<sup>17</sup> Educational opportunity at the secondary level is a major instrument of social change and transformation.<sup>18</sup>

### **Higher Secondary Schools:**

Higher Secondary Education was introduced in the academic year 1978-79 in Tamil Nadu. There are 91 Higher Secondary schools in Tamil Nadu under the Management of Church of South India. The Thirunelveli Diocese has 29 Higher Secondary Schools. The total number of students studying in these institutions is 40,070. This includes 13,971 Christian students. Christian boys account for 6,218 whereas Christian girls do for 7,753. The Christian girls outnumber the Christian boys.<sup>19</sup>

## **Administration of Secondary and Higher Secondary Schools:**

There is a special Standing Committee to deal with Special Departments of the Diocesan Council. It is the most important body.<sup>20</sup> It is constituted by the Diocesan Council. There is a Manager for all Secondary, Higher Secondary, Training and Special Schools in the Diocese. He is appointed by the Bishop.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Pandian has been the Manager of Secondary, Higher Secondary, Teacher Training Institutes and Special Schools since the academic year of 1996-97.<sup>22</sup>

## **Functions of the Standing Committee on Higher Education:**

It is the duty of the Committee to foster and exercise control over the Higher Educational Institutions of the Diocese including Colleges. The Committee also receives reports from these Institutions showing their work done.<sup>23</sup> The appointments and transfers of Heasmasters and Headmistresses and members of teaching and non-teaching staff are under the control of the Committee. The Manager issues orders of transfer made on the recommendations of this Committee or the Sub-Committee appointed by this Committee for this purpose. There is a Correspondent for every T.D.T.A. Secondary, Higher Secondary, Teacher Training Institute and a Special School appointed by the Manager on the Recommendations of the Standing Committee looking after Higher Education.<sup>24</sup>

The Correspondent appoints members of the teaching and non-teaching staff. The appointment is reported to the Governing Board of the School concerned at its next meeting. The Correspondent may suspend a teacher or a member of the non-teaching staff on any serious charge but should report the matter to the Manager and to the Governing Board at its next meeting. Any member of the staff so discharged has got the right to appeal to the Governing Board.

There is a Governing Board for every school. It is otherwise known as the School Committee constituted by the Diocesan Executive Committee. The Correspondent is the secretary of the Governing Board. The Governing Board is represented by the staff members also.<sup>25</sup>

The appointment, transfer, retirement and suspension of any members of the teaching or non-teaching staff is subject to the rules of the Department of Education of Tamil Nadu without prejudice to the minority rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India.<sup>26</sup>

The funds of the Diocesan Institutions are managed by the Correspondents of the Institutions concerned, subject to such regulations as the Diocesan Executive Committee may decide from time to time.<sup>27</sup> All the Correspondents or Managers of the Institutions should submit to the Diocesan Treasurer quarterly statements of accounts. Within one month from the 31st March of every year an Annual Statement showing the receipts and disbursements of all amount which have passed through their hands for the whole year should be prepared. The account of each Institution shall be audited annually.

## **Special Schools:**

There are three Special Schools run by Church of South India in Thiurunelveli Diocese. They are (1) Art Industrial School (2) School for the Blind. (3) School for the Deaf.<sup>28</sup>

### **1) Art Industrial School, Nazareth:**

Vocational Training of a high order is provided in the Art Industrial School for boys. It was established by Canon Margoschis in 1877. The school began functioning in 1878. To-

day, it has been developed into one of the biggest recognised Industrial Schools and is aided by the Government.<sup>29</sup>

## **2) School Centre for the Blind, Palayamkottai:**

It is during the second century of its existence that the Church in Thirunelveli expressed its concern for social welfare in general and care of the underprivileged and physically handicapped in particular. This School was founded in 1890. This School celebrated its Centenary in 1990. The founder of this School was Miss Anne Jane Askwith.<sup>30</sup>

## **3) Florance Swains on School for the Deaf, Palayamkottai:**

This school was started in 1895 by Miss. Florence Swainson, a missionary from the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.<sup>31</sup> As in Churches everywhere, very great emphasis is now being laid on the Ministry to the disabled.<sup>32</sup> The total number of students studying in these three special schools is 1,173 of which Christian students account for 449. Most of the beneficiaries are the Hindus.<sup>33</sup>

## **Colleges : Titans and Toddlers :**

From the begining the missionaries gave importance to Higher Education. It has been the endeavour of the Diocese to provide education to the highest levels possible under Christian auspices. Protestants were the first to establish colleges in the erstwhile Thirunelveli District.<sup>34</sup> The C.M.S. Missionaries pioneered in University Education in South India with two premier Colleges, St. John's College, Palayamkottai, which is only the successor to what began as C.M.S. College in 1878 and Sarah Tucker College, Palayamkottai in 1896. Both have shown phenomenal growth all through the one century of their existence with well furnished Lecture Halls, well-stacked Libraries, spacious Auditorium and extensive playgrounds. They offer variable courses and maintain high academic standards.<sup>35</sup> The Diocese added two rural Colleges Pope's College at Sawyerpuram in 1962 and the Nazareth Margoschis College at Pillanmanai in 1996 to these two Pioneer College located at its head-quarters. Both Pope's College and Margoschis College are now Post-Graduate Co-Educational Colleges eminently serving the needs of large clusters of villages around them. John Thomas College of Education for Women was esstablished at Megnanapuram in 1991. Of the five colleges under the control of C.S.I. Management only one College Viz., John Thomas College of Education is unaided.<sup>36</sup> In Tamil Nadu, there are 20 Arts and Science Colleges under the C.S.I. Management. The total number of these students studying in Colleges in Thirunelveli Diocese is 3,919 and among them the Christian students number 1881. Christian boys account for 734 and the girls account for 1147. The Christian girls outnumber Christian boys. The first reason is that the present Thirunelveli District has no Catholic women's Arts College and second reason is that in Nazareth and Swayerpuram areas the Christians outnumber the Hindus.

## **Administration of the Diocesan Colleges :**

Every Diocesan College is assisted by a Governing Board and a Correspondent appointed by the Manager of the Diocesan Colleges.<sup>37</sup> The Bishop in Thirunelveli is the Chairman of the Governing Board of the Colleges. The Correspondent has the power of appointing College teachers on the recommendation of the Selection Board. His powers are just the

same as that of the Correspondent of a Higher Secondary School. The Standing Committee on Education has been empowered to make transfer of College teachers.<sup>38</sup>

### **Teacher Training Institutes :**

The teacher training Institutes are so vital for effective educational management and administration. They are the nurseries of men and women who staff hundreds of schools. Their importance was realized by the early missionaries who founded the Bishop Sargent Training School for men at Palayamkottai in 1856, Sarah Tucker Training School for women, Palayamkottai in 1858 and St. John's Training School for women, Nazareth in 1877. There was a time when even Schools in Madras and in Ceylon asked for teachers trained in these Schools. In 1934 yet another School named Ooliasathanam Training School for women was established at Palayapettai near Thirunelveli Town. Out of the 15 Teacher Training Institutes in Tamil Nadu which are under the control of CSI Management,<sup>39</sup> four institutes are in Thirunelveli Diocese. All these four training Institutes cater to the needs of the Christians in the Diocese who want to become teachers. However, a few non-Christians are also accommodated in each School.<sup>40</sup>

The propagation of the Gospel by the Christian Missionaries in the Thirunelveli and Tuticorin Districts was achieved not merely by preaching but through sustained efforts of Missions, calculated to transform the local people into a cultural group whose life would be insured against want and worry. This helped to ensure a deep sense of self-respect in them and also an unflinching faith in their own. Self-realizing these and other boons of worthy education, the Missionaries applied themselves assiduously to this task right from the beginning of their Missionary efforts.

Most of the people of the erstwhile Thirunelveli District had been the victims of illiteracy, neglect and wanton subjection to a cruel social order that individually offered security only to the people at the top most thanks of the social order. Effective Gospel work that bore rich fruit was carried out amidst the people who could read and understand the scriptures.<sup>41</sup>

Comprehending this fully well the Missions opened educational institutions and through a well-thought-out plan they implemented certain measures in Thirunelveli which eventually made it one of the most literate parts of Tamil Nadu. In short, the Church and educational institutions functioned as mutual partners.<sup>42</sup> Thus long before the Government paid serious attention to elementary education the Christian Missionaries had been imparting education through their institutions they had established all over Thirunelveli District.

The greatest contribution made by the Missionaries of the C.S.I. Diocese is in the sphere of women's education. The women in these two districts have come up in life chiefly because of the Christian educational Institutions. The number of girls in the Primary and Secondary Schools and women students in the Colleges and Teacher Training Institutes substantiate the view. They outnumber the boys and men in these institutions.

Christian Educational Institutions pay more attention to the personality development. They cherish the human dignity. The freedom of man and individuality are the corner stones of democratic system. These are essentially Christian concepts. They imbibe these ideas among the students who enter their portals. The Christian Educational Institutions in these two districts have been indefatigably trying to uphold and nourish the dignity of man.

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## CASTE GROUPS AND GENESIS OF THE DRAVIDIAN MOVEMENT

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This paper attempts to bring out the role of caste groups in the genesis of the Dravidian movement. By the beginning of the present century, caste consciousness was awakened, mainly due to the Brahmanic hegemony and elitism. Many of these castes, until then submerged made their presence felt in the Tamil Nadu politics, by organising caste groups or *sangams*. Of these castes, the part played by the *Nadar Mahajana Sabha* and the *Adi-Dravidar Mahajana Sabha* for the emergence of Dravidian Movement has not received the due attention of the scholars. This paper tries to fulfill that want.

Among the Dravidians in Tamilnadu there were two groups. They were caste-Hindu non-Brahmins and the backward classes. The first group was economically and socially sound and safe. The condition of the backward classes was highly pitiable and wretched. Meanwhile, the western education and the torch of the Christian missionaries some what helped them elevate their position in the society. The leaders of these caste groups tried to bring about unity and harmony among their castes. These leaders channelised their people into the regional and national politics to gain berths for their community. Both the British government and these organisations jointly brought about social change among them until then unknown people of Tamil Nadu.

### Nadar Mahajana Sabha

The Nadars of Tamilnadu, once a depressed class, emerged as a power to be reckoned with due to the touch of missionary activities. They were, as of now, a pre-dominant communal group in the districts of Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari and sparsely in the other districts of Tamilnadu. They were divided among themselves religiously which hindered their unity. The Nadar leaders endeavoured to elevate their social status and patch up the divisions amongst them in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In fact, the measures of the British government indirectly awakened the Nadars. The British government in its administrative set up recognised hard labour, merit, ability and character, neglecting birth and social status. So the Nadars who were a suppressed class woke up from their stupor and began to act independently. Utilising this positive move, the Nadars attempted to surpass the caste barriers. They abandoned their traditional occupation of today tapping, took up cultivation, trade and industry and emerged as a prosperous community.<sup>1</sup> When their wealth grew in abundance, they began to fight for equal status in society.

Under the Christian educational influence, the Nadars of the southern districts in 1916 clamoured for recognition as "Kshatriyas".<sup>2</sup> They formed the fundamental institution of unity known as 'Mahamai' and the 'Uravinmurai' (Corporate Council). In practice, they began to adopt different methods to wrest for themselves a status of respectability. They adopted some of the powers and privileges enjoyed by the caste Hindus like procession in palanquins and wearing of sacred thread and smearing holy ash. Some of them became vegetarians.

After the adoption of such symbolic paraphernalia, exercised so far by the high caste people, they claimed the right of entry into temples which were until then denied to them. It showed that *they were willing to secure freedom of worship*. First, they tried to secure their right of entry through the legal method. With this in mind, they submitted petitions and registered cases for attaining the right to worship in the prohibited Hindu temples. Although the initial cases at Tiruchendur, Madurai, Srivilliputhur, Srivaikuntam and Sivakasi clearly went against their intentions and interests, it awakened them towards temple entry struggle as the first citizens in Tamil Nadu.<sup>3</sup> Their attempts being thwarted by the upper caste tricks, the Nadars, however, had decided to fight it out till the end.

They then openly resorted to fight for equality before deities in most of the high-caste temples. Among these fights the notable one was at Kamudi. It was flashed out as the Kamudi communal riot.<sup>4</sup> A criminal case of intimidation and forceful entry into prohibited areas was filed against fifteen Nadars causing riot; but they were acquitted by the sub-magistrate of Mudukulathur. However, on 20 July 1899, after a study of their petition, the sub-judge of Madurai East delivered the judgement against the Nadars. The enlightened Nadars did not give up the matter. They collected Rs. 42,000/- from their community *throughout Tamil Nadu*. Then they appealed to the High Court of Judicature at Madras which, unfortunately, upheld the Lower Court decision. Unperturbed by this setback, they appealed again to the Privy Council at London, the Highest Court of Appeal, which too delivered its judgement against the Nadars in 1908. They were asked to pay Rs. 500/- for the necessary purification ceremony in the Kamudi Temples.<sup>5</sup> On the receipt of the verdict from the Privy Council, they resorted to alternate way by constructing new massive temples in a brahminical style and tried to confine themselves to the precincts of their respective temples for a short period and waited for awakening among the other non-Brahmin classes to challenge the orthodox practices in Tamil Nadu.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, because of their laborious work and industrious nature, they emerged economically and educationally sound. However, they were distintegrated socially and politically. To attain all round development, the leading members of the Nadar community devised a new method. In February 1910, T. Rathinasamy Nadar founded the Nadar Mahajana Sangham at Poraiyar in Tanjore district, as an association of the Nadars. The Sangham convened a number of Conferences to unite the Nadars and instill political awakening among them.<sup>6</sup> This organisation served as an eye-opener of the until then disharmonious people.

In order to highlight their demands and attain social recognition their men started a few newspapers. D. A. John Nadar started the Newspaper *Dravidabhimani* in Salem and the *Vijayavikatan* was started by K. S. Kathirvel Nadar at Royapuram in Madras. Govindasami Nadar started a paper *sauror kula Viveka Bodhine* at Kilariyam in Tanjore district. S.A. Muthu Nadar, another veteran Nadar leader, started the *Nadar Kula Mitran* at Tandaiyarpuram in Madras. Besides these, papers like *Nadar Nanban*, *Pandiya Kula Deepam* and *Vinoda Vikatan* came into being and worked to redress the grievances of their people. They helped to expose them to the public and to the Government and, thereby, attempted to protect them from the exploitation of high caste oppression. These newspapers inspired them to fight for social rights on par with caste-Hindus.<sup>7</sup> In fact, their attempts and failures for getting entry into temples awakened them to strengthen themselves and give a united opposition to the



caste ridden practices. In the long run they proved that they were right in their concerted attempts in getting equal status in society.

### **Adhidravid Mahajana Sabha**

The *Adhidravidas*, the ancient Dravidians, were the untouchable group of Tamil Nadu. They were the lowset rung of the society. Economically deprived, socially submerged, culturally decadent, politically depraved, educationally shighted, the Adhidravidas were unable to ventilate their grievances and set redressal. They had been distanced by the inhuman practices of untouchability, unseeability and unapproachability. Western education to a very limited extent enlightened some of their men, who then raised the issue of untouchability.

When a few of the national leaders, in fact, dedicated their lives for the cause of the eradication of the stigma, others showed lip-service to it. In their inner hearts, they were in favour of the continuance of this practice. But, caught in the mainstream of socio-religious reforms, a few of these leaders raised hue and cry against this practice. Among them were Rajaram Mohan Roy, Kesab Chandra Sen and 'Mahatma' Jyothiroa Phoolé. Ill-treated by the upper-caste men Phoolé started the Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1877. Through this society he wanted to put an end to the exploitation of the caste-Hindus.<sup>9</sup> Dayananda Saraswathi, Swami Vivekananda, the Theosophists, and Narayana Guru highlighted the need for the emancipation of the untouchables. By establishing the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (S. N. D. P) in 1903, the followers of Sri Narayana Guru worked in Madras for the material progress and social uplift of the untouchables.

Inspired by the progressive ideologies of these leaders, the untouchables began to organise themselves and agitate for their status. In 1891 they formed the *Dravida Mahajana Sabha* to represent their grievances and requirements to the Government.<sup>11</sup> In 1892 the untouchables of Madras also formed another association known as *Adhi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha*. These two organisations tirelessly represented the problems of the untouchables to the Government. Consequently, the British Government of Madras appointed S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar to study their condition. His report depicted the pitiable condition of the untouchables and recommended to the Government various measures. Accepting the reasonable demands of the untouchables the Madras Government started schools and allotted lands to the landless and the ex-servicemen. In addition, many members of the depressed class were given postings in the administrative set up. They entered public services at various levels such as *sirasthars*, engineers, surgeons, inspectors, managers, registrars, headwriters and guards.

To press for further reforms the *Madras Mahajana Sabha* invited the untouchable leaders to a conference in Madras in 1892. C. Ayothidass Panditar and a few other untouchable leaders participated in it. R. Srinivasan, another depressed class leader, exposed the problems of untouchables in a conference at Westly High School in Madras in 1892. In another public meeting in Madras C. Ayothidass Panditar openly flayed the Indian National Congress as an association of the Brahmins and accused these Brahmins of occupying key posts in the British administrative set up and preventing the officials from doing anything for the untouchables<sup>12</sup>.

Besides the public platform they also utilized the press for spreading their demands. They started magazines which discussed matters of political and economic importance and

thereby attempted to consolidate their gains. In 1869 the untouchables published a journal *Suriyothayam* "(Sun Rise)". Another journal known as *Panchama* "(The Outcaste)" was published in 1871. In 1885 John Rathinam edited the journal *Dravida Pandian*. In the following year Pandit Muthusami of Vellore published a journal known as *Antrormitran*. In 1893 R. Srinivasan, a well known 'untouchable' leader issued the journal *Parayan*. In 1898 *Illara Vozhukkam*, a journal came into lime-light. Poonjolai Muthuveera Pavalar edited the journal *Poologa Vyasan* in 1900. In 1907 G. Ayothidass Panditar edited the journal *Tamilan*. In the same year, the Christian Untouchables Association of Madras introduced the journal *Dravidakokilam*. The publishers of these journals reflected the grievances of the untouchables by condemning casteism, social evils, Hindu scriptures, code of Manu, etc. These thought-provoking articles of the untouchable leaders inspired them to organise their people and to provide constructive support to the Anti-Brahmin Movement.<sup>13</sup>

These helped them organise their force to strengthen the Dravidian cause. Among the Adhi-dravidas, R. Srinivasan and Ayothidass Panditar gave a good lead. Amongst the Nadars Rathinasamy Nadar pulled the Nadras into the Dravidian forum. In fact, the services rendered by these two caste groups appeared significant for the mobilization and progress of the Dravidian Movement as a parallel political force to that of the Brahmin dominated Congress Party.

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## EVOLUTION OF RESERVATION POLICY IN TAMIL NADU

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Reservation is one of the mechanisms of protective discrimination for eradicating the present institutionalized effects of past discriminations, through positive governmental steps awarding preferential treatment in favour of certain weaker sections of the society. Reservation is applied only in graded societies, where certain groups enjoyed more powers and privileges, while the other sections have been wholly or partially neglected. It involves encouragement in favour of certain weaker sections of the society. It involves encouragement in sharing of opportunities in the executive, legislative bodies, in educational institutions and in public services.<sup>1</sup> The demand by the unprivileged classes to enjoy the same opportunities of the privileged class resulted in social conflict in the earlier stages. In course of time, the underprivileged section came to enjoy social, political and economic and other privileges on par with others.<sup>2</sup>

In ancient Tamilnadu, people were divided on the basis of their inhabited lands and occupations. When the caste system vertically and horizontally stratified the until then secular society of the Tamils, during the medieval days, it turned into a rigid society.<sup>3</sup> Today, the Tamil society is comprised of thousands of castes and sub-castes. The origin of caste system is a peculiar one. Consequent to the caste system there emerged the practice of untouchability. It has been a part and parcel of Hindu caste system. Various factors were responsible for the rise and growth of untouchability. Birth determined the caste of a person. Again, occupation was another factor. Occupation of each caste was hereditary.

Social reforms mainly involve two aspects. The first was the educational and the other was the breaking of the rigidity of certain customs.<sup>4</sup> Educational leaders, planners and politicians have laid great emphasis on the power of education for social change in the country.<sup>6</sup>

British administrators also encouraged and patronised the efforts of the Christian Missionaries through enactments. These attempts had a profound impact on obtaining English education in a larger level.<sup>7</sup> When the British assumed the administrative powers of India, there was a necessity of English - educated Indians.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly the British administration opened seventeen *tahsildari* schools throughout the Madras Presidency.<sup>9</sup> During this time, the medium of instruction was English in the District Schools and vernacular in the Taluk Schools. As traditionally learned group, the Brahmins quickly imbibed the value of Western education.<sup>10</sup>

The attempt of the British Government to bring out Census Report was a significant land mark in the social history of Tamilnadu. Enumeration of persons and their household with their respective status at a particular time was the aim of the Census Report.<sup>11</sup> As the society in Tamilnadu has been a caste ridden one, the first Census Report taken in 1871, clearly reveals the different caste divisions and their hierarchy in the Tamil society. With a view to control the domination of a single community the Census Report reported "Special measures are needed to ensure that no single caste receives and undue advantage in the distribution of offices connected with the administration of the country"<sup>12</sup> The subsequent Census Reports of 1881, 1891 also emphasized this fact to a larger extent. These Census

Reports revealed the strength of each community in the State, a fact which was totally unknown to them previously. The Western education hitherto they had gained and the reported strength of their communities made them to compare and contrast with the advanced communities to fight for obtaining more opportunities.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the attempts of the British Government to bring out Census Reports for every ten years, commencing from 1871 was an eye opener to other communities to demand for reservation and more opportunities in the government.

In 1833, the Board of College and Public Instruction, Madras, received an application from a Pariah boy. There started the dilemma of the administration. Eventhough the British desired to admit him, practically, they found it very difficult. The reason was that the head of the institution happened to be a Brahmin and the students of the class were also Brahmins. In fact, the boy had full justice for education since the government had already decreed to have removed all discriminations long before.<sup>14</sup> But, in practice, the Britishers realised the difficulty of implementing this principle.

Again in 1846, the Sheriff of Madras requested the Court to Directors of employ peons from the Pariah community, without any discrimination on the basis of caste. He was informed that the same principle was laid down in the Despatch of Court of Directors of 1931.<sup>15</sup> By 1853, the British Government found the virtual monopoly of a single caste called Brahmins in public services. For instance, in the Madras Presidency the Revenue establishment of Nellore District was managed by forty nine Brahmins, that was also all from the same family.<sup>16</sup> They were the relatives of the Deputy Sheristadar, Gotoor Vencataramaniah. Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, desired the Board of Revenue to take immediate steps to remedy this evil. Accordingly, in 1854 the Board of Revenue issued a standing order in which it stated that: "Collectors should be careful to see that the subordinate appointments in their districts are not monopolised by members of a few influential families. Endeavour should always be made to divide the principal appointments in each district among the several castes. A proportion of the Tahsildars in each district should belong to castes other than the Brahmin and it should be a standing rule that the two chief revenue servants in the Collector's office should be different castes"<sup>17</sup> When the order was circulated, they again found the same difficulties. It was quite evident that there was no suitable person for government employment opportunities from other communities. It was also too difficult for the Britishers to introduce some new social measures to transform the society.<sup>18</sup>

The orders, which were formerly issued by the Britishers did not have the idea of proportional representation based on population. However, it was a good beginning for the future reservation in Tamil Nadu.<sup>19</sup> In the Press Report of 1858, the British Government repeated that no person should be denied admission in the educational institutions on the ground of caste, creed and religion in the government aided schools.<sup>20</sup> In 1871 W.R. Cornish, the Census Superintendent of Madras remarked, "The true policy of the State would be to limit their numbers in official service so as to allow no special prominence or preponderance of particular caste". Thus, he exposed the presence of strong Brahmin elements in all aspects. He stressed the importance of the representation of other communities<sup>21</sup>.

Britishers applied the principle of extending Western education among the Muslims. This was one of the measures to reduce the Brahmin domination<sup>22</sup>. Hobart, the Governor of Madras, remarked that the Muslim communities had once politically dominated in India. But

they were reduced to the position of insignificance. Under the British rule, they did not undertake the English education and consequently became disqualified for the employment opportunities<sup>23</sup>.

In their attempt to elevate the Muslims, emphasis was given to Muslim education. The Muslims were the first category to be identified and treated as a backward class in the Madras Presidency in 1872<sup>24</sup>. The attempt of the administration in giving special treatment to the Muslims for education and employment opportunities became an important landmark in the field of reservation. The Hunter Commission included a provision for the reservation of a certain proportion of free studentships for Muslims in all schools maintained from public funds. It also cautioned those institutions which had not reserved for special races<sup>25</sup>.

The term backward classes properly first appeared in 1884. The remark was made by the Madras Government to the Government of India in the ninth chapter of the Education Commission's Report on the education of the classes requiring special treatment<sup>26</sup>. Subsequently, the term Backward classes was found in 1886 in the School Fee Notification. Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, expressed the necessity of the introduction of the representation by interests even in 1888. This was contemplated just to wean away the Mussalmans from the Congress which was established in 1885<sup>27</sup>.

In 1892, in the name of Fair Play, two pamphlets entitled "The Non-Brahmin Races and Indian Public Service" and "The Ways and Means for the Amelioration of Non-Brahmin Races" were published in which they favoured a National Association should be formed for getting the due share and representation to other communities in government services<sup>28</sup>. Accordingly, in 1897, the Viswakulotharama Association, Madras, submitted a memorial to the Governor, Sir Aurther Elibank Havelock. Its "Kammala Condition Amelioration Bill" had observed that Kammalas were the most backward in education. Their condition was deplorable. They demanded the Government to start separate schools for them and it asked the government to grant concession in the qualification, age, school and college fees in order to compete with other candidates<sup>29</sup>.

Negatively, by 1899, 92 per cent and in 1903, 93 percent of the seats in the colleges were occupied by the Brahmins. With the Brahmin preponderance in the educational fields, the college Principals and the officials of the Educational Department favoured reservation for non-Brahmin castes also. The government continued its efforts to curb the accumulation of Brahmin domination in public services. In 1904, in the superior services, the Brahmin and non-Brahmin ratio was 70:30. The Board of Revenue instructed the District Collectors to ensure fair distribution of seats in the services among the non-Brahmins. To bring uniformity in its rule, the Board of Revenue provided a column to show the caste or sect of each subordinate services in 1904. It enabled the Collectors to see how far the Standing order of Board of Revenue was enforced<sup>30</sup>.

Before the passage of Morley-Minto reforms, a Muhammadan deputation under the leadership of H.H.Aga Khan met the Executive Council and made certain demands viz., communal representation in Municipal Boards, Universities and Provincial Councils and the Mohammadan representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council. This was the first Muhammadan claim for separate representation<sup>31</sup>.

In 1907 the Department of Home, Government of India drafted a scheme for representative government intended to secure "the widest representation of classes, races and inter-

ests". For the Madras Provincial Legislative Council, the draft recommended seventeen non-official seats to be filled by special electorates of communal interests and functional groups including Christians and Muhammadans. Hence, the Brahmin and non-Brahmin group consisted of various sections requiring representation in the legislature of Madras was officially acknowledged and accepted in 1907. The Brahmins, particularly in the Madras Presidency, criticised this kind of communal representation whereas, the Muslims and the non-Brahmins supported it. However, the latter did not have any newspaper to mobilise the public opinion at that time. They did not have any uniform opinion. Each caste wanted separate representation. This kind of new trend was encouraged by the British administrators to prolong their rule<sup>32</sup>.

Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, in a Despatch of 27 November 1908, accepted the principle of securing adequate Muhammadan representation and after discussion he agreed for separate Muhammadan electorates<sup>33</sup>. Accordingly, the Indian Councils Act of 1909 granted separate electorate to the Muslims. In 1910 the constituencies were bifurcated into Muslim constituencies and non-Muslim constituencies. In the Imperial Council, they obtained five seats, one each for the three Presidencies, one for the United Province and one each for Bihar and Orissa. For the Madras Provincial Council they got two seats<sup>34</sup>.

In 1909, the Board of Revenue found that in the co-operative societies, the vacancies were mostly filled by the Brahmins and very less number of vacancies were filled by the non-Brahmin Hindus, Indian Christians, Muhammadans and Europeans. So, the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies was ordered to appoint fully qualified non-Brahmins in preference to Brahmins<sup>35</sup>. In 1911, the government made investigations to know the implementation of government policies and its consequences regarding the representation of various communities in public services. It was found that in the name of the sub-divisions, Brahmins alone enjoyed the opportunities. Further, the government reiterated that though divisions had existed among the Brahmins, they all should be treated under the name of Brahmins<sup>36</sup>. In 1912, the Government of India appointed the Royal Commission to investigate the representation of various communities in the provincial services. The Commission held its inquiry in Madras from 8 January to 18 January 1913. It investigated 42 respondents. Among them there were nineteen Brahmins, seven non-Brahmin Hindus, two Muslims, three Christians and others were Europeans. Among them eight members fully supported the principle of class representation and seventeen of them rejected it<sup>37</sup>. Mr. Balaji Rao Naidu, a Revenue Divisional Officer stated before the Commission that proportional representation was the only way to protect the suppressed communities. In the meantime, the Vanniars and the Nadars formed communal organisations like Vannia Kula Sangam and Nadar Mahajana Sangam to show their unity and strength. The British government was also sympathetic towards the demands of these Sangams<sup>38</sup>.

Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti remarked that it was not suitable to conduct open competitive examinations in India to select civil servants. In order to get a due share of different communities, he suggested communal representation<sup>39</sup>. Another Muslim Officer Mr. Yakub Khan was also in favour of the legitimate share of all communities<sup>40</sup>. Brahmins occupied majority of the places, and blocked the entry of other communities. Finally, the government contemplated on doing justice to other communities. Besides, the monopoly of one class would lead to corruption and affect the effective administration. So, the Commission recommended that

the proportion of Brahmins should not exceed fifty percent<sup>41</sup>. Sir Alexander Cardew, a member of the Madras Executive Council, submitted certain reports regarding the representation of various communities in various high posts and offices, before the Public Service Commission Department in 1913 in which he revealed that the seats reserved for the Hindus were monopolised only by the Brahmins<sup>42</sup>. He also suggested for fixing percentage of vacancies reserved for different communities<sup>43</sup>. These developments culminated in the genesis of reservation policy in Tamil Nadu.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the main thrust of the British administration in Madras appeared one of non-interfering in the socio-religious order of the Tamils. Even though, their administration had extended large scale concessions to Christian Missionaries in meeting out the needs of the local population, they too wanted to implement a large number of reforms. In an attempt to extend the governmental benefits, particularly of educational and employment opportunities to different cross sections of the population, a few governors of Madras attempted to initiate measures for the benefit of the ignored sections. In fact, the evolution of reservation policy was a kind of response to the predominance of Brahmins in public services and educational institutions.

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## **RESERVATION OF SEATS FOR WOMEN IN THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE IN THE INDEPENDENT ERA - A HISTORICAL STUDY**

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Reservation of seats for women in Parliament is a much debated subject today. But seats were reserved for women in the legislative bodies in India even before independence. An attempt is made in this paper to trace the history of the campaign for achieving political rights of women which finally resulted in the reservation of seats for women in various legislative bodies.

The movement for political representation of women in India had two phases. Since women had no political rights and the basic political right was voting, in the first phase (1917-1926) the issues were enfranchisement of women and eligibility to enter into the legislatures. In the second phase the movement was for adult franchise and increasing women representation in the legislature.

Madras was the first legislature in British India to pass the women's suffrage resolution in 1921 by a considerable majority. It granted women voting rights on the same terms as men.<sup>1</sup> This however was only half the battle. It did not enfranchise women to stand as candidates for the legislature. In 1926 Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution in favour of admitting women into the Council by nomination or by election.

Though women were permitted to stand for elections, it must be remembered that the total number of women enfranchised throughout India was not more than roughly one million because of high property and education qualification prescribed for that. The place that women should occupy in the reformed Constitution soon became a problem that exercised the minds both of the framers of the new Constitution and of the politically conscious women of India. Hence women's organisations started demanding adult franchise.

At that time the political situation was more complex. The relationship between the British authorities and the Congress deteriorated sharply. The Indian political elite was divided with in itself on many issues of importance. In the women's movement also two factions emerged. One faction argued for increased representation and special qualifications for women and that was supported by the British Government and the other faction was for adult suffrage and no special privileges. They adopted an equal right perspective and was supported by the Congress. In the British government fear of instability and administrative problems loomed large and thus the Government rejected adult suffrage. At the same time it compromised with the first faction.

This period witnessed series of Enquiry Commissions starting from Simon Commission which culminated in the Govt. of India Act 1935. Before nothing was finalised the 4th election to the Madras Legislative Council came. Women had to compete with men on equal terms. The political condition of the country was so disturbed and unsatisfactory and the Congress decided to boycott the election. Under such condition women also did not stand for election.

After the 1930 election, women conducted vigorous propaganda for adult suffrage. Taking advantage of the Gandhi - Irwin settlement which brought temporary peace in the country, women representatives of various associations, political views and interests met at Madras and drafted a memorandum on the status of Indian women. It demanded among other things no reservation of seats for women or special nomination. It wanted women to fight elections on equal terms with men in mixed general elections as in every other country<sup>2</sup>. Women's associations in other places also drafted similar memorandums. This joint memorandum was presented to the Viceroy of India in May 1931 and to the members of the second Round Table Conference in August - 1931.

The British Government selected Radha Bai Subbaroyan and Begum Shah Nawaz to represent women's cause in the RTC, though they were not acceptable to the Women's Organisations<sup>3</sup>. Contrary to the joint Memorandum, Radha Bai Subbaroyan demanded that there should be a special franchise for women and a fixed proportion of women to the legislatures during the first formative years<sup>4</sup>. But women's Organisations stick on to the joint memorandum. By then it was obvious that there were two opinions regarding reservation of seats for women. One group supported the British Govt.'s idea of special representation for women and slowly increasing the franchise. The other along with the Congress wanted adult franchise and equal rights and no reservation of seats for women.

Then a Franchise Committee known as Lothian Committee was appointed to suggest ways and means for increasing the franchise rights. It came to India twice in the winter of 1931 and in the spring of 1932. It circulated a questionnaire to various organisations. In Madras on behalf of the Women's Graduates Union Mrs Lakshmi Ammal and Mrs.L. Devasahayam advocated reservation of seats for women in the Legislature. Radha Bai Subbaroyan, the only women in the Committee and the Madras Govt. had the similar opinion. Whereas Alamelumangai Thayar Ammal, M.L.C. in her individual capacity and Lakshmi Menon, on behalf of the All India Women's Conference were the important persons who opposed such a reservation<sup>5</sup>.

Regarding reservation of seats in the legislature, the leading Women's Organisations were opposed to the granting of any special facilities and wished women to be returned by "open door of competition". On the otherhand, a large number of witnesses both women and men who gave evidence individually or as representatives of associations, felt strongly that although women should be free to contest the elections on the same terms as men, some minimum representation should be secured for the first ten years<sup>6</sup>.

The Madras Govt. suggested that eight seats should be reserved for women in the Provincial Legislative Council as a special interest group, but no special reservation for women in the upper Chamber.<sup>7</sup>

After analysing the questionnaire the Franchise Committee realised that from two to five percent of the seats in the Provincial Council should be reserved for women for the first ten years. The Committee considered it essential that during the formative period of the Constitution, there should be in the legislatures a considerable number of women, sufficient to express their views and make their influence felt<sup>8</sup>.

Women's Organisations not satisfied with the discussions of the Lothian Committee once again met and prepared a Memorandum II to enfranchise a large number of women on equal terms and offer them opportunities for service in the legislatures without communal

basis or through separate electorates or reservation. Three of their representatives namely RajKumari Amrit Kaur, Muthulakshmi Reddi, and Hamil Ali were elected on behalf of the three leading Women's Organisations to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee in London, which was once again considering the new Constitution in 1933.<sup>9</sup> During the examination they made it clear that their Organisations had throughout stood for adult franchise and no reservation of seats. They demanded a democratic Constitution conferring full - self governing rights on India and opposed strongly against communal electorates and reservation of seats for women and special women's constituencies.<sup>10</sup>

After examining all the Committee's report, the Govt. of India Act 1935 was passed. It was the product of age long discussion and ultimately a compromise of ideologies Simon Commission Report of 1930, Round Table Conferences held in London between 1930-32, White Paper Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reforms 1933, and the Joint Select Committee Report, 1934, served as the basis for determining the new Constitution.

Both in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures women were given reservation of seats on the communal basis<sup>11</sup>. On the whole, fifteen seats were reserved for women in the Central Legislature. Out of that, six seats were for the Federal Council of State (Upper House), one each for Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab and Bihar. Rest of the nine seats were reserved in the Federal Assembly (Lower House).<sup>12</sup>

Forty-one seats were reserved for women in the Provincial Assemblies. For the Madras Presidency eight seats were reserved. Among them six were general one Muslim, and one for Indian Christians. Among the six general seats three were general urban seats assigned to Madras city, Ellore and Tallicherry cum Calicut. Three other seats were general rural seats for Cuddalore, Bellary and Dindigul Taluks, one Muhammadan seat was to Madras city and one Indian Christian seat was to the municipalities of Thirunelveli, Palayamkottai and Tuticorin.

As far as the selection procedure was concerned women to fill the seat in the Upper House should be chosen by the persons whether men or women who hold seats in the chamber or as the case might be the chambers of the legislature of that province. For the Lower House, men would be elected to this chamber by the provincial legislatures, but for women nine special electorate of women composed of all the women members of the provincial legislatures would be created<sup>14</sup>.

Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam were given the Upper House (P.L.C.). In these no seats had been reserved for women. But during the course of the debate on the Indian Act in Parliament the Govt. initiated that Governors would be recommended to fill some seats by women<sup>15</sup>.

Regarding qualifications for women candidates, the enrolment as a voter in any constituency in that province should be a sufficient qualification for women candidates. The electoral roll for a women's constituency was the same as that for the general<sup>16</sup>. All persons irrespective of sex whose names were included in the electoral roll for the area were entitled to vote in the women's constituency as well as in the General, Muslim or Indian christian constituency for which they were electors<sup>17</sup>.

In the 1937 election, eight women were elected from General constituencies and forty one from reserved constituency. On the whole, eight women entered the legislatures

of the provinces and States<sup>18</sup>. Rukmani Lakshmipathi and Jhoti Venkatachalam had joined the Madras Cabinet.<sup>19</sup>

The second General Election took place in 1946. For the Madras Legislative Council, twelve women were elected. In addition to the eight seats reserved for women, three were elected from general rural constituencies and one from the general urban constituency, Madras. Rukmani Lakshmipathi became the Minister for Public Health and Medical Department. C. Ammana Raja was elected as the Deputy Speaker.<sup>20</sup> The Indian Constitution has granted equality of political status and thereby the reservation of seats for women was removed.

India is perhaps the first country to recognise this right and to have taken concrete measures to draw women into leadership positions and thereby into politics by giving them reservation of seats.

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## WOMEN'S MEDICAL EDUCATION IN TAMIL NADU A - HISTORICAL STUDY

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This paper tries to view the social conditions that influenced women's medical education in Tamilnadu in a historical perspective. It studies them primarily through secondary sources until Indian independence and through primary data collected in a micro study in Madurai District after independence.

### **Social Conditions Affecting Women's Entry Into Medical Education Until Indian Independence**

Women's entry into medical education was necessitated by the strict *purdah* system that was practised not only among Muslims but also among Hindus. This prevented women from practising medicine. Being attended by male doctors there was a higher rate of maternal and child mortality (YWCA 1971: 98; Lebra 1984:128; Jaggi; 1979: 93). In addition, the low status accorded to women in India led to the neglect of their health (Mamoria 1981:142; Metha 1982: 239-241; India 1988:34). Girls were looked upon as a burden. Their health was not attended to except at times of sickness and child birth. Moreover, the custom of women eating at the end, feeding all the men folk and children of the house (Mandelbaum 1984:38; Kala Rani 1976,57, India 1988, 41) often left them with inadequate and less nutritious food. Hence malnutrition and anemia were the common conditions among women which led to maternal and child mortality. The custom of child marriage often led them to child-mothers which aggravated the situation (Mamoria 1981:142). Usually, delivery was attended by the illiterate and untrained nurses who learnt the practice by their experience and from their female elders. Lack of their knowledge in sanitation and infection worked as additional causes for maternal mortality (Lebra 1984: 127-128). All these conditions necessitated qualified women doctors to attend Indian women.

The first organised attempt to teach medicine to women was taken up in the Madras Presidency towards the end of 19th century by Mrs. Scarlieb, an English women, who came to India accompanying her husband, who was a barrister. Seeing the plight of Indian women who died at children birth she made persistent efforts to admit women in medical course. In 1875 four women including Mrs. Scarlieb were admitted to the Madras Medical College. While the universities and corporations in Great Britain were discussing whether women should be permitted to study medicine, this was a progressive step taken in India with respect to women's medical education (Jaggi 1979:93-97). Simultaneously, attempts had been made by the Christian missionaries to train Indian women in medicine. Prominent among them was Dr. Clarapwain (Lebra 1984,128, YWCA 1971:116). She trained fourteen girls of an orphanage as health workers in 1873 (Jaggi 1979, 101). Another noteworthy woman was Idda Scuder (Lebra 1984: 128; YWCA 1971: 116) who started a dispensary in 1900 which was raised to the status of a medical school and later into a University College in 1942. Gradually, women were admitted for the first time in the medical college. The fellow students and teachers in medical institutions were mostly men. A few women who attended medical institutions had to follow the practice of seclusion even in their classes. Women had

to attend classes sitting behind a curtain. This led to the realisation of the need for separate medical schools for women. One such school was started by Dr. Ida Scudder in Vellore in 1918. Later more medical schools were funded solely for women in Madras. Seats were reserved for women in various co-educational colleges. As a result, the number of women doctors increased gradually. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, was one of the pioneering women, who graduated in medical education in Madras in the year 1913 and devoted her life for the cause of women (Tamilnadu 1987, 4-13).

Thus the necessity for women's medical education arose due to the social condition to serve Indian women by women doctors. Conscious attempts were made by the British Government, western missionaries and social reformers in the midst of a social milieu which did not favour even basic education for women. The women and their families which broke away the tradition by entering into medical education had to fight with the social opposition that existed during that time. (Metha 1982, 164). But the dignity of the professions gradually increased and was well established in course of time. Medicine and teaching were the first professions accepted as dignified for women. Women from high caste and class started entering into this field. The ideal of service, the romance of healing, high social status and monetary gains attracted women into the profession (YWCA 1971: 95; Metha 1982: 132; Lebra 1984: 133). The history of medical education shows that before an all-male tradition could be established both men and women were admitted in medical schools (Lebra 1984, 133).

#### **Social Conditions Affecting Women's Entry Into Medical Education After Indian Independence**

After India attained Independence, consistent attempts were made by the Indian Government to improve women's education. The opposition against women's education also began to dwindle in due course of time. The necessity for women doctors to provide medical service for women was widely accepted among the people. All these factors helped to improve the quality of women's medical education. After women started entering into education, their performance in education is considered to be consistently better than men. Women students outnumber men among the percentage of successful candidates in matriculation examination. A majority of the top ranks is also achieved by women (Indian Express, June 17, 1989:1. The Hindu June 17, 1989:3). They enter into the prestigious medical education competing with men on merit. The performance of girl students in medical education is much better than men. A majority of the top ranks are also achieved by women (Kameswaran 1985: 191).

Women not only graduate in medical course but also aspire for post graduation in various areas of specialisation. The study made in Madurai district (Muthu Chidambaram 1989) shows the following findings:

- 1) The motive of service associated with the choice of the medical profession decreased gradually and medical profession was considered as the means for women's employment. The prestige value associated with the profession was another reason for choosing medical course among a majority of women doctors.
- 2) Sex stereotyping was evident in the choice of specialities of women doctors. Women's entry into medicine was necessitated by the need to provide health care for women. Most of the women doctors still choose the specialities related to the treatment of women and children.

- 3) Choice of speciality remained strongly associated with gender specific predisposition. The sex typing of tasks within the medical profession did not merely reflect attitudes of male colleagues and educators; the women doctors themselves consider that women were better suited to caring for women and children.
- 4) Another guiding principle in the choice of speciality was the compatibility between occupational and family roles. The women doctors who chose non-clinical specialities did so because of the fixed hours of work, vacation and absence of night duty. These characteristics of work enabled women doctors to adjust their occupational roles with family roles.
- 5) Some of the women doctors chose non-traditional specialities. Even when non-traditional male dominated specialities were offered to women, the offers were guided by the stereotypical assumption that women are weak and this makes them suited only for certain specialities. Thus the specialities offered to women were mostly anaesthetics and ophthalmology.
- 6) Certain prestigious specialities like surgery was still kept as the prerogative of men. Not only did male doctors keep some specialities as their prerogative but they made consistent efforts blocking women's entry into such courses.

Thus the study shows that even after independence and all the constitutional provisions providing equality between the sexes the specialities chosen by women in medicine reveal continued sex typing and reinforcement of sex segregation.

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**SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND CASTE CONFLICT IN TAMIL NADU  
THE CASE OF SARANATHAM, THANJAVUR DISTRICT**

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We proudly celebrated the Golden Jubilee year of Indian Independence in 1997. A pertinent question arises: Whether we have achieved the very basic purpose of the Independence? The answer is no. Because, still the weaker sections are far away from attaining Independence. Even now social injustice is a common phenomenon. Still the weaker sections are treated less equal than others. It is evident that since the last two years, the southern districts of Tamil Nadu have been constantly burning in communal clashes, whose impact has been felt in every walk of life.

This paper attempts to analyse the cause of the communal clash at the Thanjore district in 1948 and study its impact on society.

Social conflict in the agrarian emerges mainly due to economic reason. Whereas the conflict in Saranatham village of Papanasam taluk in Thanjore district shows that the process of social transformation in the agrarian system led to the conflict. Like the other villages in South India, the agrarian relations of Saranatham also had the same characteristic features viz., land owners and labourers. The former used to be the upper caste and the later mainly belongs to the Scheduled Caste groups. The labouring category always used to depend on the upper strata of the society for their subsistence and other social and cultural needs.

Saranatham village is spread over about 1.65 square miles. About 68 acres of land was classified as a cultivated area in 1951. The total number of population of this village was 1156 of which, 583 were males and 563 females. Notoriously, 49 persons lived without any house (of which, 26 males and 23 females). Only 204 persons came under the literate category, of which 146 males and 58 females.

The main economic activity was agriculture and its allied activities. Besides this, 4 non-textile small-scale industries were also found there. In 1951, 418 persons of the total population came under the category of cultivators and their dependents, they belonged mainly to the dominant Hindu caste. This includes wholly or mainly the land owning and non-owning classes and their dependants. 534 persons came under the category of cultivating labourers and their dependants and they mainly belonged to the Scheduled Castes. Only a few persons engaged themselves in the non-agricultural activities in Saranatham village.

Historically, the SCs have depended on the upper communities not only for their subsistence but also for their social and cultural transactions. In fact, the social activities of the SCs took place only after the blessing of the upper Hindu caste people. For instance, at the time of marriage, the labouring class used to collect mangalasutra, paddy clothes, vegetables and other requirements from their owner. Later, the owner will deduct it from his payment. In certain cases, the labourers himself prepared the *mangalasutra* and handed it over to the owner. A day in advance, he used to collect other materials. The marriage was conducted by the Valluvan with beating tom tom by their own community people. In addition, they used



to get money, clothe, paddy during the festival time in general and also at the time of other cultural activities. Consequently, there was no evidence for any conflict related to their wage between the land owner (upper caste) and agricultural labourers (lower caste) people. It shows that they had maintained good agrarian relations with the owners of the Saranatham village.

A large variety of restrictions were put on these labourers. Though the labouring community satisfied themselves with their requirements, they were not given equal rights by the land owning community. The labouring class was not allowed to pass on the street with the foot wear and should pass through the reserved path. Even in that path they should not wear the *dhoti*, upto their foot. They should not participate in the temple celebrations along with the upper strata people. They could invoke their God only in the specific places. These types of social exclusion existed in the Saranatham village. After Independence, due to new policies the economic position of the labouring class slowly went up. They used steel and bronze utensils in their houses instead of pot-made utensils. This change in economic status could not be tolerated by the upper caste men. The land owning class was very much dissatisfied with the social transformation in favour of the labourers. The labouring class was not perpetually under penury. This economic elevation in their social position led to the caste conflicts in the Saranatham village.

Aware of the worst consequences of social exclusion, the labouring class launched a social movement in the Saranatham village. In March 1948, they started the association Pazhangudi Makkal Munnetra Sangam. No wonder, about 48 neighbouring villages became members of the Sangam. They used to conduct meetings in their living places and messages were sent to others. They used to invite delegates from distant places to deliver lectures emphasizing to disassociate themselves with the traditional practices. The main objective of the Sangam was not to disassociate with the land owning class for economic reasons. They had decided not to get the *mangalasutra* and other materials at the time of marriage. Valluvan should not be allowed and the marriage functions should be conducted in the evolutionary manner this had salutary impact on the labourers.

This social discard in agrarian system burst into open in the marriage of a barber held at Saranatham on 27th April 1948. The Sangam representatives went there to make the necessary arrangements for the conduct of the marriage. As has been decided, the marriage was held without the Valluvan and without receiving any materials from the landlords and using tom tom instruments. Though the landlords were aware of this marriage, they did not attempt to put any hurdle to stop the marriage. However, they put instructions on the people of other villages. But, when the landlords restricted, the conflict erupted.

To enquire into the intervention of men from other village in the internal matters of the Saranatham village, the *mirasidar* sent a summon to Marianathan, who was responsible for the marriage. But he did not respond to the *mirasidars* summon. But later when he passed through the field, he was interrupted by the upper caste men. This resulted in man handling between Marianathan and the upper caste men. According to Marianathan, the *mirasidars* had injured him whereas the upper caste men who interrupted say that he was injured due to a fall from the by-cycle. Marianathan was injured and was taken to the Munsiff's house at Vedambur village.

This news spread over to the labouring class residential areas of Vedambur, Saranatham and other neighbouring villages. They entered into the upper caste residential areas and picked-up Marianathan from the *mirasidars* and village Munsiff of Vedambur and assaulted some of the upper caste men. Until this incident, the labouring class used to accept the decision of the village panchayat, and, infact, no one ever disobeyed the judgement of the village panchayat. But this time, they disobeyed the village panchayat. Meanwhile, the land-owning classes of different villages also prepared themselves to retaliate the labouring class.

In the same day evening, the labouring class proceeded to the neighbouring villages for harvesting, they were waylaid and threatened by about 100 persons mostly of the other villages. News was sent to the labourers to escape this vandalism. They, thereafter, hide themselves somewhere and escaped the wraths. About 50 persons of the labouring class came forward to discuss the next course of action. While doing so, about 200 persons belonging to the upper castes rushed to the houses of the labouring classes. They got into houses and locked them up. They broke door, roof of the huts and had severely beaten-up the labourers. About 35 persons were seriously injured of which, one died a little later. The upper caste men said, this is a reward for the Sangam?

In the next day morning police rushed to the spot and took the injured and picked-up three *mirasidars*. Later about 35 persons belonging to the *mirasidar* group were arrested and the same number of people went underground. Two *mirasidars* got advance bail from the High Court.

The judgement delivered in the District Court in 1949 was infavour of the labouring class. As against this judgement, the upper caste men appealed to the High Court and the judgement turned in favour of them in 1952. However, the conflict did not penetrate to other places. It was put an end to.

We conclude that in the agrarian economy, the communal clashes or conflict is mainly due to two reasons. One is, the development and awareness of the Scheduled Caste people by neglecting the dependance on the upper caste community or dismissing the traditional practices in the hirearchy of the Hindu Society and the second is the intervention of the external forces to demolish this hirearchy. More precicely, the history shows that the socio-economic development and awareness of the weaker sections to establish the claim and rights caused the conflict in the agrarian economy in Tamil Nadu.

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**SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAMIL NADU**  
**D.M.K.'s VISION FOR 21st CENTURY**

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Independent India witnesses many forces of social change, which are bringing about structural changes in almost all walks of Indian social life. Since new groups and communities are daily entering into the political system in the expanding participation, demands have also tended to increase. Besides, the challenge of population growth has also demanded radical changes in the form of fundamental transformation in India's social structure.

For instance, the political evolution of the 20th century has cast its repercussions on many aspects of social life with far reaching consequences. Tamil Nadu has a track record in implementing programmes for better social change and understanding. Of all the forces that help to bring about social changes, the role played by the Governmental measures occupies a significant place in Tamil Nadu.

For such a social change in Tamil Nadu, the services of the D.M.K. are immense and immediate. The D.M.K. wants to bring about a casteless and classless society. Its economic programmes are at once people based, calling for the creation of a socialist economy. The party's social programmes as put forward in its 1996 Election Manifesto ensure the legal, social and economic rights of the people. A critical evolution of these programmes of the party during 1996-98 has become imperative. This paper tries to do it.

The main promises of the D.M.K.'s 1996 Manifesto towards better social change, aim at bring about a better understanding between the State and the people. They make particular reference to the economic, social and even political measures which promoted the welfare of the society, mainly the weaker sections. Consequently, social welfare programmes, have become an integral part of the D.M.K.'s Election Manifesto.

**I**

In recognition of the importance of women in accelerating social economic development, the D.M.K. has formulated variety of measures from time to time. Steps have been taken by the D.M.K. Government to establish institutions to provide care and protection to widows, destitute and deserted women. Out of the schemes introduced by the Government for the well-being of the socially, economically backward sections of the country the following are noteworthy.

The Government has also taken steps to support the financial resources of the poor parents while conducting the marriage of their daughters. Under *Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar Ninaivu Thirumana Nidhi Uthavi Thittam* which was introduced in 1989, Rs.5000 was given as financial assistance for the marriage of women from poor households who have studied upto 8th standard and above.<sup>1</sup> In 1996, the financial assistance increased to Rs.10,000 to cater the needs in the changing scenario. Nearly 68,680 women were beneficiaries of this scheme in 1998.<sup>2</sup>

The cash support to the women from poor households in the last two months of pregnancy and immediately after two months of the delivery of the child through *Muthulakshmi Reddy Ninaivu Mahapperu Udhavi Thittam* is increased from Rs.300 to Rs.500. Likewise financial assistance under *Anjugam Ammaiya Ninaivu Kalappu Thirumana Nidhi Udhavi Thittam* also raised from Rs.5,000 to Rs.10,000. Besides *Dr. Dharumambal Ammaiya Widow re-marriage scheme and Marriage Assistance scheme* to orphan girls are carried out by the Government.<sup>3</sup> Out of these schemes nearly 40,000 women benefited with the financial assistance.

The D.M.K. has also taken several initiatives to empower women economically in order and through gainful employment to women, by organising many industrial co-operative societies. There are at present 137 societies, 49 Training Centres and 6 production centres providing continuous employment.<sup>4</sup> Further, the Tamil Nadu Women's Development Corporation established by the Government proposed to provide *Entrepreneurship Development programme* in 1998-99 to potential women Entrepreneurs (preferably to the first generation women) from lower middle and middle income categories to establish their enterprises.<sup>5</sup>

## II

To improve the standard of education of the Adi-Dravida students, Laboratories were established in almost all the schools and efforts are being made towards the construction of the Hostels for the students and nearly 45 such Hostels were established in Tamil Nadu.<sup>6</sup>

The scholarship amount given to the Backward class students those who are undergoing training course for I.A.S. and I.P.S. has increased from Rs.250 to Rs.500.<sup>7</sup> The Scheme of supply of free text books and note-books to the Backward Class children upto 10th standard also gained popularity among the people.

The unique measure of the Government towards the welfare of the Backward class students is the legalisation of 69% reservation in almost all the educational institutions.

## III

In spite of the Constitutional Guarantee under Article 15(1) the society as a whole and under-privileged class in particular, suffer from social injustices and disabilities. Hence to put an end to the communal problems and caste discrimination, the Government proposed a new scheme called '*Samathuvapuram*'<sup>8</sup> Accordingly new living quarters are being built to ensure people belong to different communities are one and the same. First of this kind was established at Melakottai Village near Madurai. Further, Saivapuram in Srivaikundam, Ponnarkudi near Thirunelveli, Velliyanai in Karur district, Alivalam and Nochiyur in Thiruvannamalai, are some of the villages where Samathuvapurams were established in 1998.

Since the progress and development of the villages occupies a serious concern of the welfare programmes of the Government, '*Anna Marumalarchi Thittam*' was proposed on 26th June 1997<sup>9</sup> and as per the plan each constituency of Legislative Assembly should adopt an under-developed village to work for its socio-economic development and to make it a model for other villages. The basic necessities like drinking water, roads, street lights, sanitation, primary health centres etc., are given top-most priority under this plan. The Government has allotted Rs.224 crores for this plan.<sup>10</sup>

For the first time in India the Government took initiative to implement a programme called '*ManuNeedhi Thittam*' where the officials were required to meet the people in the

various villages to list their grievances so as to take steps to redress them. As there occurred a stagnation in the functioning of the programme, the Government offered to revive the programme under the title of 'Namakku Name'<sup>11</sup> It envisages to infuse in the mind of villagers a sense of oneness and to work co-operatively to meet all the demands by their own self-effort.

Above all, recently the D.M.K. Government has devised a programme for the progress of the state in the field of Information Technology in leaps and bounds. The establishment of *Information Technology Institute of Tamil Nadu (ITIT)*<sup>12</sup> in Chennai can be considered as a first step in this direction. It will be inaugurated as a registered society which will later be converted into an University to specialise in Computer Graphics, Software Engineering and Hardware systems, Multi-media, Tele-communications, Information Technology, Digital Technology, etc., with the allocation of 10 crores for the implementation of the programme, Tamil Nadu will be taking a big stride towards the 21st century.

#### IV

#### Conclusion:

Various long-term strategies have been adopted by the D.M.K. to usher in changes in society, which would provide the basis for an egalitarian social structure in the 21st century to ensure gender justice. The programme for women received priority in the Government sponsored development schemes which encompassed social, economic and political aspect of development of women in both organised and unorganised sectors. However, these measures have benefited only a small section of women mainly of the urban middle class and still women have to face hardships in many fields.

The analysis reveal that there has been a gradual increase in the budget allocations for social change. Diversification in programme content has also been brought about. In order to make a dent in the intensity of the problems more time should be devoted for the new approach to strike roots. Moreover, the amount allotted to various programmes should also be channelised in a proper manner.

Monitoring is an essential component of the planning and implementation process. It is gratifying to note that Nine Monitoring Cells were created in the villages to collect requisite data and monitoring of plan programme. It would also be necessary to institute feedback mechanisms, based on concurrent evaluation, so that the targets set for the programmes may be achieved.

To achieve better social change with more progress in Tamil Nadu our faith in democracy must be reaffirmed and conditions be created wherein every human being may live in self-respect and dignity. In view of that, reorientation in the attitude of the society and that of the socio-economic milieu is urgently needed so that the wells of the false pride and prejudices may be shed and an end may be put to the inglorious Hindu Social behaviour. Further the message of social justice based on rationality, must be strenuously practised and carried not only to big places, but to small villages and this task must be attempted consistently and persistently until we dispel the obscurantist mist.

In this direction, the programmes in general and the information Technology in particular if taken to the villages in Tamil Nadu will certainly bring about a revolutionary change in the socio-economic structure of Tamil Nadu.

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**RECLAMATION OF THE CRIMINAL TRIBES OF TAMIL NADU  
DURING THE BRITISH RULE - A STUDY**

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**Introduction:**

One of the outstanding features of British administration in India was the Reclamation of the Criminal Tribes living in different parts of India. The Reformatory measures taken by the British administration through Criminal Tribes Act yielded very good results and they were greatly beneficial to the Criminal Tribes and or Denotified Tribes. They were of immense value to them particularly in the process of making them useful citizens of the state.

Tribe is a theoretical type of human organisation based on small groups welded by traditions of common descent and having temporary or permanent political integration above the family level and served languages, cultures and ideologies. In other words, tribe denotes people who were socially, economically and culturally not well developed. It is believed that India derived its name Bharat from the mighty Bharat tribe. The concept of tribe has been changing in respect of place, time and race. An advanced race living in 20th century was considered in the first century B.C. as nomadic or gypsy group.

**The Criminal Tribes in Tamil Nadu:**

In Tamil Nadu, Koravars, Kallars, Yenadis, Agambadys, Valayars, etc., were registered as Criminal Tribes by the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 and the Act was extended to the state in the year 1911 and it was implemented in the state in 1914.

In the Census Report of 1891, Mr. J.A. Bains, the Commissioner of Census classified the castes on the basis of the traditional occupations namely as 'Forest Tribes', Animists, etc. They lived with their hereditary nature, illiteracy, poverty and slavery. At that time legal protection was not totally given to these communities. The economic condition of these people were mainly based on the hereditary occupations like salt trade, basket making, kavawork under local chieftains.

The Salt pan workers were called as Uppilians or Koravars, Korachas, Yerukalas and Kaikadees. They were mostly living in Vellore, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tirunelveli and Ranmad. In Tirunelveli the Koravas of the Madras Presidency called themselves as Vellalas and Agambadys with the title of Pillai. According to sociologists both the castes lived by making baskets and fortune telling and they spoke corrupt Tamil. Their economic and social conditions were deplorable. In fact, the economic backwardness and crude nature influenced these individuals and clans to indulge in criminal activities.

The original home of the Koravas was the southern parts of Madras Presidency. They carried salt and grains from the coastal towns to interior places. Till the advent of the Railways they were engaged in the salt trade. After the collapse of their profession they lost

their income. The introduction of Railways completely affected their livelihood. So they took themselves to the criminal activities. They indulged in criminal offences like burglaries, robberies, dacoities and other grave offences. They were once employed for transport purposes by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. They mostly lived in Salem, Coimbatore, South Arcot and Tanjore.

They were classified on the basis of their profession or occupation. They were classified as Uppu Koravars, Karuvepalai Koravars, Koodai Katti Koravars, Kavalkar Koravars, Pachai Kuthi Gadde Koravars, Kallu Koravars (Wodders) and Kootkaikarees (Pick pocketers). These people indulging in criminal activities like house breaking, robbery, dacoity, cheating, pick pockets, thefts, etc. irrespective of age ranging from 6 to 70 years old.<sup>2</sup> During the British rule these tribes were made to bear the brunt of criminality by the accident of their birth and were subjected to restraints and their movements. So harsh that even an accidental failure to report to their respective police station at unearthly hours treated as offence justifying the imposition of a savage sentence of imprisonment with a single stroke. The British authorities, through the enactment of Criminal Tribes Act in 1871, branded the whole castes and tribes as "Criminals". In fact, it may be said that a much lower percentage of these tribes have led to criminality by giving them the stigma of Criminal Tribes.

During the 1860's the rate of criminal offences increased by oppressive rules of the British. In the same year more than 8342 person were involved in the Criminal activities. Most of the offenders were Kallars and Koravars. With the aim of systematizing the Police Force in the year 1961 the Criminal Investigation Department was started. The Madurai District itself classified into rural and urban Madurai by the District Superintendent of Police, Madurai for the purpose of minimising the crime rate in the Madurai District. In Madurai most of the offenders were Kallars and Koravars.<sup>3</sup> To keep a check over the activities of criminals, the Criminal Tribes Act was passed in the year 1871 in the centre. To register criminal cases the Government of India introduced Amendment of Criminal Act of 1871. Then, by the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Amendment Act of 1897, the local Governments were also empowered to separate children between the ages of 8 and 18 from the Reformatory Settlements. In 1909 a Cattle Branding System was introduced in Madurai by means of which each owner of the cattles could have his animals identified by particular letters and numbers. This system was also not able to check the Kallars worked as a Kavalkars and got toppu cooly or kaval fees. Under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 the local Government was empowered to declare a tribe to be a criminal tribe without any arrangement for their settlement or provisions for the livelihood. Under this act respective tribe should be registered as Criminal Tribe. Then they were settled in Special Reformatory Settlements made for them.

The independent living nature of the pople and destruction of their hereditary occupation of Kallars and Koravars, the oppressive legal treatment of the British Police administration introduced a system by which these criminal tribes where to register their names in the police records. They were registering irrespectively all the people belong to that race and this kind of attitude kindled the mind of the criminals. Consequently, the number of crimes registered in Tamil Nadu was gradually increased. In a few places like Perunkaval Nallure in Madurai district, the Piramalai Kallar rose against the Criminal Tribes Act of 1914 when finger prints were taken from them. Finally in 1930's the Finger Print Act was abolished.



On this basis, the Indian Jails Committee was appointed in 1919. Based on the provision of the Committee, the Criminal Tribes Amendment Act was passed in 1923. This Act empowered the local Government to make arrangements for their settlement, Reclamation and Training. This act also gave provision to effective protection, proper treatment of tribes in the matters of wates, etc. Under the circumstances the authorities began to realise that the Reclamation was the only solution for the reduction of crimes.

The Kallars, Koravars and Valayars were treated as Criminal Tribes when the Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1914. At the state level this act was inforce till 1948.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime the recommendation made by the District Superintendent of Police, Madurai, Mr.Loveluck a draft was forwarded for the Reclamation of these Criminal Tribes to the Government in the year 1920. Thus in 1921 the introduction of he Kallar Reclamation was made. This aimed to provide them with alternative occupation so as to render them economically independent and to divert the energies of the younger generation to peaceful pursuits by these schemes like starting of Kallar Schools, Koravar Schools, Boarding Homes and Reclamation Settlements for habitual offenders and non-offenders.

The Reclamation work was originally administered by the Police Department. Then the responsibility was transfered to Commissioner of Labour and Rural Upliftments. This same was continued till 1944. In the year 1948 the Reclamation work was again transfered from Police Department to the Commissioner of Labour. After that Criminal Tribes Act was abolished in 1948. Reclamation work was entrusted from the year 1949 to the Harijan Welfare Department. The Backward Class Commission was appointed in 1953. It recommended that such Criminal Tribes should be termed as Denotified Communities.

#### **Koravar Reclamation Schools:**

During the year 1920, at the patronage of American Baptist Mission a school was started at Aruppukottai for the children of Casuvarpatti Koravars of Ramnad. Free education, clothing, boarding and lodging facilities and about 50 to 100 scholarships were given every year to Koravar children by this mission.<sup>5</sup>

Also, the Rev.T. Narasimhan of the London Mission started a Boarding Home for girls and boys separately along with an Agricultural Farm. The Home for boys was started in October 1928 with 20 boys. The Government awarded a grant of Rs.3,240/- every year as a standing sanction to the payment. The girls home was started in December 1929, with 12 girls increased in 1935 to 37 girls. In the same Home, vocational Education had been given to this Koravar's Children for their socio, economic and educational upliftment.

In Attur, a Korava School and an Agricultural Farm was maintained by Ref.T. Narasimhan. In this home, 46 Koravar girls studie. In 1938 addtional students were admitted. Nearly Rs.5000/- was spent for the education of these childred.<sup>6</sup>

Under the management of Rev.Manassen of London Mission the Korava Reclamation was started in Salem District. Two schools were started. One at Madagathur in Thiruchengodu and another at Attur. Also two boarding homes and one agriculture farm were also attached to it. Mrs.J.D. Manhssch played a crucial role for the welfare and upliftment of Koravar children.<sup>7</sup>

In Ramnad, Koravar Reclamation was administered by the District Magistrate of Ramnad and a sum of Rs.6,000/- was sanctioned by him for the education of Koravar children in the A.M.C.C. Boarding at Aruppukottai.

Reclamation Schools were started at Madagathur, Manivilandan, and Muthupatti in Salem District exclusively for Koravar children. In the above schools nearly 500 Koravar students were studying. A sum of Rs.22,997/- was spent for education of Koravar children in 1960-61. A Boarding was run at Villivakkam in Chenglepet District with 80 Koravar students and Rs.32,034/- was spent for boarding. Rupees 1,858/- was spent for the clothing of Koravar children. This kind of Reclamation Schools played a notable role in the educational upliftment of Koravar children.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Kallar Reclamation Schools:**

During 1920's the Kallar Reclamation Schools were started in Districts of Madurai, Ramnad, Salem and Tirunelveli. There were 256 Elementary schools providing education to Kallars. Out of them 224 schools were administered by the Government of Tamil Nadu and rest of them were managed by the Christian Missions. In all above schools 18144 students studied. Out of them 15907 were Kallar children. In these schools 518 teachers worked for the educational upliftment of Kallars. In these schools 220 students were offered scholarships in the year 1945-46.<sup>9</sup> In the year 1951-52 about 256 Kallar schools and with many boarding homes were organised for the benefit of the Kallar children. In the same year Rs.6,41,245/- was spent for their education.

In 1960-61 about 260 Elementary Schools provided educational facilities to 19314 Kallar children in Usilampatti, Uttamapalayam, Batalagundu, Madurai Checkanurani and Thevar hostel Madurai were providing Boarding home facilities to girls and boys studying in various schools. Nearly 500 scholarships were awarded with the cost of Rs.47,000/-.

In Ramnad the Reclamation of the Kallars was administered by Special Officers like District Superintendent of Police, Commissioner of Labour and Harijan Welfare officer. Two schools were started at Mangapuram and Chatrapatty with 250 students. Majority of them were Kallars. All the educational institutions had their head quarters at Scholarand and Dindigul.

The Scout was well organised in various schools at Madurai. The District Superintendent of Police has continued to be the Assistant District Scout Commissioner. In all these places intensive vocational training was given for spinning, weaving, paper cutting, basket making, leather processing etc. Six posts of Conductresses were appointed to look after the discipline and morality of girls and boys who stayed in various boarding homes. This kind of guidance was much helpful in economic and social upliftment of Denotified Tribes.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Reclamation Settlements of Criminal Tribes:**

In 1914 Prisoners Home was established at Perambur (Madras). An industrial settlement was started at Pammal in Chengalpet District. Number of persons were registered under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1914. In 1917 about 5303 persons were registered. Among them 1711 were convicted under various sections.<sup>11</sup>

For all Kallar Reclamation work, since 1921, the great credit was due to Kr.Love,luck, the District Superintendent of Police, Madurai. He had displayed more originality in dealing with the Reclamation Schemes and this was almost entirely due to the mental framework of him. The authorities realised that the Reclamation was the only solution for the reduction of crimes and provide them alternate occupations which resulted in the formation of Kallar Panchayats, Kallar Reclamation Schools, Boarding Homes, Co-operative Societies, Reformatory Settlements and Agricultural Farms and Handi-Craft Training Institutes in various Re-

formatory settlements. These reformatory schemes were projected with amalgamated tasks of Revenue Officers, Instructors, Supervisors, Scout Masters, Teachers, Conductresses, etc.<sup>12</sup>

There were 5 important Criminal Tribes Reformatory Settlements at Asziznagar, Siddapuram, Sitanagaram, Bitragunta and Stuartpuram was managed by Salvation Army. These settlements render alternative occupation and training to the convicted offenders under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1914 under various sections.

According to the Report of 1945-46, there were 976 permanent members in these settlements. They were convicted and registered under various sections of Criminal Tribes Act. A school was also maintained in each reformatory settlement. The Aziznagar Refortmatory Settlement was managed by C.P. Kathirvelu Mudaliar. There were 50 permanent offenders in Aziznagar and 234 offenders in Sitanagaram and 186 offenders in Chitaladevi and 28 offenders in Bitragunta and 172 offenders in Stuartpuram were registered under Section (16) of the Criminal Tribes act of 1914. Apart from that, unregistered settlers stayed in the above settlements. There were 1130 persons at Aziznagar and 434 persons at Siddapuram, and 320 persons at Sitanagaram and 201 persons at Chitaladevi and 36 persons in Bitragunta and 4189 persons at Stuartpuram. Some of these centres located in Andhra Pradesh catered to the needs of the criminals of Tamil Nadu. The convicts in each settlement were engaged agriculture in 100's of acres of land.<sup>13</sup>

By the way of various schemes and training given in Reclamation Settlements, the Government channalised the spirits and energies of misdirected convicted criminals. The Administrators in the Police and Jail Department Act with the concept that, the criminal is an antisocial and (Sychologically) maladjusted being, who needs help, cure and rehabilitation. Our constitution longest written constitution in the world has a perception of this. One of the great problems of the age is to condemn thousands of human souls to hereditary criminals would be an offence against humanity. The resurrection of thousands of human souls would constitute one of the greatest services of humanity.

We are mainly concerned with the nature of the crime, the cause and to-remedies for the prevention of crime, the personality of the criminal and rehabilitation of the criminal. By love, persuasion and treatment the criminal may be restored to society as its harmless and useful member. Government of Madras have formulated several programmes. Criminals need treatment with punishment and seconly they need to be reformed. Also they may simply be warned and discharged or released on probation for simple crimes. Whatever may be the treatment it must change the attitude of the criminal.

Heredity and environment are both important factors in the causation of crime. Prevention is better than cure. Therefore severe punishments should be abolished. It is not true to say that punishment necessarily involves hatred of the criminal on society. Punishment (if it is to be good) must be welcome. The two great committments with punishment are to offer compensation and resort to reformation.<sup>14</sup>

#### **Conclusion:**

Criminals should be provided with re-education and intensive training in handi-crafts under healthy environments like prison or settlement or Reformatory settlement should be so comfortable to change their mental attitude. Each criminal should be treated individually. For his integrated personality development is essential. For this, every prison should have a

psychological clinic attached to it. The wages for the offenders should be given on the basis of quantity and quality of the work done by him. The offenders or convicted persons must be managed by the officers skilled in social welfare activities and schemes. The officers must work with full of sympathy and courtesy.

The multidimensional reformatory schemes are necessary for the integrated personality development of convicted criminals and also for the proper utilization of man power of the criminals and for the socio-economic and educational development of criminals. The creation of healthy environment and the proper utilisation of man power must be necessary for the psychologically maladjusted, genetically affected criminals of the present generation. By these reformatory activities they could be reformed and made to lead a better life in the society which will be beneficial to the state and the nation.

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## **LARGE AREA MULTI PURPOSE SOCIETIES (LAMPS)**

in the hills of Salem & Namakkal Districts

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### **Introduction:**

Modern India is replete with tribals in almost all the states. In Tamil Nadu the tribals are found in the districts of Nilgiris, Coimbatore, North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Namakkal, Dharmapuri, Trichirapalli, etc. The hill tribes in Salem and Namakkal districts are known as 'Malayalis'. As they are very poor, innocent and ignorant of the outside world, they become the easy preys of landlords, money-lenders and the merchants who come to purchase their produces.

### **What is LAMPS?**

To obviate exploitation and offset the means, many states in India including Tamil Nadu have passed enactments against alienation of tribal lands, tribal indebtedness, bonded labour, etc. that exist in tribal areas. For ensuring marketing of surplus farm and minor forest produces of tribals and a reasonable return on it, co-operatives at the primary and secondary levels have been set up. It was proposed to amalgamate the activities of these Co-operative Societies into a Large Area Multi Purpose Society called LAMPS so as to make them more viable and useful to the tribal community.

### **Formation of LAMPS**

There are about 2450 primary LAMPS in our country. LAMPS at the primary level are multi-functional for purchase of tribal farm and forest produce and sale of consumer necessities. At the secondary level, the credit functions are handled by the District Central Co-operative Banks and the State Co-Operative Banks and non-credit function by other bodies like the Tribal Development Corporations.

These Co-operative Societies (LAMPS), have been set up since 1974 in tribal areas in India with a view to supplying under one roof the various requirements of tribal people. Out of 2450 branches of LAMPS in India, 17 branches are functioning in Tamil Nadu. Salem and Namakkal districts have the pride of owning 7 branches.

In 1977, Shervaroyanmalai became the precursor and beaconlight in the establishment of LAMPS in Salem District. Following this LAMPS were set up in other hill areas; i.e. Kollimalai (1977), Kalrayanmalai (1977) and Arunothumalai (1978). As these four LAMPS could not fulfil the needs of the tribals in Salem hills, 3 more LAMPS, one in Kollimalai Pavarkadu (1986), other in Chinnakalrayanmalai (1986) and the third in Pachaimalai (1986), were started.

To implement and supervise the multi-farious activities there are one Co-operative Sub-Registrar and One Senior Inspector acting as Secretary and Manager of the LAMPS. Under him, there are clerical assistants and attendants. All of them are paid by the government and they come under the managerial subsidy.

## **Objective of LAMPS**

The main objectives of the LAMPS are:

1. to help the tribal rural artisans and agricultural labourers by providing them integrated credit and other services and facilities for increasing employment, production and income, and by organising services for distribution of consumer goods;
2. in pursuance of the above mentioned main objectives, the Society may undertake one or more of the following functions and shall co-ordinate its activities with those of other institutions in the area and wherever necessary, act as their agents;
3. to grant short, medium and long term loans to members mainly for productive purpose;
4. to procure, purchase and supply agricultural inputs like fertilizers, seeds, manures, implements, cattle-feed, pesticides, etc; fishing paraphernalia, raw materials, machines, appliances, etc. for cottage and small scale industrial activities undertaken by members;
5. to organise agricultural produces through co-operative marketing societies or other agencies;
6. to organise agricultural service activities, and promote agricultural extension service;
7. to render service for improving the breed of live-stock of the members by owning or arranging for the provision of stud bulls, breedings rams, pedigree stocks, etc.
8. and to act as a agent of the Land Development Bank or the Marketing Society or Processing Society.

## **Government Assistance to Lamps**

For the proper and sound operation of LAMPS, various activities are undertaken by the government. The government has its own share capital participation, in purchase of site for construction of godown, office building, staff quarters, vehicle shed, purchase of jeep with trailer or van, contribution of risk fund, contribution to price fluctuation fund at 5%, our-right purchase of forest produce, purchase of equipments and furniture, purchase of processing plants, pulper machines, flour machines, purchase of milch animals, bee-hives, sheep, managerial subsidy for crop loans and meeting interest rate of 5% of the tribal members on the recovery of loans. To augment the working capital of the LAMPS and to increase the maximum borrowing power, the government has come forward to contribute a fixed amount on its share towards each of the LAMPS.

To possess storage facilities, godowns are built at puluthikuttai or Arunoothumalai, Karumanthurai and Pagadupattu of Kalrayanamalai, Solakkadu and Pavarkadu of Kollimalai, Odaikattuputhur of Pachaimalai and Yercaud of Shervaroyanmalai. All these godowns are used by the LAMPS to store and market agricultural and forest produces, distribute agricultural inputs and consumer goods to the tribal members.

Godown Office and staff quarters are all located almost in the same campus so as to discharge the duties easily and immediately. The government also contributes 2% to these Districts' Central Co-operative Bank and 4% to the Society as a risk fund to provide an incentive so as to make the Bank and the Society to issue loans to the tribals without any delay.

Price Fluctuation Fund at 5% of the outright purchase of agricultural and forest produces is also contributed by the government.

### **Services of Lamps**

The intensity and accountability with which the work is carried out in India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular are directly proportional to the involvement of the tribals who have come forward to adhere to the idea of LAMPS and have a personal interest in their implementation.

The LAMPS, indeed, is the state apparatus which has the mission of putting its objectives into practice. The great role of the LAMPS in introducing its service measures to the tribals is quite conspicuous today. It boosts up the economy of the tribals and protects them from the exploitation of the money-lenders.

Almost all the tribals including the tribal women are the members of the LAMPS of their locality. Besides, the Tamil Nadu Government is also a member, contributing a notable share capital. As it is a multi-purpose institution, the society purchases the agricultural and forest produces of the tribals and also distributes the consumer goods to the tribal member families. Besides, marketing and credit functions are also undertaken by the society.

Accordingly LAMPS provides different kinds of loans such as agricultural loan, mid-term loan, short-term loan and consumer loan. It is a blessing in disguise that to lessen the burden of loan, no interest is collected from the tribals.

Co-ordinating with the Departments of Plantation and Animal Husbandry under the Integrated Tribal Development Programme and the Integrated Rural Development Programme mid-term loans are given to the tribals with 50% subsidy.

Besides the above mentioned loans, special loans are also made available for social function like marriages that take place in the tribal families, which are to be collected at easy instalments.

LAMPS not only provides loans to the tribals but also has come forward to help them in marketing their agricultural and Minor Forest Produces like gallnut, curry leaves, etc. This has aroused much excitement among the tribals, as they had been tasting bitter experiences in the hands of outsiders prior to the establishment of LAMPS. It seems that this society is the only guarantee of advancement to the tribals.

The LAMPS also look into the distribution of the agricultural inputs on a package to the tribal families according to their need and agro-climatic conditions of the locality. LAMPS distributes improved seeds, vegetables and fruit seedlings, spices and condiments, manures, fertilisers, implements, etc. at 50% subsidy. Laying of demonstration farms and giving training to the tribal farmers also find a place under the services of LAMPS. The Assistant Director Horticulture, in-charge of the scheme finalises the programme and stocks the agricultural inputs well in advance in the LAMPS and the rest is done by the LAMPS successfully. The Society also rescues the tribals from the clutches of money-lenders with its financial aid and awakens the tribal society.

Above all, the LAMPS has taken up the responsibility of distributing the essential commodities to the tribals in its area of operation through fair-price shops vis-a-vis the tribals to get the essential commodities like rice, kerosene, sugar, dhal, cloth, etc. at controlled rate of

prices. It is really praiseworthy that such shops are functioning even in the most inaccessible and remote tribal villages in the hills under study.

Before the introduction of the LAMPS, the hill tribes were not aware of the market trend and the price which their produce would fetch if they are sold directly and independently. Now, with the setting up of LAMPS, this sort of injustice is stopped by giving the Malayalis timely loans for production, purchasing and social needs, supplying essential commodities, marketing their produces etc. to their best advantage. It is because they are aware of the various facilities offered to them by the government. They feel that the reforms, laws and decisions are not given full shape or unnecessarily, delayed. Anyhow the LAMPS contribute a lot to rectify the lacuna faced by the tribals in their various walks of life.

Yet, another most noteworthy service of the LAMPS is that it has introduced subsidiary occupations like Dairying, Bee keeping, Sheep rearing, etc. to supplement their agricultural income and make the hill tribes self-sufficient to a certain extent.

Further, the LAMPS insists the tribal members to bring their produce to the LAMPS for sale. Interest rebate at 5% is allowed to the tribal members on the recovery of loans by marketing their produce through LAMPS in order to encourage the members to bring their agricultural produce to the LAMPS for marketing through Co-operative Marketing Society and thereby to implement the scheme of linking credit and marketing.

With all these aids provided by the Government the LAMPS is functioning as a Government agency by implementing schemes of ITDP, so as to improve the economic conditions of the hill tribes in the said districts.

### **Impact of Lamps on the Tribal Families**

All the identified five packets of tribal areas in these districts under ITDP, have the reputation of owning one or two LAMPS in their jurisdiction.

The different kinds of loans provided by the LAMPS infuse the tribal people with a lot of encouragement and self confidence and by and large tribal progress in a multitude of lines is geared up by LAMPS.

Apart from agriculture, new subsidiary occupations introduced by the LAMPS provide the Malayalis with self employment opportunities and more earnings.

To put it in a nut-shell, the LAMPS is doing a yeomen service by lending a hand of succour to the upliftment of the hill tribes in the said districts and also by obliterating the bottlenecks that existed before the introduction of Tribal Development Schemes.

### **Suggestions and Conclusion**

Care must also be taken to train the tribal people to take active part in these schemes and to create a general awareness in them. A bi-partite committee comprising of the benefactors and beneficiaries may well be formed to exchange ideas, upon which future strategies can be evolved. The sense of participation would gladden the hearts of the tribals who would suppose that they are the authors of their own destiny. It is also essential to train the members of LAMPS in its functioning, the credit and marketing aspects and such other allied matters that deal with the activities of the co-operatives.



Finally, LAMPS' do-gooder image must be discerned by the tribals for whom it slogs, single-mindedly, the absence of which will make everything go bust.

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## **INDUSTRIAL ESTATES IN TAMILNADU - A STUDY**

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Economic and industrial history of post - independence India is yet to become the focus of attention of Indian historians. Adequate concepts and methodologies are yet to ripe in this field. This article focuses on the Industrial Estates of India which have heralded modern India to self-sufficiency.

### **Historical Background of Industrial Estates**

The idea of an "Industrial Estate" can be traced back to 1885 when it was planned to set up the clearing Industrial District in or near Chicago in USA by a private corporation. But the first private enterprise Estate was however established in 1896 in the United Kingdom at Trafford Park, Manchester, by a private group. This Trafford Park Estates Limited has been known as the "Mother of Industrial Estates". The first positive attempt to use Industrial Estates for industrialisation purpose by the Government of U.K. was made during the Economic depression of 1930's and by USA during and after the second world war. Since then, there has been a phenomenal increase in the setting up of industrial Estates both in industrially advanced and newly industrialising countries.<sup>1</sup>

### **Aims and Objectives of Industrial Estates**

The Industrial Estate is a generic term. It is known as 'Training Estates' in the United Kingdom, 'Industrial Park' or 'Industrial District' in USA., 'Industrial Zone' in Italy, 'Industrial Plaza' in Canada, 'Industrial Region' in Russia. The term 'Industrial Estates' is used in other places viz. Afganistan, Burma, Hongkong, India, Japan, Pakistan, etc.<sup>2</sup>

William Brëdo has defined the concept of Industrial Estate "as a tract of land" which is subdivided and developed according to a comprehensive plan for the use of a community of Industrial enterprises. The plan must make a detailed provision for streets and roads, transportation facilities, installation of utilities and the erection of factory building.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. P.C. Alexander defines industrial Estate "as a group of factories constructed on an economic scale in suitable sizes with facilities of water, transport, electricity, steam, bank, post office, canteen, watch and ward and first aid provided with special arrangements for technical guidance and common service facilities. The Estate combines in itself some of the important schemes of assistance to small industries and provide a total tool for integrated development.<sup>4</sup>

The objectives of Industrial Estates are:

- i) They should promote rapid development of small scale Industries.
- ii) They should facilitate the industrialisation of economically backward and rural areas.
- iii) They serve to shift small industries from congested to conforming areas.
- iv) They encourage the growth of ancillary industries.<sup>5</sup>

## **Classification of Industrial Estates**

**Industrial Estates can be classified into six categories.**

### **1. Conventional Industrial Estate**

These are Industrial Estates where all types of Industries are encouraged, which is made possible by the provision of standard factory buildings and common service facilities. The bulk of Industrial Estates belong to this category.<sup>6</sup> Guindy Industrial Estate is a conventional Industrial Estate.

### **2. Ancillary Industrial Estate**

They manufacture components, parts and stores which are required by large scale Industrial units on a sub contracting basis. These estates are located in close proximity to the parent unit to facilitate technical supervision and assistance.<sup>7</sup> Ancillary Industrial Estate has been set up at Thiruverumbur near Tiruchirappalli to serve the requirements of Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited.

### **3. Co-operative Industrial Estate**

The members of the Co-operative Society, who are prospective entrepreneurs contribute shares and take steps to set up Industrial Estate of their own. They contribute 20 percent of the capital outlay and the rest 80 percent is obtained from state government (20 percent) and L.I.C. of India (60 percent).<sup>8</sup> These estates have been established at Salem, Sivakasi, Tuticorin, Vyasarpadi and Pollachi.

### **4. Private Industrial Estate**

In the case of a private Industrial Estate a company with prospective entrepreneurs as shareholders is registered under the 'Companies Act' as against the registration of the Co-operative Industrial Estate Acts.<sup>9</sup> Two private Estates have been established in Tamilnadu, one at Tiruvotriyur (K.R. Sundaram Industrial Estate) and the other at coimbatore.

### **5. Functional Industrial Estate**

The functional Industrial Estates provide accommodation to Industrial enterprises belonging to the same product group.<sup>10</sup> Such estates have been established for leather at Madavaram, for ceramic industry at Virudhachalam and for electrical and electronic goods at Adyar, Kakkalur and Hosur.

### **6. Flatted Industrial Estate**

Multi-storeyed construction of factory building is the feature of flatted estates meant for congested cities. The industrial policy statement of 1977 discourages the location of these estates in towns with population of 5,00,000 and more.<sup>11</sup>

## **Industrial Estates in Tamilnadu**

The role of village and small industries in the development of the national economy has been emphasized in the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1958 and the successive Five Year Plan documents.<sup>12</sup>

In the absence of financial assistance from Government Institutions, the small entrepreneurs were thrown to the mercies of money lenders who charged exorbitant rate of interest. Even if they had capital, the formalities of acquiring suitable land, getting the building plans approved by the local authorities, securing supply of water, power, gas and other such requirements presented formidable difficulties to entrepreneurs.<sup>13</sup>

It was in these circumstances that the idea of establishing Industrial Estates as a measure for the development of Small Scale Industries was first adopted in January 1955. The Government of India gave 100% loan for building them and these estates can be let out to industrialists on rent, on hire purchase or outright sale basis.<sup>14</sup>

### **Second Five year Plan 1956 - 61**

Sanction was accorded to ten Industrial Estates in Tamilnadu of which nine were established at Guindy, Madurai, Tiruchirappalli, Pettai, Virudhunagar, Erode, Marthandam, Katpadi and Thanjavur. Establishment of these estates has not only given a fillip to the development of Small Scale Industries in the State, but provided employment to a number of people.<sup>15</sup>

#### **Guindy Industrial Estate**

The conventional type Estate at Guindy, Madras was inaugurated in January 1958 with 52 factory sheds. The estates manufactures consumer goods as well as sophisticated items like tape recorders, bicycles, type writer parts, electrical fittings, plastic articles, PVC coated wires, electroplating, automobile components, etc.<sup>16</sup> In 1960 to obtain a plant in the Industrial Estate voluntary registration with state Department of Industries was required. Such registered units were made eligible for different types of assistance from government agencies. Provisional registration is done at pre production stage. Permanent registration is done on one time basis and renewal for the same is not required. The registration procedure was later on simplified in 1975 and 1989.<sup>17</sup>

### **Third five Year Plan 1961-66**

It was during this plan period that dispersal of industry to semi-urban and Rural areas was practised through the instrument of Industrial Estates.<sup>18</sup> In tune with this decision, the government have sanctioned ten more Industrial Estates at Theni., Virudhachalam, Pudukottai, Karaikudi, Arkonam, Koilpatti, Krishnagiri, Dindigul, Ambattur and Perambur in 1963-64.<sup>19</sup>

Development of Industrial Estates in Tamilnadu as on March 31, 1962.<sup>20</sup>

No.of Industrial Estates	No.of Sheds Completed	No.of Sheds Allotted	No.of Sheds Occupied	No.of Sheds Working	Employ ment	Quarterly Production Value as on March 31, 1962 Rs. in lakhs
9	237	232	223	192	2853	78,58,278.47

#### **Ambattur Estate**

The Estate was contemplated in 1961, but it was commissioned at the end of 1963. The Estate is a successful example of the coexistence of small, medium and large industries as well as of engineering, chemical, food and fruit based industries.<sup>21</sup>

So far four co-operative estates and two private estates have been established. K.R. Sundaram Industrial Estate (Private Industrial Estate) is an ancillary Estate promoted by a large scale unit in the private sector, the Enfield India Limited as early as 1962. Forgings, non-ferrous castings, gears, carburettors, precision components and fabrication are manufactured by this estate.<sup>22</sup>

From a concept of Industrial Estates being fully government owned and centrally managed, the new thinking is in favour of limiting the scope of government participation to developing the infrastructure in selected areas. The further development of estates, namely the civil construction and subsequent management is left to the initiative and efforts of entrepreneurs themselves.<sup>23</sup>

### **Small Industries Development Corporation**

Small Industries Development Corporation (SIDCO) was set up by the Government of Tamilnadu with the specific objective of playing a catalytic role in the promotion and development of small scale Industries and to hasten the Industrial dispersal in backward and under developed areas of the state. It was established in 1970 as a Private Limited Company and was converted into a Public Limited Company in 1971. SIDCO provides infra - structural facilities, procures and distributes essential raw materials, renders marketing assistance and provides incentives to entrepreneurs.<sup>24</sup>

### **Idbi**

During the first decade and half, the financial assistance by the Central Government to state governments for building the estates was made in the form of loan for 20 years and for provision of infrastructural facilities for 30 years. The state has to pay a nominal interest of 4.5 percent per annum. As more than half of the sheds constructed remained unoccupied, there was a slackening in the tempo of the programme. The Reserve Bank of India study group (1970) on financing of Industrial estates suggested that Co-operatives, state finance corporations, Life Insurance Corporation of India and Commercial Banks should take up the task of financing the construction of estates. In 1972, the Industrial Development Bank of India Act (IDBI) was amended to allow for the refinance of the term loans extended by commercial Banks and the State Financing Corporations for the purpose of the construction of Industrial Estates.<sup>25</sup>

### **Fourth Five Year Plan 1969 - 74**

The State Government has sanctioned the establishment of an ancillary Industrial Estate adjacent to Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, Tiruchirappalli to cater to the needs of High Pressure Boiler Plant. The ancillary estate produces items like Casting, Forging. Turned parts, Machined parts and other bought out items for High Pressure Boiler Plant.<sup>26</sup> SIDCO has taken up construction of an Industrial Estate at Ambattur to serve exclusively as an ancillary to T.I. Cycles of India. Another ancillary Industrial Estate at Coimbatore with special stress on the manufacture of Textile machinery spares is also established.<sup>27</sup>

### **Common Lease Shop**

With a view to render service facilities to the small scale industrialists in the state, common lease shops have been established at Guindy, Ambattur, Madurai, Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli and Pettai. These units are rendering service facilities to the small scale industries, such as repairs of components, spare parts, supplying bolts and nuts to the industrialists on order.<sup>28</sup>

### **Fifth Five Year Plan 1974 - 79**

With the object of developing Electrical and Electronics Industries in and around Hosur, a back ward area and to feed major industries like Indian Telephone Industries, Bharat electronics Limited located in Bangalore, a functional estate for Electrical and electronics Industries was set up at Hosur in 1974.<sup>29</sup>

**Development of Industrial Estates in Tamilnadu as on 31st March, 1975.<sup>30</sup>**

No. of Industrial Estates	No. of Sheds Completed	No. of Sheds Working	Employ- ment	Value output as on 1974 - 75 Rs. in Lakhs
36	664	504	30,613	2682

As part of new Industrial Policy (1977), the District Industries Centre Programme was launched in 1978 with the objective of providing the services and support facilities to small industries under one roof.<sup>31</sup> Tiny Industrial Estates in rural areas were set up in 1978-79 with the help of commercial Banks.<sup>32</sup>

**Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85**

Industrial Estates and area programme got special attention in industrially backward areas during the sixth five year plan. More effective measures were provided to induce the entrepreneurs to occupy sheds in the rural and backward areas to make a success of rural industrialisation programme.<sup>33</sup>

**Seventh Five Year Plan 1985 - 90**

Industrial Estates exclusively for electrical, electronics and allied industries have been set up at 7 places. The Electro Medical Equipment Centre is running service centres at Guindy, Madurai, Thanjavur and Coimbatore. They are equipped with sophisticated equipments to rectify the defects in the equipments used by the Government hospitals in the State.<sup>34</sup>

**Development of Industrial Estates in Tamilnadu as on 1991<sup>35</sup>**

No. of Industrial Estates	Workshed Developed Plots	Tiny sheds	Employment	Production in crores	
51	1355	1018	1572	70,000	140

**Eighth Five Year Plan 1992-97**

During the plan period, full exemption of stamp duty was given on land purchased for industrial units in all industrial Estates. 30% of the plots / sheds in the new industrial estates / complexes were allotted for women with the objective of providing equal opportunity to reap the benefits of industrialisation. Multi-storeyed industrial complexes have been constructed specially for electronics and ready made garment unit in Industrial Estate, Guindy. This is the first of its kind in South India.<sup>36</sup>

**Industrial Training and Consultancy**

The small Industry Service Institute was established at Guindy, Madras in 1959 to render advisory services, inclusive of technical, financial, marketing, personnel relations and office management to individual companies.<sup>37</sup> Four more training institutes came into being under the control of the Department of Industries and Commerce. The Small Industries Service Institute conducts many industrial training courses through these institutes.<sup>38</sup> Technical information section is established at Guindy, Madurai, Pettai, Ambattur, Katpadi, Tiruchirappalli, Coimbatore and Salem. These libraries possess a number of valuable books in engineering and other technical subjects and journals which are useful to the general public.<sup>39</sup>

## Ninth Five Year Plan 1997-2002

The State Government has made the following proposals for the Ninth Plan. The plan will take note of the infra - structural weakness and will strive to make available good quality roads, uninterrupted power supply, safe drinking water, unpolluted environment and properly designed Industrial Estates along with well laid satellite cities. The impact of privatization on the policy of Government of Tamilnadu is that they are promoting industrial estates in private sector also. State will create a venture capital fund to promote private sector industries including setting up of Industrial Estates.<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusion

Thus Industrial Estates have ensured larger social and economic values by fostering the development of small scale Industries, achieving the goals of decentralised economy, creating employment potential through rural industrialisation, developing entrepreneurial spirit and drawing idle capital from sources which has so far remained untapped.

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## TECHNOLOGICAL INTERVENTION AND FISHERMEN'S STRUGGLE IN TAMILNADU

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### **Introduction**

Conflict is inherent in every social system.<sup>1</sup> In small scale societies with simple technologies of production there will be greater equality in the distribution of productive assets and income sharing. Naturally conflict interest has limited scope in such societies. But when more efficient technologies enter into the traditional sector it will destabilize the existing trend. The very few who could afford to acquire the new techniques of production reap the immediate advantage of increase of production and higher income. Consequently, those who could not have access to the new technological inputs become marginalized. Persisting disparity in the income level and control over the highly efficient productive assets will generate conditions that promote class formation. When a particular community is divided on class lines, class interests predominate over group interests. This paper attempts to focus on the problem created by the entry of sophisticated technologies in the marine fisheries sector of Tamilnadu and the organised resistance of traditional fishermen against the evils of imported destructive technologies.

### **Fish Harvesting Technologies : Traditional VS Modern**

Traditional fish harvesting technology was conservative, developed and adopted to satisfy low market demands and for the subsistence requirements of the community. The craft and gear employed were appropriate to the coastal aquatic ecosystem and sustainable fish resource. Harvesting was labour and local skill intensive with limited returns per unit of inputs applied. Reinvestment surplus was on the whole absent.<sup>2</sup> The seasonality of fish arrival, low market potential, fluctuating shore price and unfriendly climatic conditions reduced the traditional fishermen to a dependent status. Re-investment demands and life cycle obligations drove them into the exploitative web of middlemen and money lenders.

New fish harvesting technologies with potentially rich catch efficiency entered the marine fisheries of Tamilnadu since 1952. The American TCM Programme, the Indo-Norwegian Project and Indo-Belgian Fisheries Project have introduced mechanized fishing. Troll lines, gill nets, purse seines, drift nets and other sophisticated gear varieties entered in the process. Institutional packages, supplemented with organizational assistance schemes encouraged the trend. However these imported technologies designed and developed to optimize production have destructive genes in them. They destroy the replenishing biomass, which produce the life supporting system of fishes and ruin the coastal aquatic milieu. Non-sustainability is the core negative value of these advanced, adapted technologies.

The immediate beneficiaries of technological intervention in the marine fisheries of Tamilnadu were the elite owners of new imported assets. Increase in catch levels and stabilized shore prices enhanced their income. They could reap quick profit at the expense of traditional fishermen who had very little to gain from the technological revolution. Persisting

disparity in the income level and asset ownership pattern between mechanized and non-mechanized fishermen created a social divide and appropriate situation for class formation. Class interests determined the course of conflict within the community, manifested in the form of frequent clashes both in the fishing grounds and landing sites.

With the entry of capitalism in the fishing industry profit motive dictated the productive process. To ensure quick returns, lessen the burden of deep-sea operational cost and to maximize the production of export varieties like prawn, lobster, cuttle fish and cod fish indiscriminate inshore fishing was resorted to. It led to a stock depletion situation. The destruction of continental shelf, which provides the life supporting biomass to the fishes, heightened the severity of depletion crisis.<sup>3</sup>

The blind imitation of technologies from developed countries on the pretext of its efficiency criteria cost the fishermen harvesting with traditional artefact dearly. Usually they depend on monsoon catches for the purchase or repair of craft and gear, house construction activities and performance of life cycle obligations.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally it is also the breeding season for fishes. But when the mechanized vessels with hi-tech fishing nets indulge in indiscriminate harvesting in the continental shelf; it affects their resource base. They claim that four trawlers harvesting with purse seines could catch as much fish as equivalent to 1000 Kattumarams.<sup>5</sup> Further the destruction of biomass, eggs and juvenile fishes cause stock depletion during subsequent months. Under these circumstances the earnings of traditional fishermen declined further and it widened the income gap.

### **Organized Struggle of Traditional Fishermen**

Resistance to the evils of hi-tech intervention in the beginning was unorganized. Sporadic clashes marked the character to traditional fishermen's response. In 1971 the traditional fishermen marched to Colachel and burnt down the houses of trawl owners.<sup>6</sup> However, it took long way for the fishermen to organize on class lines. The formation of Kerala Swatantra Malsya Worker's Union (KSMWU), the South Indian Federation of Fishermen Sangams (SIFFS) and the National Federation of Fishermen (NFF) have influenced the unionizing interests of Tamilnadu fishermen. They realized the need for a state level organization and the outcome was the formation of Tamilnadu Kattumaram Country Boat Fishermen's Forum, with affiliated district units.

The Forum released a ten-point charter of demands emphasizing the need for state intervention to save the fisheries from ecological damage. Following this on 30 September 1980 fishermen of Chingleput went on a token strike demanding execution of the ten-point charter.<sup>7</sup> Massive protest rallies were organized in 1982 and 1984 against the ruinous effects of shallow water purse seine operations.<sup>8</sup> Father Kocherry's KSMWF offered the stimulus and initiative for some of the organized struggles of fishermen of Tamilnadu. Their main demands include implementation of Babu Paul Commission Report, complete regulation of purse seine and mid-water trawling, seasonal ban on trawling and limitation of mesh size of nets not less than 35 mm.

By 1983 stock depletion was detected and certain fish varieties disappeared permanently. This made the Tamilnadu traditional fishermen to organize struggle demanding a ban on monsoon trawling and demarcation of exclusive fishing zone for them. Responding to their protest the government ordered for a five km. exclusive-fishing zone for traditional

fishermen. But the mechanized fishermen continued to encroach upon the restricted zone and it led to violent clashes.<sup>9</sup> Colachel, Kanayakumari, Turicorin and Rameswaram were some of the areas where the conflict became intense. In the case of night trawling which destroy fishing assets of traditional fishermen the government regulated the operational time of trawlers between 6 a.m and 6. p.m. But the mechanized vessels operators bypassed the regulation by corrupt and unfair means. It created serious law and order problem leading to police firing at Kanayakumari on 1 May 1989.<sup>10</sup>

The NFF issued a charter of demands that include implementation of existing marine fishery regulations and a ban on trawling within the 20-km. zone and purse seining in the 200-km zone.<sup>11</sup> The Kanayakumari Kattumaram Country Boat Fishermen Protection Committee also put forward similar demands and pressurized the Assistant Director of Fisheries, Colachel, to promulgate an order banning seasonal trawling. The ADF responded to their call and issued orders restraining bottom and dripnet trawling within 12 miles inshore, to preserve ecological balance and restoration of law and order.<sup>12</sup> The order was stayed by court proceedings. Since the issues involved in the marine fisheries remain constant the struggle between the conflicting interests continues to sustain.

### Conclusion

Fishermen's struggle against nature, the exploitative social system and mismanagement of political economy has past history. On the whole, it was unorganized and sporadic. But the intervention of highly efficient fish harvesting technologies has altered the situation. The irreparable damage caused to the coastal aquatic milieu and vast income disparity due to polarization of benefits of technological intervention in the marine fisheries—both ecological and economic factors—generated near spontaneous protest from traditional fishermen. The entry of capitalism and class structure has activated their struggle, Governmental response by way of seasonal closure, creation of an exclusive fishing zone and compromise execution strategies has only marginal impact because of lapses in the implementation level and organized protests from mechanized fishermen. Consequently, the struggle continues, manifested in the form of periodic clashes, during seasons of good catch and increase in shore price.

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## இஸ்லாமிய கல்வி மற்றும் அறக்கட்டளை நிறுவனங்களும் தமிழக உயர் கல்வியும் (1950 - 1995)

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முன்னுரை

தமிழகத்திலுள்ள இஸ்லாமிய மக்களின் நன்மையை கருதியும், பொதுவாக தமிழ் மக்களிடையே ஒரு விழிப்புணர்ச்சியை ஏற்படுத்தவும் திருச்சி பாலக்கரையில் இருந்து வெளிவரும் மறுமலர்ச்சி என்ற வாரப்பத்திரிக்கையில் தமிழ்நாட்டில் உள்ள இஸ்லாமியர்களால் நடத்தப்படும் ஆரம்ப பாடசாலை, நடுநிலைப்பள்ளி, உயர் நிலைப்பள்ளி, கல்லூரிகள் மற்றும் தொழில் கல்லூரிகளின் எண்ணிக்கையும் அங்கு உள்ள மாணவர்களின் மொத்த எண்ணிக்கையும், அதில் இஸ்லாமிய மாணவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கை இவைகளை தயாரித்து வெளியிட்டு இருக்கிறது. இந்த அறிக்கையை அடிப்படையாக கொண்டு நான் செய்து வரும் ஆய்வின் போது சேகரித்த புள்ளிவிவரங்களையும் சேர்த்து இக்கட்டுரையை உருவாக்கி இருக்கிறேன். அந்த வகையில் இக்கட்டுரை வரலாற்றுக் கால ஆய்வு கட்டுரையாகும். இக்கட்டுரையில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ள அட்டவணைகளும் புள்ளிவிவரங்களும் இக்கட்டுரைக்காக என்னால் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டவை. இக்கட்டுரை வரலாற்று கண்ணோட்டத்தில் உருவாக்கப்பட்டது.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் இஸ்லாமியர்கள் (1950 -க்கு பிறகு)

இந்திய சுதந்திரத்திற்கு பிறகு நாம் 1950-ம் ஆண்டில் புதிய அரசியல் சட்டத்தை கொண்டு வந்து இந்தியா ஒரு குடியரசு நாடாக அறிவிக்கப்பட்டது. இந்திய அரசியல் சட்டத்தின் முடிவில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ள அட்டவணையின்படி இஸ்லாமியர்கள் சிறுபான்மை மக்கள் என்றும், இம்மக்களுக்கு சில சலுகைகள் மற்றும் உரிமைகள் கொடுக்க அந்த அட்டவணையில் வழி செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. மேலும் அரசியல் சட்டம் மூன்றாம் பகுதியில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ள அடிப்படை உரிமைகள் இவர்களுக்கும் பொருந்தும். ஆதலின் இந்த உரிமைகளை பயன்படுத்தி தனி மனிதர்கள், பெரும் செல்வந்தர்கள், அறக்கட்டளைகள் மற்றும் கல்வி நிறுவனங்கள் மூலமாக இஸ்லாமிய பெருமக்கள் தங்களுக்கு மட்டுமல்லாமல் இதர மக்களுக்கும் கல்வியை பரப்பி வருகின்றனர். இஸ்லாமியர்கள் கல்வியை பரப்புவது என்பது அம்மதத்தின் அடிப்படை நூல் ஆகிய திருக்குரானிலேயே கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. குரான் என்ற சொல்லுக்கு ஓது, கசடறகல், மனப்பாடம் செய் என்றுதான் பொருள்.<sup>1</sup> நபிகள் நாயகம் அவர்கள் "கல்வி ஈனாவில் கிடைக்கும் என்று சொன்னால் கூட அங்கு சென்று கற்றுக்கொள்" என்று கூறியுள்ளார்.<sup>2</sup> இதை கருதியே நபிகளுக்கு பிறகு வந்த கலிபாக்கள், இமாம்கள் எங்கெல்லாம் மகுதிகளை தொழுவதற்கு கட்டினார்களோ அதற்கு அருகிலேயே மதரஸா என்று அழைக்கப்படும் பள்ளியை நிறுவினார்கள். சில ஊர்களில் மகுதி இல்லாத பகுதிகளில் பெரும்பாலும் செல்வந்தர்களின் வீட்டுத்திண்ணையிலேயே சிறு பள்ளியை நிறுவினார்கள். இப்பள்ளிக்கு நக்தர்ஷா என்று பெயர். இப்பள்ளி கூடத்தில் பெரும்பாலும் அரபிமொழியும், குரான் உடைய ஒரு பகுதியும், சில இடங்களில் உருது மொழியும், அடிப்படை கணக்குகளும் கற்றுத்தரப்படுகிறது. இப்படி கல்வி கற்று தரும் ஆசான்களுக்கு இஸ்லாமியர்கள் அஸ்ரத் என்று பெயர். அஸ்ரத் என்றால் மதிப்பிற்குரிய ஆசான் என்று பெயர்.<sup>3</sup> இந்தியாவில் இருந்து பாகிஸ்தானை பிரித்ததினால்

ஏற்பட்ட ஒரு பெரும் சமுதாய குழப்பம் இன்றைய பஞ்சாப், ஹரியானா, டெல்லி, உத்திரபிரதேசம், வங்காளம், ஆகிய மாநிலங்களில் மிகுந்த வன்முறைகள் நடைபெற்றன. ஆனால் தமிழகத்தை பொருத்தவரை இந்த வட இந்திய செய்தி ஒரு பெரும் பரபரப்பை ஏற்படுத்தி மக்களிடையே ஒரு அமைதியின்மையை ஏற்படுத்தியது. இந்த கால கட்டத்தில் தான் தமிழகத்தில் சில தன் ஆர்வ தொண்டு நிறுவனங்கள் மற்றும் இஸ்லாமிய பெரும் செல்வந்தர்கள் கல்விதுறையில் இருந்தவர்கள் இஸ்லாமிய மக்களுக்காக பல அறக்கட்டளைகளை நிறுவினார்கள்.

- 1) இஸ்லாமிய பட்டதாரி பெண்கள் சங்கம். பிரகாசம் தெரு, சென்னை - 1
- 2) தென்னிந்திய பட்டதாரி பெண்கள் சங்கம், சின்னப்பராவுத்தர் தெரு, சென்னை - 5
- 3) இஸ்லாமிய வாலிபர்கள் முன்னேற்ற சங்கம்.
- 1, 2, 3 சங்கங்களின் கிளைகள் 1997 தமிழ்நாட்டில் பெருநகரங்கள், நகர பஞ்சாயத்து மற்றும் பெரு நகரங்களை ஒட்டிய புதிய குடியிருப்புகளில் பல நூற்றுக்கணக்கான கிளைகள் உள்ளன.
- 4) தென்னிந்திய கல்வி அறக்கட்டளை, சென்னை - 14
- 5) சீதக்காதி கல்வி அறக்கட்டளை, சென்னை - 30
- 6) இஸ்லாமிய சிறுபான்மையினர் அறக்கட்டளை, வாணியம்பாடி.
- 7) இஸ்லாமிய சிறுபான்மை பெண்கள் கல்வி அறக்கட்டளை, சென்னை - 1

இது போன்ற அறக்கட்டளைகளை நிறுவி இஸ்லாமியர்களுக்கு கல்வி கொடுப்பதே இதன் முக்கிய நோக்கமாகும்.

**சில சிறப்பு வாய்ந்த இஸ்லாமிய கல்வி நிறுவனங்கள்**

1950 - ம் ஆண்டு இந்திய பெருநாடு குடியரசு ஆனதன் நினைவாக இன்றைய திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியில் பெருவணிகராக இருந்த நான-முனா சகோதரர்கள் சென்னையில் பதப்படுத்தப்பட்ட தோல் ஏற்றுமதி இறக்குமதி செய்து வந்தனர். இவர்கள் திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியில் புதுக்கோட்டை சாலையில் இஸ்லாமியர்களுக்காக ஐமால் முகம்மது கல்லூரியை நிறுவினார்கள். இந்த அறக்கட்டளையில் 14 அங்கத்தினர்கள் இருந்தனர். இதுவே தமிழகத்தில் சுதந்திரத்திற்கு பிறகு ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்ட மிகப் பெரிய இஸ்லாமிய கல்வி நிறுவனமாகும். இந்த அறக்கட்டளையில் மூன்று சகோதரர்கள் சென்னை இராயப்பேட்டையில் உள்ள பீட்டர்ஸ் ரோட்டில், இஸ்லாம் மாணவர்களுக்காக 40 ஏக்கர் நிலத்தில் நியூ காலேஜ் என்ற கல்லூரியை நிறுவினார்கள். இந்த கல்லூரி அறிவியல் கலை கல்லூரியாகும். மேலும் சிறப்பு குணம் கொண்ட சில இஸ்லாமிய செல்வந்தர்கள் இந்த அறக்கட்டளையில் தங்களை இணைத்துக் கொண்டனர். அதன் விளைவாக மாணவர் விடுதி, மிகப்பெரிய நூலகம், விளையாட்டு மைதானம், நீவன வசதிகளுடன் கூடிய ஆய்வுக்கூடம் மற்றும் மூன்று விடுதிகள் கட்டப்பட்டு இன்றைய நிலையில் சிறப்பான ஒரு கல்வி நிறுவனமாக விளங்குகிறது.

ஐமால் முகம்மது கல்லூரியைத் தொடர்ந்து அந்த அறக்கட்டளை காஜாமியான் மேல்நிலை பள்ளியை கல்லூரிக்கு அருகிலேயே ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். இந்த காஜா மியான் பள்ளியின் சிறப்பு இக்கல்லூரியில் தலைமை ஆசிரியர், உடற்கல்வியாசிரியர் மற்றும் அலுவலக ஊழியர்கள் தவிர மற்ற ஆசிரியர் அனைவரும் இஸ்லாமிய பெண்களே. இன்று திருச்சியில் சுமார் 5,000 பேர்களைக் கொண்ட பள்ளிகளில் இதுவும் ஒன்று. இந்த பள்ளி சமீபத்தில் தனது பொன்விழாவைக் கொண்டாடியது.

இந்த உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளிக்கு அருகில் 1962-ல் இதே அறக்கட்டளையை சார்ந்தவர்கள், அறக்கட்டளையின் தலைவராக இருந்த முகமது சமத் என்பவரின் நினைவாக சமது

மேல்நிலைப்பள்ளி மத்திய அரசு பாடத்திட்டத்தினை அடிப்படையாக கொண்டது. இது சிறுக சிறுக வளர்ந்து இன்று பெரிய பள்ளியாக உள்ளது. இப்பள்ளியில் படித்து முதல் வெளிவந்த மாணவர் அப்துல் உசேன். தற்பொழுது அமெரிக்காவில் உள்ள இல்லீனாய்ஸ் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் பேராசிரியராக இருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

இது போலவே சென்னை நத்தனத்தில் தென்னிந்திய இஸ்லாமிய அறக்கட்டளை நிறுவனம், எஸ்.ஐய். ஈ. டி. கல்லூரி 1962-ல் நிறுவப்பட்டது. இக்கல்லூரி கலை, அறிவியல் கல்லூரியாக இருந்தாலும், உருது, பாரசீகம் மற்றும் அராபி மொழிகளில் இளங்கலை மற்றும் முதுகலை இஸ்லாமிய பெண்கள் கல்லூரியாகும். இக்கல்லூரி வெகுவிரைவில் வளர்ச்சி பெற்று மிகச்சிறந்த மாணவிகளை உருவாக்கியுள்ளது. இக்கல்லூரியில் படித்த பல மாணவிகள் இன்று இந்தியாவில் பல்வேறு துறைகளில் உயர் பதவி வகிக்கிறார்கள். 1972-ல் தமிழகத்தில் இருந்து சென்ற தேசிய மாணவர்கள் பெண்கள் அணி இமயமலை அடிவாரத்தில் நடத்திய மலையேறும் போட்டி விழாக்களில் அகில இந்திய அளவில் பரிசினை பெற்றது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதாகும். இக்கல்லூரியில் பயின்ற திருமதி ஷாம்மிபேகம் இன்று புது டெல்லியில் உள்ள அகில இந்திய மருத்துவ மற்றும் ஆய்வு மையத்தில் பெண்கள் பகுதி தலைவராக உள்ளார் என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

இதுபோலவே இஸ்லாமிய மதத்தின் மரக்கையர்கள் ஒரு கல்லூரியை சென்னை அடுத்துள்ள தாம்பரத்தில் இருந்து கிழக்கே ஐந்து கி.மீ. தள்ளி உள்ள கௌரி வாக்கத்தில் நிறுவினார்கள். இதற்கு தென்னிந்திய கல்வி அறக்கட்டளையின் மூலம் இக்கல்லூரி ஒரு அமைதியான சூழ்நிலையில் அமைந்துள்ளது. இக்கல்லூரிக்கு ஒரு பெருமை உண்டு. அது என்னவென்றால் இஸ்லாம் மக்களால் நடத்தப்படும் இக்கல்லூரியில் மிக சாதாரணமான ஏழை, எளிய மக்களும், தாய், தந்தை இழந்த அனாதை இஸ்லாமிய மாணவர்களை சேர்த்துகொள்வதோடு இவர்கள் நன்கொடைகள், கையூட்டு எதுவும் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில்லை. மிக ஏழை மாணவர்களுக்கு இலவசமாக உணவு விடுதியில் அளிக்கின்றனர். தென்ஆற்காடு மாவட்டம் பரங்கிப்பேட்டையைச் சார்ந்த பிணாங் சித்திக் மரக்காயர் என்பவர் தனது திரண்ட செல்வத்தை அந்த விடுதிக்காக கொடுத்துவிட்டார். இப்போதும் அந்த விடுதி மிகச்சிறப்பாக நடைபெற்று வருகிறது.

வடஆற்காடு மாவட்டம் ராணிப்பேட்டை, ஜோலார் பேட்டை, ஆம்பூர் இவ்வூர்களை சார்ந்த இஸ்லாமியர்கள் வாணியம்பாடியில் உள்ள வாணியம்பாடி இஸ்லாமியகல்லூரியை 1952-ல் நிறுவினார்கள். இந்த கல்லூரியில் கல்வி கற்றவர்கள் இன்று உலக பிரசித்திப்பெற்ற பொருளாதார மேதைகளாகவும், எழுத்தாளர்களாகவும், வழக்கறிஞர் ஆகவும் உள்ளனர்.

## திருச்சி மறுமலர்ச்சி பத்திரிகையில்

### தொகுப்பு செய்தி

1988-ம் வருடத்தில் திருச்சி பாலக்கரையை சார்ந்த மறுமலர்ச்சி என்ற வாரப் பத்திரிகை நிறுவனம் ஒரு தன் ஆர்வ தொண்டு நிறுவனமாகும். இந்நிறுவனம் தமிழகத்திலுள்ள இஸ்லாமியர்கள் நடத்தும் தொடக்கப்பள்ளி, நடுநிலைப்பள்ளி, உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளி தொழில் கல்வி மற்றும் கல்லூரிகள் இவைகளை பொதுமக்கள் தெரிந்துகொள்வதற்காக கணக்கு எடுத்து இந்த கல்வி நிறுவனங்களின் மொத்த மாணவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையும் அம்மாணவர்களின் முஸ்லீம் மாணவர்களின் சதவீதத்தையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுகிறது. இந்த அட்டவணை கீழே கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. இந்த அட்டவணையில் இருந்து கீழே கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ள புதிய அட்டவணை வருட வரியாக இருந்ததை மாற்றி கல்வி கூடங்களின் படிநிலையின் அடிப்படையில் அமைக்கப்பட்டு ஆதார கல்வியியல் இருந்து கல்லூரி நிலை மற்றும் தொழிற்கல்வி நிலை அளவில் மாற்றி அமைந்துள்ளது.

வரிசை எண்	கல்வி நிறுவனங்களின் வகைகள்	கல்வி நிறுவனங்களின் எண்ணிக்கை	மொத்த மாணவர்கள்	முஸ்லீம் மாணவர்கள்	சதவீதம்
1.	கலை கல்லூரிகள்	9	8,440	3,650	43%
2.	அறிவியல் கல்லூரிகள்	6	3,745	951	25%
3.	தொழில் கல்வி	8	903	330	37%
4.	உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளிகள்	33	21,354	11,804	55%
5.	நடுநிலைப்பள்ளி மற்றும் தொடக்ககல்வி	38	21,087	13,385	64%
	மொத்தம்	94	55,529	30,120	54%

இந்த அட்டவணையில் இருந்து 1950-ம் ஆண்டிற்கு பிறகு இஸ்லாமிய மாணவ மாணவியரின் கல்வி கற்றோரின் மொத்த எண்ணிக்கையும், சதவீதமும் கணிசமான அளவு உயர்ந்து இருப்பதை தெரிந்து கொள்ளலாம். ஏனெனில் 1932-ல் W. பிரான்சிஸ் மற்றும் இதரர்கள் எழுதிய ஆறு தொகுதிகளை கொண்ட தென்னிந்திய மக்கள் குறிப்புகள் (South Indian Gazetteer, 1932 in six Vol) என்ற புத்தகத்தில் 1930-ல் தென்னிந்தியாவைச் சார்ந்த தமிழகத்தில் இஸ்லாமிய மக்கள் ஆண்களும், பெண்களும் ஆறு சதவீதம் மட்டுமே படித்து இருந்தனர் என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார். 1930-ல் 6 சதவீதம் மட்டுமே இருந்த முஸ்லீம்கள் 1988-ல் 54% என்பது ஒரு சமுதாயத்தின் ஒரு விழிப்புணர்வையும் அச்சமுதாயம் முன்னேற்ற பாதையில் சென்று கொண்டு இருக்கிறது என்பதையும் தெள்ள தெளிவாக காட்டுகிறது.

#### முடிவுரை

இஸ்லாம் மதம் பொதுவாக தம்மதத்தில் உள்ளவர்கள் கல்வி கற்க வேண்டும் என்பதை திருக்குரான் வலியுறுத்தினாலும் காலப்போக்கில் பல பிரிவு இஸ்லாமியர்கள் உருவாகி அம்மக்கள் பெண்களை மகுதியுடன் இணைந்த மதரஸா என்ற பள்ளி வரை படிக்க வைத்தனர். இதற்கு மேல் படிக்கும் பெண்களுக்கு திருமணம், வேலைவாய்ப்பு ஒரு பெரும் பிரச்சினையாக இருந்தது. அதுபோல ஆண்களும் அடிப்படை கல்விக்குப் பிறகு கடல்கடந்து வியாபாரம் செய்தல் உள்நாட்டிலேயே பெருவணிகம் செய்தல் போன்ற தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டுக் கொண்டு இருந்தனர். சுதந்திரத்துக்கு பிறகு சம வேலை வாய்ப்பு பெண் உரிமை போன்ற மத்திய கிழக்கு ஆசியாவில் அபரதிமான வேலைவாய்ப்பு ஏற்பட்டதனால் இஸ்லாமிய ஆண், பெண்கள் உயர்கல்வி, தொழிற்கல்வி, ஹோட்டல்களில் மேற்பார்வை, கட்டிட வல்லுநர்கள், வாகன ஓட்டுநர்கள் இதுபோன்ற துறைகளில் முயற்சிக்கும் போது அடிப்படை கல்வி மட்டுமின்றி உயர்கல்வியும் இம்மக்களுக்கு தேவையாகிறது. இத்தேவையே இம்மக்களை உயர்கல்வியை படிக்க தூண்டுகிறது. இதற்கு இந்த அட்டவணையே சான்று அளிக்கிறது.

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# LAND ALIENATION OF PEASANTS : SOCIO-ECONOMIC-CULTURAL IMPACT = A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT - 1950 - 1970

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## **The Topographical Settings:**

The former South Arcot district was formed in 1801<sup>1</sup> and continued with the limit upto 1996 in which year it was triburcated.<sup>2</sup> The geography of the district was peculiar in that the western part was covered by the Rocky Hills of Kallakurichy, Gingee, Tirukoliyur and Tindivanam Taluks.<sup>3</sup> The Southern part of the district is of wet lands with good irrigation facilities, bordered by River Coleroon, the Northern part was covered by Red Sand stone and loose soils and bordered by River Parvanaru near Chingelpet.<sup>4</sup> The Bay of Bengal is the eastern boundary from which some 30 KMS of lands could produce three issues for a year of paddy, sugarcane, banana, etc. Yet, paddy is preferred in this region.

The central part of the district is probably the best fertile soil, condusive to paddy, suggarcane cultivation and also dry land crops like ground-nuts, various grams, raggi and others.<sup>5</sup> The ground nuts of South Arcot district were and are of a special kind.<sup>6</sup> The present Pondicherry territory, in ancient times called Oyma Nadu, bordered by South Arcot district like a half-cut ring.<sup>7</sup>

## **Water Resources : The Background**

The South Arcot district possesses enormous water resources such as: 1) lakes, 2) tanks, 3) brooks, 4) canals, and 5) rainfall. These water resources are sometimes causing the "Riparian Problems"<sup>8</sup> which, in turn, cause the land alienation, the theme of the paper. The water resources are :

### **Lakes:**

The lakes, in the district, big and small, are numbered 736.<sup>9</sup> Among the following lakes, well-known and even now in good condition are the 1) Vira Narayanan lake 2) Ponnai lake 3) Willington lake 4) Perumal lake 5) Krishnapuram lake 6) Srimushnam big lake 7) Kannur lake 8) Puthur Lake 9) Yaman lake 10) Tindivanam lake to mention a few. Apart from these lakes, there are also minor lakes like big tanks in the Taluks of Kallukkurichi, Tirukkoyilur and Tindivanam. The lakes and tanks had enormous *peromboke* lands. Normally, during summer seasons, the agricultural coolies used to encroach the border lands and cultivate the lands and, after some time, they paid the penalty i.e. land tax. This meant, they became the owners of the land 'by virtue of "Tenancy" or Possession'.<sup>10</sup>

### **Brooks:**

The brooks called in Tamil Oadai, big canals are lesser in number than the lakes in the South Arcot district. For example: 1) The *Khan Sahib's Oadai*, 2) *Pasamudan Oadai* at Chidambaram, 3) the *Sathappadi Oadai* and *Periya Oadai* in Bhuvanagiri area 4) the *Perumal Oadai* and *Rajan Oadai* vadalur area 5) the *salt Oadai* and *Kuringipaddi Oadai* in Cuddalore area 6) The *Gingee Oadai* and *Kaloodi* in Bahur area; 7) The *Thuruchi Oadai* and the

Karungkuli Oadai at Tindivanam area are draining the lands from the middle part of the district upto Bay of Bengal. The irregular course of the brooks and the zig-zag course of them had naturally caused the *riparian* waste lands, which are popularly known in the Indian revenue field as *Aiyan Poromboke*<sup>11</sup> lands and the peasants of the area used to occupy these lands and incepted cultivation. In rural areas, once the waste lands or *poromboke* is cultivated by agricultural coolies, other coolies would not intervene in this case. This sort of land possession continued and this paved the way for traditional ownership.

#### **Rivers:**

The region under survey consisted of many rivers, such as 1) Coleroon River 2) Vellar River 3) Gadilam River 4) Pennaiaru 5) Gingee River 6) Thursal River 7) Parvanaru and 8) Manimutha Rivers. It is a matter of great common sense that in Tamil Nadu, the rivers, lakes and brooks and other water resources, except certain specific necessities, were not provided the scientific bunds or embankments. This state of position coupled with flood and irregular course of water ways created the waste land called *poromboke*.

#### **Poromboke Lands and their Claimants :**

The most important agrarian policy in India is a four tier policy. The actual land owner do not work in the land; they are assisted by tenants or "*Masthri*"<sup>12</sup> who over sees the sub-tenants but do not work in the field. In the third tier, we have the sub-tenant, who are not working in the field. Then who is actually working in the fields during actual process of cultivation? With special reference to South Arcot District, the agricultural labourers both male and female were the Adi dravidars, who were working in the field nearly for eight months for years i.e. from June - to February. Perhaps they are wedded to the lands and the soil and in many villages the houses were also very near to the paddy field. In due course, the Adi dravidars of South Arcot, got some awareness, and moved towards the "poromboke lands" and after leveling them, they cultivated paddy plantain vegetables, etc. Such activities were happening in the years of 1947 - 48 and even earlier. These years witnessed the allotment of "those lands" to the families whose sons were dead in the military.<sup>13</sup> Taking such allotments were exclusively for the Adi dravidars, they started to encroach these *poromboke* lands wherever, they were available. Thus a new wave started in this district as elsewhere.

#### **Land Alienation in South Arcot District :**

##### **Case History No. 1 Ponneri**

It is a lake supplying water to roughly some 5000 hectares of land in the Western part of Chidambaram. This lake is about 8 KMS of length and 1 KM width, where water was stored from excess water of Viranam Lake. When water level was reduced the Adi dravidars of Pallikuppam, Valkamedu on the one side; and Sengalmedu, Pungudi and Adur on the other side encroached the lake bunds and converted them into *pucca* wet lands. They continued their ownership for nearly twenty years. During these years they enjoyed all returns from the lands. Some of them became rich also.

But in March 1950, the big land lords of Adur and Pallikuppam, threatened the Adidravidars. They setup police cases and also used political pressure. These land lords were Congressmen. The local M.P. was a Congressman and a great land owner.<sup>14</sup> These land owners threatened by force the poor peasants to alienate from the lands with not only from the traditionally owned lands, but also from the villages. Due to fear and lack of leaders, they

migrated to Chidambaram town and modified their life style into sub-urban servitude.<sup>15</sup> These incidents occurred during 1956 to 1960.

### Case History No. 2 Nanjalur:

It is also a moderate village situated in the bus route of Cidambaram- Kattumannarkudi. The village proper is some 5 KMS west of Chidambaram. The village's lush green paddy fields were drained by the waters of Khan Sahib Brooke<sup>16</sup> and Rajan Canal. The waters are stored in two big tanks. Naturally, they were *poromboke* lands and some Adi dravidars owned pieces of half and one acre of lands. But whole of Adi dravidars of this and nearly villages were depending on the great landed gentry of Nanjalur. In fact, the land lord was dead; now, the widowed land lady was misguided by the land supervisor. It started like the wage problem; and finally goondas from Rammad were brought and the Adi dravidars were beaten, their lands were taken away. And the nearby village also joined in the fray; in the cover of midnight some people were murdered. The case was brought up to supreme court. The whole problem continued from 1962-68. Finally, the land lady died in 1968. The problem was settled because most of the Adi dravidars migrated to Neyveli and got employment there.<sup>17</sup>

### Case History No. 3 Pinnalur :

This village is fully occupied by Adi dravidars. It is located in the slope of Perumal lake bund in North-South direction at a length of 8 KMS. The lake received water from *Sathiyathope Dam* constructed in 1906-1911 clubing River Vallar, Manimutha River and other small brooks. The accumulated water is stored like a Bay and diverted to many directions. One was Perumal Lake. The North - South wise bund is the Road to Cuddalore - Neyveli via Vadalur. Throughout the entire distance, we can see the *poromboke* lands of the Adi dravidars at Pachikuppam, Pinnalur, Maruvay and Parvathypuram. All the *poromboke* lands reclaimed, levelled and made cultivable only by the Adi dravidars. When the rugged red sand hills and waste lands became green fields, the local landed gentry also the Congress M.L.A. threatend the people to quit the land. The villagers in 1958-59, left the place and went to Vadalur, and joined the Shasheya Ceramic Industrial Factory; some to Madras and some to Cuddalore. Thus the displacement of land alienation further stimulated the people to a different problem. These lands were now converted into great forms by the rich man and in one part the government of Tamil Nadu is maintaining the Seed Form.

### Case History No. 4 Sathappadi

The area of Sathappadi is located near Viranarayan Lake. The whole area is drained by the canal from the lake and also Rajan canal. Throughout the year, water flows into this region. Further, river Vellar is also very near. Hence the *poromboke* lands, and small farmers of Adi dravidars owned one to 3 three acres of wet lands, had cultivated the paddy in these lands. This area is also famous for the big landed gentry, who were also the Congress party people.<sup>19</sup> Three landed gentries forced the Adi dravidars to give up their lands.<sup>20</sup> They were also threatened by the hired men. The innocent peasants left the village and settled at Bhuvanagiri and Keerapalayam which place later became the centre of the agricultural wing of the community party of India. Many of the displaced agricultural coolies came to Chidambaram and settled there as slum dwellers and articulated their sons and daughters in the field of education, for the government Nandanar Boys' and Girls' and Annamalai University, the temple of learning gave them shelters.<sup>21</sup>

### Case History No. 5 Kattumannarkudi

Kattumannarkudi is a classical example of land alienation and the impact of it on South Arcot district society. The fact that Kattumannarkudi is located on the bank of *Viranarayanan* Lake, and sprawled among many canals and brooks and hence the *poromboke* were caused among the irregular ways. Such a state of affairs attracted many Adi dravidars to cultivate these lands and subsequently claimed the traditional ownership. The local landed gentry called the *Nattu Chinnappannai* asked the ryots to vacate the Adi dravida tillers in 1958. For the Adi dravidars, the former M.P. Thiru.L. Elyaperumal spearheaded the struggle to recover the lands and the *Pannai* authorities brought goondas to threaten the innocent Adi dravidars.<sup>22</sup> They escaped during the night attack and came to Chidambaram. This struggle got a new dimension at *Lalpet* and there also the Adi dravidars workers were disbanded from the betel-leave groves. The *Lalpet* problem became a violent case of attacking and killing the Adi dravidars, who came to Chidambaram court, where they were assassinated.<sup>23</sup> It was a sensational case of inhuman massacre caused by the land alienation.

### Case History No. 6 Pariyapattu

Periyapattu is located in the Chidambaram - Cuddalore Bus route. Periyapattu area is drained by salt Brooke and Kurunjippadi *oada*i and there is also a local lake. The water sources are utilized for the purpose of both dry land and wet land cultivation. The land based workers are Adi dravidars while the landed gentry were the local Vanniyars. Here also a continued land alienation of Adi dravidars happened during 1960-64. The local Vanniyars, created an unprecedented social tension, that many of the small land owning Adi dravidars left their home and migrated to Chidambaram and Cuddalore.<sup>24</sup> The remained agricultural coolies became the bonded labourers to them. These bonded labourers could not go out of the village without the permission of their masters. Thus the agrarian net work in South Arcot was a kontty problem during 1935 to 1965 due to the attitude of passive Adi dravidars and the aggressive land owners.

### Case History No. 7: Puvally Village Incident

The village Puvally is one among the three largest villages of this district, paying heavy amount of land tax. The entire region is even now very fertile, because of the soil water resources throughout the year. The summer season was not felt by people here. The mixed population of land owners and workers were not very cordial because the sons and daughters of land owners used to have their higher education at Cuddalore and Madras; where as the sons and daughters of the workers studied at Chidambaram and Annamalai University. From 1940s, 50s and 60s Annamalai University remained the breeding ground of Indian Communist Party<sup>25</sup>. K. Balathandayutham, A.K. Gopalan, K. Subbiaya of Pondicherry had taken shelter here and gradually imported the Communist ideas. Students who completed the degree courses here, on their return to the native places used to preach the Communist ideas. First the wage problems cropped up among the workers; as a solution to this the land owners had forcibly taken the lands of the revolting workers under the plea that the lands were *poromboke* near to the Patta lands of their possession. The Land alienation prolonged for many years. Even legal remedies failed. The land owners introduced the fire wood plant and cashewnut seedlings. Some hundereds of agricultural coolies migrated to Cuddalore, even to Madras, while some people settled at Chidambaram. Thus the land alienation changed the life style of the people.

## Similar Incidents

The incidents explained above had similar examples in the Taluks of Kallukkurichi, Tirukoilur, Tindivanam and also in the French ruled territory of Pondicherry. Although these incidents are flashed in the newspapers, and published in the Communist based newsletter such as "*Semmalar*", "*Theekadir*" and "*Jnana Sakti*", people who were associated with the movement still remember that these land alienation. The criminal cases connected with the land alienation were also brought upto Madras High Court and even supreme court of India. The famous case of Ponneri, spearheaded by the leader one Perumal was murdered by hired men and in the case of Najalur, the leader who stood for the agricultural coolies, by K. Munnuswamy was also accused. For both cases, the late Mohan Kumaramangalam appeared both at Madras High Court and Delhi Supreme Court and won the cases.

## Social Awakening in South Arcot:

The cursed act of Land Alienation of Adi dravidars by other caste Hindus not only created a social sympathy, but also an awareness among them. One set up Adi dravidars invited the Communist leaders of the agricultural wing, such as Cuddalore Purushothaman, a lawyer, A. Somasundaram, a dedicated leader, T.R. Viswanathan, the speaker, one Alagiriswamy. These people stationed at Chidambaram in the *Kallikattu Mutt*, daily attended the case, and also organised village to village awareness meetings. Slowly the Adi dravidars on the one side, the land owners on the other side became aware of the crux of the problem. Thus the Communist Party was firmly footed in the district as early as 1959. T.R. Viswanathan also organised the 6th *All India Kisan Congress* at Chidambaram on June, 10, 11 and 12 1959, S.A. Dange, Bhavani Sen. A.K. Gopalan were the special invitees<sup>26</sup>. Just before the meeting to be inaugurated, Mr. Perumal, who was the popular man behind all the show was murdered. This murder had a tremendous impact on the societies of South Arcot. Another set of Adi dravidars followed a different method, i.e. they migrated to urban areas and took up urban based cooly works and educated the sons and daughters in the Town High Schools and then in Annamalai University. Thus Arcot district came to occupy the third place in the literacy status of Tamil Nadu; and in the University level, it has got a high place.

## Economic Prospects

Prof. S. Sonaachalam *et al* of Annamalai University had undertaken a project in 1968 - 1970 basing South Arcot district among other things, the conclusion is very much striking: The years 1940 - 1970, the project pointed out that the agricultural based workers modified their source of economy created a strong basis in this region i.e. agrarian income, with which the rural population, became more firm and strong; while urban based coolies also got stabilized income, not to mention the modified life style. The most outstanding aspect of the land alienation is the fact that their sons and daughters got higher education.

## The Political and other Cultural Prospects

As already pointed out, leaders like T.R. Viswanathan, A.K. Gopalan, with the talent of Mohan Kumaramangalam, filed many cases against the land owner to return the *Patta* lands to the respective owners and also *Poromboke*. In the meantime, the Madras Government from 1967 - 70 passed several favourable acts of protecting the agricultural coolies; the wages were also fixed; the contract labourers must be retained and finally the land alienated victims should be returned to the respective "owners". The legal protection was given against the aggressive and adamant attitude of land owners.

This was one of the far reaching achievements of the struggle of the land alienation in the district. But in this case, many of the Adi dravidars sold out the land returned to towns and cities, because they were attracted by the emergence of urban political culture and the vanishing of the caste discrimination.

### Finding and Conclusion:

From the above study, it is inferred that the "riparian right" of cultivation was followed in the *Poromboké lands* in many places of former South Arcot district. This was due to the water sources of varied kind. But a set of land owners could not tolerate the peasants becoming land owners, because most of the peasants were Adi dravidas. These people were the actual workers in the lands of the masters. The masters never liked the workers becoming owners of land, big or small. So they were forced to alienate from the lands they levelled and settled. The struggle had many examples; yet we have given only seven examples. From these examples, it is derived that the land alienation of peasant paved the way for them to migrate to urban and industrial areas to earn their bread. Consequently, their life style had changed and their sons and daughters could get better higher education. Now they are well placed in the society. In the political side, South Arcot district became a strong hold of Communist Party of India. Thus the land alienation of the peasants got far reaching effects in South Arcot district, in particular and in Tamil Nadu, in general.

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16. : The name is in memory of a Kiladhar of Arcot Nawab.
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18. -- : Parvathypuram is a small village, where St. Ramalinga Adigal entered into hut and never returned.
19. -- : Former Rajya Sabha M.P. by name A. Gopakrishnan Pillai, who is no more now.
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## WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT - A CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Women had been relegated to the background and kept in sub-ordination right from ancient times. Though a woman was portrayed as a vital force and a divine being in literary classics of ancient, medieval and modern times, her status had always been secondary to men. She had been subjected to all kinds of cruelties through the ages. But social reformers of modern times had advocated women's welfare and emphasized the inalienable rights of women. Both the British Government and India's Independent Government have taken up their cause and have been striving to improve their position. Consequently, remarkable activities have taken place in the realms of women's welfare and women's position had undergone considerable change from the middle of the present century.

In the first three decades of the present century, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Manju Bhashini, Durgabai Deshmukh and Rukmani Lakshmipathi took active participation in political and social welfare activities. In the Civil Disobedience Movement, the sacrifices of women volunteers were momentous. Many of them came out throwing away their conservative and superstitious traditions and practices.<sup>1</sup>

In the last few decades, their outlook to problems changed tremendously. They have sought jobs particularly in management and administration. In army, comprising of all three forces, legislature, educational and industrial and other institutions and organisations they perform equally well. Women had discovered a new sense of self. To-day's women are indeed making more and more decisions about themselves and their lifestyles. Social reformers and feminists feel that a "Quiet Revolution" has been taking place in every part of the world in respect of women's progress.<sup>2</sup>

Every day we hear of Bharathis "new women" coming out to feel the pulse of political, social and economic freedom. They come out leaving their hearths and homes. They throw their children in the creches or to the care of *ayas* and *gayas*. With the changing economic environment they prefer to work not only for their homes, but also for their society, nation and for human race at large.<sup>3</sup> American case studies reveal that they fairly do well in all fields on par with men. Yet, some studies made in India about women's role in management show some discouraging trends. Absenteeism, inherent weakness and difficulties, child care, family relationships, interpersonal relations, adjustability problems, sensitivity to different situations, etc., are some of the factors that affect and deter the mental attitude of the present day women.<sup>4</sup> Yet, there are enterprising women, who manifest their mastermind and efficiency in management and administration in Tamil Nadu and India.

To indicate a few personalities in management may not be out of place. Anjani Dayanand, former Chief Secretary, Government of Pondicherry, Lathika Patalkar, IAS., Thilakavathi IPS., G.K. Gariyali, IAS., Chandralekha IAS., Malathi IAS., Anuradha Rajivan IAS., all in Government of Tamilnadu, Sarojini Varadappan, social worker, V.M. Kothainayagi Ammal, Sivasankari, Lakshmi and a host of women writers, Jothi Venkatachalam, Maragatham



Chandrasekar, Sathyavani Muthu. Her Excellency Fathima Beevi, Governor of Tamil Nadu, and a few more women administrators and ministers, the inimitable Kiran Bedi, IPS., Indira Gandhi, Aruna Asaf Ali, Najma Hephullah, Sushma Swaraj, the former Chief Minister of Delhi, and many more women of India are the architects of the women's world in modern times. Their steadfast services for the welfare of Indian women have very less parallels in the past history of nations. It is these women, who on many occasions, decide the destinies of mankind either directly or indirectly. Hence, the saying, "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world".

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# **A STUDY ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PROBLEMS OF MALAYALI TRIBES IN PACHAMALAI HILLS, SALEM DISTRICT**

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## **Introduction**

India has a rich tribal heritage built up as a result of diverse customs, traditions and practices. There are varieties in dress, speech, nature of social organization, religion and levels of economical and technological development. But, unfortunately, the Indian tribes could not maintain their specificity in the changing threshold of the society. They are passing through a transitory and uncertain phase of their culture in such a way that, on the one hand, they try to make their identity and, on the other, they are exposed to such avenues and opportunities to integrate themselves with the mainstream of the modern society. The tribal people in various parts of the country today are faced with an unprecedented evolutionary crisis in their history.

After we attained independence, the objective of our planners was to bring about social change and structural transformation in the Indian society and, ideologically, we had set three goals before us, i.e., democratic political participation of the people, social justice and unity of cultural diversities. With these objectives in mind, the aim has been to secure the advancement of the tribes without disturbing the essential harmony of their life and securing their integration without any sort of imposition. For this, various legislative and administrative measures were introduced for the tribal people. We have witnessed more than five decades of independence, yet we have not reached the cherished goal of overall development of tribal folks in a true sociological sense.

So this study is fully based up on "Malayali" tribes in Salem District with the focus of attention on the Government welfare programmes. The scholar has given an account of current problems which are faced by Malayali tribes.

## **Origin of Malayali Tribes**

There are 'Theories' to explain the origin of the Malayali tribes of the Pachamalai hills.

### **Ruler of Hills Theory-Malayali**

The word Malayalis denotes the "inhabitant of the hills". They are a Tamil speaking people who migrated from the plains to the hills in comparatively recent times.

### **Bengal Origin Theory**

Vanavas and celestials were the tribes of Tamil Nadu. They belonged to a mountainous region in the north of Bengal and when they settled in Southern India, they chose for their residence hilly tracts such as the Kolli hills in Namakkal District of the western ghats and the Nilgris.

## **Migration from Kanchipuram**

In the Gazetteer of Trichy District or Salem District, it is found that the Malayalis had originated also from Kanchipuram. The legend runs that three brothers named Periyannan, Chinnannan and Naduvannan went for hunting. While hunting it began to rain so heavily for two days. So they were not able to leave the forest. Their wives seeing the dogs without their masters concluded that their husbands had died in the jungle and, as per the tradition, all loyal widows set fire to their houses and perished in the flames. On the third day, the hunters rushed from the forest and found their houses in ashes and their wives dead.

The bereaved husbands thereupon consoled themselves, decided to remarry and Periyannan chose a Karikolan girl and settled on the Kalrayan hills. Naduvannan chose a Vedachi as his bride and chose the Pachamalai hills as his residence. Chinnannan married a Pevandra Pallan and settled on the Kolli hills. Thus the three brothers then became the progenitors of the three clearly defined sub castes into which the Malayalis are defined as the Periya Malayali and "Kolli Malayali".

## **Relevance in Tribal Development**

We have remained engaged in the development of the tribals for more than five decades. Their development is one of our constitutional obligations. We hoped to lead the tribals to march on the road of development. Initially, within a period of ten years after independence, that has not been possible. More than fifty years have passed, but the tribals continue to remain buried in illiteracy and suffer under conditions of utter poverty. Their quality of life has worsened instead of showing improvement. It has not been possible for us to restore to the tribals their forests, for we seem to have reached almost a crucial point of deforestation. Our new forest policy is more callous to the tribals and holds them responsible for the present forest decay. Also, most of the fertile and irrigated land has gone to the non-tribals.

This has reduced the tribals to the level of marginal and small peasants. The tribal lot, therefore, in an era of development, is depressed because of the loss of their land and forests.

We claim to have constructed roads in the interior parts of the tribal areas. But most of persons running the transport net works have made it a means of corruption and exploitation. Our development programmes of dam construction, speeding of communication, opening of schools and dispensaries have benefited more the money lender, the liquor lender, the lawyers, touts and the political workers. In fact our approach to the concept of development appears to be faulty. Perhaps what we all means "development" is not viewed in the same manner by the tribals. Gandhiji once observed that we must approach the poor with the mind of the poor; that is, we must approach the tribesman with the mind of the tribesman. The question is: Do we take into consideration the needs, aspirations and values of the tribals in our effort to bring about their development or do we approach the problem of development mainly from the perspective of the dominating interest groups of the high caste Hindus and the members of the ruling groups?

Taking into consideration all our effort to achieve tribal development, it could be observed that most of the benefits given to the tribals have gone to the tribal leaders and elites. The average or the common tribal has received a negligible fraction of the cake. How is it that despite the huge expenditure incurred on tribals; the results have been so discouraging? If social science is concerned with the developmental problem of the tribals, what has it to

submit by way of explanation? How is it that the tribals have not attained the level of development despite so much of planned efforts?

### **Problem Faced by Tribals**

The tribals of Tamilnadu, as elsewhere by and large, remained economically and educationally backward. Presently, some of the serious problems faced by those tribals are economic backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and exploitation. Since all these problems are inter related, there should be an integrated approach to tackle them.

### **Illiteracy**

In spite of planned development programmes in the different plan periods, the achievement made so far by scheduled tribes in the field of literacy and education has not been satisfactory. For educational development the tribals, emphasis should be placed on need-based education rather than on the general type of education. It is also important that poorer sections of the tribals should benefit from the educational facilities.

### **Tribal Exploitation**

The exploitation of tribals by money lenders Mahajans is another serious problem. This problem is the system of forced or bonded labour in practice in certain tribal areas of Tamilnadu.

Various measures have been taken in the past to curb the practice of exploitation, but much more remains to be done. Legislative measures had been taken by the government in 1961 for abolishing the practice. The concerned act is known as the SAGRI Abolition Act. There is a need to assess and review the effectiveness of this act and others of a similar nature.

The problem of tribal exploitation is to be tackled on a war footing. This problem has to be given the almost preference in programmes of tribal development. One possible way of resolving this problem is to improve the economic lot of tribals and eliminate their economic dependency on Mahajans.

### **Suggestions for the Effective Implementation of Programmes for Tribal Development**

A number of development programmes have been taken up after Independence in order to improve the Socio-Economic condition of the tribals. The constitution of India has provided certain special safeguards for their faster development. However, the tribals have not developed according to expectations.

For a number of reasons the development of tribals has not been very satisfactory. It is generally argued that most of our development programmes are plan-based, which do not take into account the local requirements of the tribals. The partly slow progress of tribals can partly be attributed to the over bureaucratization of the planning process and its implementation.

Condemning the over-bureaucratization of planning L.P. Vidyarthi 1968: 144-19 has rightly expressed the view that the tribal development programmes will not gain momentum as long as highly complex formal structures of various departments are according too much prominence. The purpose of formulating plans should be to facilitate their successful implementation.

## **Area Description**

### **Pachamalai hills**

Pachamalai hills is situated between Trichy and Salem District, Musiri Taluk of Trichy District situated in the south. Athur taluk of Salem District is situated in the North. The taluks of Perambalur, Rasipuram, also share the boundary of hills.

The area of Pachamalai is not known to many people. Most of the area comes under reserve forest. The hill area is divided into different Nadu like Vannatu, Thanparanadu, Kombais etc. The hills also have certain water falls, which are gaining during rain season and dries most of the time of the year. There are various approach routes to the hills, the most popular routes are Namakkal and Thuraiyur routes. However, there are other less popular routes of approach which are used for fetching fuel, cattle breeding, etc. The government of Tamil Nadu is also planning to construct irrigation projects in the area. The flora and fauna are as common as anywhere in Tamilnadu.

The major water falls in this area is known as 'Etterumaipani', which is always used for picnic and cinema shooting.

### **Vengamudi and Periyapakkalam**

Vengamudi is a village which comes under Athur taluk in Salem District. It has 25 households, all of them belong to Malayali tribes. There are town bus routes to reach the village. One is from below the foot hills called Uppliyapuram through Soppanapuram to Vengamudi from upwards Athur through Senkattupatti. Altogether there are five bus trips. Otherwise there is no contact with outside villages.

Periyapakkalam is another village which has 60 households. It has similar characteristics with Sengamudi. Electricity has reached the village within a period of five years, the street lights are still under construction. They don't have milch cow and therefore no milk is available in this area. People have not yet shifted to the modern drinks like coffee, tea, etc. They don't even consume toddy.

### **Objectives**

1. To study the various theories about Malayali tribes.
2. To study the problems in fulfilling their basic needs of daily life.
3. To study the social, cultural behaviour of the Malayali Tribes.

### **Methodology**

Village Vegamudi and Periyapakkalam are selected from Athur Panchayat of Salem District for the present study. The study aims to understand the social structure, living condition and problem. The following objectives are fixed for the present study.

### **Population and Sampling**

The universe of our study is total number of households in both the villages. The village Vegamudi has 25 households and the village Periyapakkalam has 55 households. Altogether the study area has universe of 80 households. This is the population. In order to have reliable data collection, the study proposes to have alternative household of the population. For study the sample size is 40 households. This makes 50% of the population. Hence the sampling is systematic. The unit of the study is one individual per household, that is the

head of the family irrespective of male and female discrimination. Apart from this sampling, a few case studies are also conducted to give a deep insight into the life process of the people.

### **Data Collection**

Secondary data are collected from Tribal Welfare Association, Tamil Nadu Social Welfare Board Office, Taluk Adi-Dravidar Welfare Office, (Thuraiyur), District Adi-Dravidar Welfare Office, (Salem). Forest Office Record (Thuraiyur), C.S.I. Panchamali Development Project Office (Puthurpachamalai). Integrated Tribal Development Project Office Rachamalai hills, the Union Office (Thuraiyur and Uppliapuram). The Gazetteers of South Arcot, Trichy and Salem Districts.

### **Primary data**

Primary data are collected through observation, interview schedule and case study.

### **Problems of Tribes in Pachamali hills**

The literary level of the Pachamalai hills is very low, because the tribes are found of doing only agriculture. Their children are helping their parents in agriculture. So they refused to go to school and the school administration is also in a very bad condition. The teachers of the tribal school used to come only once in a week. But the noon meal and day meal have been provided to children regularly through cooking section.

There are two cooks in every school and they will take care of the school. The children will chat and play. Their parents are innocent and illiterate. So, they do not care about the illiteracy of the children, which led to continuing of illiteracy condition among Malayali tribes.

### **Crisis from Government Officials**

The Government has been implementing many welfare programmes, and policy to the tribal people for the improvement of their life. But it is not fruitful to Malayali tribes aid because, they cannot approach the government officials. They will not give any respect and do not have interest in the tribal people, according to Malayali tribes. The Government officials refused to help them. So the Malayali tribes cannot know about the loans and aids which are available for them. It leads to suffering in their social condition and the officials used to get money for helping the tribes. Because of this situation, the Malayali tribes said there is more corruption in the field of government loan and other sanction, which is retaining the problems of Malayali tribes.

### **Conclusion**

Our tribal development programmes are largely target oriented plans and take care of the disbursement of a given amount of funds in the so called tribal sectors. They are not need based programmes. The problems of the tribals are basically different regions of the country, and in different areas of the regions. They need micro-level analysis and immediate attention essentially for local solutions.

Unfortunately many good plans have failed at the implementation level because persons concerned with implementation are generally unsympathetic to them. Sometime there are many bottlenecks due to administrative flaws. There are many more hazards in their development which need to be tackled practically for real and fruitful development.

Moreover, it is essential to understand the real problems of tribal people. This is possible through sociological approach. For this purpose, one has to create a good rapport with the tribal people by living with them, understanding their life and culture, their values and sentiments. Unless these important aspects of tribal life are well understood, it is believed that the programmes however good and useful cannot yield fruitful results.

The generation of tribal initiative is a precondition for the successful formulation and execution of any meaningful plan for tribal development. What it means is that local consultation with the poor tribals as well as with "leaders" is an essential first step in programming which are to have direct effects in tackling tribal poverty, which is the real object of tribal development.

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# IRULAS IN SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT - A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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## Introduction

Irulas formed one of the downtrodden tribes of India. They had been subdivided into a number of subtribes and scattered over many parts. These subdivisions have their own culture, customs practice and lifestyles<sup>1</sup>. This paper makes an attempt to study the problems of the Irulas by making field surveys to the places when they live, particularly in the Gingee area.

The term Irular is derived from the word Irul, meaning black or drak. Irulars call themselves *Erlar* or *poosari*, while their neighbours refer to them as *Eralollu*, *Irular*, *Shikari* and *Pujari*. In the South Arcot District, some Irulas call themselves Ten (honey), Vanniyans or Vana (forest), Pallis. Vettaikaran (hunter) an occupational name of Boyas. Irulas and Koravas were also included in the list of Irulas during the 1982 Census<sup>2</sup>.

In Tamil Nadu, Irulars had settled in the Nilgiri, Coimbatore, South Arcot and North Arcot districts. The Irulas of South Arcot district are mostly forest-tribes. They have, however, so long left the jungles and lived among the ordinary villages. Since then they have lost almost all traces of any usual customs which they might have once possessed. They are chiefly found round about the Gingee hills. They have a very dark and very curly hair. They talk corrupt Tamil<sup>3</sup>.

They have no exogamous or endogamous sub-divisions in this district. There are a few simple ceremonies at their weddings. They prefer marriage alliances between maternal uncle and niece, and between cross-cousins and also through negotiations. The elders of the caste fix the auspicious day for marriage. Some marriages were done in a pandal and some in temples; a tali is tied. There is a vegetarian feast with alcoholic drinks provided to the relatives. The wedding takes place at the bride's home. Sororate marriages (cousins forming brother-sister relationship in Hindu custom) are formed at the bride's natal residence. The bride-groom brings a few small presents and their relatives. Varisai (*Moi- Ezhuthutal*) is practiced as soon as the marriage was over.

Adult marriage is the practice. Monogamy is common and polygamy is also permitted. A necklace, toe-rings and the vermilion mark are the symbols of married woman. Divorce is permitted with social approval and a divorced person may remarry. Widow remarriage is allowed and a young widow can live with her brother-in-law as wife. They do not recognize intercaste marriages.

Generally, women remain illiterate and also they are hardworkers. They accompany their husbands for work. Some of them drink and smoke. Some of the women were prostitutes and used to display their charms in a shameless manner at the Chettipalayam market near Gingee. In case of sickness, people of all classes come to consult the Irula fortune teller, known as Kannimar Varniththal. At that time the wife of the fortune-teller helps her husband<sup>4</sup>.



Men smoke beedis and both men and women chew betel and tobacco. Many of them take alcoholic drinks, such as *sarayam* (arrack) and *kallu* (toddy). They do fasting on the death anniversary of their father. While setting out, the appearance of snake is considered to be in-auspicious. At the same time, they will go in even numbers like two, four, etc., to attend an auspicious function.

Their rites at births and deaths are equally simple. The dead usually buried (lying face upwards). On the eleventh day after the death, the eldest son ties a cloth round his head and a little rice is coloured red paste (*Kumkum*) and then thrown into a river. Ill-Luck would befall the eldest son if he were to omit the ceremony.

The Irulars worship almost all the *gramadevadas* (village deities) but probably the even Kanniamars are their favourite deities. During the month of Chitirai, they celebrate *kannimar* festival on particular days like Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. They also celebrate the festivals of Sivaratri, Pongal and Diwali. The community has its own oral traditions. Both men and women sing folk songs. They usually try indigenous medicines and rarely resort to allopathic medicines depending upon the gravity of diseases.<sup>5</sup>

In case of sickness, the first consult the Irual Fortune-teller, whose occupation is known as *Kannimar Varniththal*. Taking up his drum, he warms it over a fire, or exposes it to the sun. In about a quarter of an hour he goes into convulsions and breaks into profuse perspirations. This is a sure sign that he is possessed by *Kanniamman*. Questions are generally put to the heavenly excited man not directly but through his wife.<sup>6</sup>

Land is the main resource of the Irulas. The forests are their secondary source of income. Traditionally they are hunters and grain gleaners on the harvested field. They also collect honey and are paid for it in paddy. They help farmers free their fields from the ratmenace and are paid for this in paddy annually. A few of them own land, mostly dry land. Some of them subsist on being watchmen in the field and on unscientific manner if the season is bad and they are pressed by want. But if the ground-nut crop yield is good, they behave themselves well.<sup>7</sup> A borrower has to pledge his wife to the lender till the loan is repaid. At the same time, he had to look after his children without the mother until he repays it. His wife be sent back to him if he repays his debts.

## Conclusion

The Irulas maintain their traditional habits although they have assimilated the customs and manners of the other groups in Tamil Nadu. Social status of the Irulas has improved their food and dress to a large extent. The Tamil Nadu Government introduced various developmental programmes for the upliftment of the tribal people. They have been provided with residential houses, free land for cultivation, subsidies and loans for purchasing milch animals, goats and agricultural implements. However, they are still dependent on local vendors for their daily provisions by pledging their ration-cards and selling their produces in small quantities to money lenders.

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# POLITICAL HERITAGE OF THE THANJAVUR KALLARS

## A STUDY IN ETHNO - ARCHAEOLOGY

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### 1. The Kallars of Thanjavur District

Thanjavur district is said to be the original place of the Kallars (Francis:1902). The Kallars of Thanjavur are identified as a dominant agricultural sub-caste and they are known for their martial activities in the past among agricultural sub-caste and they are Tamil speaking Hindus. They have been declared as a Backward Community and enjoy the concessions and privileges being extended by the Government of Tamil Nadu. It is estimated that there are more than 10 lakhs of Kallars who are mostly found concentrated in Western Thanjavur district and also at Pudukottai and Trichy districts in Tamil Nadu.

The Kallars of Thanjavur district cannot be included among Mukkulathor who comprise of three other Kallar groups of subcastes namely, the *Paramalai Kallars*, the *Maravar* and the *Ahamudaiyar* of Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli districts in Tamil Nadu. The people belonging to 'Mukkulathor' are having the common suffix title of personal names called '*Thevar*'. The Kallars of Thanjavur, on the other hand, have more than 364 suffix titles of personal names including the title called '*Thevar*'. The Kallars of Thanjavur and the Mukkulathors of Madurai district do not intermarry. The Kallars of Thanjavur are known for their distinctive social political heritage in terms of their origin and way of living.

### 2. Etymological meaning of the word 'Kallars'

Etymologically the name *Kallars* is associated with a Tamil word 'Kallar', which means thief. A twelfth century work, *Pingalantai* refers to Kallars as people who take others' property. The dictionary meaning may refer to an extra-ordinary quality of the indigenous people and their legitimate politics of violence. But in practice 'Kallars' means 'master' or 'landlord' and it is the inside view of local people. In fact, the people of dependent castes use to address the Kallars as 'Kallan' the people of dependent castes used to address the Kallars as 'Kallan' or 'Yajaman' with fear and respect.

### 3. Origin of the Kallars

The origin of the Kallars is often traced to ancient migrants referred to as Nagas who ruled some part of the Tamil Nadu before the beginning of the Christian Era (Kanakasabai, 1956). Nilakanta Sastri has suggested a neolithic origin and belonging to the Mediterranean racial group in South India (Nilakanta Sastri: 1956). Venkatasamy Nattar, a profound Tamil Scholar and a Kallar himself, identifies them with 'Kallan Koman Pulli' of Venkatagiri referred to in the Sangam literature (Venkatasamy Nattar, 1923).

Opinions differ about their origin but there are adequate facts to believe that they are the native Tamils belonging to the region (Thanjavur area) (Francis 1902).

#### 4. The Social heritage of the Kallars

Some of the thirteenth century inscriptions included in the Mackenzie manuscripts offer clues to the earliest traces of Kallar social history. They reveal that the Kallars were never a migrating group, the aggressor of the ouster; rather in every case they were a settled group in the areas (Mahalingam, 1972).

Sathianatha Iyer has traced these Kallars as a semiagricultural, semi-warrior group living in marginal lands during the 17th century (Sathianatha Iyer, 1956).

It is significant to note that the Kallars are included among other agricultural castes of Madras province in the first Census of Indis, 1871.

#### 5. The Political heritage of the Kallars

It is significant to note that the Kallars of Thanjavur district are divided into more than 365 exogamous patrilineal clans. It is also believed that no community in the world has so many groups and they have been reported by the author of this paper for the first time (Karuppaiyan, 1990).

These numerical Kallar clans have distinctive names and they are found used as the suffix titles along with the personal names of the male members of the Kallar community. Some of the titles are found associated with the names and titles of the ancient rulers of Tamil Country namely, the Nagas, the Pallavas, and the Cholas and these titles throw light on the social and political heritage of the community. The facts are furnished in the following paragraphs.

##### i) The Naga heritage among the Kallars

There are references in the *Manimekhalai* to some important places in ancient Tamil Nadu such as Naganadu, and Nagamalai (Sathanar, 1955). These places are found associated with the names of the people called Nagas who ruled such places eighteen hundred years ago. (Kanakasabai, 1956). It is significant to note that 'Navathandavar' or 'Nagathandar' is one of the titles of the Kallars. The inscriptions related to this is yet to be traced by the author.

##### ii) The Pallava heritage among the Kallars

The Kallars are found associated with the Pallavas who ruled the Tamil Country from 4th to 7th century A.D. having their headquarters at Kanchipuram. When the Pallavas invaded the southern part of the Tamil Country, the Kallars became their feudatories. The Kallars' link with the Pallavas is supported by the similarities between some of the Pallava names and some of the names of the Kallar clans such as *Thondaiman Pallavarayar*, *Kadaran Vendirar* and *Kaduvetti*. These are the title suffixed with the names of the Pallava Kings (Mahalingam, 1967). Such titles are still remaining the suffix titles of the personal names of persons belonging to the respective Kallar clans.

An inscription of 8th century A.D. is found at Sundareswarar temple at Sen edalai village in Thanjavur district. It mentions two other names of *Muttarayar* Kings, namely Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar and Ilango Mutharayar who are said to be the subordinates of Pallava Kings. Another inscription is found in the same village which mentions the name of a Muttaraiyar King of Thanjavur. The King's name as *Kalvar Kavalan* which means the protector of the Kallar (SII, Vol.No.590. It is significant to note that *Mutharaiyar* is one of the numerous titles of Kallars of Thanjavur.

### iii) The Political heriitage of the Kallar inherited from the Cholas

There are evidences to show association of the Kallars with the rulers of Chola Empire which flourished in the Cauvery delta during 10th 13th century A.D. Looking into some names and titles of the Chola Kings and the suffix titles of personal names of the Kallars in Thanjavur district, there are quite a number of parallels in those names and titles. *Konerinmeikondar* is one of the title of Chola King called Kulothunga-III, who conquered Kongunadu (SII., Vol.21 Part-I). There are other titles of the Chola Kings such as *Cholagangar*, *Elattharaiyar*, *Kadaratharaiyar*, *Konggaraiyar*, *Kollatharaiyar*, *Pambaliyar*, *Merknodar*, *Kandiyar*, *Mannaiyar Palrayar*, *Palanattar*, *Palaiyar*, *Palundar*, etc. (Karashima, 1778). Such title have been acquired by the Kallars of Thanjavur district. In addition, the Kallars have served as feudatories and chieftains under the Chola Kingdom in the name of 'Mavali' and Vanathiraiyar which are also acquired by the Kallars of Thanjavur district as their suffix-titles of personal names.

Similarly, there are few other titles of the Chola Kings namely, *Chinatharaiyar*, *Mandarayar*, *Madaraiyar*, *Arumainattar*, *Singaraiyar*, *Killiyurar* and *Malgyaman* which are now acquired by the Kallars as their titles.

It is very interesting to note that it is possible to classify the numerous titles of the Kallars into four major groups namely, (i) Royal titles (ii) Feudal titles, (iii) Martial titles, (iv) Victorial titles. Their royal titles end with Rayar, Araiyyar, Andar, Arasar, Dever, Thondaiman, Cholagan, Pandian and Cheran. Their titles ending with *Nattar* and *Nadar* are found to be feudal titles. Thirdly, the titles ending with *Senai*, *Padai*, *Thalaivar*, *Pore* and *Kalam* are found to be related with their martial status. Lastly, their titles ending with 'Mundar' 'Kondar' and 'Poondar' are found to be related to their victorial status.

Moreover, the political heriitage of the Kallars are also known for ancient *Kaval system* in which the Kallars with the title *Ambalakarar* used to exercise both law and order and judical powers for safeguarding the life and property of the local people and the temples for which they collected *Kaval fee*. They are said to be the sergeants *Kavalkarans* of the temple complexes at Kanchi, Srirangam. Alagar Kovil, Madurai (Mahalingam, 1967).

The above cited inscriptions and other evidences explain the political heritage of the Kallars of Thanjavur district. Meanwhile, an archaeologist or a historian can explain part of the social and political history of Tamil Nadu by studying the meaning of the numerous titles of the Kallars of Thanjavur district.

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# CONCEPT OF SAMATHUVAPURAM AND SOCIAL EQUALITY:

A Historical Approach

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## Introduction :

The introduction of the concept of "Samathuvapuram" and the emergence of such habitations in Tamil Nadu are good signs for the attainment of social equality. The term 'Samathuvapuram' means habitation of people respecting equality and universal brotherhood. The ultimate aim is to create an egalitarian society. In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the various problems that will arise in these localities in future and to suggest some remedial measures to these problems.

## Motivation:

Earlier, attempts were made by the reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Jyothirao Phoole, Sri Narayana Guru, Vaikuntha Swamigal, 'Mahatma' Gandhi, Periyar E.V. Ramaswami and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to establish a casteless society in India. They followed different methods to eradicate casteism and untouchability. Raja Ram Mohan Roy through 'Brahma Samaj' tried to bring about social equality. Jyothirao Phoole, infact, ushered in an era of social awakening among the downtrodden through 'Satya Sodhak Samaj' by propagating universal brotherhood. Sri Narayana Guru tried to restore equality by preaching the philosophy of 'goodness of man by professing any religion'. In the last century, Vaikuntha Swamigal of Swami-thope in the present Kanyakumari district echoed the concept of 'unity of minds and souls of humans' and wanted a government that would look into the requirements of all humans alike. If such humans could not be equally fed, they should destroy these governments and the universe. St. Ramalingar of Vadalur, known for his doctrine of universal brotherhood, started the famous 'Suddha Saiva Sanmargha Sanga' and preached the philosophy of 'oneness of humanity'.

In the twentieth century, Gandhiji started a movement for the removal of untouchability through Indian National Congress; and he made it a social responsibility to remove untouchability.<sup>1</sup> Dr. B.R. Ambedkar endeavoured to achieve his goal of restoring equality by giving constitutional safeguards to the downtrodden and the minority communities. E.V. Ramaswami, the 'Morning Star of Reformation' in Tamil Nadu was confident of putting an end to the caste system and superstition through atheism. However, the earlier attempts of the above mentioned humanitarians did not yield the desired effects.

Dr.Kalaingar M.Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, conceived the idea of 'Samathuvapuram' and dared to accomplish it by using governmental schemes and machineries. He might have been motivated to establish these habitations for peaceful living to check communal violence that often disturb the peace in society by the tragedy of Kilvenmani in Tanjore district and the recent caste clashes in Kodyankulam and Srivilliputhur. The Chief

Minister, inaugurating the first 'Samathuvapuram' at Melakottai village in Tirumangalam Taluk of Madurai district said that the objective behind creating 'Samathuvapuram' was towards reaching the goal of making the Tamil society live as a homogenous one. He also appealed to the beneficiaries to realise the spirit behind the 'Samathuvapuram' and to co-operate with the government in its efforts at creating good citizens.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Location :**

The sites for 'Samathuvapuram' are chosen generally adjoining the villages. The reason is to avoid areas of caste consciousness. Caste conflicts have been perpetuated in villages due to the separation of the residential area of different caste groups, particularly *Adi Dravidas*.

#### **Growth of Samathuvapurams :**

Nineteen 'Samathuvapurams' were established till the end of April 1999 and the nineteenth 'Samathuvapuram' is located at Enathur in the district of Kancheepuram. The scramble for becoming a resident of 'Samathuvapuram' indicates the public support for this scheme. The concept of 'Samathuvapuram' is being recognised all over India. The journal, 'Statesman' published from Calcutta appealed to the people to extend whole-hearted support to this scheme. It wrote, "Instead of exploiting the situation for a narrow political ends, mature leaders of political parties should extend whole-hearted support to Karunanidhi's concept of Samathuvapuram, a Government sponsored settlement scheme where families of different castes and communities live in harmony as neighbours." It added that the scheme had made a small beginning and deserved to be expanded particularly in the violent prone Southern districts of Tamil Nadu.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Mode of Selection and Settlement Pattern :**

The selection of the beneficiaries is mainly based on credibility of a person bringing about harmony and peace in Samathuvapuram. Naturally, the poor economic condition of the applicants is also taken into account. The allotment of the houses is made in the following percentage.<sup>4</sup>

Scheduled Castes	: 40%
Most Backward Classes	: 25%
Backward Classes	: 25%
Other Communities	: 10%

The District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) is in charge of implementing the scheme. The authorities are very careful in the selection of the beneficiaries. Dr. S. Ramasamy, Panruti M.L.A., and Mr. S. Pazhaniswamy, Panruti Panchayat Union Chairman, and Mr. Ramachandran, District Panchayat Councillor, Thiruvannamiyur Ward had stated that they were doubly careful in selecting the beneficiaries; those whose antecedents were free of sectarian interests and unlawful activities like illicit distillation of arrack, etc.<sup>5</sup> Hence the government is cautious in the selection of the residents in order to bring about harmony and peace in 'Samathuvapurams'.

According to Madurai District Collector, the houses had been allotted in such a manner that an Adi dravida house was followed by that of a Backward Class, and Most Backward Class in Melakottai. Further a ten member committee of the residents had been formed to

maintain the village and also run fair price shop. He added that financial assistance had been provided for the residents to buy milch animals.

Issue of family cards, opening of savings account for each family, providing continuing education under the *Arivoli*, and the enthusiasm shown by the voluntary organisations to enlighten the residents on various social issues such as abolition of bonded labour and child labour, consumer rights, human rights and Women's development<sup>6</sup> aimed at reaching the goal of making the Tamil society live as a homogeneous one.

#### **Infrastructure Facilities :**

The model village is provided with infrastructure facilities such as Primary School, over-head tank for water supply, a Noon Meal Centre, Health Centre, Park, Community Centre, Cooperative Milk Society and a Fair Price Shop. Each beneficiary had been given five cents of land along with the house in which gardens would be developed.<sup>7</sup> In spite of the careful planning of Samathuvapuram, it will face certain problems, urban in nature in due course.

#### **Problems Facing 'Samathuvapuram' :**

Samathuvapuram, though appears as rural, in reality it is semi-urban. Drainage, disposal of garbage, scavenging and caste disputes are some of the problems facing the model village in future. Indians in general are not respecting dignity of labour. Workers associated with dirt are looked down upon. Moreover the residents of the model village will be having their link with their native places. It is possible that the harmony of 'Samathuvapuram' some times will be disturbed due to external pressure. In other words the social tension that prevail in the villages will have its repercussions in Samathuvapuram also.

Some historical events substantiate our views. The peculiar division of the Tamils into Right and Left Hand Castes prevailed till the end of 18th century. In Cuddalore, Sherkhan, (17th century) the administrator, separated the localities of these two divisions. He also issued a cowl recognising the customs and habits of the Right and Left Hand Caste People. According to the royal order violation of custom would lead to punishment. The people belonging to both the groups lived in harmony for some time as customs and habits were respected. At the dawn of 18th century, there were frequent clashes between these groups due to violation of customs. The dispute some times led to stoppage of marriage and even murder.<sup>8</sup> (It may be noted that the *Adi Dravidas* were attached to the land lords who belonged to the Right Hand Caste Division. But they were excluded from this division even though they were involved in agricultural work).

It may be observed that the agriculturists and the artisans were Caste Hindus and there was no question of pollution. Hence change of occupation brought about social change during colonial period and led to gradual disappearance of these divisions. In case of 'Samathuvapuram', equality between the *Adi Dravidas* and caste Hindus could be achieved through occupational and attitudinal change. In spite of the introduction of western education, efforts of the social reformers, constitutional safeguards guaranteed by the constitution and measures taken by the government to eradicate untouchability, caste consciousness and untouchability still continue in the Hindu society. In such a situation Samathuvapuram, the miniature Indian Society will have to face certain problems in future. The Housing colonies of the government servants, though appear as 'Samathuvapuram' are distinct from the latter.



The location of Housing Colonies in urban areas, education and employment of the residents are responsible for the peaceful life in these colonies. Here also we find the relationship between an *Adi Dravida* family and a caste Hindu or a Christian or a Muslim family goes to the maximum level of common dining at the time of ceremonies. Inter-caste marriages among these groups are not generally encouraged. The residents of 'Samathuvapuram' are drawn from poorer section of the society. Hence the adherence to the following guidelines may help the administrators for the complete success of 'Samathuvapuram'.

- 1) The government should ensure whether the beneficiaries are really interested in egalitarian society.
- 2) Interference of the members of the bigger society with the peaceful living of 'Samathuvapuram' should be checked then and there.
- 3) The inter-dining and inter-caste marriage should be encouraged among the residents.
- 4) Since inequality in Hindu society is glaring, the Hindu religious authorities should visit these places and preach equality and take sincere efforts to put an end to the practice of untouchability. The *Adi Dravidas* should be allowed to participate in the temple festivals as they form a part of Hinduism.
- 5) Periodical lectures on human rights, freedom and equality should be given by scholars, reformers and saints.
- 6) The committee formed in 'Samathuvapuram' should have at least two members from the *Adi Dravida* Community. No decision should be taken to undermine the zeal and aim of 'Samathuvapuram' to restore equality.
- 7) The *Adi dravidas* living in 'Samathuvapuram' should not be used for doing the menial work.
- 8) Infrastructure facilities should be created for imparting education.
- 9) Encouragement should be given by the government and voluntary organisations to keep the houses and the surroundings clean.
- 10) The houses must have uniform pattern. No house should be distinct from the other, even by model or painting.
- 11) The government should form a committee consisting of communal leaders, politicians and members of the voluntary organisations to ensure the practice of the principle of equality in these habitations.
- 12) The government should take necessary steps to eliminate casteists and religious fanatics residing in 'Samathuvapuram'.
- 13) A Sanitary Inspector with his team should visit these places regularly and carryout sanitary measures.
- 14) A Police outpost should be created in these areas to prevent clashes among the residents due to internal factors.
- 14) A Mobile Court should be established to try the cases involving the residents of 'Samathuvapuram' at various places in Tamil Nadu.

## Conclusion :

The Political Parties, irrespective of their ideological differences, should appreciate and cooperate with the government to make 'Samathuvapuram' a grand success. Constructive criticism from various quarters would help to achieve the goal of equality in these habitations. While Christians and Muslims are at least, united by their respective religions and their doctrines, the Hindus, particularly the Adi dravidas are segregated and humiliated due to the absence of equality and universal brotherhood in Hindu religious leaders are having more responsibility in restoring Hinduism equality among various sections of Hindu society by putting an end to the practice of untouchability in the Hindu religious festivals and the Hindu society. The adherence to the "guidelines" mentioned earlier will certainly help to achieve equality, not only at 'Samathuvapuram' but also in the Indian society.

## Notes and References:

- 1) N.K. Kadedotad. *Religion and Society among the Harijans*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1977, p.5.
  - 2) *The Hindu*, dated August 18, 1998.
  - 3) *The Statesman*, dated October 13, 1998.
  - 4) *The Hindu*, dated August 13, 1998.
  - 5) *Ibid.*, dated August 13, 1998.
  - 6) *Ibid.*, dated August 17, 1998.
  - 7) *Ibid.*
  - 8) Selection from the Madras Records - Letters from Fort St. George, 1740, p.52.
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**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**  
**ART AND CULTURAL HISTORY SECTION**

**Raju Kalidos**

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**Friends,**

It is indeed a privilege to be with you this fine day to take an active part in the deliberations of the TNHC (Fifth Annual Session - 24/25 October 1998) by delivering the Presidential Address of the Art and Cultural History Section. We are conscious of the fact that we have met here under the endearing clasp, rather hospitable grip, of the University which runs in the name of the great Tamil scholar and historian, Professor P. Sundaram Pillai (1855-97), who showed us a way to march in the rugged terrain of historical research. He was indeed a pathfinder who wanted us to write the scientific history of India on the banks of the Kaviri and Tamiraparani rivers and not the Sindhu or Ganga. His dream today stands unfulfilled and let us hope the 'authentic' team, appointed by the Government, to write the authentic history of this part of Indian Asia (cf. *Tamilnattu Varalaru Pallavar-Pantiyar Kalam Ki.Pi. 500-900 Irantam Pakuti* by Tamilnattu Varalaru Pulu 'History of Tamilnadu Pallava-Pandya Period A.D. 500-900 Part II by A Team of Tamilnadu History tellers') will come out with a work of such noble and lofty ideologies. K.V. Zvelebil (1974:8) while introducing Prof. Sundaranar in his *Tamil Literature* (under 'A History of Indian Literature' (ed.) Jan Gonda, Pub. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden) inserts the note: "Professor at Maharaja's College, Trivandrum; author of a number of historical and literary papers, translator of Tamil classics into English, editor of inscriptions, author of *Manonmaniyam*, Madras 1881, a metaphysical drama". A pioneer, it was he who along with V. Kanakasabhai Pillai (1855-1906), R. Raghava Iyengar (1870-1946), M. Raghava Iyengar (1878-1960) and J.M. Nallaswami Pillai (1864-1920), pinpointed the relevance of Tamil literature in rewriting the history of Tamilnadu. Their efforts were sincere but where are we? is an open question.

Prof. Sundaranar was not only an expert in Tamil but also had a good groundwork in Sanskrit. I still remember with nostalgic memory when in 1984 Professor V.I. Subrahmoniam, first Vice Chancellor of the Tamil University, handed over a copy of a paper, published by Prof. Sundaranar in the 19th century, and wanted me to republish it, following the latest research tool, i.e., the Harvard method. It was published in our research Journal, *Tamil Civilization*, but I found it a hazardous job because the article was replete with excerpts from Sanskrit literature. We will have to follow the footsteps of such great thinkers if a scientific history of Tamilnadu is to be written. Are we at the points. I recall the eloquent words of Edmund Burke: "The age of chivalry is gone that of sophisters, calculators and economists has succeeded and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever" (*In Reflections on the French Revolution*). Unless we emulate the finest precepts of research methodology, a scientific history of Tamilnadu could only be a 'Midsummer Night's Dream'.

Most scholars depend on archaeological and archival data for their historical sketches. North Indian scholars do not neglect the Sanskritic sources. The situation in Tamilnadu is somewhat precarious. Our scholars, excepting the Cankam Age, do not attach much impor-

tance to Tamil literary sources. In fact, Tamil literature is rich in its bearing on the historical traditions of the subcontinent. It was ably demonstrated by early scholars like V. Kanakasabhai Pillai (*The Tamils 1800 Year Ago*, Madras 1904), S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (*Manimekalai in its Historical Setting*, Luzac 1928; followed by C.E. Ramachandran's *Akananuru in its Historical Setting*), and others. The tendency to overemphasise epigraphical data began with K.A. Nilakanta Sastri *et.alii* (e.g. *The Colas*, Madras 1955; *The Pandyan Kingdom*, Luzac, 1929). Nobody questions the value of epigraphical sources but why neglect Tamil literature? is the key question. In fact our literary heritage offers invaluable clues to unravel the mysteries shrouding the religio-philosophical and art, including social (cf. Raju Kalidos, (ed.) *Sectarian Rivalry in Art and Literature*, Delhi, 1977), history of the Indian subcontinent.

The call today is for a re-recognition of the valid Tamil literary sources. I must tell you that a group of scholars in the western hemisphere are rendering yeoman service in this regard while the Tamils are under the spell of a blissful slumber. Most of these western scholars are Tamilians, settled in America. They are guided by experts in Tamil, mostly Americans. The following examples are brought to your attention: Paul Younger ("The Citamparam Temple Complex and Its Evolution", *East and West*, 36: 1-3, pp. 205-26; *The Home of Dancing Civan*, OUP, New York & Oxford, 1995), David Dean Shulman (*Tamil Temple Myths*, Princeton, 1980; "Murukan, the Mango and Ekambaresvara-Siva: Fragments of a Tamil Creation Myth?", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XXI, 1979, pp. 27-35; (Ed.) *Syllables of Sky: Studies in South Indian Civilization*, Delhi, 1995), Kamil Veith Zvelebil ("The Nature of Sacred Power in Old Tamil Texts", *Acta Orientalia*, XL, 1979, pp. 157-92; "The Valli-Murukan Myth: Its Development", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XXII, 1980, pp. 113-35; *Tiru Murukan*, Madras, 1981, etc), William P. Harman (*The Sacred Marriage of a Hindu Goddess*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1989), Vidya Dehejia (*Slaves of the Lord: The Path of the Tamil Saints*, New Delhi, 1988; "Sambandar: a Child Saint of South India", *South Asian Studies*, III, 1987, pp. 53-61), Friedhelm Hardy (*Viraha Bhakti: the Early History of Krsna Devotion in South India*, Oxford, 1983 - this work traces the influence of the Alvars' hymns on the *Bhagavata Purana*), Dennis Hudson ("Tirumankai's Celebration of Vaikuntha Perumal Temple, Kanci", ACSAA Conference, 1983 - Hudson's work on the Tamil *bhakti* hymns is a comprehensive work - told by Vidya Dehejia). Fred N. Clothey (*The Many Faces of Murukan: the History and Meaning of a South Indian God*, The Hague, 1978) and so on.

During the last winter, when I delivered three lectures at the Institut fur Indische Philologie and Kustgeschichte of the Freie Universitat Berlin and Sudasien Institut of the Heidelberg Universitat, the invocatory sentence was: 'There are two eyes to discover the Indian past, viz., Tamil and Sanskrit'. So far scholars have not only overemphasised Sanskrit but also underestimated the value of Tamil. It is hightime that the due place for Tamil is given and in this job the Tamil knowing community alone could play the vital role. You will understand the sad status of affairs if an example is given. Most scholars working on Rajasthani miniatures (e.g. Archer, 1960, Siegel, 1978, Goswamy, 1986) take into account the *Bhagavata Purana* (10th century) and *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva (12th century) to examine the socio-cultural setting of the paintings. In these studies the Tamil *bhakti* hymns of the Alvars and Nayanmar do not come to the limelight. The fact is that the *Bhagavata Purana* and *Gita Govinda* were inspired by the hymns of the Alvars. Though the various (e.g. Kangra, Basholi) Rajasthani schools of paintings were the outcome of the post-17th century and that the Alvars were far

ahead of their time (pre-9th century), the masterbrain behind the miniatures were the Alvars, their ideas percolating through the Sanskritic verses of the *Bhagavata Purana* and *Gitagovinda*. Here the *Bhagavata* and *Gitagovinda* are secondary sources while the original is the *Nalayiram*. Tell me, is it not the bounden duty of the historian of Tamilnadu to discover the channels through which the Tamil ideas engulfed the entire Bharatavarsa as aptly pointed out by A.L. Basham (1971: 478). I am bound to tell you that it is at this noble task that the Department of Sculpture and Art History of the Tamil University of Thanjavur is preoccupied. The scholarly gathering at the Sudasien Hall of the Heidelberg Universitat Kunsgeschichte Hall of the Freie Universitat came forward to add value to our ideas when my lecture: 'Dance of Visnu: The Spectacle of the Tamil Alvars' was presented. A direct appreciation from the western world is that this article is taken up by the prestigious *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London (now published by the Cambridge University Press), for publication.

Your attention is invited to have a glimpse of the following studies: should you realise the seminal issues of this small talk: John Carman & Vasudha Narayanan, *The Tamil Veda*. . . Chicago, 1989. R. Champakalakshmi: *Vaisnava Iconography in the Tamil Country*, New Delhi, 1981.

Vidya Dehejia: *Antal and Her Path of Love* . . . Albany, 1990.

Vasudha Narayanan: "The Realm of Play and the Sacred Stage". In William A. Sax (ed.), *The Gods at Play: Lila in South Asia*, New York, 1995, pp. 177-203.

Gananad Obeyesekere: *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*. Chicago, 1984.

Indira V. Peterson: *Poems to Siva: the Hymns of the Tamil Saints*. Delhi, 1991.

A.K. Ramanujan: *Hymns for Drowning: Poems for Visnu by Nammalvar*, Princeton, 1981.

I shall present a short list of our publications which are relevant under the present context. Since most of these articles are published in Journals abroad, it is quite likely that many of you may not have an access to them.

#### RAJU KALIDOS:

- 1) Antiquity of Tillai-Cittirakutami, *South Asian Studies*, 13, 1997, pp. 17-24. - examines the *Nalayiram* to trace the antique phase of the Cittirakutam of Citamparam.
- 2) Urdhvatandavam in the Art of South India, *East and West*, 46: 3-4, 1996, pp. 371-413. - examines the *Tevaram* in an effort to interpret the dance motif.
- 3) Nataraja as portrayed in the Tevaram Hymns, *Acta Orientalia*, 57, 1996, pp. 13-56. - a thorough survey of *Tevaram* to trace the concept of Nataraja.
- 4) The twin-face of Ardhanari, *Acta Orientalia*, 54, 1993, pp.69-106.-an examination of *Cilappatikaram* and *Tevaram* to trace the roots of *ardhanari* concept.
- 5) A Rare miniature of Ravananugrahamurti, *Ann-ali AION*, 51:2, 1991, pp. 214-20. - examines the *Tevaram* in respect of the iconography of Ravananugrahamurti.
- 6) Tirumular's thematization of Nataraja, *Acta Orientalia* (forthcoming). a comprehensive study of *Tirumantiram* in tracing the Nataraja concept.
- 7) Dance of Visnu: The Spectacle of the Tamil Alvars, *JARS* (forthcoming). examines the *Nalayiram* to establish the thesis: Visnu is Nataraja.

- 8) Iconology of Cataciva Nayaki, *East and West* (forthcoming). - examines the *Tirumantiram* in respect of the iconography of Sadasvi (cf. R.K.K. Rajarajan, *Pancapretasanasini* - Sadasivi, *South Asian Studies*, 13, pp. 24-29).
- 9) The Hymns of Kotai: An Essay in Eroticism, in Raju Kalidos (ed.) *Sectarian Rivalry in Art and Literature*, pp. 117-38. -examines the erotic elements in the *Tiruppavai* and *Nacchiyar Tirumoli*.
- 10) Manikkavacakar's vision of Nataraja, Conference Paper, ICANAS Budapest. -examines the *Tiruvacakam* and *Tirukkōvaiyar* of the saint.

Besides the author's five-volume series of Iconography on Visnu, Siva, Sakti, Goddesses, Ganapati & Murukan, and Brahma & Minor Deities (New Delhi, forthcoming) examines the Tamil, including Sanskrit, literary sources under each head of the Hindu pantheon. This is the only one of its kind in the history of India iconography.

#### **R.K.K. RAJARAJAN**

- 1) Alakarkoyil: Art and Mythology (Masters thesis, Madurai, 1995): examines the hymns of Alvars from the cult and iconographical perspectives of the Alakarkoyil temple
- 2) Rock-cut Model Shrines in Early Indian Art (M. Phil. thesis, Thanjavur, 1996): examines the Cankam and *bhakti* literature to fix the *balalayam* within the art historical context.
- 3) Art of the Nayakas (Doctoral thesis, Thanjavur, 1988): examines Tamil literature down to the 12th century to point out the iconic motifs in Nayaka art.
- 4) Tranquility and Violence in Vaisnava Art (Conference Paper, 14th IAHA, Bangkok, Abstracts, p.86): examines the *Nalayiram* to trace the idioms of violence and tranquility.
- 5) Nataraja as reflected in the Hymns of Karaikkalammai, *Acta Orientalia* (forthcoming): examines the hymns of Ammai to find the early stage of Nataraja.
- 6) Vrsabhavanamurti in Art, *Annali AION* (forthcoming): examines the *Tevaram* to trace the iconographic traits of this form of Siva.

#### **V. LATHA**

- 1) Art of Tirumeyyam (M. Phil. thesis, Thanjavur, 1993): examines the hymns of Tirumankai Alvar.
- 2) Cave Temples of Putukkottai (Doctoral thesis, Thanjavur, 1997): examines the Saiva and Vaisnava *bhakti* hymns.

#### **A. MEENESHWARI**

- 1) Early Phase of Kumbhakonam, *Tamil Civilization* (X, forthcoming): analyses the Tamil *bhakti* hymns to trace the origin of temples and cults at Kumbhakonam.
- 2) Personality of Siva: Depicted by the Alvars, in Raju Kalidos (ed.) *Sectarian Rivalry in Art and Literature*, pp. 139-46. - reviews the *Nalayiram* to get a cross-cultural picture of Siva.

It may be added that the above references are only chips from a huge block of the ongoing projects. It is not possible to preset a thorough survey of literature. I only wish to add here that the task before us is limitless. We have to go a long way to find out the place of Tamil in historical research. Towards this end, all of us will have to dedicate ourselves and

strive to rediscover the greatness of the Tamil mind through its literature. I hope we will succeed in an effort to achieve the due recognition for Tamil. I recall the wise saying of Prof. Sundaranar in his *Manonmaniya*: *Kalam enpatu karankupor eulanru melatu kila kilatu mela*. 'Time is like the wheel revolves to push down one at the top and elevate one at bottom to the top'. Sure our Tamil (*enkal-Tamil*) shall be at the same one day.

### Acknowledgement

I am thankful to the DAAD (Bonn), Freie University and Heidelberg University for the facilities offered during a visit to Germany in 1997. Most of the references, cited *passim*, are collections from Berlin.

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*Annali AION* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Piazza S. Domenico Maggiore 12, 80134 NAPOLI - Italy).

*East and West* (Via Merulana 248, 00185 ROME - Italy).

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (60 Queen's Gardens, London W2 3AF - U.K.).

*South Asian Studies* (Brooklands House, 23 Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge CB2 5SE-UK).

*Journal of Indian Studies* (M.Phil. thesis, Thanjavar, 1993): examines the hymns of the Tamil Alvars.

*Cave Temples of Pudukkottai* (Doctoral thesis, Thanjavar, 1997): examines the Saiva and Vaishnava bhakti hymns.

### A. MENNESHVARI

(1) Early Phase of Kumbhakonam Tamil Civilization (X, forthcoming): analyses the Tamil bhakti hymns to trace the origin of temples and cults at Kumbhakonam.

(2) Personality of Siva: Depicted by the Alvars, in Raju Kalidos (ed.) *Devotion Rivalry in Art and Literature*, pp. 139-46 - reviews the Vaidyan to get a cross-cultural picture of Siva.

It may be added that the above references are only chips from a huge block of the ongoing projects. It is not possible to present a thorough survey of literature. I only wish to add here that the task before us is limitless. We have to go a long way to find out the place of Tamil in historical research. Towards this end, all of us will have to dedicate ourselves and

## தமிழகத்தில் தொல்லியல் ஆய்வு

புதிய கண்டுபிடிப்புகளின் இந்திய வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்பு (1990 1998)

எஸ். ஆதிமூலம்

ஆராய்ச்சி மாணவர், வரலாற்றுத்துறை,

பெரியார் ஈ.வெ.ரா. கல்லூரி,

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி

முன்னுரை:

தமிழக வரலாற்றில் 1990-98-ஆம் ஆண்டுகள் மிக சிறப்பு வாய்ந்தவை. தமிழக தொல்லியல் துறை, மத்திய தொல்லியல் துறை மற்றும் தனியார் தொல்லியல் ஆய்வு நிறுவனங்கள் இதுவரை வரலாற்றுக்கு கிடைக்காத அரிய சான்றுகளை கண்டுபிடித்துள்ளன. இச்சான்றுகள் தமிழக வரலாற்றுக்கும், இந்திய வரலாற்றுக்கும் மூலச்சான்றுகளாக அமைகின்றன. அத்துடன் இவை தமிழக வரலாற்றிலும், இந்திய வரலாற்றிலும் சில திருத்தங்களையும் மாற்றங்களையும் செய்யும் அளவிற்கு சிறப்புப் பெற்றவை. இந்த முயற்சிகளைக் கோர்த்து, ஒருங்கிணைப்பதுதான் இக் கட்டுரையின் நோக்கம். தரங்கம்பாடி பிஷ்ப் மாணிக்கம் நினைவுக் கல்லூரியின் தொல்லியல் ஆய்வுகள்

தரங்கம்பாடி கல்லூரி வரலாற்று ஆசிரியர்களும் மாணவர்களும் இணைந்து நாகப்பட்டினத்திலிருந்து பூம்புகார் வரையிலான வங்கக் கடலோரப்பகுதியில் பல ஆய்வுகள் செய்துள்ளனர். இவ்வாய்வுகளின்போது, அவர்கள் பழங்கால சுட்ட மண்ணால் செய்யப்பட்ட பாளை ஓடுகளும், மண் உறை கிணறுகளும் கண்டுபிடித்துள்ளனர். இவை அக்கல்லூரியின் அருங்காட்சியகத்தில் வைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தாலும், அச் செய்திகள் தின்பத்திரிகைகளின் மூலம் வெளி வந்துள்ளன. இவர்கள் தலச்சங்காடு என்ற இடத்தில் நீண்ட கழுத்துடைய ஒரு மண்பாளையும் அகலமான ஒரு மண்பாளையும், கண்டுபிடித்துள்ளனர். இந்த மண் பாளைகளுக்கு மண்ணால் செய்யப்பட்ட மூடிகளும் உள்ளன. கார்பன் 14 முறைப்படி ஆய்ந்தபோது இவை சுமார் பழைய கற்காலத்தைச் சார்ந்தவை என்று கணக்கிடப்பட்டுள்ளன<sup>1</sup>. சென்னை பல்கலைக்கழகத்தைச் சார்ந்த தொல்லியல் பேராசிரியர் தென்னிந்தியாவைப் பொறுத்தவரை பழைய கற்காலத்திற்கு 4000 கி.மு முதல் 2500 கி.மு. வரை (?) என்று காலத்தை நிர்ணயித்து உள்ளார்.<sup>2</sup> மேற்கூறப்பட்ட கல்லூரி மாணவர்கள் மேலும் தலச்சங்காட்டிற்கு அருகில் மாசிலாமணி நாதர் என்ற கோவிலுக்கு அருகில் இன்னும் சில பாளை ஓடுகள், கருப்பு, சிவப்பு வண்ணமிட்ட மண் தட்டுகள் கண்டு பிடித்துள்ளனர். இத் தட்டுகள் பாண்டிச்சேரிக்கருகிலுள்ள அரிக்கமேட்டில் கண்டெடுத்துள்ள மட்பாண்டங்களை ஒத்தே உள்ளன. என்று பிரசாத்திங் என்ற தொல்லியல் அறிஞர் கருதுகின்றார்.<sup>3</sup>

1998 ஆம் ஆண்டு இக்கல்லூரி வரலாற்று ஆசிரியர்களும் மாணவர்களும் நடத்திய ஆராய்ச்சியிலும் மட்டுரிலும் பழைய மட்பாண்டங்களைக் கண்டுபிடித்துள்ளனர். இவற்றின் அளவுகளை பார்க்கும் போது இவற்றின் பயன் பாடு சரியாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இருப்பினும், ஒரு சில அறிஞர்கள் இவை எண்ணை வைப்பதற்காக பயன்பட்டிருக்கலாம் என்ற கருத்து தெரிவித்து உள்ளனர்.

தனி நபர் கண்டுபிடிப்பு

தென்னார்காடு மாவட்டம் கடலூர் பெருநகரைச் சார்ந்த இரா.கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி சேலம் கள்வராயன் மலையில் புதிய கற்காலத்தைச் சார்ந்த சில உபகரணங்களை கண்டுபிடித்தார். இவை பெரும்பாலும் வேட்டையாடுவதற்கும் உணவு தயாரிப்பதற்கும் பயன்படுத்தப்படும் கருவிகளாகும் என்று தெரிகிறது. இக்கருவிகளுடன் புதிய கற்காலத்தை சார்ந்த ஒரு வகை பாசிமணிகள், எழுத்துக்களைக் கொண்ட சில பாளை ஓடுகளையும் கண்டுபிடித்துள்ளனர். இவை கி.மு. 6 ம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சார்ந்தவைகளாக இருக்கலாம் என்று தொல்லியல் அறிஞர்கள் கருதுகின்றனர். தென்னகத்தைப்



பொறுத்தவரை 6 ம் நூற்றாண்டு என்பது உலோக காலத்தின் கடைசிப் பகுதியாகும்<sup>4</sup>. மேலும் திருச்சி தேசியக் கல்லூரியைச் சார்ந்த மண்ணியல் துறை மாணவர்கள் இன்றைய திருச்சி மாவட்டத்தின் 1. கல்லக்குடி 2. டால்மியாபுரம் 3. புள்ளம் பாடி 4. கருடமங்கலம் 5. காரை 6. கூத்தூர் 7. ஊர்தூர் 8. ஆணைப்பாடி 9. குன்னம் மற்றும் சாத்தனூர் ஆகிய இடங்களில் மேற்கண்ட ஆய்வுகளின் மூலம் பூமியின் இறுக்கத்தினால் கல்லாகிய மரங்களைக் கண்டுபிடித்துள்ளனர். இந்த மரங்கள் தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் திருவக்கரை மற்றும் கடலூர் ஆகிய இடங்களில் கிடைக்கக்கூடிய கல்மரங்களைவிட காலத்தால் முந்தியவை என்று அலகாபாத்தில் உள்ள டாட்டா அடிப்படை ஆய்வு நிலையம் குறிப்பிட்டு உள்ளது. இக்கல்மரம் தமிழகத்தின் தொன்மையினைப் பல வட்ச வருடத்திற்கு பின்னுக்குக் கொண்டு செல்கின்றது<sup>5</sup>.

### நாணயங்களின் கண்டுபிடிப்புகள்

தமிழக நாணயியலின் வரலாற்று பல்லவர்கள் காலத்தில் இருந்துதான் ஆரம்பமாகிறது என்று கருதப்பட்டு வருகிறது. சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் நாணயங்களைப்பற்றி குறிப்புகள் இருந்தாலும் சமீப காலம் வரை அதற்கான தொல்லியல் ஆதாரங்கள் கிடைக்கவில்லை. ஆகையால் வடநாட்டு ஆசிரியர்கள் சங்க காலத்தில் நாணங்கள் பழக்கத்தில் இல்லை என்று கூறிவந்தனர். இத்துறையில் முதன் முதலில் தமிழக முன்னாள் தொல்லியல் துறையைச் சார்ந்த இரா. நாகசாமி தம் கண்டுபிடிப்புகளில் கிடைத்த செய்திகளை வெளியிட்டார்<sup>6</sup>. அவரைத் தொடர்ந்து தினமலர் தினசரியின் ஆசிரியரான இரா. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி தமிழக நாணயியல் கழகத்தை நிறுவி மிகுந்த சிரமப்பட்டு சங்ககால நாணயங்களை கண்டுபிடித்து தமிழகத்துக்கு பெருமை சேர்த்துள்ளார். இவருடைய சமீப கால நூல் சங்ககால பாண்டிய பெருவழி நாணயங்கள். இந்நூல் தமிழகத்தின் வரலாற்றில் ஒரு திருப்புமுனையை ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ளது<sup>7</sup>. இந்நூலை மதிப்பிட்ட லண்டன் மேன்மைதாங்கிய நாணயக்கழகம் இவரை அதன் உறுப்பினராக இணைத்துக் கொண்டு தமிழகத்திற்குப் பெருமை சேர்த்தது. சங்ககாலத்துக்கு முன்பிருந்தே தமிழ் மன்னர்கள் நாணயங்களை வெளியிட்டுள்ளனர் என்பதற்கான ஆதாரமாக மண்ணினால் ஆன அச்சு கண்டு (Die) பிடித்துள்ளனர்<sup>8</sup>. இம் முறையில் இன்னும் கூட செப்பு சிலைகள் வடிப்பவர்கள் உள்ளனர் என்பது குறிப்பிட தகுந்தது.

### பழங்கால துறைமுகங்கள்

வங்க கடலின் நீண்ட கடலின் நீண்ட கரை நகரங்கள் தொல்லியலில் தம் முத்திரையைப் புதித்த தமிழ் மக்களின் கடல் வணிகத் தொடர்புக்குச் சான்றுகளாக விளங்குகின்றன. பாண்டிச்சேரிக்கு அருகில் உள்ள அரிக்கமேடு, இராமநாதபுரத்திற்கருகிலுள்ள அழகன்குளம், நாகப்பட்டினம் ஆகியவை பழைய கதைகள் ஆகிவிட்டன. இத்துறைமுகங்களுக்கு முற்பட்ட காலத்திலேயே வங்கக்கடலின் ஓரத்தில் துறைமுகங்கள் இருந்ததற்கான தொல்லியல் ஆதாரங்கள் கிடைத்துள்ளன. அவற்றைத் தோண்டி வெளியுலகத்திற்கு கொண்டு வர மத்திய, மாநில அரசுகள் முன்வரவேண்டும். அந்த இடங்கள்:

#### 1) குடிகாடு

கடலூரின் பழைய நகரத்திற்கு சற்று முன்பு உப்பன் ஆறு என்ற ஓடை ஓடுகிறது. இது ஆங்கிலத்தில் C போன்று வளைந்து ஓடுவதால் அங்கு உள்ள மக்கள் இந்த ஓடையை "அருவா மூக்கு ஓடை" என்று அழைப்பார்கள். இவ் ஓடை வங்கக்கடலில் கிழக்கு மேற்காக கலக்கிறது. இந்த முகத்துவாரத்திற்கு வடக்கில் அமைந்து இருப்பதுதான் குடிகாடு என்ற கிராமம். சென்னை பல்கலைக்கழக தொல்லியல் பேராசிரியர் K.V. ராமன் 1997 இல் கடலோர பகுதியில் ஒரு துறைமுகம் புதைந்து உள்ளது என்பதை கண்டு அரசுக்கு அறிவித்தார். இது தொடர்பாக தமிழ்நாடு வரலாற்று பேரவையில் தஞ்சாவூர் மாநாட்டில் இதைப்பற்றி நினைவு கூறினார். இங்கு துறைமுகம் இருந்ததற்கு சுட்டமண் ஆதாரங்கள் (Terracota Evidence) சமீபத்தில் கிடைத்துள்ளன இவ்விடத்தில் ஆய்வு நடத்தினால் மற்ற ஓர் அரிக்கமேடு கூட கிடைக்கலாம்.

## காரைக்காடு

கடலூரில் இந்த ஓடை முகத்துவாரத்தின் அருகில் காரைக்காடு என்ற கிராமமும் உள்ளது. இக் கடலோரத்திலும் சுட்ட மண்ணால் ஆன அணைப்புக் கரையும் ஒரு பகுதியில் செங்கற்களும், நாணயங்களும் கிடைத்துள்ளதை தமிழ்நாடு தொல்லியல் துறைத் தலைவருக்கு அவ்வூர் மக்கள் செய்தியாக அனுப்பி உள்ளனர். முழுமையாக ஆய்வு செய்தால் பல அரிய உண்மைகள் வெளிவரக்கூடும்.

## கூனிமேடு

கடலூர், பாண்டிச்சேரி பேருந்து பாதையில் தற்போது பாண்டிச்சேரி பல்கலைக்கழக வளாகத்தை அடுத்து கூனிமேடு என்ற கிராமம் உள்ளது. இந்த கிராமத்திற்கு அருகில் செஞ்சி ஆற்றின் ஒரு கிளையான கல்லோடை என்ற பெரிய கால்வாய் கடலில் கலக்கிறது. அப்பகுதி அழமாக உள்ளது. அங்கு கூட பழங்காலத்து துறைமுகம் இருந்ததாக மண்கற்கள் ஆழ்ந்து போன மரங்கள் ஓவியங்கள் தீட்டிய பாளை ஓடுகள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டு புதுச்சேரி வரலாற்று பேரவைத் தலைவரான புலவர். கு. குப்புசாமி தனது "வரலாற்று வடிவங்கள்" என்ற நூலில் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். மறைந்த வரலாற்று பேராசிரியர் A. ராமச்சந்திரன் இது பற்றி இந்திய வரலாற்று ஆய்வு கழகத்திற்கு ICHR ஓர் கடிதம் எழுதியுள்ளார்.

## படப்பை

சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் ஓய் மாநாடு என்று அழைக்கப்பட்ட பகுதி, இன்று புதுச்சேரிக்கும், செங்கற்பட்டிற்கும் இடைப்பட்ட கடலோரப்பகுதியாகும். இதற்கு அரசன் நல்லியல் கோடன் என்பதை பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை, சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை என்ற இரண்டு இலக்கியங்களிலும் விரிவாக கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவனது தலைநகரை அடுத்து படப்பை என்று ஒரு துறைமுகம் இருந்ததாக பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படையில் ஒரு குறிப்பு வருகிறது. இந்த ஊர் தற்போது அதே பெயரில் கல்பாக்கத்தை அடுத்து சதுரங்கப்பட்டினம் என்ற ஊருக்கு அருகில் உள்ளது. டச்சுக் காரர்களின் பழைய கோட்டையும், துறைமுகமும் இருக்கும் இடத்திற்கு ஒரு கிலோ மீட்டர் தெற்கு பகுதியில் பெண்ணை ஆற்றின் கிளை நதிக்கு அருகில் கடலில் கலக்குமிடத்திலுள்ளது. அங்கு சென்று பார்த்தால் அப்பகுதி ஒரு துறைமுகத்தின் அடிப்படைபகுதியாக காணப்படுகின்றது தெரியும். அங்கும் தொன்மையான செங்கற்களும், மக்கிப்போன இரும்பு துகளுகளும் எழுத்துக்கள் கொண்ட சில பாளைகளும் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இப் பாளைஓடுகள் அரிக்கமேட்டின் பாளை ஓடுகளை ஒத்திருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

## முடிவுரை

கடந்த எட்டு ஆண்டுகளில் தமிழக தொல்லியல்துறையின் கலா ஆய்வும் தனி நபர்களின் தனி முயற்சிகளும் உலகத்திற்கு சில உண்மைகளை வெளியிட்டு உள்ளன.

1. தமிழகத்தில் பழைய கற்காலத்திற்கு முன்பே? மக்கள் மட்பாண்டங்களை பலவகையில் பயன்படுத்தி உள்ளார்கள்.
2. தமிழகம் சங்ககாலத்திலேயே பல்வேறு நாணயங்களை வெளியிட்டு அகில உலக அளவில் வாணிபம் நடத்தி வந்துள்ளது.
3. புதிய கற்காலத்திற்கு முன்பே மக்கள் உலக அளவில் மணிகளை ஆபரணமாக அணிந்து இருந்தார்கள்.
4. தமிழக கடற்கரையில் குடிகாடு, காரைக்காடு, கூனிமேடு, படப்பை போன்ற இடங்களிலும் மற்ற இடங்களிலும் கள ஆய்வு செய்தால் வரலாற்றால் மறந்துவிட்ட பல உண்மைகள் வெளிப்படும்.

**அடிக்குறிப்புகள்:**

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  2. S. குருமூர்த்தி, தொல்லியியலும், தமிழர் பண்பாடும், சென்னை பல்கலைக்கழகம் (1986 மறு பதிப்பு பக்கம்)
  3. தினமலர், (பத்திரிக்கை) 14-1997.
  4. குருராஜராவ், தென்னிந்திய உலோகக்காலம், மைசூர், 1982, பக்கம் 13.
  5. இந்து பத்திரிக்கையின் சிறப்புச் செய்தி ஏப்ரல் 6, 1997.
  6. R. Nagaswami, *Coins of Tamil Nadu*, Archaeology Department of Chennai.
  7. R. Krishnamoorthy, *The Pandia Coin of Sangam Age*.
  8. தினமலர் (தினசரி) திருச்சி பதிப்பு 7-5-1997 பக்கம் -9.
  9. கல்வெட்டு மலர் 8 (தமிழ்நாடு தொல்லியியல் துறை வெளியீடு) பக்கம் 3 இம்மாதச் செய்தியில் காண்க.
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## குகைகளும் குகையிடி கலகமும்

புலவர். செ. இராசு, பிஎச்.டி.,

கொங்கு ஆய்வு மையம்

ஈரோடு 638009

### மடங்களின் பெருக்கம்

பல்லவர் காலத்தில் சமயக் கல்வியையும், சமய ஒழுக்கத்தையும் அளிக்கச் சிலமடங்கள் தோன்றின. சோழர் காலத்தில் கோயில்களும், விழாக்களும் வளர்ச்சி பெற்றார்ப்போல மடங்களும் மிகப் பலவாகப் பெருகின. இறைவன் பெயரிலும், அரசர் பெயரிலும், நாயன்மார்கள் பெயரிலும், அடியார்பெயரிலும், பல குழுவினர் பெயரிலும் இம் மடங்கள் விளங்கின.<sup>1</sup>

பெரும்பாலும் திருக்கோயில்களைச் சார்ந்த இடங்களில் கோயில்களை அடுத்தே இவை அமைந்திருந்தன. சமுதாயத்தில் மிக்க செல்வாக்கைப் பெற்ற இம் மடங்கள் கோயில் ஆட்சியைக் கவனித்தன. சமயப் பயணிகட்கு வசதிகள் செய்தன. ஒழுக்கத்தையும் சமய அறிவையும் புகட்டின. சரித்திரங்கள் கற்பித்தன. அடியார்களுக்கு உணவளித்தன.

மடம், திருமடம், சாலை, அறச்சாலை என அழைக்கப்பட்ட இத் தமிழகத்துச் சைவ மடங்களுடன்<sup>2</sup>, கோமடம் (காளாமுகர்), காபாலிகர்மடம், வீர சைவமடம், கோளகி மடம், கொல்லாமடம், பிட்சாமடம் போன்ற சைவத்தின் பல பிரிவுகளுக்குரிய மடங்களும் சில இருந்தன<sup>3</sup>.

### குகைகள்

இம்மடங்களைப் போன்றே கி.பி.12-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் இறுதியிலிருந்து 'குகைகள்' என்னும் சமய நிறுவனங்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டில் தோன்றி வளர்ந்தன.

கல்வெட்டுக்கள் மூலம் கீழ்வரும் குகைகளைக் காணுகிறோம்<sup>4</sup>.

1. திருத்துறைப்பூண்டி - திருச்சிறற்பலம் உடையார் குகை
2. சதுர்வே திமங்கலம் - திரு ஞானசம்பந்தன் குகை
3. முன்னியூர் - திருஞான சம்பந்தன் குகை, காழிக் கற்பகம் குகை
4. சீர்காழி - திருமுறை தேவாரச் செல்வன் குகை
5. திருக்குறுக்கை - திருநாவுக்கரசு திருக்குகை, திருஞான சம்பந்தன் குகை
6. திருவிடைவாயில் - திருத்தொண்டன் தொகையான் குகை
7. திருப்புகலூர் - குகை
8. திருமாகாளம் - பொலிசாத்தழகியான் குகை
9. திருமணஞ்சேரி - ஆலாலசுந்தரன் குகை
10. சிதம்பரம் - குகை
11. திரு நெல்லிக்காவல் - திருஞானசம்பந்தன் குகை

இந்தக் குகைகள் பெரும்பாலும் திருமடைவிளாகத்தில் அமைந்திருந்தன. திருமடைவிளாகம் என்பது கோயிலைச் சார்ந்த இடங்களைக் குறிக்கும்.

### பெயர் அமைதி

குகை என்பதற்கு மலைக்குகை, சமாதி, துறவிகள் வாழுமிடம் என்று பல பொருள்கள் இருப்பினும் இம்மாதிரியான அமைப்பிற்குத் துறவிகள் வாழுமிடம், துறவிகள் வாசம், முனிவர்கள் இருப்பிடம், தவமுனிவர் இருக்கை என்றே பெரும்பாலும் பொருள்கொள்ளப்படுகிறது<sup>5</sup>. டாக்டர் மா. இராசமாணிக்கனார் 'குகைகள் என்னும் ஒருவகை மடங்கள்' என்று கூறுவார்.<sup>6</sup>

மடங்கள் இருந்த அதே சம காலத்திலேயே இவை குகைகள் என்று வேறு பெயர் பெற்றுள்ளன. திருநெல்விக்காவல் கல்வெட்டில் ஒரே கோயிலைச் சார்ந்து இருந்த இரண்டு நிறுவனங்கள் குலச்சிறைமடம், திருஞானசம்பந்தன் குகை என்று பெயர் பெற்றுள்ளன. ஒரே கல்வெட்டில்

'திருமடை விளாகத்து கீழ்தலையில் கூத்தாடுமாண்டார் இருக்கிற குலச்சிறை மடம்'

'திருமடை விளாகத்து திருஞானசம்பந்தன் குகை'

எனக் குறிக்கப்படுகிறது.<sup>7</sup>

திருத்துறைப்பூண்டி கல்வெட்டில்

'இம்மடத்து முதலியார் சிவஞானசம்பந்தரும் ஹ்ருதய

தேவரும் இரண்டு குகையிலும் எழுந்தருளி இருக்கையிலே'

எனக் குறிக்கப்படுகிறது.<sup>8</sup> எனவே மடத்திற்கும் குகைக்கும் வேறுபாடு உண்டு எனத் தெரிகிறது. மடம் என்பது சமய அடியார் அனைவருடனும் தொடர்பு கொண்டதாக இருக்கலாம். பொது அடியார்கள் அணுக முடியாத சந்நியாசிகளும், தவம் செய்வோர்களும், கடுமையான விரதங்களைப் பின்பற்றுவோரும் மட்டுமே தங்கி வாழும் இடமாகக் குகைகள் இருக்கலாம். அபூர்விகளும் மகேசுவரரும் அங்கு உணவு உண்டதாகத் திருக்குறுக்கைக் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகிறது.

குகை சமாதியா?

கும்பகோணம் கல்வெட்டறிஞர் திரு. என். சேதுராமன் அவர்கள் குகை என்பதற்கு சமாதிக் கோயிலோடு கூடிய மடம் என்று பொருள் கொண்டு விரிவான ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரை ஒன்று எழுதியுள்ளார்கள்.<sup>9</sup>

குகை என்பதற்கு சமாதி என்ற பொருளும் உண்டு; தமிழில் பலபொருள் ஒரு சொல் பல வழக்கில் உள்ளன. அச் சொற்களில் குகை என்பதும் ஒன்று. சமாதி என்ற பொருளோடு குகை என்ற சொல்லுக்கு முனிவர்கள் அல்லது துறவிகள் வாழும் இடம் என்ற பொருளும் உண்டு என்பதைப் பலர் கூறியுள்ளனர்.<sup>10</sup>

ஆண்டார் திருச்சிறம்பலம் உடைய முதலியார் திருத்துறைப்பூண்டிக்கு எழுந்தருளும் போது பூண்டி உடையார்களும் மங்கலங்கிளையார்களும் 'எம்பொருமான் இத்திருப்பதியிலே எழுந்தருளி இருக்கவேணும். நாங்கள் ஒரு குகை எடுத்துத் தருகிறோம்' என்று கூறியுள்ளார். பின்னர் 'எழுந்தருளி இருக்க' குகையும் எடுத்துள்ளனர். முதலியாரும் குகையில் 'எழுந்தருளியுள்ளார்'. முதலியார் தேசசாந்திரிகளுக்கு குகையில் அமுதும் படைத்துள்ளார்.<sup>11</sup>

திருப்புகலூர்க் குகை அரசர் நன்மைக்காக எடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.<sup>12</sup> பள்ளிப்படைக் கோயில்கள் எல்லாம் அங்கு இறந்து பள்ளிப்படுத்தார் பெயரிலேயே உள்ளன. பள்ளிப்படை ஆதித்தேச்சகரம், பள்ளிப்படை பஞ்சவன்மாதேவி ஈச்சுவரம், பள்ளிப்படை அரிஞ்சிகை ஈச்சுவரம் என்பனவற்றைக் காணுகிறோம்.<sup>13</sup> ஆனால் குகைகள் திருஞானசம்பந்தர், திருநாவுக்கரசர், சுந்தரர் போன்றோர் பெயரிலேயே பெரும்பாலும் அமைந்துள்ளன.<sup>14</sup>

திருஞானசம்பந்தன் குகையில் இருக்கும் மறைஞானசம்பந்தனும், ஆழித்தேர் வித்தகனும் என்பது திருநெல்விக்காவல் கல்வெட்டுத் தொடர்.<sup>15</sup> திருவண்ணாமலையில் இருந்த ஒரு அடியவரைப் புகழும் பாடலில் அவர் 'குகைநமச்சிவாயர்' என்றே அழைக்கப்படுகிறார்.<sup>16</sup> இவற்றிலிருந்து குகை என்பது ஒரு சமய நிறுவனமே என்பது தெரிகிறது.

குகை நிர்வாகிகள் பாசுபதர்களா?

பள்ளிப்படைக் கோயில்களை மகாவிரதிகள்,

மகாவிரதி லகுலீச பண்டிதர் போன்றவர்கள்

நிர்வகித்த காரணங்களால் குகைகளையும் சமாதிகள்

எனக்கொண்டு பாசுபதர்கள் நிர்வகித்திருக்கலாம் என்று

அறிஞர் சேதுராமன் அவர்கள் கூறுகிறார்கள்<sup>17</sup>.

ஆனால் குகைகள் அனைத்தும் திருஞானசம்பந்தர், திருநாவுக்கரசர், சந்தரர் பெயரால் அமைந்துள்ளன. அங்கு சைவத் திருமுறைகள் வைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. பிற இடங்களுக்குச் சென்று அவர்கள் திருமறைப் பாடல்கள் பாடியுள்ளனர். குகையில் திருப்பாட்டும், திருத்தாண்டகமும் பாடப்பட்டதாகக் கூறப்படுகிறது. திருப்பாட்டு என்பது தேவாரத்திருமுறைகளைக் குறிக்கும்<sup>18</sup>. ஒரு குகையில் வைகாசித் திருநாள் கொண்டாடப்பட்டுள்ளது.

குகை தொடர்பாக முதலியார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடையார், ஆனைமங்கலமுடையான், அரையான் வடுகநாதன் ஆன சென்னவரையார், பூண்டி புகழ்வேந்தர், சேரமான் தோழன், மறைஞானசம்பந்தன், ஆழித்தேர் வித்தகன், சிவஞான சம்பந்தன், முதலியார் ஹ்ருதயதேவர், வாணாதராயன் ஆகிய பெயர்கள் குறிக்கப்படுகின்றன.

கொடை கொடுத்தவர்களாக திட்டைச்சேரி உடையான் தில்லை பெருமான், கண்டராதித்தேவன், உய்யவந்தபிள்ளை ஆகியோர் குறிக்கப்படுகின்றனர்.<sup>19</sup> இவர்கள் பெயரிலிருந்து இவர்களுக்கும் பாசுபத சைவத் தொடர்பு உடையவர்கள் அல்லர் எனத் தெரிகிறது.

திருத்துறைப்பூண்டிக் கல்வெட்டில் கையெழுத்திட்டவர்கள் திருத்துறைநாயகன், ஆதித்தேவன், நம்பியாரூரன், இருங்கரிபட்டன், அஞ்சல் என்றான் துறையிள்ளை ஆழ்வான், திருமாளிகைப்பிள்ளை, இராப்பிச்சன், தில்லைநாயகப்பிச்சன், கங்கைகொண்ட பிச்சன், திரு ஆலவாய் உடையான், உடையபிள்ளை, மங்கலங்கிழையார் திருத்துறைப்பிச்சன் புலியூரன், திருவீதிப்பிள்ளை, தேவாண்டான் எனக் குறிக்கப்படுகின்றனர்<sup>20</sup>. இவர்களும் பாசுபதத்தோடு தொடர்பு உடையவராகத் தெரியவில்லை.

குகையிடி கலகம்

மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்க சோழனின் இருபத்திரண்டாம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் திருத்துறைப்பூண்டியில் திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடைய முதலியார் குகை, 'குகைஇடி கலகத்திலே சாதனங்கள் சேமந்தப்பின' என்று கூறப்படுகிறது<sup>21</sup>.

எச்சிருஷ்ண சாஸ்திரியார் இக் குகையிடி கலகத்தை பிராமணர்கள் பிராமணர் அல்லாதாரோடு செய்த கலகம் என்று கூறுகிறார்<sup>22</sup>.

அறிஞர் என்.சேதுராமன் அவர்கள் இக்கல்வெட்டில் குகையிடி கலகத்தை பிராமணர்கள் நடத்தியதாக ஒன்றும் குறிக்கப்படவில்லை என்று கூறுகிறார்கள். அது உண்மையே. மாதேவ பட்டன் மகன் இருங்காரி பட்டன் என்ற பிராமணன் பெயர் ஒப்புக்கை கையெழுத்திட்ட பதினாறு பெயர்களில் ஒன்றாகக் காணப்படுவதையும் அவர்கள் சுட்டிக் காட்டியுள்ளார்கள்.

திருத்துறைப்பூண்டியைத் தவிர வேறு எங்கும் குகையிடி கலகம் நடந்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. பிராமணர் செய்த கலகம் என்பதற்கு அக் கல்வெட்டில் ஒரு குறிப்பும் இல்லை.

குகையில் இருந்த திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடைய முதலியார் குகையிடி கலகத்துக்குப் பின்னரும் இரண்டாண்டு வாழ்ந்துள்ளார். திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடைய முதலியார் திருத்துறைப்பூண்டியினர் அல்லர். புதியதாக அங்கு வந்து குடியேறியவர். அவர் குகையிலிருந்து சிவலோகத்து எழுந்தருளிய பின்னர் (இறந்தபின்) அவ்வூர் மடத்திலிருந்த சிவஞான சம்பந்தரும், முதலியார் ஹ்ருதய தேவரும் குகையில் எழுந்தருள்கிறார்கள். இவர்கள் இருவரும் திருத்துறைப் பூண்டி உடையார் திருமடை விளாகத்துக் கும்பிட்டிருக்கும் ஆண்டார்கள் ஆவர்.

வெளியூர்க்காரரான திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடைய முதலியார் ஆற்றங்கரைக்கு வடக்கில் 70 குழி நிலம் குகைக்காகப் பெற்றார். அந்நிலம் திருத்துறைப் பூண்டி உடையார் சன்னதிக்குத் தெற்காக இருந்தது. அந்நிலம் கோயில் காணியும்கும். இவையன்றி தேசாந்தரிகட்கு அமுது செய்ய இரண்டு மாநிலமும் இறையிலியாகப் பெற்றார். அதிலிருந்து அடியார்க்கு உணவிட்டார்.

புதிதாக வந்த திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடைய முதலியாருடைய குகையின் செல்வாக்கு உள்ளூர் மடத்தினருக்குப் பிடிக்கவில்லை போலும். அதனால் திருத்துறைப்பூண்டி மடத்தார் குகையை எதிர்த்துக் கலகம் செய்திருக்கலாம். திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடைய முதலியார் 1202 இல் இறந்தவுடன் மடத்துக்கு உரியவர்கள் குகைகளில் 'எழுந்தருளி' இருந்ததும், அதற்கு 16 பேர் ஒப்புக்கக் கையெழுத்திட்டதும் இந்த ஊகத்தை உறுதிப்படுத்துவதுபோல் தோன்றுகிறது.

திருத்துறைப் பூண்டியைத் தவிர இக்குகையிடி கலகம் போன்ற நிகழ்ச்சி சோழ நாட்டிலோ அல்லது பாண்டிய நாட்டிலோ எங்கும் நடைபெற்றதாக இதுவரை ஒரு சான்றும் கிடைக்கவில்லை. எனவே இக் கலக நிகழ்ச்சி திருத்துறைப்பூண்டியில் மட்டும் நடைபெற்ற ஒரு உள்ளூர் நிகழ்ச்சியாகும். பழைய மரபைப் பின்பற்றிய மடத்திற்கும் புதியதாகத் தோன்றிய கடுமையான விதிகளையுடைய குகைக்கும் எழுந்த கலகமே என்று தோன்றுகிறது. கிருஷ்ண சாஸ்திரியாரும் அவருக்குப் பின் பலரும் கூறியது போல இது பிராமணர்- பிராமணர் அல்லாதார் கலகம் என்பதற்குச் சான்றேதுமில்லை.

பிற்சேர்க்கை

அ. திருத்துறைப்பூண்டிக் கல்வெட்டு

(ARE 471 of 1912)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தியூரி திரிபுவநச் சக்கரவத்திகள்
2. ஸ்ரீராசராசதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு இரண்
3. டாவது ஆவ . . . . . ரா
4. ஜேந்திரசோழ வளநாட்டு உடையார் தி
5. த்துறைப்பூண்டி உடையார் திருமடை
6. வளாகத்துக் கும்பிட்டிருக்கும் ஆண்டார்
7. களில் சிவஞானசம்பந்தரும் ஹருதயதேவ
8. னும் இவ்விருவேரம் சாக்ஷியாவிக்
9. கிறபடி ஆண்டார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உடை
10. ய முதலியார் இத்திருத்துறைப்பூண்டியி
11. லே எழுந்தருளினவாரே இவரை கண்டு
12. பூண்டி உடையார்களும் மங்கலங்கி
13. ழையார்களும் எம்பெருமான் இத்திருப்ப
14. தியிலே எழுந்தருளி இருக்கவேணும் இங்
15. குத்தைக்கு நாங்கள் ஒரு குகை எடுத்து த
16. ருகிறோம் என்று சொல்லி பிச்சையும்
17. தங்கள் அகங்களிலே ஆக்கி படைத்து
18. அமுது செய்து வாராநிக்கச்சிதே பின்பு எழுந்த
19. ருளி இருக்க குகையும் எடுக்க வேண்டுகையி
20. ல் வடகரையிலே பூண்டி உடையார்க்கு
21. காணியான நிலத்திலே ஆற்றங்கரைக்கு வ
22. டக்கேய் எழுபது குழி நாயனாற்கு பரிவத்திச்ச
23. இக்குழிக்குழி உடையார் சந்நதிக்கு தெற்கா

24. க பண்ணி சாதனமும் கொண்டு குகையும் எடு
25. த்து இவர் எழுந்தருளி இருந்து வரச்சே இப்
26. பூண்டி உடையார்களுக்கு முதலியார் இனக்கு
27. பிச்சைப் படைத்து வாராநிக்க நீங்கள் உங்கள்

#### இரண்டாம் பகுதி

28. .... மடத்தில் வந்து தங்கின தேசாந்தரி முதலி
29. கள் அமுது செய்யப்பெறாதே போகாநின்றார்கள்
30. என்று அருளிச்செய்தவாறே பின்பு இப்பூண்டி
31. உடையார் தங்கள் காணியான தென்கரைப்பட்ட நில
32. த்து பாண்டி மயக்கலியே மேற்கு இட்ட ஒரு மா
33. வரை நிலம் விளைநிலமும் அரைமா நிலம் புஞ்சையும் ஆ
34. க இன்னிலம் இரண்டு மாவும் தேசாந்தரிகளுக்கு அமுது
35. க்குடலாக இறையிலி செய்து குடுக்க இவ்வகையிலே
36. இன்னிலம் அனுபோலித்து தேசாந்தரிகளுக்கு அமுது
37. மாக்கி படைத்து வரச்சே பெரியதேவர்க்கு இருபத்து இர
38. ண்டாவது நாளிலே குகையிடி கலகத்திலே இசாதனங்
39. கள் சேமந்தப்பின இதுக்கு பின்பு முதலியார் திருச்சிறம்ப
40. லமுடைய முதலியார் இருபத்து நாலாவது வரையும் இப்
41. படி அனுபவித்து இவர்க்கு இருபத்து நாலாவ
42. து வரையிலே சிவலோகத்துக்கு எழுந்தருளினார் இம்
43. மடத்து முதலியார் சிவஞான சம்பந்தரும் முதலியார் ஹ்ருதய
44. தேவரும் இரண்டு குகையிலும் எழுந்தருளி இருக்கை
45. களிலே எழுந்தருளி இருந்தமை இப்படி அறிவேன் பூண்டியு
46. டையான் திருத்துறைநாயகன் இப்படிக்கு இவை என் எழுத்து இ
47. ப்படி அறிவேன் நெடுமணலுடையான் ஆதித்ததேவன் எழுத்து
48. இப்படி அறிவேன் நெடுமணலுடையான் நம்பியாரூரன்
49. எழுத்து இப்படி அறிவேன் மாதேவபட்டன் மகன் இருங்கரிபட்ட
50. ன் எழுத்து இது பூண்டியுடையான் அஞ்சல் என்றான் துறை
51. யன் பிள்ளையாழ்வான் சயிஞாதனமைக்கும் இப்படிக்கும்
52. இவை திருத்துறைநாயகவேளான் எழுத்து.

#### மூன்றாம் பகுதி

53. இப்படி அறிவேன் இவை
54. திருமாளிகைப்பிள்ளை எழுத்து
55. இப்படிக்கு இவை இராப்பிச்ச
56. ன் எழுத்து இது தில்லைநா
57. யகபிச்சன் சயிஞாதனமைக்



58. க்கும் இப்படிக்கும் இப்படிக்கு
59. இவை வேதம்பரமுடை
60. யான் எழுத்து இப்படி அறி
61. வேன் கங்கைகொண்ட பிச்
62. சன் எழுத்து பூமியுடையான்
63. அஞ்சலென்றான் திருவால
64. வாயுடையான்
65. சைஞதனமைக்கு இவை கு
66. டப்பலம்முடையான் எழுத்து
67. இப்படி அறிவேன் நெடும
68. ணலுடையான் திருத்து
69. றையாயகன் உடையபின்
70. னையாண்டான் எழுத்து இப்
71. படி அறிவேன் மங்கலங்கி
72. மையான் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இ
73. வை நெடுமணலுடையா
74. ன் ஆதிச்சதேவன் எழுத்து
75. நெடுமணலுடையான் திருத்துறை
76. பிச்சன் புலியூரான் சை
77. னைஞதனமைக்கு கடவ
78. க்குடையான் எழுத்து
79. இப்படி அறிவேன் திரு
80. வீதிப்பிள்ளையார் எழுத்து
81. இப்படி அறிவேன் ந
82. ம்பியாரூரன் திருவீ
83. திப்பிள்ளை மகன் தேவா
84. ண்டான் சைஞதனமை
85. க்கு இவை சேந்தமங்
86. கலமுடையான் எழுத்து.

ஆ. திருநெல்லிக்காவல் கல்வெட்டு

(S.I.I. XVII, 563; ARE., 520 of 1904)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திபூரீ திரிபுவனசக்கரவத்திக்ன் பூரீ ராஜராஜதேவற்கு  
யாண்டு 21 வது உடையார் திருநெல்லிக்கா உடையார்  
கோயில் வடசிறகிற் திருமடைவிளாகத்து கீழ்தலையில்  
கூத்தாடுமாண்டார் இருக்கிற குலச்சிறை மடம்  
திரிபுவ நவிரிசிரத்து

2. சந்தி விளக்கு தர்மமாக வேணும்மென்று  
ஊர்பொதுவான நிலத்து இட்ட ... ராத  
திரிபுவந வீரபுரத்து .... நாதந்
3. வதிக்கு கிழக்கு உடையார் ஸ்ரீ கயிலாசமுடையார்  
திருமடைவிளாகத்து திருஞானசம்பந்தந் குகைக்கு  
தலைம்மாறு விட்ட நிலத்துக்கு கிழ
4. க்கடையாய் நீங்க விட்டு நாயநார் இறையிலியாக  
அநுபவித்து வருகிற விளாகமும் குழி 25  
இவிளாக நிலம் குழி இருபத்தஞ்சும் இறையிலியாக
5. கைக்கொண்டு மாயேஸ்வர பிரதிட்டையாக விட்ட  
இந்நாயநார் திருமடைவிளாகத்தும் .... முனைக்கே  
கிழக்கு தி ..... லாநகோல்நாறு கோலும் இதந்  
உட்கோல் ஆ .... க்கலும் ஆக ... யக விட் குலச்சிறை  
மட ... 25 குழி இருபத்தஞ்சும்
6. பிரதிட்டையாக சந்திராதித்தவரையும் இறையிலியாக குடுத்தோம்  
இக்கோயில் தாநந்தாறோம்.

இ. திருநெல்லிக்காவல் கல்வெட்டு

(S.I.I. XVII, 564; ARE., 521 of 1904)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ இராசராசதேவற்கு  
யாண்டு 20 பதாவது உடையார் திருநெல்லிக்கா  
ஆளுடையார் தேவர்தானத்துக் கானிடைய திட்சைச்சேரி  
உடை
2. யான் தில்லைபெருமானும் இவர்தம்பி கண்டராதித்த  
தேவனும் இவன் தம்பி உய்யவந்த பிள்ளையும்  
பக்கல் இக்கோயில் தானத்தார் திருநாமத்துக் கானியாக  
கொண்டு திருஞானசம்பந்தன்
3. திருக்குகையில் இருக்கும் மறைஞான சம்பந்தனும் ஆழித்தேர்  
வித்தகரும் தங்கள் பியரில் திரிவிடுத்து கொண்டு  
திருநந்தவனமாக விடுகிற நத்தம் உவச்சன் காலுக்கு  
தெற்கு திருநாமத்
4. து காலிக்கு நடுவுப்பட்ட ஒழுக்கைக்கும் வடநத்தம் குழி  
அறுபத்தெட்டுக்கும் பிரமானவிஸைப்படி காசு  
ஆயிரத்துநூறும் சீபண்டாரத்து தானத்தார்வசம்  
ஒடுக்கு இன்னிலங்களும் குழி 6
5. 8 இக்குழி அறுபத்தெட்டும் உடையாற்கு திருநந்தவனமாக விட்டே
6. ாம் இம்மறைஞானசம்பந்தரும் ஆழித்தேர் வித்தகரும் இவரும்

7. ாம் கோயிற் கணக்கு கோறங்குடையான் எழுத்து குறுக்கை
8. புரந்தரகுருச் சதுர்வேதிமங்கலத்து தச்சகானி உடைய ...
9. வேகந்திரி ... முடையான் எழுத்து.

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**MIGRATION OF ARTISTIC IDIOMS :  
A CASE STUDY OF SOMASKANDAMURTI**

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During the early medieval period (c.A.D.550-850) artistic idioms were exchanged from one region to the other by the ruling sovereigns of South India such as the Pallavas, Chalukyas and Pandyas, later joined by the Rastrakutas. The territorial extent of this interaction extends from Kalugumalai in the far south to Ellora in western India. Pioneering scholars like James Fergusson, Percy Brown and others have pointed out the unmistakable hand of the Pallava art in the Virupaksa and other temples at Pattadakal. Recently in his doctoral thesis the present author has pointed out a number of iconographical motifs which add support to the thesis<sup>1</sup>. To mention briefly, Urdhuvatandavam and Vrschika dance modes found in Pallava sculptures of the Kailasanatha temple at Kancipuram are verbatim repeated in the Virupaksa temple at Pattadakal. In the present paper a typical Pallava iconographic form, i.e., *Somaskandamurti* is taken for a detailed examination.

*Somaskandamurti* is an iconographical form which is basically Saiva but typologically syncretistic. It includes three members of the Hindu pantheon, the first being Siva himself and includes Uma and Skanda.<sup>2</sup> *Somaskandamurti* as an iconic subject is very popular with the bronzes in Tamil Nadu and rarely appears in other media such as stone and wood. Under the Colas and the later Vijayanagara rulers, this form acquired much importance as it was mainly used for processional purposes in Saiva temples. But in earlier times such as Pallava and Pandya (c.A.D. 550-850) there was no much festival orientation. But the form was held in high esteem because it was equated with the Linga, housed in *garbha grhas*, and was a cult object. This small article examines the significance of *Somaskanda* in early South Indian art and attempts to trace its genesis and impact on temple art of the Pallava-Chalukya period.

Images of *Somaskanda* appear for the first time among the rock cut temples of the Pallavas in Mamallapuram. Then, it appears reduntantly in the structural temples of Kancipuram, nearly half a dozen of them, belonging to the Pallava saga of art.<sup>3</sup> The earliest appearance at Mamallapuram is in the *Mahisasuramardini-mandapa*, and *Ataranacanta-mandapa*, the later at Saluvankuppam, suburban Mamallapuram. The images in both cases appear in the *garbha grha*. This coincides with the first phase of Pallava art, comprising the regnal years of Mahendravarman I and Narsimhavarman I (first half of the 7th century A.D. ). During the next phase, i.e. the Rajasimha school, structural temples acquired importance. Few of these temples are found in Mamallapuram itself. They are the Shore, Mukunda Nayanar and Olakkanesvara temples. Among these three, the Shore and Mukunda temples house images of *Somaskandamurti* in their cellae. Among the temples of Kancipuram which provide for the image in their cellae are Kailasanatha, Airavatesvara, Matangesvara, Muktesvara, Iravatesvara and Piravatesvara<sup>4</sup>. Outside the orbit of Pallava art, the only centre in Tamil Nadu to house an image of *Somaskanda* is Tirupparankunram (north group of caves - east facing cella ) in the south.<sup>5</sup>

Iconographically speaking, *Somaskanda* as appearing in Pallava art consists of Siva and Uma, seated side by side, usually the latter to the left. Siva is *caturbuja* and carries his emblems, the *tanka* and *mrga* in *para hastas*. Devi is *dvibhuja* and holds a flower in the left hand. Both are seated in *sukhasana* attitude. Devi is often seated in *maharajalilasana* also.

She holds the baby, Skanda, who appears in between the two, the Father and Mother. Skanda is a baby who is found in playful attitude, often dancing like *Kaliyamardana-Krsna*. The combination of these three constitute *Somaskanda* (the root being *Saha-Uma Skanda-murti*). A peculiar feature with the Pallava originals is that behind the face of Siva, two other gods appear. They are Brahma to the right and Visnu to the left. Both are *caturbhuja* and holds their *purva hastas* in *ajali bandha* in an attitude of adoration to the Cosmic Lord, Siva, who in union with Uma is engaged in giving birth to Skanda who is destined to root out demonic power on earth to redeem humanity and thus afford protection to the righteous. This element fails to appear in Pandyan art.

By and large, *Somaskandamurti*, is confined to Tamil Nadu during the early medieval phase of south Indian art. But there are two sporadic instances appearing in Chalukya and Rastrakuta art. These two are found in the Kasi-Visvanatha temple at Pattadakal and the Kailasa (Cave XVI) of Ellora. No other example being found in any other Chalukya or Rastrakuta art, the two isolated samples are to be treated as Pallava models, which are likely to have percolated from Mamallapuram / Kancipuram to Pattadakal and Ellora.

The Kasi-Visvanatha temple in Pattadakal lies close to the famous Virupaksa temple which is supposed to have felt the impact of the Kailasanatha of Kancipuram. Recently scholars like Vidhya Dehejia and G.M. Tartakov have pointed out the unmistakable influence of Pallava idioms in case of the *Mahisasuramardini* panel, found in the *sabha-mandapa* of the Virupaksa temple. The style, thematic elements and iconographical contents are in imitation of the original found in the *Mahisasuramardini-mandapa* of Mamallapuram<sup>6</sup>. Similarly, Raju Kalidos has pointed out the subtle Palava elements in case of two *Bhuvarahamurti* images found in the Virupaksa of Pattadakal and the *Jyotirlinga* temple in Mahakuta. In both these cases *Bhuvarahamurti* is found having his lifted leg on the head of *Adisesa*, lying below, while in Chalukya-Rastrakuta art the Lord usually has his lifted leg placed on the tail of Sesa.<sup>7</sup> These evidences establish the presence of Pallava elements in the art of the Deccan. Similarly, *Somaskandamurti* is a good case in support of the present notion.

Iconographically, the image of *Somaskanda* in the Kasi-Visvanatha temple consists of Siva and Uma seated on a pedestal and the baby, Skanda, appearing in between them. The panel is carved within a rectangular slab, surrounded by the *dikpalakas* which is a novel element that we do not find in Pallava originals. This is to point out the development of the form in the Chalukyan country. That is to say the Chalukyas had something to add. Another important factor is that the image doesn't appear in the *garbha gha*.

Kailasa in Ellora is a masterpiece of Rastrakuta monolithic art. Architecturally, the architects of Kailasa had borrowed much from the *Dharmaraja-ratha* of Mamallapuram and the *Vettuvankovil* of Kalugumalai. To establish iconographical influences, the presence of *Somaskanda* presents a good case. The image appears in a dark section of the cave. This is the *antarala* which links the cella with the *mahamandapa*. On the left side of the *antarala* the image appears on the wall. A pretty big panel, it measures about 2 metres in height. Siva is seated to the right and Devi as usual to the left. Both are seated on *nandi*, an idiom that we find in the *Mahisasuramardini-mandapa* at Mamallapuram. Siva is in *alingana* attitude. The new element in the present case is that Skanda appears on Siva's lap. Thus, his orientation with the Mother is changed.

Both the Pattadakal and Ellora specimens on the subject present a clear case for iconographical concepts moving from the Pallava to the Chalukya-Rastrakuta centres of art. The main difference is that they are not accommodated within the *garbha grha*. This may be due to the fact that in the Deccan tradition, especially Ellora, they had an analogous form, i.e., *Trimurti*, to appear within the cella on a par with the *Linga*. Not less than a dozen such examples are found in the smaller caves.<sup>8</sup> The *Lankesvara*, an annexure to Kailasa, is a good example in itself. It houses *Trimurti* on the back wall of the cella while the *Linga* is in centre. *Somaskanda* seems to have moved into the Deccan in a process of artistic interaction. The same holds good in case of *Tirupparankunram* cave since it happens to be the only example in the Pandya Country.

Iconographically the three specimens in the Pandya, Chalukya and Rastrakuta areas subscribe to a common norm. That is to say the figures of Brahma and Visnu fail to appear in all three cases. But in the Pandyan type the most important feature as with the Pallava is that the image appears within the cella.

Among the lithic carvings of *Somaskanda* the classical impressions are to be found in Pallava and Pandya caves. The structural temples of Mamallapuram and Kancipuram add to the quantitative output. The two remarkable pieces from Pattadakal and Ellora stand proof of the dialogue that artists of the age had incorporating new elements in their temple arts.

### Conclusion

Iconography is a mirror of the society. In India, art is not for art's sake only. Certain sociological notions are embedded at the subconscious level in the evolution of an artistic form. *Somaskandamurti* is cosmic in character because it symbolises the creative function, that is to say *Skanda* emerging through Siva and Uma. This story has been immortalised in the masterpiece, *Kumarasambhava* of Kalidasa. Credit goes to the Tamil sculptors who discovered an iconographic form to symbolise the cosmic function of *srsti* (creation). This is the reason why *Somaskanda* images appear in the *garbha grha* (holy of the holies, meaning womb house) in Tamil tradition. In a process of artistic interaction, the Pandyas, Chalukyas and Rastrakutas found a necessity for incorporating this meaningful motif in their temples.

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## UTSAVA MANDAPAS OF AVUDAIYAR TEMPLE

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In Avudaiyar temple three *utsava mandapas* (*Thiyagarajar mandapam*, *Panchakshara mandapam*, *Manickavasagar mandapam*) were constructed during the Tanjore Nayak and later Sethupathi's periods. Though constructed at a later period they bear the style of the Madura Nayaks school. The Madura Nayaks built many bigger *mandapas* than the above mentioned *mandapas* in their provinces.

Suresh B. Pillai has pointed out that these *mandapas* were constructed by the Tenkasi school of artists of the Madura Nayak period.<sup>1</sup> But it is noticed that in one of these *mandapas* (*Thiyagarajar mandapa*) the name of the Tanjore Nayak Acyuthappa was inscribed. Moreover, this *mandapa* does show any distinct style of the Madura Nayaks. However, other *mandapas* in this temple show the Madura style. The *Panchakshara* and the *Manickavasagar mandapams* were probably built during the Raghunatha Sethupathi's period. But these *mandapas* retain the Madura style. The name Raghunathan was inscribed in the *Manickavasagar mandapam*. To distinguish the style, various components of these *mandapas* are analysed here.

### **Thiyagarajar Mandapam**

This *mandapa* was constructed in the southern *prakara*, facing the northern side. It was built in black stone. The *atishtana* of this *mandapa* is *kapotha pandha* in character.

Over the *atishtana* various kinds of pillars are erected. In the backside corners of the *mandapa* two *Aniyottikkal* type of pillars are present. In this type the central square pillar is surrounded by three *Vishnukantha* pillars. Below these pillars one can find a pedestal. Over the *palakai* of this pillar six lions are placed followed by *alangu* and *pothikai*. The front corner pillars are bigger than the back corner pillars. They are composite pillars made by the combination of *Brahmakantha* and *Vishnukantha* pillars. Over the *palakai* of these pillars lions, *alanga* and *pothikai* are placed one over the other. In the square regions of these pillars on the base, the sculptures of Vinayaga and Subrahmanya are depicted. On the sides of this *mandapa yali* pillars are installed. Usually, the probosis of *yali* and an elephant are found united in this pillar type.

Inside the *mandapa* six pillared *vedigai* is present and it stands on a *kapotha pandha atishtana*. In the four corners of the *vedigai* sixteen sided *Indrakantha* pillars are installed and they are very beautiful. In between the *Indrakantha* pillars *Brahmakantha* pillars are erected. These *Indrakantha* pillars are direct the evolution of the Chola *Indrakantha* pillars. In the *Indrakantha* pillars, at the base, Vinayagar and Murugan sculptures are depicted. A *Yali* and a lady are attached with the *Brahmakantha* pillars. Inside the roof of the *vedigai* nine lotus flowers are depicted. They reflect the Darasuram *Raja Gambeeran Mandapa* roof patterns (Chola) as well as Srimushnam (Tanjore Nayak) *Purusha Sakta mandapa* roof patterns. There is another small platform present in this *mandapa*, which is lower than the

*vedigai*. During the Manickavasagar festival some rituals and musical entertainments have been conducted in this *mandapa*.

Thus this *mandapa* shows the Tanjore Nayaks style as noticed in other Tanjore Nayaks temples.

Attached with this *mandapa*, another *mandapa* was constructed in the later period and perhaps during the Madura Nayak period or Sethupathi's period. The pillars of this *mandapa* are excellent artistic productions. The corner pillars of this *mandapa*, extension are of the same form and structure and side pillars are also having similar components. These pillars are three feet in length. Many *Vishnukantha* pillars are united here. *Kodikkarukku* and other floral designs are present in the pillar shaft. Over the *palakai* of these pillars the lion, *alangu* and *pothikai* are placed one over the other. Besides, sculptures are carved on the base of the pillars.

The two big flat pillars, found inside this extended *mandapa*, are well decorated with many floral designs. These pillars are made by the combination of *Brahmakantha* and *Vishnukantha* pillars. Four pillars have been actually united in these major flat pillars. Over the *palakai* of these pillars lions, *alangu*, lion, *mushtibandham*, *nanuthal* and *pothikai* are found. On the otherside of the same pillars, over the *palakai*, *kodungai*, *alangu*, *alanga*, *mushtibandham* and *pothikai* are placed. To increase the height of the pillar two lions and two *alangu* are placed. In the front pillars of this *mandapa* horse riders are seen. The roof of this *mandapa* is of the *Sanatala* type. Chains are hanging in the roof. The *upapitha* of this *mandapa* shows a row of *Botthas* which can be usually seen at the base of the entablature in Pallava and Chola temples. Many sculptures have also been carved in different parts of the pillars.

### Panchakchara Mandapam

The *Panchakshara mandapa* is another remarkable production of this temple. Many features of this *mandapa* show Madura style.

The *atishtana* of this *mandapa* belongs to the *kapotha bandha* variety. The *kumudam* may be either *Tripattam* or eight *patta* type and are alternatively arranged. *Kapotha bandha atishtana* structure is also present below the pillars.

The *Indrakantha* pillars, *yali* pillars, horse pillars and pillars with deities are marvellous productions of the Madura Nayaks. The *yalis* are carved in different patterns with different decorative elements as in many Madura Nayak temples. In the lintel of this *mandapa* floral designs and *kodikkarukku* designs are present. The corner-pillars of this *mandapa* are of the *Anaiyottikkal* type i.e., surrounding a central square pillar four *Rudrakantha* or *Indrakantha* pillars are erected. These pillars stand on the *kapotha bandha atishtana*.

Twelve *yali* and horse pillars stand in the centre of the *mandapa*. Out of these twelve pillars, two pillars have portrait donor sculptures. This kind of *mandapa* could be identified in almost all major temples of Madura Nayaks (Thirukurungudi, Tenkasi Kasi Viswanathar, etc.) where *Mahabharatha* characters are usually depicted in large scale sculptures and attached with the pillars.

The *kodungai* of this *mandapa* resembles those of the earlier Thiyagarajar *mandapa*. Twelve Zodiacal signs are depicted on the inside of the roof and names of *paranangal* and Saiva *Agamas* and *grantha* words are carved inside the roof. In the lintel of this *mandapa*



sculptural panels are carved including *kodikkarukku* and other floral designs. Stone chairs are hanging on the roof.

Horse pillars are also beautifully treated in this *mandapa*. These pillars have also been made by the combination of *Brahmakantha* and *Vishmukantha* pillars. In the pillar shaft sculptures are carved. Besides, sculptures are also carved over the pedestal.

Over the head of the horse the *palakai* is placed, *Alangu*, lion, *mushtibandam*, *pothikai*, etc. are successively placed over the *palakai*. These horse pillars remind us of the pillars of the Horse Court of Srirangam and Puthumandapam of Madurai. The *prastra kodungai* (a part of entablature) of this *mandapa* is remarkable in nature and exposition. In fact, the *kodungai* of Avudaiyarkoil is the best artistic production of the Nayak period. The *prastara* has a double flexure and inside of it one can see cross-bars and in the connection of cross-bars stone rails are inserted. In the cornice of the *kodungai* boat like structures are present and *kodikkarukku* elements are depicted over it. In the lintels usually many *kodikkarukku* designs as well as floral designs have been carved. Over the *kodungai* stone slabs are placed and above that small elevated brick structure is constructed.

#### Manickavasakar Utsava Mandapam

This *mandapa* is comparatively bigger than the other two *mandapas*. Manickavasakar festival is being conducted in this *mandapa* for ten days. This *mandapa* is otherwise called *Raghunatha Boobala Mandapam*.

This *mandapa* looks bigger and highly elevated due to the extraordinary height of the *atishthanas* and the pillars. The *atishthana* is of the *kapotha bandha* type. *Kapotha baunda atishthana* is bigger than the other *atishthanas* of this temple. Both *kataka viruttha kumudan* and eight faced *kumuda* are alternatively placed. This *atishthana* is strong and well balanced. New development in the *kapotha banda atishthanam* type could be seen in this *mandapa* and it shows the innovative tendencies of the Nayak artists.

The varieties of pillars erected in this *mandapa* are the following:

1. Square-facted pillar (*Saduram + patta*);
2. Square-facted pillar with *Brahmakantha* pillar;
3. *Anioyittikkal* type;
4. Composite *Indrakantha* pillar (Four pillars united);
5. Pillar with donor sculpture (portrait sculpture);
6. Horse pillar;
7. Pillar with a sculpture of the deity;
8. *Gopura sthambas*;
9. Sixteen faceted *Yali sthambas*;

The *yali* pillars are very few in numbers when compared to other pillars. The *kodungai* structure is similar to other *mandapas*. The significant feature of this *mandapa* is the pillar with horse and riders. Each pillar of this type varies in ornamentation and are the excellent production of this temple. In the left side of the *mandapa* entrance, over the *atishthana*, rows of horse pillars are installed. On the right side of the *mandapa* entrance one horse pillar is erected. These pillars have *pothigai*, *mushtibandham*, cross beam, lion, *alangu*, *kodungai*,

*palakai*, horse and pedestal elements. The *alangu* portion is well decorated with paintings, *kodikkarukku*, *padnam* and other miniature sculptural panels. These horse pillars remind us of the Srirangam Horse Pillars as well as Madurai Puthumandapam Horse Pillars.

Moreover, in the front facades of this *mandapa* a number of ornate pillars have been erected and sculptures of deities, in human size, are attached with them. These pillars are remarkable in their exhibition and beauty and produce good appearance to the *mandapa*. The *mandapa* roof is of the *Sanatata* type. *Gopura sthambas* with big sculptures are also noted in the end of the entrance of this *mandapa*. The *atishthana* of the *gopurasthambas* are highly elevated. Very high *Veerabadra* sculptures are attached with the *gopurasthambas* as they are usually found in the Madura Nayak temples. The *gopurasthambas* are already employed in the Chola Kampahareswara temple at Thirubuvanam. The Madura Nayaks also extensively used it in the later periods. But Tanjore Nayaks rarely used the *gopurasthambas*.

Tanjore and Senji Nayaks have constructed very few ornate *mandapas* in their temples and generally they followed the same Vijayanagar idiom and no innovations could be identified in their temples. Thus we could not distinguish a Tanjore or Senji Nayak style. But the Madura Nayak artists introduced new innovative features in the style of their temple architecture and sculpture. Eventhough they followed the Vijayanagar style, new innovations were added by the Madura Nayak artists. Thus we can distinguish a 'Madura Style'<sup>1,2</sup> The stylistic features of the Madura Nayak art are evidently seen in the *Panchakshara* and *Manickavasakar Mandapas* and in the extended *mandapa* of the *Thiyagarjar mandapa* in the Avudaiyar temple.

#### References:

1. Suresh B. Pillai, 1976, p. 46.
2. See Percy Brown, 1976, p. 270.

## விற்பொறி வீரப் பெரும்பள்ளி

முனைவர் வெ. வேதாசலம்

கல்வெட்டாய்வாளர்,

தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறை

மதுரை.

விருதுநகர் மாவட்டம், அருப்புக்கோட்டையிலிருந்து கல்லூரணி வழியாகப் பரளச்சி செல்லும் வழியில் தொப்பலாக்கரை என்ற கிராமம் உள்ளது. இவ்வூரின் பழம்பெயர் குளத்தூர் ஆகும். இங்குள்ள பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் கல்வெட்டுகளில் இது “அளற்றுநாட்டுக் குளத்தூர்” என்று குறிப்பிடப்படுகிறது. இவ்வூர்ப் பெருமாள் கோயிலிலுள்ள எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டருளிய குலசேகரபாண்டியனின் இருபதாவது ஆட்சியாண்டு கல்வெட்டு இவ்வூரில் ‘விற்பொறிவீரப்பெரும்பள்ளி’ என்ற பெயரில் சமணர்பள்ளி ஒன்று இருந்ததாகத் தெரிவிக்கிறது. இக்கல்வெட்டு தெரிவிப்பதை உறுதிப்படுத்தும் வகையில் இவ்வூர் ஊரணிக்கரையில் உடைந்துபோன இரண்டு தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்கள் உள்ளன. தொப்பலாக்கரையிலுள்ள இக்கல்வெட்டு தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்களும் களஆய்வின்போது புதியதாகக் கண்டறியப்பட்டவையாகும்.<sup>1</sup>

இங்குள்ள சமண தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்கள், கல்வெட்டு குறிப்பிடும் குளத்தூர் (தொப்பலாக்கரை) சமணப்பள்ளியில் வைத்து வழிபடப் பெற்ற சிற்பங்களாக இருக்க வேண்டும். சமணப்பள்ளி காலப்போக்கில் அழிந்துவிட்ட நிலையில் அப்பள்ளியில் இருந்த தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்களே எஞ்சியுள்ளன. இன்று இவ்வூர் ஊரணிக்கரையில் வழிபாடின்றி வெட்டவெளியில் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. சிறியதும் பெரியதுமாகக் காணப்படும் இச்சிற்பங்களில் பெரிய தீர்த்தங்கரர் உருவம் அர்த்தபரியங்காசணத்தில் அமர்ந்த நிலையில் உள்ளது. கரங்கள் இரண்டும் மடித்து வைத்த கால்களின் மீது தவக்கோலத்தில் உள்ளது. கரங்கள் இரண்டும் மடித்து வைத்த கால்களின் மீது தவக்கோலத்தில் உள்ளன. மதித்த தலை, நீள் செவிள், மூடிய நிலையில் அமைதியில் ஆழ்ந்த கண்களுடன் இத்தீர்த்தங்கரர் திகழ்கின்றார். தலையினைச் சுற்றி வேலைப்பாடு கொண்ட ஒளிவட்டம் விளங்குகிறது. கரங்களில் கவரி ஏந்தி தீர்த்தங்கரரின் இருபுறமும் நிற்கும் இயக்கர்களின் தலைப் பகுதியோடு தீர்த்தங்கரார்க்குரிய முக்குடைப் பகுதியும் உடைந்து அழிந்துவிட்டன. இப்பகுதிகள் தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்களுக்கு அருகிலுள்ள ஊரணியில் ஆழ்ந்துவிட்டதாக மக்கள் கூறுகின்றனர். இத்தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பம் கி.பி.பதிமூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டினைச் சார்ந்த பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் காலத்ததாகும். இப்பெரிய தீர்த்தங்கரர் உருவத்திற்கு அருகில் பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் காலத்ததாகும். இப்பெரிய தீர்த்தங்கரர் உருவத்திற்கு அருகில் காணப்படும் மற்றொரு தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பம் முந்தைய உருவத்தினைக்காட்டிலும் சிறியதாக உள்ளது. ஆனால் பெரிய தீர்த்தங்கரர் போன்றே சிதைந்துபோய் காணப்படுகிறது. இதுவும் கி.பி.பதிமூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சார்ந்தது.

விற்பொறிவீரப்பெரும்பள்ளி

குளத்தூரில் கி.பி.1288-இல் சிறப்புடன் திகழ்ந்த விற்பொறி வீரப்பெரும்பள்ளிக்குப் பள்ளிச்சந்தமாக அவ்வூரார் பல்லெறிச்சில் என்ற ஊரில் நிலங்களைத் தானமாக தந்துள்ளனர். அவற்றின் எல்லைகளை அளந்து விவரங்களைப் பெருமாள்கோவில் சுவரில் கல்வெட்டாகப் பொறித்திருக்கின்றனர். பல்லெறிச்சில் என்ற ஊர் தற்போது தொப்பலாக்கரைக்கு மிக அருகிலேயே பரளச்சி என்ற பெயரில் விளங்கி வருகிறது. விற்பொறிவீரப்பெரும்பள்ளி என்ற இச்சமணப்பள்ளியின் பெயர் பல வரலாற்றுன்மைகளை ஊணர்த்துகிறது. விற்பொறிவீரர் என்ற வீரர்களின் பெயரால் இப்பள்ளி தோற்றுவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. வில்லினைப் படைக்கலனாகக் கொண்ட இவ்வீரர்களைப் பாண்டிய அரசின் படைப்பிரிவைச் சார்ந்தவர்கள் என்று கொள்வதைவிட வணிகர்குழுக்களோடு தொடர்புடைய வீரர்கள் குழு என்று கருதுவதே பொருத்தமாகப்படுகிறது. ஏனென்றால் கி.பி.எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டிற்கும், கி.பி.பதினான்காம் நூற்றாண்டிற்கும் இடைப்பட்ட காலத்தில் தென்னிந்தியாவிலும் இலங்கையிலும் செல்வாக்குடன் விளங்கிய வணிகர்குழுக்களோடு அவர்களுக்கு உறுதுணையாய்

உடனிருந்து காவல் பணியில் ஈடுபட்டு வந்த பலவகைப்பட்ட வீரர் குழுவினர் இருந்திருக்கின்றனர் என்பதைக் கல்வெட்டுகள் காட்டுகின்றன.<sup>2</sup>

ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட நாடு என்றில்லாமல் எல்லா நாடுகளுக்கும் சென்று வணிகம் நடத்திய வணிகர் குழுவினர் தாங்கள் கொண்டு செல்லும் பொருள்களை வழிப்பறியில் இழக்காமல் இருப்பதற்கு அவர்களுக்குத் துணையாய் வில்லும் வாளும் வேலும் ஏந்திய இத்தகைய படைவீரர் குழுக்களைத் தங்களுடன் அழைத்துச் சென்றனர். மேலும் பலவார்களில் பாதுகாப்பான நிலையில் தங்குவதற்கும் ஆங்காங்கே வணிகத்தாளங்களை அமைத்து அவற்றில் பொருள்களைச் சேமித்து வைத்துக் காப்பதற்கும் வீரர்களைத் தங்களுடன் வைத்திருந்தனர்.<sup>3</sup> வணிக நகரங்களையும் பட்டினங்களையும் காக்கும் காவல் பொறுப்பில் இத்தகைய வீரர்களை அமர்த்தி இருந்தனர்.

மதுரை மாவட்டத்து மேலூர் வட்டத்தில் கள்ளங்காடு என்ற ஊருக்கு அருகில் கிடைத்த கல்செக்கு ஒன்றில் காணப்படும் கி.பி.9-10ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு கல்வெட்டு ஒன்றில் 'பொற்கொடிவீரர்' என்பவர்கள் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றனர்.<sup>4</sup> இளவேலங்கால் வட்டெழுத்துக் கல்வெட்டில் 'வியாழவீரர்' என்பவர்கள் சுட்டப்படுகின்றனர். கொங்குநாட்டிலும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் பிற்பகுதிகளிலுள்ள ஊர்கள் பலவற்றிலும் 'அடிக்கீழ்தளம்' என்ற பெயரில் தளம் அமைத்து அவற்றிற்குக் காவலாக வீரர்கள் நியமிக்கப்பட்டனர்.<sup>5</sup> எறிவீரர் என்ற வீரர்கள் காத்துநின்ற வணிகர் பட்டணங்கள் எறிவீரப்பட்டணம் என்ற பெயரில்தமிழ் நாட்டில் பல இடங்களில் இருந்திருக்கின்றன.<sup>6</sup> இதே போன்று 'கருணாகரவீரர்', முனைவீரர்கொடியார், சமயத்து திருவடிபிடித்து பணிசெய்யும் வீரர்', என்றழைக்கப்பட்ட வீரர்கள் பற்றி சோழர்காலத்துக் கல்வெட்டுகள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன.<sup>7</sup> இலங்கையிலுள்ள கல்வெட்டுக்களிலும் 'இளஞ்சிங்கம், கொங்கவளைகர் வீரர்கொடியார், பதினெண்பூமிவீரர், எறிவீரர் என்ற வணிகரோடு தொடர்புடைய வீரர்கள் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றனர்.<sup>8</sup> கிழக்காசியப் பகுதியில் தகுவா-பா என்ற இடத்தில் கிடைத்த பிற்காலப்பல்லவர் காலத்துக் கல்வெட்டு 'சேனாமுகம்' என்ற தமிழ் வணிகவீரர் படைப்பிரிவு பற்றி குறிப்பிடப்படுகிறது.<sup>9</sup>

வணிகருடன் பயணம் செய்த வணிகவீரர்கள் தாங்கள் தங்கியிருந்த இடங்களில் பல அறச்செயல்களைச் செய்துள்ளனர். தொப்பலாக்கரையில் (குளத்தூர்) உள்ள கல்வெட்டில் குறிக்கப்பெறும் விற்பொறிவீரரும் இவ்வகையைச் சார்ந்த வணிகர்குழுக்களோடு தொடர்புடைய வீரர்களாகவே இருக்க வேண்டும். இவர்கள் அளற்றுநாட்டுக் குளத்தூரில் தங்கியிருந்தபோது 'விற்பொறிவீரப்பெரும்பள்ளி' என்று தங்களது பெயரால் சமணப்பள்ளி ஒன்றினைத் தோற்றுவித்திருக்க வேண்டும். பெருவழியில் அமைந்த முக்கிய ஊராக குளத்தூர் இருந்தமையால் வணிகரும் விற்பொறிவீரரும் இவ்வூரில் தளம் அமைத்துத் தங்கியிருக்க வேண்டும்.

இவ்வூர் பாண்டியநாட்டுத் தலைநகர் மதுரையிலிருந்து அருப்புக்கோட்டைவழியாக மாரியூர் போன்ற கடற்கரைப்பட்டணங்களுக்குச் செல்லும் அக்காலப்பெருவழியில் அமைந்திருந்தமையால் அப்பெருவழியில் அடிக்கடிப் பயணம் மேற்கொண்ட வணிகர்கள் குளத்தூரில் தங்க நேர்ந்தது. இப்பெருவழியிலேயே இவ்வூருக்கு முன்பாக அமைந்த முக்கிய ஊரான செங்காட்டிருக்கை இடத்துவளியான அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் தென்னிலங்கை வளஞ்சியர் வாழ்ந்தவீதி ஒன்று இருந்திருப்பது இதனை மேலும் உறுதிப்படுத்துகிறது.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் இடைக்காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்த வணிகர் தொடர்புடைய இவ்வீரர்கள் பெரும்பாலும் சைவ-வைணவ சமயத்தவர்க்கே ஆதரவு அளித்திருப்பதை சோழர், பாண்டியர்காலக் கல்வெட்டுகள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. இந்நிலையில் கி.பி.பதிமூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டில் பாண்டி நாட்டில் குளத்தூரில் தங்கியிருந்த விற்பொறிவீரர்கள் சமணசமயத்திற்கு ஆதரவளித்திருக்கின்றனர். தங்கள் பெயரால் சமணப்பள்ளி ஒன்றினைத் தோற்றுவித்திருக்கின்றனர். இதனால் சமணசமயமும் இவ்வூரில் சிறப்புடன் திகழ்ந்திருக்கிறது.

பாண்டிநாட்டில் திருநாணசம்பந்தரின் வருகையால் கி.பி. ஏழாம் நூற்றாண்டில் சமணசமயவளர்ச்சியில் பின்னடைவு ஏற்பட்டது. ஆனால் கி.பி.எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டிலிருந்து மீண்டும்

பல சமயவுத்திகளைக் கையாண்டு சமணம் மறுமலர்ச்சி அடைந்தது. தொடர்ந்து கி.பி. பதிமூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டு முடிய சிறப்புடன் திகழ்ந்தது, இதனை அருப்புக்கோட்டையைச் சூழ்ந்த பந்தல்குடி, பாலவந்தம், புலியூரான், கோவிலாங்குளம், குறண்டி போன்ற இடங்களில் காணப்படும் கமணசமயக் கல்வெட்டுகளும் தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்களும் உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றன. முற்காலப்பாண்டியர், சோழர், பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் காலங்களைச் சார்ந்த இச்சமணசமய சான்றுகள் பாண்டியர்களும் சோழர்களும் சமணத்திற்கு ஆதரவுளித்திருப்பதை உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றன. இக்காலத்தில் பாண்டிநாட்டில் பெரும்புகழுடன் தலைமைசிறப்பு பெற்று விளங்கிய குறண்டிப்பள்ளி அருப்புக்கோட்டைப் பகுதியில் இருந்திருப்பதால் வறட்சியான இப்பகுதியில் சமணசமயம் அரசு ஆதரவோடு வணிகர்கள், பொதுமக்கள் ஆதரவையும் அடைந்து நன்கு செழித்து வளர்ந்திருக்கிறது என்று கருதலாம்.

சங்ககாலத்திலும் களப்பிரர் காலத்திலும் மதுரை மாநகரையும் அதனைச் சூழ்ந்த குன்றுகளையும் தங்களது சமயமையமாகச் சமணர்கள் கொண்டிருந்தனர். ஆனால் கி.பி. ஏழாம் நூற்றாண்டில் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் மதுரையில் தோற்றுவித்த சைவசமய எழுச்சியால் தங்களது சமயமையத்தை மதுரைக்குத் தெற்கே இருந்த அருப்புக்கோட்டை போன்ற வறட்சியான பகுதிகளுக்கு மாற்ற வேண்டிய நிலை தோன்றியது. வறட்சியான இப்பகுதியில் சமணர்கள் தங்கி மக்களுக்குத் தேவையான தண்ணீர்ப்பந்தல் வைத்தல் போன்ற அறக்கொடைகளைச் செய்து மக்கள் மனதில் இடம் பிடித்தனர். குறண்டி சமணமுனிவர்களை உருவாக்கும் கல்விமையமாகவும் இப்பகுதியில் உருவானது. மேலும் இப்பகுதியில் இல்லறவொழுக்கத்தில் இருந்த சமணர்கள் வாழ்ந்த ஊர்கள் பல தோன்றின என்பதை கமுகுமலை, சமணமலை, ஆனைமலை முதலிய இடங்களில் அமைந்த சமணப்பள்ளிகளிலுள்ள கல்வெட்டுகள் காட்டுகின்றன.<sup>10</sup> எனவே பாண்டிநாட்டில் அருப்புக்கோட்டையும் அதனைச் சூழ்ந்த பகுதிகளும் இடைக்காலத்தில் சமணசமயத்தின் ஊற்றாய் விளங்கின எனலாம். இந்நிலையில் தொப்பலாக்கரையில் கண்டறியப்பட்ட தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்களும் வீரபெரிவீரப்பெரும்பள்ளிக் கல்வெட்டும் இதனை மேலும் உறுதிப்படுத்தும் சான்றுகளாக விளங்குகின்றன.

#### அடிக்குறிப்புகள்

1. தொப்பலாக்கரையிலுள்ள கல்வெட்டுகள், தீர்த்தங்கரர் சிற்பங்கள் களஆய்வின்போது இக்கட்டுரை ஆசிரியரால் கண்டறியப்பட்டன. இவ்வூர் முற்காலப்பாண்டியர் கல்வெட்டுகளில் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றது. முதலாம் குலோத்துங்கன் கல்வெட்டு உள்ள சிம்மவாகனமும் பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் காலத்துப் பெருமாள்கோவிலும் தற்போது இவ்வூரில் உள்ளன.
2. K. Indrapala, "Some medievael mercantile communities of South India and Ceylon", *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol.II, No.2, part I, October 1970, pp.25-39.
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## திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடிய திருக்கோட்டாறு

டாக்டர் எஸ். பத்மநாபன்

பொதுச்செயலாளர், கன்னியாகுமரி வரறாற்றுப் பண்பாட்டு ஆய்வு மையம்,

நாகர்கோவில் 629 001.

குமரி மாவட்டத்தில் நாகர்கோவில் நகரின் ஒரு பகுதியாக அமைந்துள்ள கோட்டாறு ஒரு காலத்தில் வணிகத்துறையில் சிறந்து விளங்கிய ஒரு பெருநகராகத் திகழ்ந்தது. அந்நகர் முழுவதும் முன்பு கோட்டாறு என்றுதான் அழைக்கப்பட்டு வந்துள்ளது என்பதற்கு இலக்கிய, கல்வெட்டுச் சான்றுகள் உள்ளன. தாலமியின் நிலநூலும், பிளினியின் பயண நூலும் அந்நகரின் சிறப்புக்குச் சான்று கூறுகின்றன. ஆய்மன்னர்கள் ஆண்ட நாட்டில் கொட்டியரா என்றழைக்கப்படும் இடம் கி.பி. முதல் நூற்றாண்டில் வணிகத்தில் வளம் பெற்றிருந்தது என்று தாலமியும், அந்நகரை கோட்டாரா என்று பிளினியும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றனர். தென்திருவிதாங்கூரில் வணிக வளத்தில் சிறந்திருந்த பெருநகரான கோட்டாறு தான் ஐரோப்பியர்களால் 'கோட்டார்' என்று வழங்கப்பட்டது என்றும் "கிரேக்கர் காலத்தில் சிறப்புடன் திகழ்ந்தது போலவே இன்றும் கோட்டாறு வணிகத்துறையில் சிறந்து விளங்குகின்றது" என்றும் திராவிட மொழிகள் ஒப்பிலக்கணத்தை எழுதிய டாக்டர் கால்டுவெல் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.<sup>1</sup> நெல்லை மாவட்டம் நாங்குநேரி வட்டத்திலுள்ள தளபதிசமுத்திரம் மகாதேவர் ஆலயத்திலுள்ள கல்வெட்டு அக்கோயிலின் முன்னால் அமைந்துள்ள திருவனந்தபுரம் நெடுஞ்சாலையை கோட்டாற்றுப் பெருவழி என்றுதான் குறிப்பிடுகிறது.<sup>2</sup> இவ்வாறு பண்டைக்காலம் தொடரே வணிக உலகில் கோட்டாறு சிறப்புற்று விளங்கியது என்பது வரலாறு.

கோட்டாறு பற்றிய பல தகவல்கள் திருஞானசம்பந்தரின் தேவாரத்தில் திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்தில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளன. தஞ்சை மண்ணில் நன்னிலம் வட்டத்திலுள்ள திருக்கொட்டாரம் தான் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடிய திருக்கோட்டாறு என்று கூறுவார் உண்டு. ஆனால் குமரிமாவட்டத்தில் திருக்கோட்டாறு என்ற பெயரிலே ஓர் இடம் இருக்கும் போது, தஞ்சை மண்ணிலுள்ள திருக்கொட்டாரத்தை, திருக்கோட்டாறாக கொள்வது தவறு. தஞ்சையிலுள்ள திருக்கொட்டாரம், இராஜேந்திர சோழன் காலம் வரை, அதாவது கி.பி. பதினொன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை, திருவந்தீஸ்வரம் என்ற பெயரைப் பெற்றிருந்தது என்று தமிழ்நாடு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறையினர் வெளியிட்டுள்ள நன்னிலம் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது.<sup>3</sup> ஆனால் பண்டைய இலக்கியங்களிலும், வெளிநாட்டாரின் பயணக் குறிப்புகளிலும், கி.பி. எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டிலிருந்து பதினாறாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை கிடைத்துள்ள கல்வெட்டுகளிலும் குமரி மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாறு அதே பெயரில் தான் அழைக்கப்பட்டு வந்துள்ளது என்பது மட்டுமல்ல அன்றும் இன்றும் அது கோட்டாறு என்றுதான் அழைக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. ஒரு வேறுபாடு என்னவென்றால் கி.பி. பத்தொன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை நாகர்கோவிலில் கோட்டாற்றில் ஒரு பகுதியாக இருந்தது. ஆனால் இன்று நாகர்கோவில் நகரின் ஒரு பகுதியாக கோட்டாறு அமைந்துள்ளது.

கோட்டாறு பற்றிய சம்பந்தரின் வருணனை நாஞ்சில் கோட்டாற்றுக்கு பொருத்தமாக உள்ளதே தவிர, தஞ்சை திருக்கொட்டாரத்திற்கு எந்த நிலையிலும் பொருத்தமில்லை. கி.பி. பதினெட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டில் இப்பகுதியில் வந்து தங்கிய மறைதிரு. பாலின்ஸ் பெர்தலோமே என்ற கிறிஸ்தவ சமயத்தூறவியார், கோட்டாறு பற்றி எழுதிய தகவல்கள் சம்பந்தரின் கூற்றினை மொழி பெயர்த்தது போல் அமைந்துள்ளன. அரசியல், சமயம், கலை, இலக்கியம் ஆகிய துறைகளில் திருக்கோட்டாறு சிறப்புற்று விளங்கியது என்பதை சம்பந்தரின் தேவாரமும், பெர்தலோமியின் பயணக்குறிப்புகளும் நமக்குத் தெரிவிக்கின்றன.

திருஞானசம்பந்தர் கோட்டாறுக்கு வருகை தந்தாரா? என்ற கேள்வி இங்கே எழுகின்றது. சம்பந்தர் காலத்தில் பாண்டிய நாட்டை ஆண்ட அரிசேசரி மாறவர்மன், கோட்டாற்றின் மீது படையெடுத்து வெற்றிகொண்ட செய்தியை கி.பி.எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டில் எழுந்த பாண்டிக்கோவை தெரிவிக்கின்றது. இம்மன்னனை கூன்பாண்டியன் என்றும் நின்றசீர் நெடுமாறன் என்றும்

அழைப்பதுண்டு. நெடுமாறன் கோட்டாற்றின் மீது படையெடுத்து வெற்றிகொண்டதால் அவனை “கோட்டாற்றழிவித்த கோன்” எனவும் “குருமா நெடுமதிற் கோட்டரன் கொண்டதென்னன் கன்னிப் பெருமான்” எனவும் பாண்டிக்கோவை புகழ்ந்துரைக்கின்றது. பாண்டிய மன்னன் நெடுமாறன் ஆட்சிக்கு உட்பட்டிருந்த கோட்டாற்றில், அவர் காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்த திருஞானசம்பந்தர் வந்திருக்க வாய்ப்பு உண்டு. அவ்வாறு சம்பந்தர் கோட்டாறு வருகை தந்தபோது அந்நகர் பற்றி பாடியிருக்க வேண்டும். “கொம்பார் சோலைக் கோலவண்டி யாழ்செய் குற்றாலம்” வருகை தந்த திருஞானசம்பந்தர், “திக்கெல்லாம் புகழும் திருநெல்வேலி” வந்து பாடிய திருஞானசம்பந்தர், அத்தலங்களுக்கு அருகே அமைந்துள்ள திருக்கோட்டாற்றுக்கு ஏன் வந்திருக்கக் கூடாது? திருஞானசம்பந்தர் கோட்டாற்றுக்கு வருகை தந்தார் என்பதை கோட்டாறு வலம்புரி விநாயகர் கோயில் அருகே உள்ள திருஞானசம்பந்தர் மடம் உறுதி செய்கின்றது.<sup>4</sup>

திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடிய திருக்கோட்டாறு, நாகர்கோவில் கோட்டாறு தான் என்பதற்கு பல அசுச் சான்றுகள் நமக்கு கிடைக்கின்றன. தேவாரத்தில் திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்தில் வருகின்ற இறைவன், இறைவி திருநாமங்களும், இடப்பெயர்களும் இன்றும் அவ்வாறே அழைக்கப்படுகின்றன. திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்திலே வருகின்ற அழகன், கோலவார் குழலான், உமைபங்கன் என்ற பெயர்களை நாகர்கோவிலில் நாம் இன்றும் கேட்கலாம். இன்று நாகர்கோவில் நாகராஜன் ஆலயத்தின் முன்னால் காணப்படும் செம்மான் குளம் வருவாய்த்துறை ஆவணங்களில் உமைபங்கநேரி என்றுதான் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளது. நாகர்கோவில் நாகராஜர் ஆலயத்தில் காணப்படும் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்றும் இக்குளத்தை “உமைபங்கநேரி நீர்நிலை” என்று தான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றது.<sup>5</sup> இக் கல்வெட்டு கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 696 ல் (கி.பி. 1521) செதுக்கப்பட்டதாகும். உமைபங்கநேரிதான் ஒழுகினசேரியாக மாறியிருக்க வேண்டும். ஒழுகினசேரியில் உள்ள புலனேஸ்வரி அம்மன்கோயில் மூலவரான சிவனைத்தான் “உமைபங்கன்” என்றும் “மங்கையோர் பங்கன்” என்றும் சம்பந்தர் பெருமான் பாடியிருக்க வேண்டும் எனக் கருத இடமிருக்கிறது. இன்று அக்கோயில் மூலவர் திருமாலின் திருநாமமான வாசுதேவர் என்ற பெயரில் அழைக்கப்படுவது வியப்பாக உள்ளது. திருவிதாங்கூர் அரசு அதிகாரி வாசுதேவர் என்பவர் இக்கோயிலை புதுப்பித்ததால் மூலவர் அவர் பெயரால் அழைக்கப்படுகிறார் என்று ஊர்மக்கள் கூறக் கேட்கலாம். ஒழுகினசேரி சிவன்கோயில் மூலவரின் முன்னாள் பெயர் உமைபங்கனாகத் தான் இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும். இப்பெயரை ஒட்டியே இக்கோயிலின் அருகே உள்ள குளம் “உமைபங்கநேரி” என்ற பெயரைப் பெற்றது எனலாம்.

கோட்டாறு என்ற பெயரின் தோற்றத்தைக் குறித்து புராணக்கதை ஒன்று உண்டு. இந்திரன் பூஜை செய்வதற்காக தண்ணீர் வேண்ட அவனது யானை மலையைக் குத்தி உருவாக்கியது தான் கோட்டாறு என்பது அக்கதை. கோடு என்றால் கொம்பு என்று பொருள். இதனை வடமொழியில் தந்தநதி என்பர். இந்நிகழ்ச்சி சசீந்திரம் கோயிலின் தலபுராணத்தில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளது. மட்டுமல்ல அக்கோயில் கோபுரத்தில் இது ஒவியமாக சித்தரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. இந்நிகழ்ச்சியை “நின்று மேய்ந்து நினைந்து மாகதி, நீரோடும் மலர்வேண்டிவான் மழை, குன்றின் நேர்ந்து குத்திப் பணிசெய்யும் கோட்டாறு” என்று கூறி சம்பந்தர் பெருமான் திருக்கோட்டாற்றுப் பதிகத்தைத் தொடங்குகிறார். புராணச்செய்தி இவ்வாறு இருக்க ஆய்வாளர்கள் கோட்டாறு என்பதை கோடு ஆறு என்று பிரித்து மலையும் நதியும் என்ற பொருள் கொள்கின்றனர். கோட்டாரின் கரையில் மலை ஆழ் ஈற்றாக உடைய அதங்கோடு, அண்டுகோடு, இடைக்கோடு, பரகோடு, விளவங்கோடு போன்ற பல ஊர்கள் குமரிமாவட்டத்திலே உள்ளன. ஆனால் மலையே இல்லாத மாவட்டம் தஞ்சை மாவட்டம் என்பது இங்கே குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. அதனால் தஞ்சையோடு கோட்டாற்றை இணைப்பது தவறு.

கலைகள் மலிந்ததும், நாகரீகமும் பண்பாடும் நிறையப் பெற்றதும், பல்வேறு சமயத்தவரும் பாங்குடன் வருகைதரும் சிறப்பும் பெற்றது திருக்கோட்டாறு எனத் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடியுள்ளார். சிறப்புவாய்ந்த பண்பாயர் பரம்பரையில் வந்த மக்கள் இப்பகுதியில் வாழ்ந்தனர். இது தோற்றத்தாலும், அமைப்பின் அழகினாலும் ஒரு முழுமைப்பெற்ற நகரமாக விளங்கியது. பல்வேறு பொருட்கள் விற்பனை செய்யப்படும் நிலையங்கள் அங்காடியில் பாங்குடன் அமைந்திருந்தன. இத்தையொட்டி பல

தொழில்கள் இந்நகரிலே வளர்ந்தோங்கின. அதனால் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் இந்நகரை, மிகவும் பொருத்தமாக "தொழில் மல்கு கோட்டாறு" என்று புகழ்ந்துரைக்கிறார். இன்றும் கோட்டாறு புகழ்பெற்ற ஒரு வணிகத்தலமாக விளங்குவதை நாம் காணலாம். அதன் கடைத்தெரு "கூலக்கடை" என்றும் "பண்டகசாலை" என்றும் அழைப்பவர் இன்றுமுள்ளர். கூலம் என்றால் துணியைக் குறிக்கும். கூலவாணிகன் சீத்தலைச் சாத்தனார் இதனை விளக்கும் (பதிப்பாசிரியர்) செயற்கைப் பட்டிற்குப் புகழ்பெற்ற இடமாகக் கோட்டாறு விளங்குவதும், அந்நகரின் ஒரு பகுதியான வட்சேரி நெய்தல் தொழிலில் ஏற்றம் பெற்றுத் திகழ்வதும் சம்பந்தர் பெருமானின் "தொழில் மல்கு கோட்டாறு" என்ற கூற்றை உறுதிப்படுத்தும்.

இந்நகரின் மாடமானிகைகள் வண்ணக் கொடிகளால் அலங்கரிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. இந்நகரைக் சுற்றிலும் உள்ள பச்சைப் பச்சேலென்ப பரந்த வயல்வெளிகளும், தென்னந்தோப்புகளும் வருவோர் போவோர் உள்ளங்களைக் கவர்ந்தன. எல்லாவித இசையும், இசைக்கருவிகளும் இவ்வட்டார மக்களால் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டு வந்தன என்பதற்கும் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடல்கள் ஆதாரமாக அமைந்துள்ளன. கலையில் வல்ல நாட்டியமணிகளும், பிற கலை வல்லுநர்களும், மந்திரவாதிகளும் இங்கு நிரம்ப இரந்தனர். ஆனதால், பயணிகளுக்கு இந்நகர் வானுலகம் போல் காட்சியளித்தது.

அம்பின் நேர்விழி மங்கை மார்பலர்

ஆட கம்பெறு மாட மானிகைக்

கொம்பி னேர்துகிலின் கொடியாடு கோட்டாற்றில்

குழலும் மொந்தை விழாவொலிசெய்யும் கோட்டாற்றில் குழலும் வன்சிலம் பும்மொ விசெய்ய

பஞ்சின் மெல்லடி மாத ராடவர்

பத்தர் சித்தர்கள் பன்பு வைகலும்

கொஞ்சி இன் மொழியால் தொழில் மல்கு கோட்டாற்றில்

மஞ்சனே மனியேம கிமிடற்

றண்ண லேயென வுளநெ கிழந்தவர்

துஞ்சு மாறறியார் பிறவார் இந்தொல் நிலத்தே"

இவையாவும் சம்பந்தரின் தேவாரப் பாடல்கள்; கோட்டாறு பற்றி நமக்குத் தருகின்ற தகவல்கள்.

இக்கருத்தினை ஒட்டி கி.பி.பதினெட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டில் இப்பகுதி வந்து தங்கிய கிறிஸ்தவ சமயத்துறவி பாலின்ஸ் பர்த்தலோமே சில குறிப்புகளை வெளியிட்டுள்ளார். "ஏறத்தாழ 2,000 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு மேற்பட்ட பழமை வாய்ந்த இந்த வணிக நகரம், இலங்கை, மதுரை, தஞ்சை மற்றும் கிழக்குக் கடற்கரை நகர வணிகர்களது வருகையால் சிறப்புற்றிருந்தது. இந்நகரத்தின் நடுவில் ஓடுகின்ற ஆறு, நகரை இரு பிரிவுகளாகப் பிரிக்கின்றது. இங்கு விற்பனைக்கென எல்லா பொருட்களும் நிரம்பக் காணப்பட்டன. மேலும் நெசவாளர்களும், பொன், வெள்ளி மற்றும் உலோகக் கலைஞர்க்கும், நாட்டிய நங்கைகளும், நாணயங்கள் மாற்றிக் கொடுப்போரும், வித்தைக் காட்டுவோரும் மந்திரவாதிகளும், பிற கலை வல்லுநர்களும் எண்ணிலடங்காது வாழ்ந்து வந்தனர்"<sup>6</sup>. இவையாவும் பாலின்ஸ் பர்த்தலோமே கோட்டாறு பற்றி நமக்குத் தரும் தகவல்கள்.

விசித்திரமான வித்தை காட்டுவோர் கோட்டாற்றில் நிரம்ப இருந்தனர் என்ற கருத்தை வடிலீஸ்வரம் அழகம்மன் கோவில் தூண்களில் காணப்படும் இரண்டு புடைப்புச் சிற்பங்கள் உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றன. ஒரு தூணில் இரண்டு பந்துகளைக் கொண்டு இடது கையாலும், இடது காலாலும் அம்மனை ஆடிக்கொண்டிருக்கும் ஒருவன், தனது வலது கைவிரலில் ஒரு சுழலும் தட்டையும், மூக்கின் நுனியிலே ஒரு கத்தியையும், கீழே விழாமல் தாங்கி, வித்தை காட்டும் நிலையில் நிற்கின்றான். மற்றொரு தூணில் ஒரு பன்றியின் மேல் ஒரு கம்பை நிறுத்தி அதன்மேல் ஒருவன் நின்று வித்தை காட்டுகின்றான். வேறொரு தூணில் இரண்டு கால்களையும் மேல் நோக்கி வைத்து வணங்கிய நிலையில்



ஒருவன் காட்சி தருகிறான். இது போன்று வித்தை காட்டுவோர் கோட்டாற்றில் நிரம்ப வாழ்ந்து வந்தனர் என்ற உண்மையை இந்தச் சிற்பங்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறியமுடிகிறது. இது போன்று சித்து வேலை செய்தவர்களைத் தான் சம்பந்தர் சித்தர்கள் என்று குறிப்பிட்டிருக்க வேண்டும்.

பர்த்தலோமே கூற்றை வைத்து ஆராய்ந்தால் இன்றைய பழையாறு முன்பு ஒருபெரும் நதியாக ஓடியதென்றும், அதன் இரு கரைகளிலும் கோட்டாறு என்னும் பெருநகர் பரந்திருந்தது என்றும் அறியலாம். ஆற்றின் கிழக்குக் கரையில் புலவர்கள் மட்டும் தனித்திருந்து தமிழ் வளர்த்தார்கள் எனவும், அன்று புலவர் சேரியாக இருந்த இடம்தான் இன்று பரவசேரி என்றழைக்கப்படுகிறது என்றும் ஆற்றின் மறு கரையில் வணிகர்கள் பலர் வாழ்ந்து வந்தனர் என்றும் அறிய முடிகிறது.<sup>7</sup> கோட்டாற்றுச் சந்தையில் அரபுநாட்டுக் குதிரைகள் விற்கப்பட்டன என்பர். வடவீஸ்வரம் கோயில் தூண் ஒன்றில் அரபுநாட்டு வணிகர்கள் உருவம் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது இங்கே குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. மேலும் கோட்டாற்றை அடுத்துள்ள வையாளிவிளை குதிரையோடு சம்பந்தப்பட்ட ஊராகும். வைம் என்ற சொல் குதிரை பூட்டிய தேரைக் குறிக்கும். இச்சொல் அதே பொருளில் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளது.<sup>8</sup> வையாளி என்பதற்கு குதிரை பூட்டிய தேரை ஓட்டுபவன் என்பது பொருள். கோட்டாற்றின் அருகே வையாளிவிளை அமைந்திருப்பது அங்கு நடைபெற்ற அரபுநாட்டுக் குதிரை வணிகத்தை உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றது.

கடல்கொண்ட குமார்க்கண்டத்தின் எஞ்சிய பகுதிதான் இன்றைய குமரிமாவட்டம் என்பதற்குச் சான்றுகள் பல கிடைக்கின்றன.<sup>9</sup> குமரிக் கண்டத்தில் ஓடிய பஹுனியாறு பறளியாறாகி இன்று பழையாறு என்று அழைக்கப்படுகிறது என்பதற்கும் சான்றுகள் கிடைக்கின்றன.<sup>10</sup> பழையாற்றில் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ள முதல் அணையை அங்கு செதுக்கப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டு "பறளியாற்று அணை" என்றுதான் குறிப்பிடுகிறது.<sup>11</sup> குமரி மண்ணை டாக்டர் கால்டுவெல் பறளினாடு என்றுதான் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.<sup>12</sup>

மட்டுமின்றி கடல்கொண்ட குமார்க்கண்டத்தில் சிறப்புடன் திகழ்ந்த தெங்கநாடும் குறும்பனை நாடும் இன்றைய குமரிமாவட்டப் பகுதியில் இருந்தன என்றும், இன்றைய தேங்காப்பட்டினமும் குறும்பனையும். அவ்விருநாடுகளின் தலை நகரங்களாக விளங்கின என்றும் அறியமுடிகிறது. "திருநந்திக்கரையிருந்த அடிகல் முன் ..." என்று தொடங்கும் ஆய்மன்னன் விக்கிரமதித்தவரகுணன் காலத்திய செப்பேடு ஒன்று தெங்க நாட்டைப்பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடுகிறது.<sup>13</sup> பஹுனியாற்றுடன் பன்மலையடுக்கத்துக் குமரிக் கோடும் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள" என்ற சிலப்பதிகாரச் செய்தியையும்<sup>14</sup>, கடல்கொண்ட குமரிக் கண்டத்தில் எஞ்சிய பகுதிதான் இன்றைய குமரிமாவட்டம் என்ற கருத்தையும் மனதிற்கொண்டு தான் சம்பந்தர் பெருமான் திருக்கோட்டாற்றை "தொல்நிலம்" என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

திருஞானசம்பந்தரும் பர்த்தலோமேயும் கூறியது போல இன்றும் கோட்டாற்றில் பொன், வெள்ளி மற்றும் உலோக கைவினைக் கலைஞர்கள் பலர் வாழ்கின்றனர். இந்த கைவினைக் கலைஞர்களைத்தான் சம்பந்தர் பத்தர்கள் என்று குறிப்பிட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். கோட்டாறு சிற்பக்கலை வளர்க்கும் கூடமாகத் திகழ்ந்து வந்துள்ளது என கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. கி.பி. 16 ம் நூற்றாண்டில் ஒரு சிற்பக்கூடம் இங்கு சிறப்புற்று விளங்கியது. அக்கலைக் கூடம் கோட்டாற்றில் இன்று பாறைக் காமடத்தெரு என்று அழைக்கப்படும் பாறைக்கல் மடத்தெருவில் இருந்தது என்பதற்குத் தடயங்கள் கிடைக்கின்றன. அந்தக் கலைக் கூடத்தில் பல சிற்பிகள் தங்கி கலை வளர்த்தனர். அவர்களுள், கொம்மண்டை நயினான் முதலி, தம்புரான்குட்டி இருவரும் தலைசிறந்து விளங்கினார்கள் என்றும் அவர்கள் இருவரும் "சிறப்புரந்தரன்" என்ற சிறப்பு விருதினைப் பெற்றிருந்தனர் என்றும், தமிழ்நாடு அரசுத் தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறையினர் வெளியிட்டுள்ள கன்னியாகுமரி கல்வெட்டுகள் என்ற தொகுப்பு நூல் கூறுகின்றது.<sup>15</sup> இந்த அடிப்படையில் இன்றும் சிற்பக்கலையில் தேர்ச்சிமிக்க பல கலைஞர்கள் இப்பகுதியில் வாழ்கின்றனர். நாணயம் மாற்றித் தருபவர்கள் இந்நகரில் நிரம்ப இருந்தனர் என்ற பர்த்தலோமியின் கூற்றிலிருந்து பிறநாட்டு வணிகர்கள் பலர் கோட்டாறு நகர் வந்து தங்கியிருக்க வேண்டும் எனத் தெரியவருகிறது.

திருஞானசம்பந்தரால் பாடப்பெற்ற ஆலயங்கள் தான் இந்நகரில் அமைந்துள்ள வடசேரி சோழராஜகோவிலும், வடவீஸ்வரம் சுந்தரேஸ்வரர் கோவிலும் எனத் கருத இடமிருக்கிறது.

சோழராஜகோவிலில் மூலவரை “பொழில் மல்கு கோட்டாற்றில் அரவ நீள் சடையான்” எனவும், “பூம்பொழிற் கோட்டாற்றில் இருந்த எம்பெருமான்” எனவும், கோவிலில் நின்றருளும் தேவியை “கோலவார் குழலான்” எனவும் தமது பாடல்களிலே போற்றிப்புகழ்கிறார் திருஞானசம்பந்தர். சோழராஜகோவிலில் நின்றருளும் தேவியார், இன்றும் “கோலவார் குழலான்” என்ற பெயரிலேதான் அழைக்கப்படுகிறார்.

கோட்டாற்றின் ஒரு பகுதியான வடிலீஸ்வரத்தில் எழுந்தருளியுள்ள, சுந்தரேஸ்வரை சம்பந்தர் பெருமான் “குலைமல்கு தன்பொழில் சூழ்ந்தழகார் திருக்கோட்டாற்று, அலைமல்கு வார்சடை அயற்றுக்கந்த அழகன்” எனவும் “தெண்டிரை நீர்வயல் சூழ்ந்தழகார் திருக்கோட்டாற்று, அண்டமும் எண்டிசை யாகி நின்ற அழகன்” எனவும் போற்றிப் பாடுகின்றார். வடிவு எஸ்வரன் என்ற சொற்கள் சேர்த்து வடிலீஸ்வரம் ஆயிற்று. வடிவு என்றால் அழகு. பழையாற்றில் வலது கரையிலே இயற்கை எழில் சூழ அமைந்துள்ள இக்கோவிலின் மூலவர் சுந்தரேஸ்வரர். அவரைத்தான் அழகு தமிழிலே “அழகன்” என்று அழைக்கிறார் சம்பந்தர். அவருக்கேற்றாற்போலத் தேவியும் அழகேஸ்வரி எனப் பெயர் கொண்டுள்ளார்.

“உடையிலாது உழல்கின்ற குண்டரும்,  
ஊரும் தவத்தாய சாக்கியர்,  
கொடையிலா மனத்தார் குறையாரும் கோட்டாறு”

என்பது சம்பந்தர் பாடல். நிர்வாணமாக சமணசமயத் துறவிகள் ஒரு பக்கமும், புத்த சமயத்துறவிகள் மறுபக்கமும் கோட்டாற்றின் வீதிகளில் உலாவி வந்தனர் என்ற குறிப்பு இப்பாடலில் காணப்படுவதிலிருந்து, சம்பந்தர் காலத்தில் சமண சமயமும், புத்த சமயமும் கோட்டாற்றில் நிலை பெற்றிருந்தது எனக் கொள்ளலாம். சமண சமயத் துறவிகளான புட்பணந்த அடிகள், உத்தணந்த அடிகள், விமலச்சந்திரரர், பாதுமலத்தான் அரங்கன்மாறன் ஆகியோர் தங்கள் பெயர்களில் முன்பாகத் திருக்கோட்டாறு என்ற ஊரை அடைமொழியாகத் கொண்டிருந்தனர். கோட்டாற்றில் வாழ்ந்த சமண சமயக்கருத்துக்களை பரவச் செய்தது மட்டுமல்ல, அங்குள்ள பாறைகளில் தீர்த்தங்கர்களது திரு உருவங்களையும் செதுக்கி வைத்துள்ளனர் என்ற செய்தியை கழுகு மலைக் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது.<sup>16</sup> நாகராஜர் ஆலயத்தில் காணப்படும் கல்வெட்டுக்களும், புடைப்புச் சிற்பங்கள் சிலவும், அது ஓர் இந்து ஆலயமல்ல சமணப்பள்ளியே என்று சான்று கூறுகின்றன.<sup>17</sup>

கோட்டாற்றை அடுத்துள்ள தேரூர் ஒரு காலத்தில் தேரவாத புத்த சமயத் துறவிகளின் தாயகமாகத் திகழ்ந்தது என்று ஜப்பான் நாட்டு அறிஞர் டாக்டர் ஷஃஹிகோசாகா தாம் எழுதிய “தமிழகத்தில் புத்த சமயம்” என்ற நூலில் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.<sup>18</sup> தேரவாத புத்தசமயம் ஆறுவகை பிரிவுகளைக் கொண்டது என்ற கருத்தை “அறு வகைத்தேரர்” என்று சம்பந்தர் பெருமான் தமது தேவாரப் பாடலிலே கூறுகின்றார். அந்த தேரர்கள் கோட்டாற்று வீதிகளில் உலவினர் என்ற செய்தியையும் சம்பந்தர் பெருமான் நமக்குத் தருகிறார். புத்தசமயத் துறவிகளை சம்பந்தர் சாக்கியர் என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார். இவ்வாறு திருக்கோட்டாற்றில் சைவர்களும், சமணர்களும், பௌத்தர்களும் தங்கி தத்தம் சமயங்களை போற்றி வளர்த்தனர் என சம்பந்தர் பாடல்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது.

திருஞானசம்பந்தரின் அருள் வாக்குகளால் புகழ்ப்பெற்ற பழம்பெரும் நகரான திருக்கோட்டாறு, பல அரசர்களின் தாக்குதல்களுக்கு ஈடு கொடுத்து, பல்வேறு சமயங்களையும் தன்னகத்தே வாழவிட்டு, பல்வேறு கலைகளையும் வளர்த்து, அன்றுபோல் இன்றும் சமயத்துறையிலும், வணிகத்துறையிலும், கலைத்துறையிலும் சிறந்து விளங்குகின்றது. இந்நிலையில் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் பாடிப் புகழ்ந்த திருக்கோட்டாறு நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாறு தான் என்றும் தஞ்சையிலுள்ள திருக்கோட்டாரம் அல்ல என்றும் உறுதியுடன் முடிவு செய்யலாம்.

அடிக்குறிப்புகள்:

1. Comparative Grammer of Dravidian Languages, R.Caldwell, page, 62.
2. South Indian Inscriptions, Volume XIV, No. 264.

3. Ibid., Volume III, No.389.
  4. ஆய்வுக்களஞ்சியம் மாத இதழில் (மே, 1994 பக்கம் 90) வெளியான தமிழ்நாடு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறை அலுவலர் எஸ். இராமசந்திரன் எழுதிய "17-ம் நூற்றாண்டில் கோட்டாற்று அரண்மனை" என்ற கட்டுரை.
  5. கன்னியாகுமரிக் கல்வெட்டுகள், பாகம் 3, எண். 277.
  6. Travancore State Manual, T.K.Velu Pillai, Volume IV, page, 633.
  7. தென் குமரியின் புதைந்த வரலாறு (1972), எஸ் பத்மநாபன், பக்கம் -55.
  8. சிலப்பதிகாரம், 14:15:1.
  9. *Indian Express*, Chennai, dated 19-10-1992.
  10. Research papers presented in the National Seminar on Indian Civilization and its Chronology held at Chennai in 1995, page 44.
  11. *Kerala Society Papers*. Volume I, page-263.
  12. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, R.Caldwell, page 62.
  13. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume I, page 17.
  14. சிலப்பதிகாரம், 11:2: 19-20.
  15. கன்னியாகுமரிக் கல்வெட்டுகள், பாகம் 3, எண். 291, பாகம் 1, எண். 29-எ.
  16. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, Nos. 313, 316, 33, 358&390.
  17. *Nagaraja Temple*, S. Padmanabhan, page 13-14.
  18. *Buddhism in Tamil Nadu*, Shu Hikosaka, page 192.
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## இறை இயலின் பன்னாட்டு ஒருங்கிணைப்பும் ஜீவகாருண்யமும் (Theosophical-Internationalism and Jeevakarunyam)

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முன்னுரை:

நமது அன்றாட வாழ்வில் நாம் கடைபிடிக்க வேண்டிய குறிக்கோள்களில் 'ஒன்றுபட்டு வாழ்தல்' என்பது இன்றியமையாத ஒன்று. அனைவருடனும் சகோதரத்துவத்துடன் பழகுவது ஒரு சிறந்த உணர்வை நமக்குத் தருகிறது. நம் வாழ்வில், செல்வத்திற்கும் சுகங்களுக்கும் முக்கியத்துவம் அளிப்பதைப் போன்றே நீதிநெறிகளுக்கும் அறிவுடைமைக்கும் நாம் சீரிய முயற்சியை மேற்கொள்ள வேண்டியவர்கள் ஆகிறோம். இவை அனைத்திலும் மேம்பாடு உடைய ஒன்று உண்டெனில் அதுவே அனைத்திலும் ஒன்றுபட்ட புதியதோர் உலகை உருவாக்க உரிய வழிமுறைகளை காணுதல் ஆகும். தத்துவார்த்தமுடைய இந்த கோட்பாடுகள் முதன்முதலில் ஏதேனில் வீதிகளெங்கும் சிந்தனைச் சிற்பிகளால் முழங்கப்பட்டு, இவ்வையகம் முழுதும் சிந்தனை அலைகளையும், அதன் செயல் வடிவங்களையும் தோற்றுவித்தது.<sup>1</sup> பாரதத்தின் தென்பகுதியின் சமூக- தத்துவ ஞானிகளுள் அன்னிபெசன்ட் அம்மையாரின் "இறைஇயலின் பன்னாட்டு ஒருங்கிணைப்பு" (Theosophical-Internationalism) இராமலிங்க அடிகளார் வழங்கிய "ஆன்ம நேய ஒருமைப்பாட்டுரிமை"யும் அவர்களின் உயரிய கோட்பாடுகளில் தலையானதாக கருதப்படுபவை. இக்கோட்பாடுகள் - இனம், மதம், மொழி, நம்பிக்கைகள் இவைகளின் வெவ்வேறு பரிமாணங்களின் மூலம் பொருத்தமற்ற வேறுபாடுகளை தங்களுக்குள் புகுத்திக்கொண்டு சிதைவற்றுக் கொண்டிருக்கும் இன்றைய மனித இனத்தை ஒன்றுபடுத்தி ஒங்கி நிற்கச் செய்ய வல்லது- என உலக மேதைகளால் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டவை. தூய ஆன்மாவினால் ஆசீர்வதிக்கப்பட்ட மனித நேயம் தேவை என்ற கருத்தை விளக்குவதே அன்னிபெசன்டின் 'இறைஇயலும்' இராமலிங்கரின் 'ஒருமைப்பாட்டுரிமையும்' ஆகும்.<sup>2</sup>

(இறைஇயல் சபை : பழம்பெரும் ஞான விளக்கங்களின் உண்மைகளின் மீது 'பிலவட்ஸ்கி' (Blavatsky) என்ற ருஷ்ய அம்மையார் 1870 ல் கேய்ரோவிலும், 1874 ல் அமெரிக்க ஐக்கிய நாடுகளிலும் மக்களுக்கு அவைகளின் மீது ஈடுபாட்டினை ஏற்படுத்தினார். அப்போது உடன் இருந்த 'கர்னெல் ஆல்காட்' (Colonel Olcott) மற்றும் சிலரால் 1875 ஆம் ஆண்டு செப்டம்பர் 5 ஆம் நாள் ஒரு சபை அமையப்பெற்று 'இறைஇயல் சபை' என பெயர்பெற்றது. 1878 -இல் இந்தியாவிற்கு செல்ல பணிக்கப்பட்டு 1879-இல் பிப்ரவரி 16 - ஆம் நாள் பம்பாயில் ஆரிய சமাজத்தினரால் அச்சபை வரவேற்கப்பட்டது. 1887-இல் பிலவட்ஸ்கி அம்மையார் இங்கிலாந்திற்கு சென்று தங்கியதால், கணவரைப் பிரிந்து, 'பாபியன் சபையின்' (Fabian Society) சமூக நல விரும்பியான சார்லஸ் ப்ராட்லாக் (Charles Bradlaugh) வெப்ஸ் (Webbs) மற்றும் ஜார்ஜ் பெர்னாட்ஷா (George Bernard Shaw) போன்றோருடன் தொண்டாற்றி வந்த அன்னிபெசன்ட் அம்மையார், 1892-இல் இந்தியாவில் நடைபெற்ற இறைஇயல் சபையின் கருத்தரங்கிற்கு அழைக்கப்பட்டு, பின்னர் 1893-இல் நவம்பர் 16 ஆம் நாள் இந்தியாவில் இறைஇயல் சபையில் தொண்டாற்றினார்.<sup>3</sup>

இராமலிங்கர் : இராமைய்யாப் பிள்ளை, சின்னம்மை தம்பதிகளுக்கு 1823- ஆம் ஆண்டு அக்டோபர் திங்கள் 5- ஆம் நாள் ஐந்தாவது மகனாகப் பிறந்தார். அவரின் வாலிபப் பருவம் தமையனார் சபாபதி - பாப்பம்மாள் தம்பதியினரால் போற்றி வளர்க்கப்பட்டது. பின்னர் 1850-இல் தனம்மாள் என்ற நங்கையை மணந்து, தாம்பத்தியத்தில் நாட்டமற்றவராய் 1858-இல் சிதம்பரத்திலும், பின்னர் 1897- ஆம் ஆண்டு வரை சிதம்பரத்தை அடுத்த கருங்குழி என்னும் ஊரிலும் தங்கி தொண்டாற்றினார். 1865-இல் 'சமரச வேத சன்மார்க்க சங்கத்தை' நிறுவினார். அதுவே பின்னர் 'சமரச சத்த சன்மார்க்க சத்திய சங்கம்' என வழங்கலாயிற்று.<sup>4</sup>

இவ்வுலகில் காணப்படுகின்ற அனைத்து வகையான வழிபாட்டு முறைகளும், நம்பிக்கைகளும், 'கடவுள்' என்றழைக்கப்படுகின்ற ஒரே பரம்பொருளை சென்றடைவதற்கான வெவ்வேறு பாதைகள் என்பதே அன்னிபெசன்டின் "இறை இயலின்" கருத்தாகும். நாம் எம்மத்தினராயினும், நாம் வழிபடுகின்ற 'பரம்பொருள்' எங்கும் பரவி, அனைத்திலும் ஆழிவற்ற ஆதியாக அனைத்திலும் சாரமாக விளங்குவது என்பதே இதன் பொருள். ஒரு நாடு என்பது எண்ணற்ற அதன் மக்களின் அனைத்து வகையான வெளிப்பாடுகளால் அமையப்பெற்றது, அவ்வாறே 'மனிதன்' என்பவன் தெய்வமாகிறான்- அதாவது, கடவுள் தன் தெய்வாம்சங்களின் மூலம் ஒருவனை பிரகாசிக்கச் செய்யும் பொழுது கடவுள் 'தன்னை' மனிதனின் மூலம் (உருவமாக). வெளிப்படுத்திக் கொள்கிறான்.<sup>5</sup> அதை அறிவது என்பது, ஒவ்வொருவரும் தன்னுடைய 'ஆன்மா' என்பது கடவுளின் ஆன்மாவால் ஆனது என்று உணர்வது ஆகும். எனவே அனைவரிலும் இருப்பது இறைவனே என்று உணர்வது இறை இயலின் மூலம் நாம் பெறக் கூடிய 'உணர்வு'. இது உபநிடத மகாவாக்கியத்தின் 'தத்வமசி' (நீ அதுவாக இரு) என்ற விளக்கத்தை நினைவூட்டுவதாகும்.

அனைவரையும் தன்னைப்போல் எண்ணி மதித்து, போற்றுவதே நம் அனைவரின் தன்மையாக அமையுமானால் அதுவே அன்னிபெசன்ட் அம்மையாரின் பன்னாட்டு ஒருங்கிணைப்பின் விளக்கமாக அமையும். தூர் அதிர்ஷ்டவசமாக மானுடர் அனைவரும் 'நான் வேறு, நீ வேறு' என்ற உணர்வுகளுக்கு அடிமையாகிப் போனதற்குக் காரணம் அடிப்படையில் அமைந்துள்ள இறை இயல் ஒற்றுமையை மறந்து வெளிப்படுத்த தோற்றத்தின், மற்றும் செயல்பாடுகளில் காணப்படுகிற 'வேற்றுமைகளின்' அடிப்படையில் ஒருவரை மற்றொருவரிலிருந்து வேறுபடுத்தி காண முயல்வதால் உருவானதே. மேலும் வாழ்வின் மகிழ்ச்சிக்காகவும், சுய விருப்பத்தின் அடிப்படையிலும், மற்றொருவரின் உரிமைகளையும், அவருக்கு உரியனவற்றையும் தாங்கள் அடையவும், அல்லது அடைய முயற்சிப்பதற்கும் யாருக்கும் அதிகாரம் இல்லை.<sup>6</sup> இவை வீணான பிரச்சனைகளையும், கருத்து வேற்றுமைகளையும் உருவாக்குகின்றன. இவைகள் அனைத்தையும் தீயனவைகளாக நம்மை உணரவும், சிந்திக்கவும் செய்யவே இறை இயல் ஞானம் நமக்கு வழிகாட்டுகிறது.

ஒருவன் 'இறை இயல் ஞானம்' உடையோனாக வேண்டுமெனில் அதற்கான தடைகளை தகர்த்தெறியக் கூடிய மனோதிடம் உடையவனாகவும், தான் அறிந்தவற்றின் நிஜத்தன்மையை (reality) உணர்ந்தவனாகவும் இருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்கிறார் பெசன்ட். 'வள்ளலார்' என்றழைக்கப்படும் இராமலிங்கரின் கருத்தும் அன்னிபெசன்ட் கருத்திற்கு இணையானது. அவர் நிறுவிய 'சத்தியஞான சபையின்' மூலம், மகிழ்ச்சியையும் தன்னுள் இயற்கையிலேயே முகிழ்கின்ற ஆன்மீக கூறுகளையும் தானே தன்னுடைய ஒருங்கிணைந்த வாழ்க்கை அமைப்பின் மூலம் (Collective form of life) அனைவரும் பெறக்கூடியவை என்கிறார்.<sup>7</sup> ஒரு மனிதனின் ஆன்மீக கூறுகள் முகிழ்த்து எழ வேண்டுமெனில் அவனுள் தெய்வீக இறை உணர்வின் சாரம் ஆன்மாவுடன் இரண்டறக் கலக்கவேண்டும். அதாவது 'இறைவன்' ஒவ்வொருவரின் ஆன்மாவிலும் இருக்கிறார் என்று உணர்வதாகும். இதையே இந்துமத ஆஸ்திக தர்சனங்களின் ஆதாரமான உபநிடதங்கள் இளைவனை 'அந்தாயாமின்'- அதாவது அனைத்து உயிரினுள்ளும் உணர்வூட்டி ஆட்கொண்டவர் என்ற பொருளில் விவரிக்கிறது. இதே கருத்தை விவரிக்கின்ற பெசன்டின்-'இறைஇயலும்', 'இராமலிங்கரின்-' 'ஒருமைப்பாட்டுரிமையும்' ஒரு முகத்தின் இரு கண்களைப் போன்றது. நம் 'அகத்தில்' இருப்பது 'பரம்' (பொருள்) தான் என்று அறிந்த பின்னர் நம் சிந்தனையும், உணர்வுகளும் தன்னல உணர்வுகளிலிருந்து விடுபட்டு உலக நன்மையை பெரிதும் நாடும்படி அமைகிறது. இதனை உணர இயலாதவன் சில காரணிகளால் பலவகை நிர்பந்தங்களுக்கு உட்பட்டு, தனக்குள் இருக்கும் பரம்பொருள் அம்சத்தை அறிய இயலாதவனாகிவிடுகிறான்! அன்னிபெசன்ட் அம்மையாரின் கூற்றுப்படி ஒருவன் அத்தகைய ஆன்மீக சாரத்தை அறிய இயலாமல் போவதற்கு காரணம். (1) தன்னுள் உள்ள 'அகம்', பரத்திலிருந்து மாறுபட்டது என்று சில காரணிகள் அவனுக்குள் ஏற்படுத்துகின்ற மயக்கம், (2) ஆழ்ந்த சிந்தனையின் மூலமாகவும் உண்மையான உணர்வுகளாலும் அறிய வேண்டியவற்றை அறிய முடியாமல் போகிற நிலையில் சிக்கி தவிப்பதால் அவனால் 'பரத்தை' தன் 'அகத்தில்' அடையாளம் காண இயலாமல் போகிறது. இராமலிங்கர், (1) பசிப்பிணி, (2) இன்னா செய்தலும், புலால் உண்ணுதலும், (3) சாதிகளின்,

சமய நெறிகளின் பெயரால் இனம் பிரித்தல்<sup>8</sup> என மூன்று வகை காரணிகள் மனிதனை மருவி நிற்கச்செய்பவைகளாக கூறுகிறார். மனிதன், தனது சிந்தனைச் சக்தியின் பரிமாணத்தை பயன்படுத்தி இவ்வுலக இயக்கம் மற்றும் தொடர்புகளை அறிய இயலாமல் தடுமாற்றம் அடைகிறான். அறிவைச் செறிவுள்ளதாகக் கிந்தனையின் கோர்வைகள் பூரண அனுமான “அனுமதியை” தரக்கூடியதாக அமையவேண்டும். இல்லையேல் ‘உண்மை’யை சரிவர உணரமுடியாமலும், பல சமய தவறாக அனுமானித்துவிடவும் சாத்தியமாகிவிடும். பூரண அனுமான சிந்தனையைப் பெற புலன்கள் ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டும். புலன்கள் சீராக இயங்க சக்தி அவசியம். உணவு மனிதனுக்கு சக்தி அளித்து அனைத்து புலன்களையும் (ஐம்புலன்கள்+மனம்) இயங்க வைக்கிறது. சீரான புலன் உணர்வுகளே செறிவுடைய அறிவைத்தர இயலும். இதன் மூலம் உண்மை ‘பரத்தை’ மானுடம் அறியும். புலால் உண்ண மறுத்தல் ஒருவனை உளவியல் அளவில் மென்மையானவனாக, தயை சிந்தனை உடையவனாக மாற்றுகிறது. தயை உடையவன் மற்ற எவருக்கும் இன்னல் தரும் செயலைச் செய்யமாட்டான். சாந்தமும், கருணையும் மிகுந்தோர் கனவிலும் பிறர்க்கு தீங்கு நினைக்கமாட்டார். அன்பு மிகப் பெருகி உலகத்தோர் அனைவரும் சுற்றமென போற்றும் இயல்புடையவர்கள் ஆகிறார்கள். இதனால்தான் வள்ளலார் வாடிய பயிரைக் கண்டதும் மனம் உருகி வாடி நின்றார். உலகத்தோரை சகோதர நேயத்துடன் கொண்டாடும் “ஆன்ம நேயம்” ஜீவகாருண்ய நெறியின் விளைவாக அமைகிறது. குடிமையின் (Society (or) State) உரிமைகளில் ஒன்றான ‘சமயம்’ என்பது நாட்டின் கலாச்சாரங்களின் அடிப்படையில் வெவ்வேறானதாகக் காணப்பட்டாலும் முன்பு குறிப்பிட்டதுபோல் ‘தெய்வம்+சம்’ (Divine Essence) என்பது மனித சமுதாய அமைப்பில் வெவ்வேறாக விவரிக்கப்பட்டாலும், அனைத்தும் ஒரே பரம்பொருளை அறிவிப்பதுதான், எவ்வாறாயினும் இறை உணர்வு ஞானம் மற்றும் ஆன்மநேயத்தின் படி மற்றோரை அவமதிப்பது உன்னையே அவமதித்துக் கொள்வதற்கு ஒப்பானது. ‘ஆதி’ யை உன் ‘ஆன்மா’வில் உணர்ந்த பிறகு நீ பிறரை அவமதிப்பது இறைவனை இழிவு செய்வதற்கு ஒப்பானது. அறிவுடையோர் யாரும் இதைச் செய்ய ஒப்பமாட்டார்.

ஆன்மீகம், மனநிலை (Mental) நெறிகள் போன்ற இன்னும் பல நெறிமறைகள் மனிதனை பல உயர்ந்த நிலைகளுக்கு உயர்த்துவனவாக அமைந்துள்ளன. அவற்றுள் பல ஆன்மீகத்தையும், மனநிலையையும் தெளிவுர அமைத்துக் கொள்ள வழிவகுக்கக் கூடியவைகள் ஆகும். அத்தகையவற்றுள் ஒன்று கண்ணனைக் கூறத்தக்கக் ‘கல்வி’ யாகும். அறிவைக் கடர்மிகும் அறிவாக தூண்டி பிரகாசிக்கச் செய்யவல்லது கல்வியாகும். கசடறக் கற்ற கல்வி அறிவின் ஆதாரமாக அமைவதுடன் உண்மையான, சிறந்த, அறிவைத் தர வல்லது. இவ்வாறு இருக்கையில் ‘கல்வி’ எனப்படுவது அனைவருக்கு, சமநிலையில் போதிக்கப்படுவது அவசியம் அல்லவா? வாழ்க்கையின் நெறிகளையும், சமத்துவ சகோதரத்துவ நிலைகளை விளக்குபவைகளாகவும் ‘கல்வி’ திட்டங்கள் அமைந்தால்தான் மனிதனின் ஆன்மீக, குடிமைப் பிரச்சினைகள் போன்றவற்றை அவனால் பரந்த கண்ணோட்டத்துடன் பார்க்க வேண்டியதின் அவசியத்தை அவனால் உணர்ந்து செயல்பட இயலும். ‘கல்வியின் தரம், ஒரே நாட்டில் வெவ்வேறு பகுதியில், வெவ்வேறு விதமான பாடத் திட்டங்களும், பயிற்றுவிக்கின்ற முறைகளும் நடைமுறையில் இருப்பதை மறுக்க இயலாது. இதுவே கற்றவர்களிடத்திலும் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வை ஏற்படுத்தி, சமுதாயத்தில் மிகப் பெரிய இடைவெளியைத் தோற்றுவிக்கிறது. சில கல்வி திட்டங்களில் மனித இனத்தின் அடிப்படை நிலையை உறுதி செய்கிற அற இயல் (Ethics), தர்க்கவியல் (logic), தத்துவம் (Philosophy) போன்றவற்றையும்; மானுட இயலின் ஆரம்ப நிலைகளை பறைசாற்றுகின்ற வரலாறு, சமூகவியல், அரசியல் போன்றவற்றிற்கும் சரியான அங்கீகாரம் தரப்படவில்லை என்பதும் கவனத்தில் கொள்ளவேண்டியவைகள். இவைகளே மனிதனைத் தன்னையும் ஒரு குடிமையின் அங்கமாக எண்ணி வழிநடக்கச் செய்ய பெரிதும் உதவுக்கூடியவைகளாக இருக்கின்றன. இவைகளின்படி சிந்திக்கையில் அன்னிபெசன்டும் இராமலிங்கரும் கல்வியின் முக்கியத்துவமும், அதன் சீரிய, ஒரே விதமான பாடத் திட்டமும் மட்டுமே ஒவ்வொரு தனிமனிதனின் நிஜத்தன்மையும் தரமுள்ளதாக அமைத்துத் தரும் என்ற நோக்கின் அடிப்படையில் சில கருத்துக்களை நடைமுறைப்படுத்தினர். இராமலிங்கர் ‘சன்மார்க்க போதினி’ என்ற கலாசாலையை வடலூரில் நிறுவியதற்கு, தெளிந்த அறிவு மட்டுமே மனிதனை ஆன்மநேயத்திற்குள் ஈடுபடச் செய்யும் என அவர்

எண்ணியதே ஆகும். (ஆனால் பின்னர் அக்கல்விச் சாலை தழைக்க இயலாது நலிந்து போனது. காரணம் நம் மக்களிடையே கல்வியின் விழிப்புணர்வு அந்நாளில் மிகமிக அரிதாக இருந்ததே காரணம் எனக் கொள்ளலாம்). அன்னிபெசன்ட் அம்மையார் தற்போதைய கல்வி முறையைக் குறிப்பிடும்போது, அது மக்களிடையே நன்னடத்தையையும், இலக்கிய கலாச்சார முறைகளையும் விவரிப்பதாகவும், தோற்றுவிப்பதாகவும் மட்டுமே இருக்கிறது! ஆனால் 'கல்வி' ஒவ்வொருவரின் அககண்ணையும் திறந்து, அவரின் ஆக்கபூர்வ சிந்தனைகளை சிறப்பு செய்யவும், செயல்வடிவம் தரும்படியுமாக அமைய வேண்டும்.<sup>9</sup> அது மட்டுமல்லாமல், 'கல்வி' என்பது ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் அவரது குறிக்கோளை, விருப்பங்களை எவ்வாறு அணுகப்பட வேண்டும் என்ற வழியை வகுத்துத் தரக்கூடிய ஒன்றாக அமைவது அவசியம். 'கல்வி' மனித இனத்தை மேம்படுத்த அமைகின்ற கருத்து பெட்டகமாக ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் அமைத்து தரும்படியாக அமைவ வேண்டும். குறுகிய, தெளிவற்ற எண்ணங்களை தெளிவாக்குவதே உயர்ந்த கல்வியின் சாரமாகும். தரப்படுகின்ற கல்வியின் தரம், ஒவ்வொருவரின் சுயநல செயல்களையும், எண்ணங்களையும் அவருக்கு சுட்டிக்காட்டி அதை விலக்க உதவ வேண்டும். அழுக்காறு, அவா, வெகுளி, இன்னாசொல் இவைகளை விலக்க உதவாத கல்வியால் எந்த ஒரு சிறந்த மாற்றத்தையும், சமுதாயத்திற்கு நாகரீக வளர்ச்சியாக தர இயலாது. மேற்கூறிய குறையுடைய மனிதனால் சமுதாய நோக்குடன் பொது நன்மைக்காகவும், முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகவும் எந்த ஒரு பங்களையும் செலுத்த முடியாது.<sup>10</sup> மேற்கத்திய கல்விமுறை, மனிதனை பெரிதும் தன்னிச்சையுடையவர்களாகவும் (Independent) மிகவும் நடைமுறை சாத்தியங்களில் (Pragmatic) அதிக ஈடுபாடு உடையவர்களாகவும் மாற்றிவிடுகின்றது என்பது அம்மையாரின் ஒரு கருத்து. கிழக்கத்திய கல்விமுறை, ஒருவரை பெரிதும் பெருந்தன்மை கொள்பவராகவும் அதே சமயம் மேலோருக்கு கீழ்படிதலை தலையாய குணமாகக் கொண்டவராகவும் மாற்றிவிடுகின்றது.<sup>11</sup> என்றும் கூறுகிறார். தற்போதைய இந்தியாவில் வேண்டுமென்று, கல்வியின் திட்டங்களிலும், பொருள்களிலும் (Subjects) செறிவையும், உயர்வையும் ஊட்டி புதுமையுடன் துலங்கச் செய்வது அவசியம். இறைஇயலின் பன்னாட்டு ஒருங்கிணைப்பின் உயரிய எண்ணங்களை (Theosophical Internationalism) ஒவ்வொருவரினுள்ளும் எழச் செய்வது கல்வியால் மட்டுமே இயலும். இத்தகைய கல்வி எல்லா தேசங்களிலும், சர்வதேச தரமுடையதாகவும், மேற்கிலும் கிழக்கிலும் ஒரே திட்டத்தையும் ஒரே போதனை முறைகளையும் கொண்டிருக்குமேயானால், ஒரே சாயலுடைய சிந்தனையை அனைவரின் எண்ணங்களிலும் அமையும்படி செய்ய இயலும். அதன் மூலம் மட்டுமே உண்மையான இறை இயலை நடைமுறைப்படுத்துவது எளிதில் கைகூடும் என்பது பெசன்ட் அம்மையாரின் உள்ளக்கிடக்கையாக அறிய முடிகிறது.<sup>12</sup> இராமலிங்கரும் எல்லா மனிதனின் கல்வி அறிவை உயர்த்தவே 1867ல் சன்மார்க்க போதினியை அமைத்தார். அக்கல்வி சாலையில் மொழியாலோ, மதத்தாலோ வேறுபாடு பாராட்டாது, கல்வி ஒரு பொதுச் சொத்தாக அனைவருக்கும் வழங்க அச்சங்கம் அமைந்திருந்தது. ஆயினும் சன்மார்க்க போதினியும், 1872ல் அமைக்கப்பட்ட 'சன்மார்க்க வேத பாடசாலையும்' மக்களின் போதிய ஈடுபாட்டு இல்லாமையால் நலிந்து நடைமுறையற்றதானது.<sup>13</sup> இவரின் 'சத்திய ஞான சபையின்' முழக்கமே 'அருட்பெருஞ் சோதி' எனப்பட்டது. 'அருள்' என்பது 'தயை' அல்லது 'கருணை' என்று பொருள் தருகிறது. 'நேயத்தின்' பால் அமைவதே 'கருணை'. கடவுளை 'ஜோதி' வடிவமாகக் காண்பதும் அவனே மனிதனுள் ஜோதி வடிவமாக அமைகிறான் என்றும் ஞானசபை கூறுகிறது. இறைவன் தன்னுள் இருப்பதை உணர்வதே 'இறை இயல்' ஆகும். இதை அறிந்து உணர்பவர் "மரணம் இல்லாத பெருவாழ்வு" பெறுவார் என்கிறார் இராமலிங்கர்.<sup>14</sup>

(முடிவுரை)

இறைஇயலின் படி 'பன்னாட்டுமையாளன் (Internationalist) என்பவன் சாதாரண மனிதன் என்பதைக் காட்டிலும், இறைவனே தன் ஆன்மாவின் இயக்கம் என அடையாளம் கண்டு கொண்டும், அதே நிலையில் மற்ற அனைவரையும் மதித்து நடக்க அறிந்தவனாக இருப்பதால் அவனை உயர்ந்த நிலை மானிடம் (Super-being) எனக் கொள்ளலாம். எல்லா மனிதனுள்ளும் உறைகின்ற, இறையாண்மையை (divinity) அடையாளம் கண்டுகொள்வதே 'இறைஇயல்' மற்றும் 'ஆன்மீக ஒருமைப்பாடு'. தனக்குத்தானே தீங்கு செய்து கொள்வார் யாரும் இருக்கமாட்டார்கள்! பிறரையும்

தன்னைப் போல் எண்ணவும், இறைவனே அனைத்தின் மூலப்பொருள் என்றும் உணர்ந்தவர் யாருக்கும் தீமையை செய்யவும் நினைக்கமாட்டார்கள். புத்தனையும், கிருஷ்ணனையும், இயேசுவையும், அல்லாவையும் எப்படி மதித்து வணங்குகிறாயோ அதுபோலவே ஒவ்வொரு மனிதனையும், இறையாண்மை பொருந்தியவனாக நினைத்து மதித்து நடத்தலே பன்னாட்டுமையாளனாக உயர்ந்த நோக்குடையவராக நம்மை உயர்த்தும். தூய இரக்க சிந்தனை (True Compassion) யானது அனைத்து வடுக்களை ஆற்றவும் தீயனவற்றை அழிக்கவும் வல்லது. உலகை அன்புமயமானதாக மாற்றியமைக்கும் வகையில் உன் தினசரி, நடிவடிக்கைகள் அமைய வேண்டும். ஞானியைக் கடவுளின் தூதராகக் கொள்வது போலவே பாவப்பட்டவரின் ஆன்மாவும் வணக்கத்திற்கு உரியதே. பாவப்பட்டவருக்கு முதலில் உன் சேவையைச் செய், உன் சேவையின் அவசியம் ஞானிக்கு தேவைப்படாமல் இருக்கலாம். அதுபோலவே அண்டை நாடுகளை உனதுபோல் எண்ணி சேவை செய் - 'யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்'.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
HISTORIOGRAPHY SECTION  
TAMILS ' HISTORIOGRAPHY - PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

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Mr. President, Learned Delegates and Members of Tamil Nadu History Congress,

Let me take this opportunity first to thank the Executive Committee and the General Body of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for the great honour they have bestowed in choosing me as President for the historiography section of the Fifth Session at Tirunelveli on 24 and 25 October 1998. At the very outset I must say that the purpose of this address is to highlight the trends and developments which had led to the growth of historical writings in Tamilnadu during the 19th and 20th centuries. A question arises as to why Tamilnadu did not produce a large number of historians on different periods of its history besides opening up more avenues for research? To my perception, this trend proved to be the outcome of a variety of factors conditioned largely by the domineering forces of particular periods which had outweighed mainly the socio-political, economical and intellectual thinking of the vast majority of the population. A nation or a state like Tamilnadu is wiped out of the scene of history when the multitudinous social groups spread in villages and country sides came to be ignored. Therefore an attempt has been made here to bring out those forces and hierarchical institutions which had either restricted or motivated historical works of varied dimensions.

A scrutiny of the historical writings on India would reveal the fact that ancient India had lacked historical sense. While assessing the nature of human progress and civilization that had centred in the Tamil region, the situation here did not find any appreciable improvement than the rest of India. A variety of factors contributed to the slackness of historical writing in Tamilnadu since the ancient times. The Sangam literary works like *Tholkappiam*, *Ahananooru*, *Puranaanooru*, *Pathupaattu*, *Ettuthogai Tirukkural*, etc., clearly establish the fact that ancient Tamilaham remained a citadel of one of the highest cultural centres of the world. With a high philosophical orientation that was conveyed to us through Tiruvalluvar's *Tirukkural*, which serves as a book of basis guidance about human achievements and failures, this age too could not count much on historical writing. On the other side, a few centuries before this Age, the Greeks had developed the idea of history and claimed credit as 'father of history'. What were the factors for such laxity of historical sense in Tamil society? By way of partial answer to this basic question, I have made an earnest attempt here to trace the diverse social, economical and political permutations which had stood as a bulwark against the historical writing from the days of the ancient Tamils.

The spirit and trends of each age generate historical action and this in turn found reflected in the writings of scholars. In general, dramatic and fast changing events and a philosophically-oriented people's system propped up, with a dynamic leadership contribute to speedy historical changes. In support of this argument, it is worth while to cite as example, the initiation of historical writing by the Greeks and the Romans of the ancient period. As for the Greeks, any form of new philosophy or idea was dearer to them and invited their serious attention. Besides the great philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle in their midst,

there existed other philosophical groups like the Stoics, Cynics and Epicureans. Yet another philosophical sect called the Sophists or the 'teachers of wisdom' moved among the people spreading Greek culture. This amply indicate the fact that the teacher-taught relationship appeared cordial thus enabling removal of any form of barriers against social mobility. Equally important was the nature of political organisation among them. Both these nations experimented democracy and other forms of political institutions which required large scale involvement of people for the mutual benefit of all concerned. Political activism generated political philosophy and a matured attitude towards fellow human beings. In consequence, interaction of people for a general purpose came to be acknowledged.

I wish to once again emphasise that historical writings reflected the notable incidents and spirit of each age. The Greeks evinced greater attention in the development of towns, social formation and political gatherings. Their national and cultural pride (Hellenism) stood them in good stead in their war against Persian imperialism. Herodotus and Thucydides wrote on *Greeco-Persian War* and *Pelapponnesian war* respectively. Polybius worked on *History of Rome*, prompted mainly due to the rise and expansion of Rome and its war with Greece and Carthage. As regards ancient Romans, the attempt and anxiety of rulers like Julius Caesar, Octavius Caesar and their successors in different dynasties to perpetuate monarchy after the fall of the Republic since the II century B.C., resulted in multi-dimensional historical trends and developments. When the image and personality of Caesars came to be eulogised as demi-gods and Caesar -worship became the order of that age, historians like Titus livy, Cornelius Tacitus, Seutonium, Ammianus Marcellinus, Victor Aurelius, Herodian, Dio Cassius and others selected themes about the achievements of Caesars in administration and wars. A dynastical study on the Julian and Flavian dynasties from where arose tyrannical, ruthless and autocratic rulers like Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Constantius, Diocletian and others also became popular.

From the middle of the I Century A.D. till 313 A.D., when several among these Roman Emperors encountered the rising tide of Christianity through a process of ruthless persecution, the life of the martyrs found reflected in contemporary and subsequent historical writings. The writings of Lacantius, Eusubius and Severus may be cited as examples. The IV to XV century A.D. has been generally accepted as the period of medieval or Christian historical writing. Since the Church, as an institution, predominated the intellectual thinking of the people, ecclesiastical matters turned out to be themes for historians. The philosophical orientation, inaugurated by St. Augustine through his magnum opus, *The City of God*, became the opening point in this regard. During this time, the role of kings and nations came to be subordinated next only to the position of the Church. Reflecting the spirit of the time, historians like Orosius of Spain, Salvian of France, Venerable Bede of England and others took to church-related historical themes. With the opening of modern period and the renaissance fervour in Italy since 1453 A.D. the historians neglected ecclesiastical matters and gave priority to human achievements and failures as in the days of ancient Greeks. Nicholo Machiavelli, who initiated this type of historical writing through his famous book *The Prince*, inaugurated this method. Thereafter each dominant trend of the time like the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution and the rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte found reflected in Historical writings.

The above survey of changing pattern in historical writing in Europe would vindicate and substantiate my argument in relation to Tamilnadu. If each and every development from the ancient Greeks to the modern period in Europe is compartmentalised and applied to that of Tamilnadu, it would help us to derive the conclusion that the latter did not envisage any of the above trends and developments for a meaningful initiation or emergence of historical writing till the middle of the 19th century. On the other side, similar to that of the Greeks, the Tamil society had a glorious but restricted philosophical past which found expression in the Sangam literatures like the *Tirukkural*. However, on the contrary, unlike the Greeks, the former did not appear to have applied this philosophy into historical action. Similarly, the Tamils too had their own kings from the ancient times who were mostly autocrats and were less inclined to offer greater political participation of the people unlike the Greeks and the Romans. The Tamil society remained in a dormant state, uninfluenced by the cultural progress from any other part of the world. Evidently, the idea and writing of history cannot emerge on expected lines.

In spite of the tall claims of a highly developed civilized society from the ancient times, why was the development of history as an independent branch of knowledge did not receive curious attention among the Tamils? This stagnant situation appeared more due to the outcome of cultural hegemony by a ruling or dynastic group surrounded by a palace clique and a religious order centering on temple festivities. In this process the very essentialities of social gathering and mobility were ignored by the dominant section. Now a question arises as to why a developed cultural group which had its roots from the Sangam Age failed to mobilise a very large section of this population, spread in villages and countryside in the central cultural spectrum?

The ambition of ruling classes passed through multifarious barriers like caste system, untouchability and unapproachability, traditional customs and practices, illiteracy and its consequential ignorance, blind faith in religion with all its attendant evils like superstitious and conservative outlook - all these stood against the free movement and interaction of diverse people groups. Further, this kind of outmoded and restricted way of life without the application of reason and rationalistic thinking, did not favour creative intellectual progress. In fact, the traditional ancient Tamil society did not attain the qualities of a people - orientated programme of action. Lack of communication and road facilities coupled with the ignorance of village folk added to the cause of deterioration. Having tied up with the soil and other pre-occupations connected with the day to day problems of life, the rural population on the other hand, did not evince appreciable interest for interaction with fellow human beings. Upon such a pushed up situation of neglected and dejected life, a philosophical and conceptual orientation of lifetime activities faded away from their memory. Under such circumstances any form of historical sense appeared untenable. It cannot be denied that the Pandya and the Chola dynasties attempted to establish political order on a centralised basis in the Madurai and Tanjore regions. In spite of the effective administrative system of the Cholas particularly with reference to its local self-governing institutions, its inability of organising and reaching out to different cross sections of the population, failed to evolve even a limited form of historical consciousness.

The medieval period of Tamilaham, to a considerable extent was predominated by the Vijayanagar, Mughal and Maratha rulers. The expansion and hegemony under the Vijayanagar

kings in Tamilaham had set in a new form of administration beneficial mostly to their military chiefs and poligars. As protagonists of Telugu culture, the Nayaks of Madurai, Ginjee and Tanjore seemed to have not risen to the occasion in fairly meeting the necessities of the local population. The period from 1529 to 1736, which constituted the political dominance of the Nayaks, appeared a chequered period in the history of historical writing. Gangadevi's *Mathura Vijayam* (Sanskrit) has come down to us a dependable chronicle besides ballads, inscriptions, memoirs and epistolary sources for an overview of historical developments in this part of the region. In spite of the fact that the Nayaks formed an adroit class of warriors and military commanders, they too lacked the skill of co-ordinating different cross-sections of the population through a benevolent socio-economic policy. On the contrary, as a distinct linguistic group, they did not possess the needed skill in appreciating the glories of Tamil culture. Their primary concentration in augmenting temple structures made them to be always pre-occupied with the paraphernalia related to temples and its functions rather than alleviating the distress of people and to meet their requirements. As in the ancient period, social mobility was very much lacking during their rule. In consequence, people's history found reflected in a limited scale through their writings.

The Mughal rule under the Nevayet and Wallajah dynasties of Arcot from 1736 appeared a dismal chapter in the socio-economic and political progress of Tamilnadu. As representatives and descendants of Mughal ruler Aurengzeb, they consolidated their political suzerainty through innumerable wars with local chieftains and Nayak powers. This period of an alien administrative set up further left hazardous impact and deteriorated the historical thinking of the vast majority of the population. With a diametrically opposite socio-cultural permutation of life, the Nevayets mostly pre-occupied their time in internecine wars with local and European powers. In this process, the needs of people came to be subjugated. They experienced yet another disadvantage through their religion. In a bid to compromise their Islamic way of life with their Hindu counterparts, the administration proved to be either reckless or tolerant. In consequence, the peasants and commoners were mostly pulled out of the pale of citadels of power and hegemony.

Yet another aspect of medieval socio-economic life in the poligari and zamindari systems further added to the declining socio-cultural thinking of the common population. As a secondary setup in the socio-political structure, next only to the Nayaks, the poligars wielded considerable political clout by virtue of their position as local chieftains. Exhibiting ardent and unshakable loyalty to the Nayaks as feudal hierarchs, they abused their power often detrimental to the interests of peasants and cultivating tenants. Since 1800, with yet another label of created zamindaries under the British rule, the remnants of poligari system continued to flourish through the permanent land revenue assessment. Lavishly spending their lives in family and social avocations, these zamindars neither possessed the will nor the capacity to lift up in rescuing the toiling masses from their wretched and deplorable condition. The village population turned out to be a virtually neglected lot without any application of human sentiment. When the perpetrators of human action, mostly monopolised by the two-tier minority section - first of the British and second of the zamindars - failed to take note of the mental urge and despicable lot of the vast majority of the population, there lurked the problem of historical inactivity. The subjugated communities found life unworthy to be taken note of, in contrast with their fellow human beings who rolled in luxuries and extravaganza. When life's mission

was limited to settle self-centred and narrow means without any scope for change and progress, naturally historical trends moved out of oblivion and the writing of history had become a casualty.

Nevertheless, the speedy consolidation of British power in India since 1800 particularly of the Tamil region contributed to significant changes. On the political side, the annihilation of poligari system and its replacement by a new zamindari order ushered in an era of loyalty as well as disloyalty towards the British rule. In this process the British administration encountered serious opposition from these local chieftains. The rebellions of Pulithevan of Nelkatasaval, Kattabomman of Panchalamkurichi and Marudu Pandian of Sivaganga have been instances in point. Despite the general outcry against the coercive measures in suppressing their uprisings, there were positive side too which stood in favour of justifying the military action. It cannot be counted that the peasant community under the poligari settlements enjoyed the life and dignity of ordinary human beings. Therefore the suppression of poligars virtually liberated these hitherto unfortunate section from several of their shackles. On the other hand, as foreigners, the British generally treated most sections of the Tamils on an equal footing without much priority and hatred. They preferred less wealthier classes than the predominant, adroit and power-wielding poligars. As a result of this, slowly the hitherto neglected section came to emerge in socio-political spheres asserting themselves in social and liberal movements.

An analysis of the British administrative policy in Tamilnadu since 1800 would bring to light the causative factors for the development of historical writing. There is a much acknowledged view that the British rule in India had been more a curse than a blessing. Arguments can be raised both for and against this proposition. On the bad effect of British rule, the economic exploitation and the drain theory can be very much highlighted. It cannot be argued that several of the Company's servants had accumulated fabulous wealth from India. Had they been settled in India permanently, as wished by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the former could have been exculpated from this charge and their services better utilized for the larger benefit of society. When most of the Europeans who came to India had established only a temporary living, it was found detrimental to the economic interests of the Indians. Yet, despite the adverse impact of British rule on the economic side, the former inaugurated a period of new methods of life. The theory of 'new wine in old bottles', as propounded by Arnold J. Toynbee came to be better applied on Indian context. As a significant effect, ever since the British administrative policy in India, there appeared the opening of plethora of visible historical developments one after the other. Their attempts towards administrative reorganisation appeared a novel experiment in this connection. In Tamilnadu, breaking the barriers of geographical and linguistic restrictions, the creation of Madras Presidency removed away from the people the hitherto selective and secluded methods of governmental measures. For a people and a culture founded mainly on conservative outlook, but without any appreciable form of paper work and documents, the English practice out to be an innovative model. A large number of social reform measures that the British had introduced, the re-organization of judicial and revenue system on European model, the creation of district, taluk and village level revenue divisions within each Province, appointment of higher to lower officials and servants like the District Collector, Tahsildar, Village Officer and the like to man the reins of administrative machinery involved the creation of large scale official papers and documents which were hitherto unknown to Indian mind.

I should particularly emphasise on one point that unlike the earlier local chieftains and zamindars, as foreigners a few of the governors and public officials of Madras wanted to reach out their new administrative innovations even to the remote villages and country sides. The hitherto neglected and subjugated section now started moving towards the centres of administrative hierarchy which imparted a thorough change in their outlook on public and personal perceptions. Among the most significant measures of the British rule, which had contributed to outright change of popular sentiment was the introduction of Western education. This appeared a new trend for, the traditional and outmoded *gurukula* system was substituted by an entirely diverse and opposite one, which besides being mass-based in character, had supplied Western socio-political and economic concepts and ideas, more to the subjugated population. The establishment of the Madras University (1857) immediately after the Woods Despatch (1854), was followed by the starting of several schools and colleges all over Tamilnadu. The Pachaiappa's the College, Presidency College and Tambaram Christian College, Madras, St. Joseph's College and Bishop Heber College, Trichy, the Madura College and American College, Madurai, the M.D.T. Hindu College and St. Xavier's College, Tirunelveli, the Government Arts College, Coimbatore and the Scott Christian College, Nagercoil are among the list of a few premier educational institutions in the State. The significant aspect was not merely on the functioning of these institutions, but their worthwhile impact upon the larger interest of the society. Western education and learning carried with it free expression of opinion and critical evaluation of policies and personalities.

In fact, a good number of European scholars like G.U. Pope, Bishop Caldwell and others carried on a tirade to revive the Tamil literary potentialities. Ultimately, every aspect of Tamil mind revolved for or against their educational policy. The study of history also came to enjoy adequate and sound patronage. In 1764 Robert Orme inaugurated the first historical writings in modern India through his *Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindustan from the year 1745* followed in 1782 by his *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire of the Morattoes and of the English Concerns in Hindustan from the year 1759*. From the beginning of the 19th century Western scholars and officials of the English East India Company evinced keen interest in the history of India. J. Abbe J.A. Dubois's *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Bishop Heber's *An Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces and Indian Journal*, J.H. Nelson's *The Madura Country*, Robert Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency and A Forgotten Empire* and a good number of his works and writings of other scholars, Francis Buchanan's *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore and Malabar*, Bishop Caldwell's *The Tinnevelly Shanars and History of Tinnevelly*, George Pettitt's *The Tinnevelly Mission of Church Missiary Society*, Ziegenbalg's *Genealogy of South Indian Gods*, G.U. Pope's English versions on *Tirukkural*, *Naaladiar*, *Puranaanooru*, *Tiruvachgam*, *Manimekalai* and his works on *Tamil language and literature*, his *History of India* and *A Text Book On Indian History*, E.R. Baierlen's *The Land of the Tamulians and It's Missions*, etc., appeared a few of the initiatives made by the Westerners in the 19th Century. The British Government's efforts in the educational field was corroborated and supplemented by the Christian missionaries who, besides their primary interest in evangelical work, endeavoured to render greater service particularly to the downtrodden section. Through social welfare programmes they imparted greater impact mostly to the have not and poverty-stricken villagers, several of whom had converted themselves to Christianity.

Among the noteworthy impact of British rule was the political reactions which they themselves had to encounter from their Indian counterparts in the form of national and other movements or agitations. A large section of the Tamils especially of the Brahmanical group who constituted the majority of the first generation English educated class, came forward and sponsored this movement. The Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884), which worked as the nerve centre of their activities merged itself with the Indian National Congress subsequently. This Sabha functioned as the embodiment of Tamil nationalist cause, which ultimately paved the way for a historiographical review of available source material. The national movement envisaged a new era of popular association which assumed wider ramifications from the beginning of the 20th century. The Swadeshi and boycott movements in Bengal since 1905 attained diverse overtones. While the nationalist press had espoused the cause of popular sentiments, there emerged another view in support of the British administration. Consequently, the non-Brahmin Movement or the Dravidian Movement, as it was called, emerged as a parallel political force with its plank of social justice. The deliberations in the Madras Legislative Council during 1921-1936 reverberated the Zeal and anxiety of the Dravidian Justice Party towards the attainment of its cherished goals.

The revival of socio-political consciousness and the crusade against traditional social practices like sati system, female infanticide, fight for abolition of devadasi system and better status for women, and for temple entry, are simply the outcome and impact of educational growth. It is significant to note that the once venerated social institutions like caste and *sati* system, *gurukula* system, devadasi system and faith in natural phenomena remained matters of the past. When education opened the eyes of the people for a positive and forward approach in human life, it changed the outlook of not only the urban intelligentsia, but equally on those who live even in the remote villages.

In other words, Western education and learning kindled political and social thinking and re-oriented attitudinal habits towards a more meaningful public life. The Self-Respect Movement launched by Periyar E.V.Ramasami in 1925 further strengthened these political forces. In fact, Periyar's crusade against social injustices and religious abuses imparted rationalistic approach in life to a considerable extent. The political clout in Tamilnadu which surrounded the predominant Kamaraj Congress Party until 1967 gave way to dravidian Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) Party till date largely due to the impact of these ideologies. Now a penetrating question arises as to how this diversified historical trend had its influence in the contemporary historical writings? The answer is, due to its impact, the writing of history received new impetus and orientation and new methods of approach while choosing a research topic as well as in interpreting data and in arriving at conclusions and observations. Historical sketches praising the contribution and legacies of rulers to art and architecture, veneration of gods and goddesses and grants to temples and temple priests in religious life and vague expression of high cultural attainment turned out to be the method of historical writing and approach of historians of the early 20th century. Against this trend, the contemporary scholars emphasise on economic and social aspects on 'subaltern' study methods which in turn has come as a boost to unravel the characteristic features of history of people groups. The recent publications of Irfan Habib on *Essays in Indian History*, Bipan Chandra's *Ideology and Politics in Modern India*, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India* and *India's Struggle for Independence 1857-1947*, K.N.Panikkar's *Culture, Ideology Hegemony*,

John Desrocher's *Education for Social Change* and S.Rai Chowdhuri's *Leftist Movements in India, 1917-1947* stand as a few examples to be cited in this connection at the national level.

For the history of Tamilnadu D.A. Washbrook's *Emergence of provincial Politics, 1870-1920*, C.J.Baker's *Politics of South India*, Irchick's *Politics and Social Conflict in South India, 1916-1929*, Robert Hardgrave's *Dravidian Movement*, Dravid Ludden's *Peasant's History in South India*, David Arnold's *Congress in Tamilnadu*, K.Rajayyan's *South Indian Rebellion, 1800-1801*, Nambi Arooran's *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidan Nationalism, 1905-1944*, C.J.Baker and D.A.Washbrook's *South India Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*, and works of different authors on *Social History of Tamils*, *Social Setting of Chiristian Conversion In South India*, *History and Society*, *Dalits and Women-Quest for History*, *Social Reform Movement in Tamilnadu in the 19th century*, *Religion and Social Reform in Tamilnadu*, *Studies in Missionary History*, *Travancore Tamils-Struggle for Identity, 1938-1947*, *Social Protest in Tamilnadu, 1920-1940*, *Devadasi System in Medieval Tamilnadu*, *Temple Entry Movement and Sivakasi Riots*, etc., stand as typical examples to belong in this trend. Present doctoral studies on *Struggle for Social Justice in Tamilnadu, 1916-1939*, *Tranquebar Mission in Tamilnadu, 1706-1841*, *Growth of School Education in Tamilnadu, 1921-1994*, *Zamindari System in Madurai District*, *Social Change in Kanyakumari District*, *Depressed Classes and National Movement in Tamilnadu*, *Land and Labour in the Madras Presidency, 1850-1900*, *Voluntary Organisations and Social Development in Madurai and Madras*, *Socio-Economic Development of Harijans in Tamilnadu*, *Peasant Revolts in Tamilnadu, 1947-1967*, *Legislations and Status of Women in Tamilnadu*, *Dowry System in Tamilnadu*, *History of Indentured Labour in the Anamalai Hills*, *Genesis of Dravidian Movement in Tamilnadu* and similar other uncited projects also fall in this category.

An attempt has been made above to give a brief survey of the different ideas and trends which changed the course of history of the Tamils from ancient past to the present. Now I wish to explain the impact of these changes in their historiography of modern Tamilnadu. It has been pointed out through the above said explanations that change from a static to flexible methods contribute to historical trends and developments. This moving technique articulated historical action and invited the attention of historians to undertake research projects and schemes on a wider scale. The attitudinal change that has crystalised among a large section of the population thus open up new avenues of research. It should be noted that even the historical writings of ancient and medieval Tamilaham, which engaged the attention of historians since the second half of the 19th century, attained its zenith during the middle of this century.

Now the main issue related to as to why this historical outlook or historical sense, as we generally called it, formed a trend of modern Tamilnadu during the 19th and 20th centuries and not of earlier periods? In reality mass awakening on diverse issues supplied more themes at the disposal of researchers. The multi-dimensional administrative re-organisation of the 19th and 20th centuries culminated in the accumulation of records, letters and documents related to different branches such as educational, judicial, political, social welfare, trade and commerce, agriculture and peasants, industry and labour, cultural identity and linguistic movements, administrative history and so on and so forth. On a further analysis, these and similar governmental administrative exercise opened up still more macro and micro trends. The



growth of education and people's response, the study on women and depressed classes, popular and intellectual movements, social awakening on castes and communities for more meaningful life, reservation policy and its socio-economic impact, language policy of the government, centre-state relations, industrialisation and trade union movement and agricultural system and the peasant movement are a few of the larger themes which can generate reasonable interpretation and effective argument. To elaborate further, the land revenue policies, zamindari system, life of peasant communities under the zamindaries, emergence and growth of socio-political consciousness, resistance movement against the British rule, organisation of judicial system, commercial and trading enterprises, local self-governing institutions like the panchayats, municipalities and corporations and their impact on society, migration and urbanisation and similar other themes offer more scope for research.

Impact of English education and its resultant interest in archaeology, study of numismatics and coins and ancient literatures generated works on ancient Tamilnadu. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's discoveries of rock-cut caves in and around Madurai, his editions on *South Indian Inscriptions* and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, discovery of Tiruvalangadu plates and his *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan* opened up new avenues of research on ancient Tamilnadu. T.N. Subrahmanyam, an eminent epigraphist of Tamilnadu had to his credit *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, *Tamil Palaeography*, *The Pallavas of Kanchi in South East Asia*, besides an authentic work on *Kattabomman*. S.R. Balasubramanyam wrote on the *Art History of the Cholas* in 4 volumes; V. Kanakasabai in his *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago* gives an account of the Tamil society of the Sangam Age; U.V. Swaminatha Iyer has published the Sangam Classics-*Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai*, which offered the Tamils an idea about their past history. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar contributed on *South Indian History and Culture*, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, *Manimekalai in its Historical Setting* and several other works on Indian and South Indian history. C.S. Srinivasachari's work on *History of Gingee*, V. Vridhagirisan's *Nayaks of Tanjore* and R. Sathianathier's *The Nayaks of Madurai* and *Tamilaham in the 17th Century* supply valuable information about the history of the Nayaks. P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar's work on *History of the Tamils*, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's *The Cholas*, *Pandyan Kingdom* and *Foreign Notices of South India*, K.K. Pillay's *Social History of the Tamils*, T.V. Mahalingam's *Kancheepuram in its Early History* and his work on *Vijayanagar* and N. Subramanian's *Sangam Polity* give graphic picture of the Chola, Pandya, Vijaynagar and Nayak periods of Tamil history. An assessment of the careers of these historians of Tamilnadu would reveal the fact that they were the products of Western education and its educational institutions of the 20th century.

As discussed here history, as a subject of study has been surrounded mostly by the domineering events of the past. The occurrence of events, motivated basically on the existing order of socio-economic and political equations, often reach the layman in distorted versions. The causes for these subjective holdings are many and varied. The eye-witness account of any incident view developments according to his tastes and inclinations, piloted mainly of socio-economic and political considerations. Among these, affiliation, attachment, commitment and sympathy with particular ideologies or groupings largely influence such a source. In reality, the maker of history to a considerable extent keep ideological affinity and linkage with one party or the other. His likes and dislikes find reflected in his oral or written statements or reports. To cite an example, the administration of K. Kamaraj (1954-1962) has

been hailed as 'Golden Age' in the history of party rule in Tamilnadu. How this proposition came into general acceptance? Here, besides counting on the merit and work of the Party in power, the personality and qualifications of K.Kamaraj for a dynamic political role are necessarily to be counted and assessed. In spite of the ideological permutations of the time in which he lived, his attainment as a mass leader earned the appreciation of both the press and the platform.

Now what are the views of journalists and other literary publications of the time? It cannot be denied that the literatures in different form mostly eulogised his works and deeds. However, this does not mean that there existed no statement or report expressing a negative view point. Here the speeches and writings of opposition parties both in the Legislative forum and the press, their petitions and memoranda highlighting the lacunae of the administration require a thorough scrutiny. As the major opposition party of that period, the emergence of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) eroded the ideological stand of the Congress for an All-India phenomenon, substituting it with regionalism in Dravidian concept. At the outset this regional stand of the D.M.K. submerged under the onslaught of the personality of K.Kamaraj in political hegemony. However, the Dravidian ideology found acceptance among the people when it was necessitated as an alternative political idea against Congressism.

Now what is available to the student of history is not only the administrative glories and attainments which had manifested itself in all the media of the time; but the political formation of divergence, its background and acceptance at the grassroots level, and how it had penetrated into the domain of the dominant existing mass-based 'cult in Kamaraj', to emerge as a strong political party. This type of study is liable to yield theoretical and conceptual formulations. Here what is essentially required is not to make a bare study of what is available at the surface level; but a comparative collation and assessment of even minute information for comprehending the inner meaning of historical course.

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE GREEKS TO HISTORIOGRAPHY - A BRIEF STUDY

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"No discipline has been more praised or more criticised than the writing of History" -

Jerzy Topolski, *methodology of history* (Tr.), n.d., Introduction, p. 1.

### Introduction

This paper purports to study, in a brief compass, the contribution of the Greeks to historiography. History is the critical inquiry into the past. Historiography is the study of how history came to be written over the years.

Initially, historiography dealt with the succession of books and authors. Subsequently, it expanded itself to include the evolution of ideas. Finally, it meant "the study of the development of man's sense for the past and the manifold relationship between living generations and their predecessors."

Historian's narratives have not begun with Adam and Eve. The slow biological emergence of "Homo sapiens" preceded history. The existence of "Homo sapiens" took place before the beginning of history. The emergence of the society took place only subsequently.

Generally, it is believed that Sumeria is one of the earliest homes of history. As early as 3300 B.C., the Sumerians wrote history in clay tablets. Garraty rightly observes that "History begins in the Near East."<sup>2</sup> From the Sumerians, the Egyptians adopted writing. Herodotus came to know of the Egyptian pyramids. Even today, the ancient Egyptian language is used in certain Churches of Greece." Thus, the historical tradition of Babylon and Egypt became the fountainhead of historical memory."<sup>3</sup>

Greece is considered to be the forerunner to historical study as the Greeks alone took care to write history. Only China could be equated with historical antiquity of the Greeks.

For long, Greece was not interested in history. Her interest was developed upon politics and rivalries. "The earliest tradition of historiography belongs to the Greeks, even though they were still in the experimenting ground." The geographical location helped her to have contact with other peoples through her civilization and culture. It furnished her with historical method of varied interest. Alexander's invasion over other countries helped the Greeks spread their culture to such countries as Egypt, Syria and India.

From then onwards, there took place a change in their outlook. These changes had their impact upon their historical writing. The Greeks had a great desire to keep genealogies of their families. They had profound interest in geography and ethnography.

### Homer (9th Century B.C.)

The Greek's liking for history is revealed by the poems produced by them. Homer was the oldest poet of the 9th century B.C., who in his immortal epics, "Iliad" and "Odyssey" first

laid the foundation of historical writing in poetic form.<sup>4</sup> In his epics, the gods appear as intervening agents in human affairs in a way similar to that of theocratic histories of India.<sup>5</sup> "The Homeric poems were to the Greeks so far as history goes almost what the Old Testament was to the Jews. Their authority was fastened upon the Greek mind down to the era of its full intellectual development." But it is to be noted that "Homeric epics are not history but legends."<sup>6</sup>

### **Hesiod (9th Century B.C.)**

Hesiod had interest in theology. His poems give a story of birth of the gods and their dealings with men. But such works cannot be termed historical as they were mythical in nature. "They blocked the path of history."

### **Sixth Century B.C. - A Turning-Point in the Evolution of Historiography**

It was only in the sixth century B.C. that a new turning-point in world history was reached in Greece. With the help of poetry, one cannot explain the social phenomena. The emergence of prose writing in Ionia greatly helped the writing of history. Ionia, one of the important cities in Greece largely contributed to the growth of historiography. In this city, the people instead of accepting everything blindly, resorted to criticism. It is said that it was at Ionia that critical thought dawned for the western world. In them, there began the bold and free spirit of investigation which became the mark of Hellenic mind.

### **Hecateus (6th to 5th Century B.C.)**

Hecateus was the first to turn the stone among the Greeks. Born in 540 B.C. at Miletus in a Greek aristocratic family, he travelled in Egypt and produced two monumental works: 1) "Travellers around the world" and 2) "Book of local Genealogies." In the first work, he describes the Persian world. And in the second work, he criticises the ancient myths. He said, "what write here is the account which I consider to be the truth; for the stories of the Greeks are numerous and in my opinion ridiculous." He was also the first to reconcile mythology with history in his "Book of Genealogies". He was the first writer to observe and record systematically the topography and historical traditions of the several cities of the Greek world. Unfortunately, we possess only a few fragments of his work. It is said that even Herodotus owes to Hecateus for the statement, "Egypt is a gift of the Nile".

### **Herodotus (c.480 - 430 B.C.)**

Herodotus was the author of the first universal history. Born in an aristocratic family of Herlicarnassus in South West Asia Minor sometime between 490 and 486 B.C., he spent his early manhood in travel, visiting Greek cities and everywhere collecting material for his great work on the Persian invasion of Greece. In his middle life, he migrated to Athens, then at the zenith of her power and prestige under Pericles. Then he migrated to Thurii in South Italy. He witnessed the struggle between Athens and her rivals in the Persian war (c.500 - 479 B.C.) and died about the age of 60. Herodotus wrote his "Histories" 'lest the great and wonderful deeds performed by Greeks and barbarians should become lost to fame'. He relied "on his judgement and his talent for enquiry". He succeeded in writing an eminently readable and largely trustworthy account of the Persian Wars. In ancient Greece, history was transmitted orally. Therefore, Herodotus gathered oral testimony from the survivors and also the descendants of the survivors. He weighed and carefully shifted the oral accounts which was probable, possible or impossible. Herodotus has been charged with credulity. "His work does

not satisfy our notion of a critical history. But the descriptions of what actually happened in battles are lucid and convincing and they are embellished by accounts of individual valour and Homeric tradition. He was the first one to initiate the moral and dilaltic view of events which was already so familiar in Hebrew literature. To him, men are puppets in all powerful fate. Thus he tried to find out the Universal Truth through human beings. Though an Ionian Greek, he praised the Athenian vigour in defeating the Persians. With the destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis in 480 B.C., Greece was saved from destruction. Her Golden Age began. This was the story Herodotus wished to preserve for future generations. "My duty is to report all that is said", says Herodotus. "True to his words, he faithfully reports what all he had heard or seen or observed."

### **Thucydides (c.456 - 404 B.C.)**

Thucydides was "the first truly critical historian of the world". for Herodotus based his writings on oral information. He wrote the "History of the Peloponnesian war that took place between the Athens and the Spartans. He travelled 20 years to write the book. He was a forerunner to write political history. "The work of Thucydides marks the longest and most decisive step that ever be taken by a single man towards making history what it is today".

### **Polybius (c.198 - 125 B.C)**

Polybius was born in Achaea in Greece in 198 B.C. In 168 B.c. Romans invaded Macedonia and took Polybius and others as captives. During his stay at Rome, he was fired by the imagination of how the Romans conquered Greece. He had travelled through the lands which were the scenes of his "Histories". He had access to official documents. He had respect for Rome which had vanquished his home land. He wrote about the Roman Empire comprising Spain, Syria and Egypt. In his work, he stressed the expansion and constitutional development of the Roman Empire. Polybius explained the legacy of Rome to the world. He discussed the evolution of constitutional forms based on the recurring cycle of monarchy, anarchy and democracy. Polybius started his narrative from the time when the Romans crossed the sea from Italy in 164 B.C. He refers to the Punic wars that took place between Italy and Carthage in North Africa in and brings the narrative to the close of Carthage and of Greece in 146 B. C. He held that the purpose of historian is to bring out the truth. He made it clear that the true value of history consisted of emphasising on accurate historical facts which could serve as a guide for the present. "Polybius's guiding principles of historical writing are the first and noblest statement of scientific ideals for the historian-until the days of Ranke . . . and give Polybius so high a place in the history of history . . . as long as history endures, the ideals of Polybius will be an inspiration and guide."

### **Xenophon (c. 430 - 354 B. C. or 445 - 355 B. C)**

Born in a middle class family around 445 or 430 B. C. in Athens, Xenophon became the student of Socrates. He was the first one to denounce myths of Homer and Hesiod. He was the leader of the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries who trod through the rugged terrains of Asia Minor and joined the service of Sparta. He died around 354 B.C. when Macedonia became an imperial power. His works include "Anabasis or "Ascent", "Hellenica" and "Memorabilia". "Anabasis" or "Ascent" describes the military operation of the Persian King, Cyrus, the younger. It also deals with the retreat of the Thirteen Thousand Greek adventurers in his service and the tactics of retreat that they adopted. All these are described in an elegant style. He wielded his pen far much longer than the sword.

The "Memorabilia", a repository of the recollections presents his master Socrates, as a paragon of perfection.<sup>7</sup> It also gives clue to the readers the social life of the Greeks. "Hellenica" gives details about the Peloponnesian War from where Thucydides left off. It also describes the Athenian and the Spartan manoeuvres that followed the events described by Thucydides. It also indicates that Persia was no longer superior in the west. This prompted Alexander the Great to march to the East.

### Character of the Greek Historiography

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that Greece was the home of historiography. Herodotus, the Father of History, based his writings on historical truth. The Greeks raised history to the level of science, for their writings were made on the basis of "enquiry, criticism and analysis". To quote G. Venkatesan, they "converted legend writing into the science of history."<sup>8</sup> They considered history "self-revelatory" to tell man what he was and what he was doing. There can be no comparison between Greeks and other peoples in their contributions to History during the ancient times. The Greeks took keen interest in the achievements of man. Their age was marked by democracy, struggle for supremacy among various city-states, spread of Hellenic civilization and imperialism of Rome. All these provided vast material for writing. To quote, "The Greeks wrote history of all characters of all dimensions. The history of men are things of great nations and small cities, universal annals and local chronicles, political, literary and military memoirs. There is nothing which they forgot or ignored; the Greeks first learnt the art of writing real history and perceived its purpose, its duties and its laws. The Greeks were the originators of history as they were of science and philosophy."<sup>9</sup>

However, the Greek historiography suffers from a few shortcomings. In the first place, it imposes on its readers a shortness of historical perspective.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, its method precludes the historian from choosing his subject.<sup>11</sup> Finally, it makes it difficult for various particular histories to be gathered up into one embracing universal history.<sup>12</sup> In spite of the shortcomings, it is true that the Greek historians laid the foundation for historiography.

### Footnotes

1. *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, Vol. III, n.p., n.d., p. 464.
2. Garraty et. al., *The University History of the World*, n.p., n.d., p. 49
3. *Idem*
4. G. Venkatesan, *Historiography*, (Madurai, 1904), p. 67
5. *Idem*
6. *Idem*.
7. G. Venkatesan, *Historiography*, (Madurai, 1994), p. 83.
8. G. Venkatesan, *op.cit.*, p. 89
9. Cited in *Historiography and Historical Methods* (Lessons), Institute of Correspondence Course and Continuing Education, (Madurai Kamaraj University), (1982-83), Lesson 11, p. 13.
10. G. Venkatesan, *op.cit.*, p. 90
11. *Idem*
12. Cited by G. Venkatesan, *op.cit.*, p. 90

# LATER PANDYAS' TRANSACTIONAL RECORDS OF NELLAIAPPAR TEMPLE - AN IDENTIFICATION OF RESOURCE CONTROL URGENCY

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## Introduction:

1. 1. Transaction, an economic concept which means the business dealing, has been used by several historians as a tool of analysis for the understanding of socio-economic history of pre-colonial times of Southern India.

1.2 Burton Stein's. "The State, the Temple and Agricultural Development. A Study in Medieval South India",<sup>1</sup> George Spencer's. "Temple Money-lending and Live stock Redistribution in Early Tanjore",<sup>2</sup> James Heitzman's "Ritual Polity and Economy: The Transactional Network of an Imperial Temple in Medieval South India",<sup>3</sup> have brought out many interesting hypotheses.

1.3. In this aspect the work of David Ludden's 'Peasant History in South India' is important as it singled out the importance of the utilisation of transaction records for historical analysis. Some of his statements about the concept of transaction may be quoted as follows:

"Such activities entailed many commercial transaction. In the simplest type, temple officers paid cash for oil to light lamps or for supplies of flowers, ghee, cloth and other items . . . overtime, such transactions could become staggeringly complicated. Though the full complexity of exchange relations rarely emerges within any one inscription what appears to have been simple grants must have many times been but single moments in a long series of deals",<sup>4</sup>

From the above works of the authors an impression about the temple in the early and late medieval period is formed as follows:

1.4. Temple in the pre-colonial society became as a land lord by possessing a vast extent of land in its own account either in the tenure of *davadanam* or in the tenure of *Tirunamathukani*. The temple had accumulated money in its own credit. The temple on receipt of money and land as endowments, re-distributed it to the village bodies, or to the merchant bodies with a stipulation to supply necessary quantities of ghee, flower, oil, or paddy as interest to the temple. By doing all these economic activities, the temple not only commanded the people ritually, but also economically.

1.5. Contrary to the above view, the transactions recorded in the Nellaiappar temple in Tirunelveli offer a different socio-economic pattern. It is the purpose of this study to bring out the sociological significance of the area around Nellaiappar temple of Tirunelveli during the Late Pandya times.

## II

### Findings :

- 2.1. Transactional activities around Nellaiappar temple happened in the following manner: The donor instead of making direct endowment to the temple had an agreement with the village bodies (*sabha*) or with the merchant bodies (*nagaram*). In this agreement (*pidipadu*) the bodies started their acceptance to measure fixed quantity of ghee or oil to the temple on the receipt of capital from the donor. The inscriptional phrases "*enkalil isainsaponkondu*".<sup>5</sup> (we agreed to receive gold) *emmilisainthaporul ivarpakkalekondu*",<sup>6</sup> (we agreed to receive money from him) "*emmilisiantha vilaipporul innalile kaiyile kaiyarakkondu*",<sup>7</sup> (we agreed for the sales rate and received the full amount in hand) indicate that the endowment activity was not a ritual activity alone. A bargaining might have preceded before the endowment. In this process the donor did not have any upperhand simply because of his donating activity. He too conducted bargaining with the merchant bodies about his need of commodities like ghee, or oil for the supply to the temple. The merchant bodies had come to an agreed rate and received the gold for the supply of ghee or oil to the temple daily and perpetually.
- 2.2. A tabular column shown in the appendix which contains the gist of the contract as recorded in the inscriptions indicate that many transactional activities happened not through the temple; but out of the temple. The temple did not receive any direct capital from the donor. Even the king who ordered his tax-exemption, ordered directly to the concerned persons and not to the temple treasury. Another finding is that the donor did not have any direct contact with the temple. Unlike the donor of Tirupati temple who received one quarter share of their offerings,<sup>9</sup> the donor of Nellaiappar temple received nothing from the temple.

## III

### Interpretations:

- 3.1. This study has revealed that in Tirunelveli area, the temple service groups were dominant than the temple. The findings indicate that the temple was bound by the service groups for its proper functioning. Why Tirunelveli temple developed such a kind of transaction poses difficult problem for explanation. Several features finding in the table column are important.
- 3.2. One is the finding of regular payment by mercantile bodies to the temple. The inscriptional phrases like "*alakkumperumpadiudane*",<sup>10</sup> "*ennai alakkum perumpadiodai alappomakavum*",<sup>11</sup> indicate that these bodies regularly measured a fixed quantity of oil to the temple. These they did because the area around Nellaiappar temple was *devadanam*, (temple donated area). But the reason of assigning *devadanam* factor for the prevalence of the dominance of service group is farfetched explanation. On the other hand, it is found that in the area around Nellaiappar temple, a tendency to mobilise resources, and to keep it under their control was keenly felt by all the groups of the people. This can be inferred from the following inscriptions:
- 3.3. An inscription<sup>12</sup> issued in the thirteenth regnal year mentions that Kandiyadevar, a chieftain of Tirunelveli, had ordered for 3/20 *veli* lands of the town Sivallavapuram for



the expenses of a singer in the temple. The *nagarattar* an administrative body of the town on receipt of the order gave a pledge as that they would measure the concerned dues directly to the singer of the temple and would receive the receipt (*taravu*) from the singer. This sort of tendency ie measuring the dues directly to the service person, indicates that *nagarattar* who had established control of resources did not want to divert their resources even to the temple bodies.

- 3.4. Another inscription<sup>13</sup> brings out the social and economic influence of the merchant bodies in the following terms. This inscription which is issued in the third regnal year of Kulasekhara records that two individuals of *kaikolar* (military group) had donated a lamp to the temple. Upon this endowment, the *sankarapadiyar* (oil mongers) made, representation to the king requesting him to alienate the taxes of the king from the lands of the concerned donors. Accordingly the king ordered the dues of those land holders to the oil mongers. This evidence indicates that the merchant groups had some influence over the royal polity so to get order from the king. Secondly, the inscription indicates that the merchant bodies had enriched their control, by obtaining the rights for the collection of taxes over piece of land.
- 3.5. This sort of tendency of owning resources under their control is found not only among the elite group like *nagarattar*, *sankarapadiyar* and *sabha*, but also found common even among the landless cultivators. An inscription,<sup>14</sup> issued by the temple bodies indicates that the cultivators who did the service of flower garden got the land for their subsistence. Those lands were given not in the form of tenancy but as permanent and hereditary property (*kani*). Thus the above evidence indicates that social relationship which once happened on the basis of ritual control was replaced by the emergence of social relationship based upon commercial control.
- 3.6. Apart from the reasons stated above, there is also another reason for the prevalence of above noted economic transaction. Burton Stein in one of his articles<sup>15</sup> has mentioned that during the 12th and 13th century in many parts of the Tamil Country during this time linkages came to exist between Shiva temples - sometimes ancient but often new and localized shrines of tutelary deities of dominant peasant groups. Priestly affiliation and pilgrimage patronage account for these connections. If such view is applied to Nellaiappar temple another valid point is found in the data. Among the documents<sup>16</sup>, one temple functionary ie *Devarkanmigal* is mentioned as the persons connected to the temple. *Devarkanmigal* need not be constituted exclusively by brahmin group. Hence these indications reveal that Nellaiappar temple did not possess brahmin priestly control as the other temples usually had. Perhaps this may be one of the causes for the consolidation of temple service groups to emerge as dominant than the temple functions.

#### IV

#### Conclusion :

- 4.1. The findings and interpretations of this study remarkably deviate from the earlier confirmations. But as the landscape of the macro region of Tamilakam was not uniform, so the variations. Although in this microregion, Nellaiappar temple was the share-holding body to the products of the land, it was bound by the temple service group bodies.

Although the social groups of the area were benefited by the temple, they were not placed under the circulation of capital flow from the temple, and thereby were not dependent on the capital of the temple. But, on the other hand, since the temple did not accumulate land or money in its own account, it was dependent upon the service supply of the groups found in this area. Anyway the hypothesis suggested in this study need careful confirmation through the study of other neighbouring areas like Seranmadevi chaturvedi mangalam and Rajaraja chatur vedimangalam.

## APPENDIX-I

Donor	Object of Donation	Purpose of Donation	Receiver	Deed of Contact	Ref. No.
Gandhyadevar (Chieftain)	Taxes from 3/20 veli land	Renumeration to a singer of the temple	<i>Nagaram</i> body (village body of town)	<i>Nagarattar</i> pledged to remit the Concerned dues to the singer.	V 415
King	Taxes from Individual's land	Measurement of oil per day.	Sankarapadiyar (Oil monger)	Permitted to collect the taxes from the individual and to supply oil to the temple	V 417
(Talaikoli) Dancer	Purchased land from military commanders ( <i>kaikot sena patigal</i> )	For the subsistence of <i>Guru (tirumenikal)</i> of mutt	The Guru Possessed the land	Supply the flowers for the early morning pooja ( <i>Sirukalai santhi</i> )	V 418
King	Allotting the lands for mutt	<i>Tavasi</i> (Guru) of the mutt	Guru of the mutt	Possesing the land of mutt as their own.	V 420
Danapalar	Deposit of gold	For the supply of oil to the evening lamp ( <i>Sandiya teepam</i> )	Vaniya Nagarattom (oil mongers of village body)	Agreed to supply Ulakku oil per day	V 423

## APPENDIX-II

Donor	Object of Donation	Purpose of Donation	Receiver	Deed of Contact	Ref. No.
Tapasiyar of mut.(Guru)	Deposit of 25 <i>Acchu</i> (Coin)	For doing some rituals to diety.	An individual Brahmin of the Temple	Lending money for paddy interest, and doing the rituals to the diety.	V 422
Urimaialagiya Pandiyat evar of Malaimandalam.	Deposit of gold	For measuring oil to the evening lamp of Pillaiyar diety.	<i>Vaniyar</i> (Oil Monger)	Agreed to Measure oil <i>Ulakku</i> daily.	V 425
Virapandi of Kudanadu.	Deposit of 35 Cows.	Measurement of ghee to main diety and Pillaiyar diety.	Shepherd of ( <i>Vettikudi</i> )	To measure <i>Nali</i> ghee to Main diety and <i>Uri</i> ghee to Pillaiyar diety.	V 426
King	Donation of taxes from the land	Holyfood service ritual at the birth day of the king.	An individual Brahmin.	Agreed to do the king's ritual in the collection of taxes of the king.	V 428
An individual Brahmin.	Purchased land from the <i>sabhai</i> and got tax exception from the king.	For the welfare of himself and for his family.	An individual bhattar.	The donor who got tax exemption for his land promised to do ritual to the temple.	V 429
King	Donation of Taxes	For the diety which had been formed by a Chieftain.	To the temple	---Nil---	V 431
King	Donation of Taxes	Doing ritual at the birth day of the king.	To the temple	---Nil---	V 432
Urithrapillai	Donation of Money	Supply of oil to lamp.	Oil Monger received.	Supplying of <i>Ulakku</i> oil	V 432

### APPENDIX-III

Donor	Object of Donation	Purpose of Donation	Receiver	Deed of Contact	Ref. No.
Buthamjangala Mudaiyan Masathu Vanikan	Deposit of Money	Supplying oil to the Evening lamp.	Oil Monger	Supplying oil to deity.	V 434
Temple	Allotment of its land.	For the subsistence of labourers who did flower garden.	Labourers of flower garden	Supplying of flowers by possessing the land as kani	V 435
Tiruchiram- balam Udaiyan udaya Nayakan Vilupatharoyan	Constructed the deity Alagiya Tiruchirram-bala Udaiyar	---Nil---	Kodanur Kulasekara chaturvedi managalam sabhai	Sabhai obliged to remit 15 kalm paddy to the temple.	V 437
---Do---	---Do---	---Nil---	Suthavalli Viravinotha chaturvedi managalam sabhai	sabhai promised to remit paddy	V 438

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  14. *SII*, Vol. V. 435.
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# OLAI CHUVADI CHARACTER RECOGNITION USING FUZZY APPROACH

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## 1. Introduction

In general, computers are used very much for various purposes, such as, playing games, solving problems, data processing, document processing, and picture processing. However, the computers in picture processing (generation and analysis of classes of pictures with or without human intervention) is also helpful to researchers. The picture processing techniques have been successfully applied to character recognition, fingerprint classification, chromo-some analysis, etc.

Character recognition is otherwise known as Optical Character Recognition (OCR), because it represents the recognition process of characters which are optically processed or scanned. Though character recognition first appeared as an aid to the visually handicapped, the modern version of OCR is to cope with the enormous paper like bank cheques, government records, postal sorting, credit card imprints and institution records including old documents in the Olai Chuvadi form, Manuscripts and silk cloths.

In general, any pattern is recognized by the human only through his perception. Of course, it is known that the human visual system is able to recognize colors, structures, objects, etc. successfully even if the pattern contains some vagueness or imprecision of occluded or rotation. Hence, it is possible to develop a recognition system which utilizes the techniques of the biological recognition process and imitates the natural intelligence system[ 9].

Existing computational recognition methods does extraction of some defined characteristics called features to assign a pattern to a prototype class. The recognition accuracy strongly depends on the selected features. For the several decades, development of a good character recognition technique for handwritten, handprinted and typewritten characters of Europe langues (English, French, German, etc.) and other languages has been a challenging research issue. Numerous interdisciplinary approaches to devise a reliable character recognition techniques have been reported [1-7]. According to the feature extraction and classification schemes, three categories for recognition are identified. Firstly, Statistical techniques use some quantiative measurements as features and an appropriate statistical method for recognition. Secondly, Structural techniques use some qualitative measurements as features and a grammatical (syntactic anlysis), graph-theoretic, heuristic technique for recognition purposes. Finally, Hybrid technique uses combination of statistical and structural techniques for recognition. Depending upon the problem any one of these technique may be applied but it should be able to accommodate the variations in the writing style, fonts, writing tools etc.

Recognition of any handwritten characters with respect to any language is difficult, since, the handwritten characters differ not only from person to person but also according to the state of mood of the same person. Among different branches of character recognition it is easier to recognize English alphabets[23] and Numerals[24] than Tamil characters[4-6]. In case of handwritten character recognition most extensively used technique is the contour

tracing technique which has the drawback of getting confusion at points of multiple crossings or when direct and retrograde strokes are totally or partially coincident. However a different criteria based on the distribution of intensity of marking along and perpendicular to the direction was implemented by Dutta[7]. In this (Tamil character in Olai Chuvadi leaves) recognition process, the most difficult problem is the great variation among handprints. Hence, it is very difficult to apply decision-theoretic method (because real-life data do not hold any assumptions).

In dealing with patterns of biological origin like handwritten characters, the concept of measure of uncertainty (Fuzzy) factors may be an appropriate way of describing the variability than the concept of probability. The concept of Fuzzy set was introduced by L.A. Zadeh [8] and was used in the field of character recognition by various researchers such as, Siy and Chen [10], Simura[11], Kickert and Koppelaar[17], Pal, Dutta Majumder and Chaudhri[13], Gupta, Sardis and Gaines[12], Lee and Zadeh[14], Chatterjee[18], Thomasan[15], Abuhaiba and Ahmed [19] and Malaviya and Peters[20].

Using Fuzzy theory, the badness in handwritten characters can be interpreted directly as a fuzzy membership function representing the degree to which the actual pattern is a member of a fuzzy set Line, or Arc[16]. In this paper an attempt is made to use fuzzy concept as a tool for recognition of handwritten Tamil Characters in Olai Chuvadi leaves. The feature vector consists of distances of the pattern from the frame in sixteen different directions. On the other hand, if we increase the directions from the frame it becomes like, more-or-less the same output as of Gift Siromani's et al[5] approach. Actually, two sets are considered for recognition, one with segments (primitives) and the other with membership values.

In this paper the first section deals with an introduction to Tamil alphabets and other characters and in the second section we present the preprocessing methods and finally the classification and main results.

## **2. Introduction to Tamil Alphabets and other characters**

The alphabets of Tamil are very old and are organized in a systematic way. The alphabet set splits into set of vowels, consonants, composite letters, and special letter. Of course some special characters from sanskrit are also being used in Tamil text for coining Tamil numbers and Tamil names. A complete set of the Tamil alphabets is shown in Chinnuswamy & Krishnamoorthy [6]. There are 12 vowels, 18 consonants, 216 composite letters, one special character (AK) and 14 special characters as shown in figure 1. A composite letters are not basic and they are derived by combining consonants and vowels as described in [6].

## **3. The Proposed System**

The recognition technique reported here consists of two parts. The first part is dealt with preprocessing of both prototype and unknown characters in a compatible and reliable form. The second part is related to the feature extraction and recognition stage, where a set of flexible models of prototype character is created. In this part, an unknown character is recognized by finding out the maximum membership value and similarity in number of segments (primitives) between the unknown input character and prototype class.

### 3.1 Preprocessing

The preprocessing stage consists the following steps:

1. The handwritten characters (individual) in the Olai Chuvadi (refer figure 1) are scanned using flat bed scanner. The digitized input is considered to have fixed height (15 pixels) and width (30 pixels).
2. Histogram based thresholding approach is used to convert the grey image into tone image.
3. The edges of the two tone image is obtained using Canny's algorithm[21].
4. Polygonal approximation[22] of a character image is obtained from its skeleton. The polygonal approximation algorithm is as follows :
  - Step1. The set of end and intersection pixels  $S$  is determined. Each pixel  $s \in S$  are assumed to be a vertex in the polygonal.
  - Step2. Segments are produced at the end of sixth pixel.
  - Step3. No intermediate pixel between two pixels  $s_1, s_2 \in S$ , is treated as intersection pixel.
  - Step4. Segments of tail ends that are less than a threshold are removed.
  - Step5. All collinear segments are merged.
5. The pattern primitives are identified (Fuzzy functions), and labeled for the two tone image using the following procedure.. Primitive identification Algorithm is as follows:

The four basic features are used for labeling the polygonal image. The features are

Feature	Label
Horizontal stroke -,	$h$
Vertical stroke  ,	$v$
Right slant stroke \,	$r$
Left slant stroke /,	$l$

The membership functions  $\mu_h$  and  $\mu_v$  for the feature to be horizontal and vertical strokes are given as

$$\mu_h = 1 - m_x \quad \text{for } m_x < 1 \quad \text{-----(1)}$$

$$= 0 \quad \text{for } m_x > 1$$

$$\mu_v = 1 - 1/m_x \quad \text{for } m_x > 1 \quad \text{----- (2)}$$

$$= 0 \quad \text{for } m_x < 1$$

where  $m_x$  is the slope of the feature. The membership function for the feature to be oblique i.e., either left slant or right slant is expressed as

$$\mu_{ob} = 1 - (\theta - 45)/45 \quad \text{for } 0 < m_x < \infty \quad \text{-----(3)}$$

where  $\theta = \tan^{-1} m_x$ . The sign of  $m_x$  determine whether the feature is left slant or right slant.

#### 6. Labeling Algorithm

Step 1. The slope  $m_x$  of the feature by Least Square Error method is obtained.

Step 2.  $\mu_h$ ,  $\mu_v$  and  $\mu_{ob}$  using equations (1), (2), and (3) are determined.



- Step 3. Find the maximum of  $\mu_h$ ,  $\mu_v$  and  $\mu_{ob}$ . If  $\mu_h$  is maximum then the feature is horizontal stroke and it is labeled as a. If  $\mu_v$  is maximum, then the feature is vertical stroke and it is labeled as b. If  $\mu_{ob}$  is maximum, then the feature is right slant for positive  $m_x$  and is left slant for negative  $m_x$  and it is labeled as and respectively.

### 3.2 Feature Extraction and Recognition

1. The two tone converted, edge detected, polygonal handwritten character (TEPHC) is brought into the frame of size 64x64 (refer figure 2). Along each of the 16 directions, the distance from the frame to the point where the direction hits the image is measured. This gives a vector  $(d_1, d_2, \dots, d_{16})$ .
2. Five such vectors are obtained by placing the TEPHC in five different positions in the frame. The average of these five vectors is called the feature vector and it is denoted by  $(a_1, a_2, \dots, a_{16})$ .  
Now let  $n_i = a_i / \max(a_i)$   $i=1,2,\dots,16$ . The vector  $(n_1, n_2, \dots, n_{16})$  is called the normalized feature vector (NFV).
3. Using the above process NFV is obtained for each of the prototype Tamil character.  
Let

$Y_L$  denote the set of all NFVs of prototype Tamil characters.

### 4. Classification

Let  $x = (n_x^1, n_x^2, \dots, n_x^{16})$  be the NFV of an input character.

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$$\text{Let } \mu(x,y) = 1 - \delta \left[ \sum_{i=1}^{16} (n_x^i - n_y^i)^2 \right]^{1/2}$$

where  $y \in Y_L$  and is found using the preprocessed segments a

Now  $x$  is classified as the prototype character  $y$  for which  $\mu(x,y)$  is maximum only if it is above than the threshold value.

### 4. Conclusion

The algorithm was applied for about 250 samples for each of the seven chosen tamil characters given in table 1 and the percentage of successful recognition varis from 76% to 94%. This method is more successful than that of the algorithm presented by Chinnuswamy and Krishnamoorthy [6] and neural approach of Subba Reddy and Nagabhusan [26]. The main advantage of this algorithm is simple, and a unique NFV is obtained for each character. In the calculation of NFV[25], since we have taken the average of five vectors corresponding to the placement of two tone converted tamil character, the method recognizes character which are even titled upon an angle of 30 degrees. The cursive character recognition will be considered in the future research.

## Acknowledgement

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# **CHURCH HISTORY OF TAMIL NADU AS REVEALED BY ARCHIVAL MATERIALS: A STUDY**

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## **I**

### **Introduction**

Indian Church historians use archival materials to write the Indian Church History. The main focus of this paper is to highlight the significance of Archival materials that reveal to us the emerging Indian Church History in general, and that of Tamil Nadu in particular. The period that is dealt with in this paper, relates to that of the middle of the Sixteenth to the end of the Seventeenth Century (A.D. 1542 to A.D. 1700).

## **II**

### **Church History begins**

In A.D. 1498, Vasco de Gama discovered the sea route to India. He landed in the harbour of Calicut, on the Arabian sea. Evangelization and missionary activities began to spread. As the Kings of Portugal were interested in Evangelization, they encouraged merchant fleets to have priests to serve the Portuguese as chaplains and to do "mission work" simultaneously. Goa became the headquarters.

King John III of Portugal got the help of the Society of Jesus to send missionaries to India. Francis Xavier, a Spanish nobleman from Navarra was sent to India. He arrived in Goa on 6 May 1542. The Viceroy asked Xavier to go and take care of the Paravas on the fishery coast. Francis Xavier worked in areas covering Tuticorin to Cape Comorin, looking after the welfare of the Paravas on the fishery coast. He baptized many people.

The Portuguese founded a settlement at Nagappattinam and at San Thome (Mylapore). These efforts resulted in evangelization and in establishing churches.

The early part of the seventeenth century witnessed the arrival of the Dutch. They instituted trading stations at Pulicat (North of San Thome) and at Sadras which is south of San Thome. The Dutch ousted the Portuguese from the fishery coast in 1657. In 1660, they ousted them from Nagappattinam. When the Danes established a factory at Tranquebar, the Chaplain of the Danish East India Company was able to establish a Danish church in Tranquebar by name The Zion Church. When Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) and Henrich Pluetschau arrived in Tranquebar on 9 July 1706 AD - sent by the then king of Denmark, Frederick IV - Lutheran Church was established by those two German missionaries - Ziegenbalg and Plutchau.

In 1639, the English got permission from the authorities of the Vijayanagar empire to erect a fort at Madras. Fort St. David was erected in Cuddalore in 1683. Due to the activities of British East India Company, many churches were erected in Tamil Nadu. Anglican Church denomination spread. In 1673 A.D., Pondicherry was founded. Catholic churches were established in Pondicherry.

## **III**

### **Significant Archival Materials**

Archival materials that reveal the  
Social, Economic and Religious situations  
in Tamil Nadu during AD 1542 - AD 1700.

Fr. Balthasar de Costa, S.J. was a missionary connected with the "Madurai Mission". In 1644, he had observed about the "great variety of castes" during his period. The Portuguese and other Europeans freely mingled with the so-called outcasts. They were called Paranghis. Those who were baptized by the Portuguese, were also called Paranghis.<sup>2</sup>

Around 1675 AD, the Madurai region and the country of the Maravas were affected by famine. In 1686, a severe famine shook Madras and the surrounding areas. More than 35,000 people died. Fr. John de Britto's papers reveal how in 1683, the taxation of Ekoji in the kingdom of Thanjavur was "crushing". The papers of Fr. Andrew Freyre describe the political and economic situation in "the province of Gingee". In his report of 1666, father Andrew Freyre had reported:

But nothing can equal the cruelties which  
the Mohammedans employ in the government  
of Ginji; expression fails me to recount  
the atrocities which I have seen with my  
eyes.<sup>3</sup>

### **The Spiritual progress of Christians in the latter part of the sixteenth century.**

The writings of Fr. Valignano reveal (a Jesuit visitor) that the Christians of the Pearl Fishery coast, significantly from Manappad to Vembar, eagerly established churches. Fr. Henry Henriques laboured very hard for more than 50 years on this coast.<sup>4</sup> Fr. Antony criminali, Fr. Henry Henriques were important pioneers in church planting. In 1551, about thirty churches sprang up<sup>5</sup>. Hindus made "generous donation" in building churches.<sup>6</sup> Fr. Henriques took a census and it was noticed that there were forty thousand Christians on the fishery coast.

### **The Dutch in Pearl Fishery Coast**

In 1658 A.D., the Portuguese were driven out of Tuticorin by the Dutch. Pearl fishery coast came under the influence of the Dutch. The Dutch tried to influence the Nayak of Madurai to "expel the Jesuit father's" from the coast. However, the Paravas were able to call back those Jesuit fathers who were expelled.

There was a "rector" of the coast in 1666 AD. His writings reveal that there were ten fathers on the coast. The Dutch were so harsh, and they did not permit the Jesuit father's to use the local churches.<sup>8</sup> Around 1685, the Dutch were so harsh with Catholic priests.

### **The Christians of Coastal Areas of Thanjavur and South Arcot districts**

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Christian population existed in the harbour areas, like Nagappattinam, Tranquebar, Cuddalore and Pondicherry.

Nagappattinam, during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a flourishing commercial town. Between 1518 AD and AD 1530, the Portuguese settled at Nagappattinam. In 1545 A.D., Francis Xavier visited Nagappattinam. In 1567 AD, Cesare Federici, an Italian traveller described Nagappattinam "as a very great city and very populous of Christians of the country and partly gentile".<sup>9</sup>

Franciscans were conspicuous in Nagappattinam "in the late forties or in the fifties of the sixteenth century." They preached the Gospel with vim and vigour. The Jesuits went to Nagappattinam area after AD 1597. The Dominicans started their religious activities in 1604

AD and the Augustinians in 1625 AD. "The chief church of Nagappattinam was always administered by a diocesan priest".<sup>10</sup> It may be noted here that the Nayaks did not like churches to be established "in their territory".

### **Tranquebar**

In the Jesuit annual letter of 1602 AD, we can find the origins of the Catholic community of Tranquebar:

Five leagues from Nagappattinam there exists an important town inhabited by some Christian Paravers. The city has a harbour, very much used by fishing boats from Mannar and San Thome. Some years ago a certain native Christian built a church, which collapsed last year. He reconstructed it, making it much larger and architecturally more beautiful. One of the fathers goes there a few times a year to say Mass, hear confessions and give instructions to the Christians. Both for the conversions of the pagans and for the Christians it would be a good thing if a Father were to settle down there permanently.<sup>11</sup>

In 1620 A.D., the Danes established a factory in Tranquebar. Before 1620 A.D., there was a resident Jesuit priest. The annual letter of 1620 reveals this fact. The Dutch were not at all friendly towards the Jesuits. So, they left Tranquebar. The Bishop of Mylapore "appointed diocesan priests to look after the Christians" in Tranquebar.<sup>12</sup>

The records of Baldaeus who had visited Tranquebar about 1660 AD are important source materials.

### **Guddalore**

There are archival records of the correspondence between the King of Portugal (Spain) and the Franciscan custos in 1589 AD. This record shows the existence of a Christian community and a church in a locality by name of Thevanapatnam in Guddalore. The period is the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

### **San Thome (Mylapore)**

Documenta Indica edited by Joseph Wicki contains Archival materials. Through this Documenta Indica, we are able to know about the origin of churches in San Thome area from Sixteenth Century onwards. Francis Xavier had spent more than three months in San Thome area.

Catholics built the first Church in Fort St. George. It was built on the north side of the inner fort. In 1675 AD, the church was dedicated. The Capuchins erected a chapel in Black Town, now, known as George Town. St. Mary's Church - Anglican - was built within the fort when Streynsham Masters was the Governor. The church building was started in 1678 AD and was completed in 1680 AD.

## **IV**

### **Some Conclusions**

1. Archival materials are copious with reference to Indian Church History in general and that of Tamil Nadu in particular. They are related to the Syrian, Catholic and many other traditions related to the history of Christianity in India. Lutheran, Mar Thoma, Presbyterian, and Methodist traditions demand an ecumenical pattern of historiography in writing the church history.
2. The writer of this paper has visited Mission Archives in Halle, Leipzig, Germany and in Rome, Italy, Archives of Papacy. (Archivum S. Congregationis pro Gentium

Evangelizatione seu de propaganda fide (Rome) He has collected materials from Mission Archives in Germany for the comprehensive History of Tamil Evangelical Lutheran church. (the work is progressing).

3. The "Letters and Documents on the Syrian Christians", in Shembaganur Archives are important to write the History of Syrian Church in Tamil Nadu.
4. Throughout the sixteenth century, the only European nation that had significant relation with India, was Portugal. Portugues were very much interested in propagating christian religion in India. In the coastal regions, expansion of the church was conspicuous.
5. Rulers like Tirumala Nayak and Queen Mangammal of Madurai helped the spread of Christianity in their area of rulership. Francis Xavier and John de Britto had won the hearts of the people.
6. The rivalry among the Portuguese and the Dutch and the English had seriously affected the spread of Christianity in the seventeenth century.
7. Archival materials and papers related to Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians are useful to write the history of Christianity in Nagappattinam and San Thome (Mylapore) areas.
8. The volumes of the Documenta Indica contain matters related to the Christian communities of fishery coast, and of San Thome (Mylapore). J. Bertrand's Edited volume of La Mission due Madure d' apres des Documents inedits, is a valuable primary source for Indian Church history. Shembaganur archives has documents related to Madurai Mission.
9. F.Penny has documented on Anglican church in Tamil Nadu.
10. The Indian Churches' role for the progress of Indian society will be clear, if all the Archival materials are analysed while writing the comprehensive history of Christianity in India.
11. Records in the Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Missionwissenschaft in Germany, and in the Mission Archives in Halle contain Archival materials related to the German missionaries' efforts in propagating the Christian gospel and in establishing churches in Tamil Nadu. Historians of Tamil Nadu cannot ignore "source materials left by missionaries".<sup>13</sup>  
Vast amount of valuable materials are available in the archives of "mission agencies".  
The Rev.Mrs.Siebert Johnson of Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church (TELC) is writing about the activities of a few German Missionaries in The Arunodhayam, a monthly periodical of TELC.
12. Finally, regarding Historiography, "the idea of a nationalist perspective" of Indian Church history has emerged. An ecumenical and comprehensive approach are indispensable. The history of Christianity in India is not an eastward extension of Western ecclesiastical history. The history of Christianity of India must be viewed as an integral part of the socio-cultural history of the Indian people. Focus of attention must be upon the Christian people of India". They are Indians. They are part and parcel of Indian culture and society.

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## THE 'REVOLTS' IN TIRUNELVELI THROUGH THE EYES OF THE INDIAN AND WESTERN HISTORIANS

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The history of Tirunelveli has been hamstrung by lack of objectivity and the jaundiced view of the historians on religion. The foreign missionaries recorded events of general interest which they had seen or experienced (Arumairaj, 1988:26). When they came to know that the accounts recounted by the local interpreters were not dependable, they learnt the vernacular and became masters of the language. Beschi and Caldwell are the standing examples of such missionaries. Conversely, the historians in India wrote only that which was palatable to their rulers with a view to keeping them in good humour. As they were obsessed with jingoism, cent per cent veracity cannot be expected from their writings. As a result, the present generation does not have a chance to have the genuine history in their hands. Besides, religion has not been given the importance it deserves. If religion is sequestered from history, the latter will be like a body devoid of flesh and blood. The objective of this paper is to present three events in the history of Tirunelveli and make the historians see them in proper perspective.

The first one is related to the event or revolt that took place in the middle of the 16th century in the coastal areas of Tirunelveli. Those areas were predominantly occupied by the community called Paravas who were the aboriginal inhabitants of the coastal areas. They eked out their livelihood by fishing and pearl fishing. This belt attracted the attention of the world traders because of its famous pearls. The Portuguese who had established a settlement in Colombo in 1517 had an eye on the lucrative pearls. The Muslims who are at Kayalpattanam now had come from Arabia or Turkey or North Africa for trading in horses and pearls. Historians call them Moors. (Caldwell, 1881:36).

The poor Paravas were not only undergoing a lot of suffering at the hands of the representatives of the Nayaks of Madura (Pate, 1916:57-58) but also reeling under the suppression of the Moors. The Paravas were thus squeezed by these two alien groups. They ventured into the sea to get the pearl oysters risking their life and that too only for two months -- April and May-- a year but, unfortunately, they had to surrender their precious catches to the alien plunderers. How long could they be like mute animals under the repression of these two alien groups? How long could they put up with this serfdom? They were at the end of their tether. Result..... a revolt! This was the first revolt against the aliens which occurred even before the East India Company was born. We cannot blame the western historians for ignoring this revolt because the Indian freedom struggle was queer to them. But what happened to the Indian historians? Can they afford to be blind to the repression meted out to the aborigines? Being unable to bear the brunt of the onslaught on two sides, the poor Paravas were constrained to seek the assistance of the Portuguese who had already marginalized the Moors (Manickam, 1988:24) and agreed to embrace Christianity *en masse* out of social and survival expediency. I am at a loss to know why the Indian historians failed to give adequate importance to this momentous event. Whatever be the reason, it was a standing proof of

victimization of history by historians. If it is not so, how can they account for the coastal line of Tirunelveli district adorned with coruscating churches and their spires?

The second revolt was the event that took place in the sixth decade of the 19th century when the Nadar Christians in and around Mukuperi near Nazareth rebelled against the injustice meted out to them by the despotic foreign missionaries and established a native church exclusively for themselves. This *religious mutiny* in the south coincided the *sepoy mutiny* in the north.

Nadras were the predominant inhabitants of the interior areas of Tiruchendur Nanguneri and Srivaikuntam taluks (Caldwell, 1881:288). They were economically very poor. Many of them embraced Christianity *en masse* during the first half of the 19th century. This caused ripples in the social hierarchy. The high caste Hindus looked askance at these newly converted Christians. They spread a canard that those who had embraced Christianity were servile and obsequious to the foreign missionaries. It was far from true. Conversely, they never failed to assert their self-respect and loyalty to their country. For instance, there was an English missionary at Nazareth called Caemmerer. Thanks to his sincere ministry there was a spectacular growth of Christianity in that area. Many came into the flock of Christ from the neighbouring villages. However, the anger ingrained in him surfaced on one or two occasions. This made him have prejudice against a teacher-cum-casteist called Arumainayagam. Caemmerer cavilled at him on trivial affairs. He was against Arumainayagam's marrying a particular girl. Besides, he was cashiered from service for no fault of his. To cap it all, he was chucked out of the church at Nazareth. Arumainayagam was a polyglot and polymath. The books written by him will speak volumes for his erudition. He was not willing to give in. He appealed against his dismissal to the church administrators in Madras in vain. So, he took the cudgels against Caemmerer, a foreign missionary. His revolt against Caemmerer earned much support from the people. Two more victims--Swamiadian and Visuvasam--joined hands with Arumainayagam. They rallied round him and established a church called 'The Hindu Christian Church'. The term 'Hindu' does not mean the Hindu religion but 'Indian'. This church was known to others as 'Nattu Sabai' which means 'National Church'. The church had more than 2000 members at that time and, in course of time, they established churches exclusively for themselves at Mukuperi, Kulathukudiiruppu, Salaipudur (near Sattankulam), Coimbatore and Madras. These churches had nothing to do with the Anglican churches which were under the control of the Church of England. This momentous religious revolt was downplayed by the foreign historians. They branded it as 'schism'. The Indian historians were completely blind to this historic revolt against the church authoritarianism as they were under the impression that all the Christians were the vassals of England and therefore they would be loyal only to England. This substantiates the failure of the Indian historians to recount historical events--political or social or religious--in a dispassionate manner.

The third one is related to the revolt of Kattabomman during the second half of the 18th century. The Indian historians have showered encomiums on the Poligars especially Kattabomman who has been acclaimed as the first to raise the voice against the East India Company government. It cannot be denied that Kattabomman was a great Poligar who was able to mobilize a few thousands of warriors at a short notice. Even the English commandants were astounded and flabbergasted at the astute leadership of Kattabomman but historians have failed to see him dispassionately.

First, Kattabomman was not the first Poligar in Tirunelveli to revolt against the aliens and that credit should go to the Poligars in the western part of the district. When Kattabomman was approached for a joint effort against the aliens, he refused to do so (Pate, 1916:72). Second, he was not even the first to rebel against the English either. He got the guts to take cudgels against the English only after the great rebellion that broke out in the Ramnad district in 1797 (Pate, 1916:79).

The Poligars or the chieftains themselves were plunderers and exploiters. They were brutal against those who did not toe their lines. Being Anglophobic, the Indian historians have carped on the venial offences of the East India Company and blown them out of proportions while they are silent on the felony perpetrated by the Poligars. Even the ill-treatment meted out against the women by the Poligars was lost sight of. When the author of this paper was young, he heard his old relatives say that Kattabomman was a dreaded plunderer besides being flagitious. What they had told him were corroborated by the historians of the foreign countries. Pate says, "Kattabomma Naikkan was plundering Alwartirunagari, and Srivaikuntam; and the records of the time are little more than a catalogue of acts of freebooting and violence" (Pate, 1916:79). The news that he had been exonerated of the murder of Clarke was a shot in his arm which made him and his 'depredating hordes' of Panchalamkurichi peons terrorize the people of the areas under their control.

Kattabomman's behaviour like the assassination of Clarke without provocation and his refusal to meet Lushington on 4th September, 1799 under 'the idle pretence of its being an unlucky day' did not bring him any credit. It is unbecoming of a great chieftain to stoop to this level. These events prove beyond doubt that his revolt was out and out personal and not national as depicted by the Indian historians. If he had not paid any tribute to any of the previous rulers, he would have been extolled much better. Similarly, if he had refused to appear before the Collector of Ramnad, he would have been acclaimed as a real rebel. It seems that he revolted against the kist collectors only when the terms were inconvenient to him. On that score, the author of this paper believes that the accounts given by the Indian historians about Kattabomman were purely subjective. What they have given us about him is only the obverse side of the coin. We have been wantonly kept in the dark about the reverse side of the coin. We are still groping in the dark. Let our historians present the facts in an objective manner so that at least our posterity will be able to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

The foreign historians' account of Kattabomman is also far from entirely true. They have applauded the organizational acumen of Kattabomman and his marvellous chutzpah in defying and disobeying the English administrators. They have also described his grit and strategy while facing the fusillade of various British Generals. At the same time, they have failed to call a spade a spade. They could have at least questioned the stand of the Company's government when Clarke was killed. They sacked Jackson for want of tact but allowed Kattabomman to go scotfree.

Caldwell calls the 'Panchalamkurichi Epic' by Namasivayam the least trust-worthy of all the sources of historical information. The final capture and demolition of the fort is an event falsified in the most blushing manner, says he.

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## A BREVITY OF BISHOP DR.CALDWELL'S LIFE AND WORKS

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By the time *Dr. Robert Caldwell* took up the writing of Dravidian linguistics or history, there was no commendable work in either of these fields. Perhaps Tamils were not aware of historical scholarship or evinced no interest in such a study of the past. The only historian-philosopher of his age was *Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai* who perhaps was very much indebted to Dr.Robert Caldwell (herein after as Dr.Caldwell).

In this paper I have not made any searching enquiries into Dr.Caldwell's contributions to history but just a brief life sketch of the great Tamil scholar-historian and listed his major contributions to linguistics, history and religion (Christianity).

Versatile Dr. Caldwell, one of the eminent missionary scholars, whom Europe had ever sent, was a descent of Scottish parents, born on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1814, in a hamlet on the bank of stream Glady near Antrion in N.Ireland.<sup>1</sup> For ten years he had been studying various arts including drawing. After ten years of his life in Ireland his parents shifted to Glasgow in Scotland. So he was fortunate enough to get education in the University of Glasgow. He inculcated the habit of reading books. But he was not for reading scriptural books. His acquaintance with the priests made him to think of God and he committed himself to the Lord in 1830 at the flowering age of 16<sup>2</sup>. He devoted himself to the congregational church of London Mission (L.M.S.). The society decided to send him for higher studies in Glasgow as well as in the preparatory classes of Cecil at Turvey in Bedfordshire. At Glasgow he learnt Greek, Hebrew and Latin with much effort. He fared well in Logic, Philosophy, Home Science and Greek in an excellent manner. Topping the list of graduates, he won Sir.Robert Peels prize<sup>3</sup>. L.M.S. ordained him as a clergy and sent him to Madras in 1837 along with Lyon to Benares and Russel to Travancore<sup>4</sup>. On the appointed day for voyage he had to overcome a hurdle which came in the form of his bedridden mother. When he knelt beside her bed, she embraced and kissed him on the cheeks and uttered, "*I did not murmur even in my thought and whole heartedly given you to the lord*"<sup>5</sup> to winover India for Christ. Embarking on 30<sup>th</sup> August 1837, he reached Chennai after four months on 8<sup>th</sup> January. During his voyage he made good and useful friendship with Mr. C.P. Brown - Madras Civil Service, from whom he learnt Sanskrit and many things about India.<sup>6</sup> After reaching Chennai he got the friendship of missionaries such as Taylor, Johnson, Smith, Andrew, John Anderson, Rev.John Tucker, Rev. Calthrop, American Missionary Vinslo, physicist Dr.S.Cudder, Rev.C.T.E. Rhenius, and Mr.Drew who was well versed in Tamil. Credit goes to him for having inspired and induced Caldwell's interest in Tamil. He had a mastery over nearly 18 languages. This paved the way for the birth of Comparative Grammer, his classic production of immense and lasting value.

Dr. Caldwell soon felt an inclination to join the Church of England and decided to take orders and enlist himself in the service of the society for the propagation of Gospel. Tinnevely was the field in which he chose to work, and in July 1841, he set out on foot from Madras to

find the country of his choice. On the way, he visited Pondicherry, Kumbakonam, Tranquebar, Trichinopoly and Mettupalayam by foot. He made his way upto Ootacamund, where he received ordination at the hands of Bishop Spencer. Then he continued his journey through Coimbatore and Madurai. Finding shoes an encumbrance he walked bare-footed through the black-cotton plains of Madurai and Tinnevely. Idaiyangudi was reached in November<sup>7</sup>. The first service which Dr.Caldwell conducted at Idaiyangudi was on Sunday, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1841. For earlier the people of the village and its neighbourhood were Christianised by Rev. Gericke and Sathianathan. Unfortunately, when Dr.Caldwell entered the village, he could find only backsliding Christians owing to physical conditions. As the SPG historian put it "It was among the wreck of these once Christian congregations that the Rev.Caldwell was sent by the society to labour, to gather up the fragments that remained and to bring back which was lost"<sup>8</sup> Dr.Caldwell found Idaiyangudi as a confused collection of mean houses, tortuous lanes, a small Church and a bungalow with one room. He set himself at once to buy up the whole site together with a few adjoining fields<sup>9</sup> with a view to make a beautiful model village. Admist all difficulties he bought the lands for the village. He drew a blue print of the village with houses for the people to reside, Church, school and bungalow. He took a decision to build a few houses for themselves. At first, he climbed on a tamarind tree and imagined the inter-secting streets and houses to be built, wells to be dug, school, bungalow and a Church. Then he implemented his plan in such a way to beautify the village. This was followed by planting neem and poovarasu trees on either side of the streets which added beautify to the village. Even the orthodox people admired this giant effort after seeing the beauty of their village. They appreciated Dr.Caldwell and reposed confidence in him. This made them receptive to his teaching of Christ and steadied them in their faith.<sup>10</sup>

On March 20<sup>th</sup> 1844, Dr.Caldwell was married at Nagercoil to Eliza the eldest daughter of Rev. Charles Mault and Mrs. Mault, the pioneer L.M.S. Missionaries of South Travancore<sup>11</sup>. Eliza had a perfect knowledge of colloquial Tamil. Having acquired valuable training and experience in missionary work, she was an excellent colleague to her husband in all his undertakings<sup>12</sup>. Dr.Caldwell himself beautifully uttered that his wife was a confidant friend, a good advisor of the opportune moment. "I am the master of the house, she is the general of the house". Within a very short time (ie. in May 1844) of her arrival to Idaiyangudi, she started a girls Boarding School and taught the girls to read and write. The people remarked 'she may teach our cows now'. She taught in terms of the economic well being and upliftment of the people and decided to enhance the heads of the families through the efforts of their women folk. With that intention she introduced lace-making among women which was to become a permanent branch of industry<sup>13</sup>. Leaving much of the local work to his wife, Dr.Caldwell devoted most of his time to outreach ministry. Many children were born to them. The eldest Mr.R.C. Caldwell worked as a boy catechist for some time, but moved on to secular job in which Dr.Caldwell was not pleased with. His daughter Isabella was married to Rev. Wyatt, who rendered yeoman service and assistance to Dr.Caldwell. She was good at raising funds from foreign friends and relatives for the completion of the Church and working of the boarding school. Another daughter Louisa was married to an army officer who passed away soon after their marriage. Their last son Addington served as a Doctor in Australia.

Dr.Caldwell planned to build a beautiful Church at Idaiyangudi. For that he wrote to a Building Society in London for the blue print. The company at once sent not only the plan but

also the working drawings too. He laid the foundation of the Church in 1846. The Church was of Gothic style and its beauty and grandeur lie in its windows.<sup>14</sup> When Lord Napier, the then Governor of Madras, visited Idaiyangudi in 1868 appreciated the skill and fineness of the construction work and liberally granted Rs.500/- for the Church. The Church was dedicated on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1880.<sup>15</sup> Though as a priest he propagated Christianity, he played the role of a doctor, a philanthropist and a magistrate. He felt that it was his duty and loving service to establish more and more schools to educate and civilise not only Christians but also other sects of the community and enable them to enhance their status in the society. In 1832 and 1845 South Tirunelveli was badly affected by cholera and Anaigudi was worsened by that. When Dr. Caldwell came to that village and prayed, cholera stopped spreading. Seeing that the Hindus too asked him to pray for them.<sup>16</sup> In 1869 when Tirunelveli experienced a flood never known before, Dr. Caldwell and his wife went from village to village, met the people sharing their sufferings, comforted them and rendered optimum help to them.<sup>17</sup> In this juncture, the hospital that he established at Idaiyangudi in 1870 with the help of Lord Napier, the then Governor of Madras, served as a saviour of the opportune moment.<sup>18</sup> In 1877-78 Tirunelveli witnessed a severe famine and outbreak of cholera. Dr. Caldwell addressed himself to relief work among the entire community irrespective of caste and creed. This earned for him the affection and regard of all and accounted for as many as 24,000 Hindus and Muslims embracing Christianity.<sup>19</sup>

A scholar of international repute, Dr. Caldwell gave importance to education at all levels. In Idaiyangudi itself he and Mrs. Caldwell had opened schools for boys and girls and placed them on a sound footing. He was the pioneer in giving free Mid-day meals to 171 students of his schools.<sup>20</sup> His schools at Idaiyangudi served as a feeder institution for the seminary at Sawyerpuram. To meet the growing needs of the Christian population and congregation the Arch Bishop of Calcutta made Dr. Caldwell the Bishop of SPG of Tinnevely on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1877 at the historic consecration in St. Pauls's Cathedral, Calcutta. In the Consecration Sermon Bishop Gell referred to Bishop Caldwell as one of the double stars,<sup>21</sup> the other one was Rev. Sargent, who was made Bishop for CMS Church in Tinnevely. Along with this bishopric he carried on other educational works and propagation of gospel. In the mean time, he was advised to reside at Tuticorin to make it as the headquarters of SPG in Tinnevely owing to the growing facilities of Tuticorin. In Tuticorin his wife started the Victoria Girls School in remembrance of the 50 years reign of Queen Victoria. Dr. Caldwell helped Caldwell College which was shifted to Tuticorin. All the time the scholar and researcher in Dr. Caldwell was busy, producing several books of lasting value. He was familiar with 18 languages. His Comparative Grammar is still an irreplaceable classic on the subject.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Caldwell felt that there are very few number of historians in Tirunelveli. From the beginning he started reading the history of Tinnelvely, from various sources. As a result, he himself wrote the Political and General History of the District of Tinnelvely (1881). He wrote the Records of the Early History of Tinnevely Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He played a vital role in the translation work of the Bible. He translated many hymns and also a prayer book. In addition to these books, Dr. Caldwell found time for numerous pamphlets, the best known of which are those relating to demon worship in Tinnelvely.<sup>23</sup> Dr. Caldwell was also a research scholar in archaeology. Following Mr. James Princep, the archaeologist, Dr. Caldwell too undertook archaeological excavations in Korkai. He was the pioneer to reveal the truth that:

- 1) Korkai was a harbour,
- 2) Trade was carried out, and
- 3) Buddhism was prevalent there.<sup>24</sup>

As a philanthropist he was moved by the pathetic condition of the Shanars and wanted to do good to the Shanar community in and around Idaiyangudi by redressing their sufferings. He beautifully and faithfully portrayed the life, rituals, hardships, poverty and hunger of Shanars; the humiliation and illtreatment they were suffering under the high caste people in a small book: *The Tirunelveli Shanars*. Having a ring of truth in it, the aim of this book was to take it (the worst and pathetic condition of the Shanars) to the notice of his friends and the people of England, anticipating their liberal grants so as to uplift the condition of the Shanar community in all walks of life. He got liberal grants from some English people which helped him to educate the Shanars and to ameliorate and mitigate their sufferings.<sup>25</sup> Though he did it with a good intention to improve the lot of the Shanar community, it was misunderstood and mistaken by the Shannar community itself. It earned their ill will and enmity for which he regretted and withdrew that book with great agony.<sup>26</sup>

According to the words of Oscar Wilde, "*Anybody can make history but only a great man can write it*". By writing the history of Tirunelveli, Dr. Caldwell too is placed among the great men. Such a great man's dwindling health forced him to resign his office as Bishop on January 31<sup>st</sup> 1891. He went to Kodaikanal with his family to spend the rest of his life there. As his health was deteriorating, he suddenly fell ill after six months of stay there. All efforts taken by his son, Dr. Addington and the doctors to save his life proved futile. To the agony of his family and the people who loved him he breathed his last at 9.A.M. on August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1891. His family overcame all the impossibles to fulfill the last desire of Dr. Caldwell. Amidst a huge concourse of mourners his mortal remains were laid to rest in a tomb beneath *The Altar of the Holy Trinity Church*, Idaiyangudi.

If we may have a birds eye view of Dr. Caldwell's life, we could trace out the following traits in him. The spirit of tolerance in him showed through his activities towards the people, caught in the hands of natural calamities at times, irrespective of caste or creed. He didn't differentiate between castes in respect of religion, in his social or educational works. His spirit of enquiry went deep into the social condition of the suffering Shanars to brush aside the backward condition of the Shanar community. He lives in the hearts of the Tamils through his famous work hardly ever known to the Dravidian languages. His inquisitive mind revealed the hitherto unknown historical facts of the Tirunelveli Region, and his archaeological excavations brought the harbour of Korkai to the light of the world. Posterity of Idaiyangudi will reckon him as a benefactor. His name and fame is still ringing in the ears of the people of Tirunelveli (especially people of the South Tirunelveli) through the school (which bears his name), the handsome Church with its high sounding bells and the hospital at Idaiyangudi as well as the Caldwell Higher Secondary School and the newly opened Caldwell College (Established in 1997 to commemorate his service to Tirunelveli) at Tuticorin.

To quote the words of his son-in-law Rev. Wyatt, "Caldwell a man of wide and varied knowledge, a scholar of European reputation full of philosophic and practical wisdom, yet he was content to live for half a century in a remote part of Tinnelvely, spending and being spent for the benefit of the people of that province. The Tinnelvely native church owes him a debt of gratitude it can never repay".<sup>27</sup>



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## **SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF ZAMINDARI SYSTEM IN MADURAI DISTRICT**

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The present paper on the sources for the study of Zamindari System in Madurai District highlights the origin, growth, development, decadence and abolition of the system and its impact on the society and economy of the district from 1800 to 1949. The introduction of this system ushered in a new economic order which entirely brought a transition in the socio-economic life of the people. The original records, kept preserved in the Tamil Nadu State Archives, Madras, are of immense value. The Archives is the treasure house of administrative records of the British government and its policies related to the Zamindari system. The abundant archival materials in a classified form help the research scholars to understand the system<sup>1</sup>.

A variety of materials constitute the primary source of information. The primary source consists of two categories i.e., the pre-Mutiny records and post-Mutiny records. The pre-Mutiny records are manuscripts in bounded volumes belonging to the period of the English East India Company from 1790-1857. It consists of despatches sent from Governor-in-Council to the Madras Government to implement the policies of the Supreme Government to introduce Bengal system of Permanent Revenue Settlement in the Madras Presidency<sup>2</sup>. On the basis of the policies of the Supreme Government, the Madras Government constituted a special commission to assess the conditions of different regions and devise a plan to introduce the Zamindari system<sup>3</sup>.

After having assumed power over the territories of the district from 1790-1801, they assessed its political condition and decided to suppress the local chiefs popularly called Poligars. The military correspondence furnishes information as regards to the military action taken by the Government to suppress the turbulent Poligars of Madurai and Dindigul. The Permanent Settlement Records explicitly provide details about the first stage of the transition from Poligari system into Zamindari system. The proceedings of the Madras Government and the Board of Revenue Records furnish the data specially about their relation between the Board and the district collectors in the political, financial and social spheres<sup>4</sup>.

The Madurai Collectorate Records preserved in the Madras Archives help to collect rare information that constitutes the mainstay of research. They give a clear picture of the official transactions among the government, Board of Revenue, district collectors and the Zamindars. The financial transactions of the administration and the related measures were of immense value to reconstruct the relation of the British-vis-a-vis the condition of the people under the Zamindaries<sup>5</sup>. The numerous bound manuscript volumes furnish minute details about the revenue system, in addition to the extract of despatches sent to England, letter received from the Court of Directors, letters to the Board of Revenue and the letters received by the collectors from the Board of Revenue to carry out the administration. They speak of the financial administration of the Company in Madurai District<sup>6</sup>. Reports and settlement records help to understand the revenue history of this District. The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the English East India Company furnishes information about the historical and the introduction of the system<sup>7</sup>.

The Post-Mutiny records are printed government orders of Revenue, Judicial, Law (General) departments and the proceedings of Board of Revenue since 1858 highlight the revenue administration as well as the social life of the Zamindars of this district. They also deal with the condition of the peasants and oppressive exaction of rent from the ryots. The government orders of revenue department provide information about the social condition particularly of the nature of caste system, family traditions and of the monetary dealings with the ryots.<sup>8</sup>

The reports of Madras Land Act Committee reveal the real state of rent racked peasants of this District. The evidences supplied by the ryots before the Committee show their miseries and repercussions of the oppressive taxation. The Famine Commission Reports give a vivid account of the poverty-stricken agricultural population and their migration during the periods of severe drought.<sup>9</sup> The Madras Legislative Assembly Debates from 1937 to 1952 and the Madras Legislative Council Debates from 1920 to 1950 supply information about the relief measures undertaken to improve the condition of the poor peasants<sup>10</sup>. The Administrative Reports of the Madras Government and Census of India are helpful in understanding the statistical information about the socio-economic condition of the people<sup>11</sup>. The Madras Information published every fortnight from 1946 to 1949 and monthly from subsequent years helps us understand the measures undertaken by the Madras Government to abolish the system<sup>12</sup>. Personal interviews and private records with members of the Zamindari families help to fill up the gap caused by the insufficiency of other materials<sup>13</sup>.

Secondary sources in volumes by eminent Indian as well as foreign historians serve as additional information. Encyclopaedia of the Madras Presidency and the Adjacent States by V.L. Sastri, Imperial Gazetteers of India, provincial series, Madras II, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency by C.D. Maclean, Madras District Gazetteers, Madurai by W.Francis, Madras District Gazetteers, Tinnevely by H.R. Pate, The Madura Country A Manual by J.H. Nelson and Madras District Gazetteers, Madurai by B.S. Baliga are valuable works to estimate the origin, growth, socio-economic and political structure of the system.

*Politics of South India* by C.J. Baker, *The Ruling Chiefs, Nobles and Zamindars of India* by A. Vadivelu, *Treaties, Engagement, Sanads Related to India and Neighbouring Countries* by Aitchison, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Provinces of Madura and Dindugal* by B.S. Ward, *Palayapattukalin Varalaru* (Tamil) manuscripts collected by Mackenzie and edited by R. Nagasamy are helpful in tracing the historical development of this period.

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# GOVERNMENTAL SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT WITH REFERENCE TO TAMIL NADU - A STUDY

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Indian National Movement is an outstanding event in the history of India. Very few nations have a few parallels to this mass upheaval in respect of its course, methods, objectives and programmes. India people as a whole participated in this great struggle and a study in this field had always been a fascinating experience.

For tracing the events of Freedom Struggle from the formative stage to its great development, there are sources both primary and secondary. Both sources throw much light on the activities of the nationalists and the reactions of the imperial government with an amount of prejudice. While the nationalist oriented sources glorify the events and programmes of the Freedom Movement and over stress the aspects of nationalist activities, the governmental sources belittle the image of the nationalists and ridicule the Freedom Struggle.<sup>1</sup>

However, governmental sources for the period between 1858 and 1947 in respect of Indian National Movement have some bright aspects also. This paper attempts to project some of these aspects so as to understand the apprehensions, designs and decisions of the imperialists in tackling the vigorous struggle of the nationalists.

The role of the people of Tamil Nadu in the Freedom Struggle as revealed from the records of the Government of Madras has been very much noteworthy. Particularly several volumes of the Freedom Struggle Files, Report on the Administration of the Police in Madras Presidency, Confidential Reports of the Criminal Investigation Department, Madras, Madras Police Abstracts, Under Secretarys, Secret Safe Files, Fortnightly Reports of the Government of Madras, Records of Fort St. George, Select Document Series, Sedition Committee Report, District Calender of Events of Civil Disobedience Movement, Government orders of the public. Home, Labour and public works and Judicial Departments of the Government of Madras and Secret Files of the Home Department, Political Branch of Government of India, Secret Files of the Princely States and some letter Correspondence between the Government of India and Government of Madras which are found in Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras and National Archives, Delhi, give ample information about the national struggle highlighting upon the involvement and activities of the leaders as well as the common people.

These governmental sources are critical about the patriotism of the people. The imperialists had always been averse to any freedom movement which has been evident from great incidents like American War of Independence and liberation struggle in Ireland. It is no wonder that they adopted all kinds of oppressive policies in India to suppress the struggle of the people. The records clearly state the methods they adopted to chastise the leaders and people, the policies they followed to check the development of the movement to far corners of India and the orders they issued to various provincial, regional and local authorities to maintain and stabilize their administration of this land which was a prestigious possession.<sup>2</sup>

An indepth study in the governmental sources will reveal that they focus much light on the role of common men, thus giving importance to subaltern aspects. This is one of the unintended legacies of the British to India. Many of secret files and records deal with the actual happenings without any reservation whatsoever and reveal the atrocities and brutal and dastardly acts committed by the imperialists on the nationalists. For instance, Select Document Series on Neill Statue Satyagraha not only portray the Satyagraha activities of the nationalists of Tamil Nadu in removing the statue of the British general from public view in Madras, but also narrate his atrocities on the Mutineers of 1857 in the northern parts of India. Even the British officials were moved by his merciless killings while furnishing information to the Central authorities.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the Civil Disobedience Movements Files of the Government of Madras describe the events of the movement and give districtwise particulars. The upheaval of the people in response to the clarion call of the nationalist leaders and destruction caused to the imperialist symbols and designs in each and every village and town are vividly reported in all these records. People's enthusiasm in the Non-Co-operation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, Salt Satyagraha, Individual Satyagraha, Toddy Shop Picketing and Quit India Movement were focussed in the records by the local authorities to urge the central authorities to strongly curtail such developments. The records namely the Police Administration Reports and the Government orders of various departments of the Government of Madras on most occasions stated that the revolt of the people against the British rule was certainly dangerous and detrimental to the stability of the British government. Undoubtedly, this was a clear proof of the strength of the Indian people's war against the British which had been vouchsafed by the ruling authorities.<sup>4</sup>

Also, the Police Abstract of the Government of Madras had stated clearly the effects of the speeches and tours of the nationalist leaders made in Tamil Nadu since the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Confidential Reports indicated elaborately the impact of the activities of the nationalists on the common people, students, and labour force. For instance, it was reported that the speeches during the tours of the great nationalists, Bipin Chandra Pal had made such an impact on large number of people of Tamil Nadu that they often thronged his meetings in large numbers. Further, their emotions were kindled to such an extent that they threw their British made hats and burnt them.<sup>5</sup> Further, the Police Administration Reports furnished the information to the higher authorities that students in educational institutions in Tamil Nadu during the later part of the Nineteenth century had developed an attitude of hostility towards their British teachers. The reports stated that this growing tendency among the students was due to the development of national consciousness among the youth and they added that it was mainly due to the efforts of the nationalists. The authorities of the educational institutions were perplexed over this kind of development among the students and they made attempts to check the involvement of the students in the nationalist activities by dismissing them from their institutions or awarding them with heavy fines and penalties. In spite of all these measures, the student force stood undaunted which further startled the authorities. Such sensitive developments were vividly narrated in the police records which give testimony to the patriotic spirit of the youth force of Tamil Nadu.<sup>6</sup>

The Sedition Committee Reports, the Fortnightly Reports, the Legislative Council Proceedings and records in respect of "Tinnevely Riots case" and "Ashe Murder Case" speak

volumes of the sacrifices made by the nationalists of Tamil Nadu like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramanya Siva, Subramanya Bharathiar, V.V.S. Iyer, Vanchinathan, Nilakanta Brahmachari and others. While attributing sedition to their activities and penalizing them with severe punishments, these governmental sources exemplifying their patriotic activities with much vehemence which stand as a clear record of the great growth of nationalism in Tamil Nadu. When oppressive measures crippled the people's spirit of nationalism, the vigorous speeches and activities of the nationalists rejuvenated them and impelled them to spring into action. The records expressed these views and compelled the authorities to take stringent actions against the nationalists. The Government Orders of various departments namely Public, Judicial, Home and Labour clearly expressed that any serious measure by the imperial government to put an end to the nationalist activities could not accomplish the task. Particularly, after the outbreak of the Quit India Movement much violence was unleashed. Many of the governmental records referred to this movement as the "Congress Rebellion of 1942", thus giving a true picture of the nationalist movement.<sup>7</sup> Every event of the Indian National Movement had been dwelt with at length in these governmental sources which are really noteworthy in establishing many of the facts of the great movement of India.

Hence, in many of these governmental sources, much of the truth lies in spite of official prejudices and this was quite unintended by the British. Thus, the historiography of the British period had been greatly enriched by the governmental sources and this is a valuable contribution of the British Imperialists to the History of the Indian National Movement.

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# COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICY AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN TAMIL NADU,

1905 - 1910

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The birth and growth of Nationalism has always been a political movement. However, the indisputable fact remains that the nature of colonial rule, universally, had been based on economic exploitation of the colonised land. This had been categorically and candidly brought out in their analysis by Dadabai Naoroji<sup>1</sup>, R.C.Dutt<sup>2</sup> and Rajini Palm Dutt<sup>3</sup>. Hence, among the different phases of the Nationalist Movement the period between 1905-1910 witnessed a combination of indigenous economic resurgence and agitational politics which is known as Swadeshi Movement.

This paper has been divided into two sections. The first part deals with the economic scenario under the colonial rule. The second part analyses the growth of indigenous industries in Tamil Nadu and attempts to understand the colonial economic policy. The beginning of 20th century saw the infiltration of British capital. According to official British data, there were 165 foreign joint-stock companies operating in India in 1905. The capital of these companies were distributed among different branches such as : railway 43,500,00 pounds, 24,700,000 in pounds, 12,200,000 in tea industry, 2,400,00 in jute mills, 4,800,00 in mining and 2,400,000 in the gold fields of Southern India.

The year 1905 was a turning point for more than one reason. It was a period of transition in the Indian nationalist movement. The mantle of leadership was taken by the New Party. The New Party clearly saw the inseparable connection between political independence and economic growth, political subjugation and economic stagnation.

The simmering political situation in the country was raised to the boiling point by the Partition of Bengal in 1905. In fact, it was Lord Curzon's parting gift to Indian Nationalism which proved to be the *causa causans* for the birth of Swadeshi Movement.

Swadeshi, literally means "Our own". Lala Lajpat Rai pointed out the connection between political rule and economic growth thus : "Swadeshi has both an economic and political aspect and they are closely related"<sup>5</sup>. G. Subrahmanya Aiyer who held similar views underscored the fact that "... the Swadeshi movement is a protest not only against India's industrial subjugation but also against her present condition of dependence and subordination"<sup>6</sup>.

The economic situation prevailing in Tamil Nadu during the last quarter of the 19th century and early 20th century provided the environment for the birth of economic nationalism in Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu, like the rest of India, had been predominantly an agricultural region. The extent to which the agricultural population was affected during 1887-1904 could be understood from the extent of lands mortgaged by them.<sup>7</sup> The total number of mortgages regis-



tered in 1904 were 303, 299 as against 289,568 in 1897-98.<sup>8</sup> Among these, 52 percent of the transactions in 1904 related to loans of the value from Rs. 26 to 100, and 34 percent of loans from Rs. 101 to 500. Thus, the bulk of the mortgages related to small loans taken by the poorer classes. The largest number relating to such loans were in Madurai [628], Coimbatore [645], Thanjavur [517] and Tirunelveli [621].<sup>9</sup>

Besides, the taxation policy of the colonial government was felt to be oppressive. The Tamil press often pointed out the excessive taxes imposed by the government. *Swadesamitran* condemning the levy of fresh taxes wrote in its editorial :

It is highly foolish of us to bestow no thought on the cruel measures thus adopted by government without question. They oppress us in this manner, either thinking that we are voiceless, or entertaining the false idea that our poor people are yet in a condition to bear any taxes that may be imposed.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the most severe calamity experienced by Tamil nadu since the beginning of 1800 was the famine of 1876-1878.<sup>11</sup> According to an European eye witness "the scenes in the streets of Madras at this time and for seven or eight subsequent months were unique and in many respects sad and disheartening."<sup>12</sup> The famine situation forced the people in large numbers to seek green pastures outside the country. From Thanjavur, the rise bowl of Tamil Nadu, alone the estimated emigration during the decade 1891-1901 was 2,08,000, "a movement little in vogue previously."<sup>13</sup> Thus the people in search of better living conditions were lured into the hands of the coolie recruiters.

Subrahmania Bharathi painfully observed in the Tamil weekly *India* thus "famine conditions and relief camps have become almost permanent institutions since famine has come to stay in our country".<sup>14</sup> The famines had adverse effect on the prices of consumer goods. In 1896 the people were able to buy for one rupee 12.6 seers of rice, 22.7 seers of *cholan* and 17.8 seers of ragi. In 1905 a rupee fetched 10.4 seers of rice, 17.4 seers of *cholan* and 17.8 seers of ragi. This had further dwindled in 1908 and one rupee had the purchasing power of 7.6 seers of rice, 13.2 seers of *cholan* and 13 seers of ragi.<sup>15</sup>

Likewise, a government report after taking into account the industrial progress since 1896 pronounced in 1901, "progress in industries had been slow and almost insignificant"<sup>16</sup> According to Edgar Thurston repeated references had been made by E.B. Havell in the articles titled : "The Industries of Madras" and "The Printed Cotton Industries of India" which were published in *The Journal of Indian Art* (1888 & 1890).<sup>17</sup> These articles have pointed out the decline of the indigenous cotton fabric industry, and the degree to which it had suffered from European competition.

However, during Swadeshi movement efforts were taken by Indians to improve the economic situation of Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu Kallidaikurichy Brahmins in Tirunelveli and the Nattukottai Chettiars of Chettinad invested a large capital in indigenous industries.<sup>18</sup> Besides, industrial enterprises, the Chettiars also promoted and were associated with a number of modern joint stock companies and banks. The Indian Bank Ltd., established as early as 1907, after the failure of Arbuthnot & Co., was backed by the Chettiar finance to a large extent.<sup>19</sup>

A Swadeshi pamphlet circulated in Tiruchirappalli explained to the people the importance of swadeshism explicitly:

The Swadeshi Movement demands our earnest and immediate attention, as that is the only means of reviving our drooping national industries that are being smothered out of existence by the grasping hold of foreign competition.<sup>20</sup>

The first Swadeshi enterprise in Tiruchirappalli was the establishment of the Swadesapanda Vyapara Salai. Similarly, the Indian Industrial Company Ltd., was started at Esplanade in Madras city in October 1905.<sup>21</sup> The Madras Chrome Leather Industry Ltd., was yet another Swadeshi enterprise.<sup>22</sup>

The Madras Mahajana Sabha in order to encourage industrial growth established the National Fund in the year 1885. It took definite shape in 1901 when for the first time an Industrial Exhibition was held along with Congress session at Calcutta.<sup>23</sup> The third exhibition of this series was held at Madras.<sup>24</sup> To make the industrial regeneration a reality the National Fund was renamed as National Fund and Industrial Association on 7 March 1906.<sup>25</sup>

The colonial government had a watchful eye on the Swadeshi enterprises in Tamil Nadu. The district collectors despatched periodic reports concerning Swadeshi industries.<sup>26</sup> The most important of these ventures had been the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company which was formally registered on 16th October 1906.<sup>27</sup> The combination of political swadeshism led to the unfortunate end of the S.S.N.Co. by 4 July 1911.<sup>28</sup>

As long as the native capital was invested in small and medium scale industries without affecting the interests of European ventures, the Swadeshi enterprises encountered no opposition. The moment the native capital was mobilised and invested in ventures in competition to European industries, the Swadeshi enterprises had to face stiff and at times cut throat competition. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company in this regard is a standing example. Thus, while the Swadeshi enterprises had to face non-governmental competition on the one hand, and on the other government's unfriendly measures. Consequently, pursuing purely economic aims became impossible and economic regeneration and political struggle inseparably intertwined.

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# **FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN TIRUNELVELI - REVOLUTIONARY REACTION, 1905-1917**

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## **Introduction**

The partition of Bengal in 1905 stirred up the conscience of freedom fighters all over India<sup>1</sup>. There was a great deal of public debate about it. The moderates and extremists worked together against the partition. The extremists wanted to extend the Swadeshi and the Boycott movements from Bengal to the rest of the country. The partition of Bengal accentuated the revolutionary impulse of many young Indians. They took the bomb and pistol and started individual acts of terrorism. They lost all the faith in constitutional agitation or even in passive resistance. Tilak, the leader of the extremist group, had inflamed the tempers of younger generations sufficiently to lead them to individual acts of terrorism. In 1907 Bipin Chandrapal, a Bengali journalist delivered lectures on 'Swadeshi' and 'Boycott'. His speeches encouraged the youths of Madras. V.O. Chidambaram took the leadership of the extremists in TamilNadu. Along with Subramania Siva, he lectured on 'Swadeshi' and 'Boycott' at Tuticorin. As a result, strikes broke out among the mill workers of Tuticorin. V.O.C. and Siva became the popular leaders in the Tamil country. They supported the demands of the Coral Mill workers. The Government did not tolerate their anti-governmental activities and arrested them. As a result, a serious riot occurred at Tirunelveli.

## **Contributory Factors**

The successive events after 1905 brought about radical changes in the attitude of many Congress leaders. In December 1907 at the Surat Session of the Indian National Congress differences between the moderates and the extremists came to the fore. The leadership of the Congress passed into the hands of the extremists.<sup>2</sup> V.O.C. joined the extremist camp after his return from Surat. He began to preach the gospel of Swaraj to the masses. This enraged the English. In general, Tamil Nadu was considered 'a peace loving province' and was mostly dominated by moderate politicians. But an official report in 1906 points out that the Tirunelveli district was the only district of Tamil Nadu which had involved in the anti-British feeling and that too in the town of Tuticorin. It was mainly due to the activities of V.O.C and Subramania Siva.<sup>3</sup>

V.O.C was interested in the welfare of the native labourers. On 27 February 1908 the workers of Coral Mills Struck work, demanding increase in wages and weekly pay-off besides other facilities.<sup>4</sup> V.O.C. negotiated with Mill management on the strikers' behalf which was beneficial to the workers.<sup>5</sup> It ended in a sweeping victory for the workers.<sup>6</sup> It showed the growing popularity of V.O.C. At this juncture, Ashe was posted as the new sub-collector of Tuticorin. The British merchants informed Ashe that unless something was done to check V.O.C. it would be a challenge to the British power in the district.<sup>7</sup> In 1908 nationalists all over India had decided to celebrate 9th March as 'Swaraj day' to mark the release of B.C.

Pal.<sup>8</sup> But the English official did not tolerate these developments and decided to punish the leaders and the workers.<sup>9</sup>

The Government found out that the Swadeshi leaders were the back bone of this movement and hence action was initiated against them. The leaders were asked to appear before the District Magistrate of Tirunelveli on 9 March 1908. The leaders were arrested illegally on 12 March by the Government authorities.<sup>10</sup> These formed the contributory factors of the revolutionary upsurge in Tirunelveli district.

### Unrest Among Workers of Coral Mills

The Harvey brothers, Andrews and Frank, established a spinning factory known as Coral Mills on the coast of Tuticorin in 1889. The foreign management of the Mills followed the principle of paying less and extracting more work from the workers.<sup>11</sup> The Swadeshi leaders in Tamil Nadu aspired to improve the condition of labourers. Leaders like V.O.C. and Padmanbha Iyengar aspired to improve the condition of labourers. Leaders like V.O.C. and Padmanbha Iyengar actively involved in the issue of justice. A bond of unity was developed among the leaders and the workers which was the first great step towards Swaraj.<sup>12</sup> Attempts were made to create awareness among the working class in the Coral Mills. The workers had to work twelve hours incessantly with a monthly pittance of three to five rupees. Factory acts were not put into force and sometimes they employed even infants. Yet the Government paid no attention to the matter. The inadequate pay, frequent fines and ill-treatment and appalling housing conditions made the workers seek the support of the leaders for the redressal of their grievances. It was at this juncture that the nationalist leaders made an appeal to the workers of the Coral Mills that if they stood united the British mills in India would cease to exist. They even pointed out about the success of the Russian Revolution which heralded better condition for the working people of the world.

Subramania Siva pointed out that the Jute Mill workers in Bengal and the North West Railway workers struck work and got an increase in their wages. He said that there were two ways of attaining their goals—one by creating loss and second by going on strike. He advised them to adopt the second method.<sup>14</sup> The leaders spoke the fact that while the workers were getting only below the subsistence wages, the mill was declaring a dividend of sixty per cent which had gone to enrich the British share-holders.<sup>15</sup> In 1908 V.O.C. and Subramania Siva explained the object and the need of attaining Swaraj by means of Swadeshi enterprises and Swadeshi volunteers. As a result of their powerful speeches the workers of the Coral Mills stopped work on 27 February 1908 and, consequently, the management declared a lock-out.<sup>16</sup> Expressing solidarity with them the workers of the Madura Mills at Madurai under the same management also struck work.<sup>17</sup>

The nationalist press particularly *Swadesamitran* welcomed the change of the attitude of the workers in Tuticorin and applauded them for using strike as a weapon to wrest concessions from the British management.<sup>18</sup> The strikers indulged in violence and pelted stones at the Mill. The mill officials fearing further violence and, in a bid to suppress the strike, sought the help of the District officials who took action against V.O.C. and Subramania Siva under the help of the District officials who took action against V.O.C. and Subramania Siva under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting them from holding meeting.<sup>19</sup> The assistance of Secret Police Force was sought from Madras and other places in order to terrorise the workers.<sup>20</sup> As the workers were illiterates and ignorant the District officials probably thought that the best way to suppress the strike was to delink the leaders from the strikers. Violating

prohibitory orders, the leaders addressed labour meetings and encouraged the striking workers to continue the strike with the help of public collections and donations.

The leaders helped the strikers and their families.<sup>21</sup> The local officials tried for negotiation in vain. Nearly half of the strikers got employment elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Reporting the Coral Mills strike, Serokin, the Russian Consul, observed that it was a well-organised one.<sup>23</sup> The British Residents and their supporters were quite effectively boycotted by the local people. The British residents in Tuticorin were so frightened to stay in their houses in the night and spend the nights in the office of the British Indian Navigation Company.<sup>24</sup> The local merchants refused to sell food to the British residents and the Indian servants, butlers and sweepers also refused to work in the houses of the Europeans. A barber refused to shave Rangaswami Iyengar a local lawyer who supported the Collector's proposal to strengthen the local police force in order to suppress the movement.

The Jutkawalas and the fifteen suppliers had also refused to serve him.<sup>25</sup> The District Collector asked V.O.C. to call off the strike and even threatened him. But V.O.C. encouraged the strikers to continue the strike on 4 March 1908. Miller, the local agent of the mills with the help of workers of the Videshi (foreign) Steam Company pleaded with the influential people of the town to induce the strikers to resume work. But the latter refused to help. The strikers refused to return unless the management redressed all their grievance.<sup>26</sup> On 6, March Subramania Pillai the head clerk of the Coral Mill met V.O.C. and told him that the manager was prepared to accept the conditions raised by the employees. Then V.O.C. met the manager with fifty strikers and restated their grievances.

In the afternoon the manager announced fifty per cent increase in wages, reduced the working hours and declared Sunday as a holiday. The workers and other leaders accepted the terms of the settlement and called off the strike on 7 March 1908.<sup>27</sup> It was felt that the Tuticorin strike was a perfect example of what an isolated labour revolt should be. The operatives acted with one will and spoke with one voice, never left the temptation of individual interest for individual relief to get the better of the corporat aim in which lies the whole strength of a labour combination. *Bande Mataram*, a pro-nationalist paper observed that "every victory for Indian labour is a victory for the nation and every defeat is a defeat to the movement."<sup>28</sup>

The Tuticorin leaders must be given the whole credit for immense skill and courage with which they fought. They worked for the complete realisation of the true inwardness of the nationalist gospel which instead made them identify the interests of the whole Indian nation. It was a great and indeed absolutely sweeping victory for the workers of Tuticorin.<sup>29</sup> The Coral Mill strike was an eye-opener to the authorities as well as to the other managements. The local municipality, the Railway Company and Videshi Steam Company raised the wages of workers by half and treated them kindly and courteously.<sup>30</sup>

#### **Arrest of V.O.C. 1908**

V.O.C., Subramania Siva and Padmanabha Aiyengaer had evidently contributed to the flames of the popular discontent arising out of the oppression of mill workers by their European employers. Further, the keen competition between the S.S.N.C. (and British S.N.C.) enraged the feelings between the members of the ruling class and natives of the soil.<sup>31</sup> An outburst of seditious activity followed by the visit of B.C.Pal to Madras resulted in opening up of various trials during 1908.<sup>32</sup> Subramania Siva and V.O.C. addressed Swaraj meetings

at Tuticorin from 3 February to 8 March 1908. On 9 March 1908 a meeting was held at Tirunelveli,<sup>33</sup> which aroused the sentiments of the patriots who wanted immediate Swaraj.

On the day of the release of B.C. Pal from prison 9<sup>th</sup> March the leaders of Tuticorin and Tirunelveli made arrangements for conducting processions and public meetings.<sup>34</sup> The European merchant community in Tirunelveli was looking for an opportunity to curb the activities of V.O.C. and his associates. On the eve of the Tirunelveli insurrection the European merchants met Wynch, the District Collector and Magistrate and asked him to get rid of V.O. Chidambaram and his associates.<sup>35</sup> The patriots decided to open a Public Dispensary and a Free Reading Room in honour of B.C. Pal and the Collector was advised by the Sub-Collector Ashe that V.O.C. should not conduct the celebration or participate in any public meeting and should leave Tuticorin.<sup>37</sup> The Swadeshi leaders delivered lectures on the theme 'Swaraj'. The very word 'Swaraj' was a red rag to the British Bull. Sub-collector Ashe prevailed on Collector Wynch to take action against V.O.C. Subramania Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar.<sup>38</sup> Wynch came to Tuticorin and met V.O.C. at the office of the S.S.N.C. But V.O.C. refused to listen to his words.

The next day on 8<sup>th</sup> March notice came from Wynch and the District Magistrate of Tirunelveli.<sup>39</sup> V.O.C., Subramania Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar were asked to appear themselves before the District Magistrate at Tirunelveli on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1908. On the very day, the assembly of more than four persons were prohibited. Ignoring the ban V.O.C. and Subramania Siva held a public meeting on 8<sup>th</sup> March 1908. The next day they presented themselves before the District Magistrate in Tirunelveli.<sup>40</sup> Collector Wynch treated them with scant courtesy and threatened them with dire consequences.

Poet C. Subramania Bharathi published a cartoon ridiculing Wynch in the columns of his weekly *India*. He also published in the same issue two poems in scathing words, composed for the occasion depicting the scene and the arguments between Wynch and V.O.C. the British officials did not tolerate these developments and decided to punish the leaders.<sup>41</sup> On 12<sup>th</sup> March, the District Magistrate took proceedings under section 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code against V.O.C. and two others and asked them to give securities for good behaviour on the pretext that their speeches tended to create breach of peace. When they appeared before the Magistrate and the police arrested them illegally and remanded them to custody.<sup>42</sup> Then the three leaders were taken in Bukkas (Carts) to the District Jail, Tirunelveli. Their arrest excited the people both at Tuticorin and Tirunelveli. As a result, a serious riot broke out at Tirunelveli on 13<sup>th</sup> March.<sup>43</sup>

The sudden arrest of V.O.C. and others gave an electric shock to the people of Tirunelveli District.<sup>44</sup> The people in a large number shouted the mantra 'Bandematram'. The workers of Burma Oil Company, the butchers and sweepers stopped work as a protest against the illegal imprisonment of their leaders.<sup>45</sup> A big crowd of people had gathered outside the court and saw their leaders as to how were they dealt with by the British they spared the carriages for some distance. With the sudden arrest of the leaders, the crowd became leaderless. The mass did not know as what to do.<sup>46</sup> *Desabhimani* observed that the imprisonment of V.O.C., Subramania Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar provoked the people who all joined together in the riot and sacrificed their lives to the savage actions of Collector Wynch.<sup>47</sup> Enraged by the arrest of their leaders, the people of Tirunelveli spontaneously expressed their resentment in many ways.<sup>48</sup>

The whole town was terrorised. The shops and all business establishments were closed. Students marched out of colleges and schools. They swelled in on the streets. When the mob was parading, the street lights were broken and all business houses became dislocated.<sup>49</sup> Huge crowd came in front of the Municipal Office, rushed into the building, took out all official records and made a bonfire.<sup>50</sup> The furnitures were set on fire as well as portions of the Municipal building gutted.<sup>51</sup> The police station was the next target of attack, two constables who were in-charge of the station were courteously asked to go out and all materials including records, carbines, bullets, sticks, chairs and tables were burnt along with the building. The Additional District Munsiff's Court came in for next attack and was partially burnt. The Kerosene oil tank in the Pennington market was set on fire and it continued to burn for two days.<sup>52</sup>

The Collector and the District Magistrate arrived with a march of officials and constables. Wynch had a whip in one hand and a loaded revolver on the other and walked towards the town area. A Swadeshi shop was decorated in honour of Bipin Chandra pal's release. The Collector went there and beat the person in charge of the shop.<sup>53</sup> It infuriated the Swadeshi leaders. The District Magistrate ordered the police to open fire on them.<sup>54</sup> Four persons died on the spot.<sup>55</sup> The riot continued for three days. Processions were taken out daily demanding the release of V.O.C. and other leaders.<sup>56</sup> For three days the town was in the hands of rioters and the riot spread in between Tuticorin and Tachanallur. In Tuticorin a public meeting was arranged. Educated and labouring classes attended the meeting. When the meeting started, Ashe, the Joint-Magistrate opened fire on the crowd without sounding any warning.<sup>57</sup> Subsequently, thirty six patriots were arrested and charged, and of these thirty two were convicted. An additional force was stationed in the town for six months.<sup>58</sup> Sub-collector Ashe took a prominent role in atrocities.<sup>59</sup> Tension ran so high that many British residents of Tuticorin spend the night in a British ship. A deputation of liberal leaders of Tirunelveli waited on Governor Sir Arthur-Lawley in Madras. The Governor blamed V.O.C. for all the happenings in Tirunelveli. V.O.C. and his colleagues appealed to the High Court against the order of detention by the District Magistrate of Tirunelveli. The Press in Madras also criticised the role of District Magistrate who handled the riot. V.O.C. and Subramania Siva were charged under section 124A and 153 A of Indian Penal Code. They were sentenced to deportation for life, but on appeal, this sentence was reduced to six years.<sup>61</sup>

### Reforms of 1909

Lord Curzon's acts very much provoked the extremists who launched the Swadeshi Movement.<sup>62</sup> At the Surat Congress, V.Krishnaswami Iyer led the moderate delegates and V.O.C. and over hundred extremist delegates went from Madras. C.Subramania Bharathi and S. Duraiswamy Iyer were the members of this delegation. The extremists of Madras played an important role.<sup>63</sup> Many of those leaders were found guilty of delivering seditious speeches and were imprisoned.<sup>64</sup> In Madras vindictive sentences had been delivered on the patriots like V.O.C. and Subramania Siva.

Sir Arthur Lawley, the Governor of Madras reported the policy of repression in the case of the Tirunelveli riots. In Madras too the Lawley regime had an untold record of repression and reaction. Apart from the prosecution of leading editors and the section cases in Tirunelveli, other oppressive measures were enforced. Land revenue was unduly enhanced in many districts. Repression of students continued. The police were given orders to sup-



press the people.<sup>65</sup> The repressive measures of the British further added fuel to the already smouldering fire.

The prevailing tense situation required Lord Morley the Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto the Viceroy of India<sup>66</sup> to apply a new policy of divide and rule. The decided to divide not only the Hindus and Muslims but also the moderates and the extremists.<sup>67</sup> Their proposals became an Act of Parliament on 15th May 1909. It was called the Indian Council Act of 1909 or Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.<sup>68</sup> This act enlarged the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Councils.<sup>69</sup> It introduced separate or special electorates for different classes.<sup>70</sup> The Madras Legislative Council consisted of twenty one officials and twenty six non-officials. The remaining sixteen officials were nominated by the Governor. Out of twenty-six non officials, five were nominated and only twenty-one elected. Thus there were twenty six nominated members and only twenty one elected members. This disparity gave an upper hand to nominated members who were in majority.<sup>71</sup>

The act did not give expected reforms to the Indians. It introduced a small form of parliamentary government. No responsibility was given to the Indian leaders. There was no connection between the people and the members of the legislature. As there was no direct election, elected members had no responsibility towards the people. Women were completely excluded.<sup>72</sup> The Congress, as a party disapproved of communal electorate. The move of Muslim separatism made the task of organising a broad based national movement uniting all Indians very difficult.<sup>73</sup> The real purpose of the Minto-Moreley Reforms was known. It was to divide the nationalist ranks and to check the growing unity among Indians by encouraging the growth of Muslim communalism.<sup>74</sup>

### Maniyachi Incident

Ashe became the Collector and District Magistrate of Tirunelveli on 2nd August 1910.<sup>75</sup> He had taken a leading part in the suppression of the Tirunelveli riots of 1908.<sup>76</sup> As the *Swadeshi* movement declined, the underground secret societies sprang up in Tamil Nadu.<sup>77</sup> Ashe was involved in the harassment of the S.S.N.C.<sup>78</sup> In 1911 the persecution of V.O.C. induced the feelings of the nationalists.

It was believed everywhere that Ashe was primarily instrumental in making the Government to follow the repressive line including the harassment of political prisoners.<sup>79</sup> These factors inspired the terrorists to make plans to do angry with Ashe. Madasami, one of V.O.C.'s staunchest followers had gone underground after the Tirunelveli riots. While hiding in Pondicherry he contacted some terrorist leaders of Tirunelveli for the purpose of doing away with Ashe.<sup>80</sup> For a while, a secret association was organised by Nilakanta Brahmachari. He visited Southern India in 1910 in company of Shankar Krishna Iyar, preaching *Swadeshi* and sedition.

In June 1910 Shankar Krishna Iyar introduced Nilakanta Brahmachari to his brother - in-law, Vanchi Iyer, a clerk in the Travancore forest Department. Early in December 1910 V.V.S. Iyer who had been the right hand of Vinayak Savarkar at the India House London, arrived at Pondicherry and started giving revolver practice to young Indians in certain gardens and preached the necessity of violence and assassinations to free the country.<sup>81</sup> Iyer hearing of Madasami's interest agreed to take the lead. At that time, on 9 January 1911, Vanchi Iyer took three months leave and visited Pondicherry.<sup>82</sup>

V.V.S. Iyer chose Vanchi Iyer as a fit person to carry out the assassination of Ashe. He gave him shooting practice and other training to carryout the deed.<sup>83</sup> Vanchi Iyer then made a plot to kill Europeans and suggested that Ashe should be first killed on the morning of 17 June 1911. As expected, Ashe the Collector and District Magistrate of Tirunelveli started his railway journey with his wife by 9.30 A.M. The train reached Maniyachi at 10.30 A.M. As he was seated in a first class Vanchi Iyer entered into the compartment and shot Ashe dead in carriage, at Maniyachi Junction in broad day-light on the same day and then shot himself dead when he found escape impossible.<sup>84</sup> The assassin was accompanied by his associates Nilakanta Brahmachari and others, and they were arrested.<sup>85</sup> Upon the body of the assailant was found a letter in Tamil language which stated that "Every Indian was trying to drive out the English and that 3000 Madrasies had taken a vow to kill George V as soon as he landed in the country".

"To make known their intentions to others Vanchi Iyer the last in the company had done that dead".<sup>86</sup> Sir Arthur Lawley the Governor of Madras expressed his most sincere regret and sorrow at the loss of a loyal and devoted officer Ashe.<sup>87</sup> This became the famous Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case in which nine persons were found guilty of conspiracy against the British.

### Conclusion

The Swadeshi banner of revolt raised at Tirunelveli with working class participation spread to the whole of T.N. like a wild fire. The Tamils were awakened with patriotic feelings. They raised their hands against the Government. They did not tolerate the suppression unleashed by Government at the arrest of V.O.C. was the cause of the outbreak of the Tirunelveli riot against European Officials. One of the revolutionaries Vanchi Iyer murdered Ashe at Maniyachi. In order to honour the patriotic spirit of Vanchi Iyer on 18 June 1989 Maniyanchi Railway Station was renamed Vanchi Maniyachi Station by the Government of India.

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## **The Historical Method of Professor K.A. Nillakanta Sastri**

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Historiography, a recently developed subject, was a European concern until the last century. What is important in it is neither consideration of historical characters nor that of historical events but that of historians, their problems, and their treatment of their problems i.e., their methods of approach to historical problems. Marc Bloc, the French Annales historian, calls it the "Historian's craft".<sup>1</sup> This can alone reveal the original thinking of a historian, and his imaginative faculty. Sastri was one of the Indian historians who had mastery of the art, command of the language and a method of approach, simple and original. The sources for the study of his method of approach are his own historical works. By covering the entire gamut of the history of Tamilnadu, South India, India, and Greater India, he had contributed much to enrich this new discipline. He realized the need for and the value of framing a methodology and adopting this to the study of Indian situations. To express his concern and mastery in his subject, he wrote a book entitled *Historical Method In Relation to Problems of South Indian History* [1914]. In 1951, in collaboration with H.S. Ramanna, he revised and amplified it under the title *Historical Method in Relation To Indian History*.

Kallidaikurichi Aiyahaiyar Nilakanta Sastri was born in a Telugu Niyogi Brahmin family on 12th August 1892 at Kallidaikurichi in the Tirunelveli District. He began his professional career in 1913 as a lecturer in M.D.T. Hindu College, Tirunelveli and then worked at the Benares Hindu University as Professor of History. In 1920 he became the Principal of Mankato College, Chidambaram [which later on became the Annamalai University]. In 1929 he joined the University of Madras as Professor of Indian History. This period from 1929-47 was the most eventful period of his great intellectual career as he made outstanding contribution to research in South Indian History and Historiography. At a time when Professors of Eminence were rare, Sastri carved out a niche for himself as a Professor of good standing and prolific writing. Soon after his retirement from the University of Madras in 1947 the University of Mysore invited him in 1952 to chair and shape the Department of Indology upto 1956. In 1957 he was given the responsibility of Director of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, which was then set up by UNESCO. He edited *Hils Journal of Traditional Cultures of South and South East Asia* upto 1971.

Sastri defined History as the "entire record of men living in societies in their geographical and physical environment".<sup>2</sup> He considered history as a means of understanding the present to plan for the future. He noticed in it an intimate link between the past, the present and the future. This link a historian alone can provide.

On the question of whether History is an Art or Science, Sastri pointed out, "History is severely scientific as well as artistic".<sup>3</sup> In his view in the first two stages of research i.e., the collection of data and investigation of facts, a historian should be a scientist. Sastri attached much importance to on-the-spot study and observation of the data. He compared the historian with a chemist or botanist to insist on the critical investigation of the sources. But, in history, facts do not always speak for themselves and the historian has to make them speak and thus subjectivity may creep in.

Sastri had mastered the materials of the medieval period of South India i.e., inscriptions, copper-plates and literatures. His mind was "constantly switched on" to historical facts and events, and whenever a new data arrived, he was ready to assess its authority and use. Curiosity and inquisitiveness are the hallmarks of his scientific investigation.

In the third and fourth phases of handling his material, i.e., exposition and documentation, a historian requires artistic capabilities. He has to use his imagination to fill the gaps, throw light on dark areas with his effective thinking, and present the matter in a narrative in his own style.

He made a list of the necessary safeguards a historian has to bear constantly in mind. While using literary sources he advised the historians to protect themselves from falling a victim to a deliberately falsified record especially in the modern period. Secondly, the historian has to guard himself against the possibility of making boastful utterance of facts. Thirdly, he has to be on his guard against exaggeration which is characteristic of the court poetry. He asked historians to be a little more careful, when dealing with literature which embodies legends.<sup>5</sup>

Sastri evinced keen interest in collecting the literary sources left over by foreigners, translating and editing them for the use of scholars as they were not easily accessible to them. He realized the importance of foreign evidences since they enable us to know what impression India had created upon them and to estimate the part played by India in the general history of the world. Secondly, they give us a vivid idea of many things which indigenous writers may take for granted or pass over lightly. Thirdly, as in the case of Ancient India, if the native sources fail the historian partly or altogether he has to rely upon foreign sources. So he edited the book, *Foreign Notices of South India* [1939].

In a conflict between preconceived ideas and historical documents, the former usually prevailed upon with disastrous consequence to historical scholarships. So he warned that a historian should never allow the prevalent theories to prevail upon his judgements. Further, he advised historians that they must not interpret the past in terms of the present or carry the present to the past. He was of the view that a historian should study the period in relation to its circumstances and men of the particular age in relation to his age.

He also insisted that a historian should possess at least a working knowledge of the allied disciplines—anthropology, etymology, archaeology, epigraphy, etc. which may help in his research. He had, in fact, command over archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics besides politics. He was proficient in many languages such as Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, French and Dutch besides English and Tamil.

As a devoted historian Sastri preferred contemporary sources to the later sources, and native to foreign sources. He never relied upon *Puranas*, legends, ballads, court poems, and myths and was never inclined to accept the story of three Sangams.

R. Tirumalai, a student and a scholar under Sastri, classifies historical methodology into two schools of thought—*Aposteriori* and *Apriori*.<sup>6</sup> Historians of the *Apriori* school start their collection of their data with the definite aim of proving their already framed conclusions. The historians of *Aposteriori* school of thought used to collect the data and apply scientific method of investigation, clarify the facts and arrive at the conclusion. Sastri belonged to the latter one.

South Indian History was his fascination. He wanted the historians of the world to consider it as a separate subject for its vastness, variety and independent standing. For writing political or dynastic history, he first traced the genealogical and chronological list of rulers of different dynasties. His anxiety to find out the right solution to problems led him to the process of questioning and arguing. Sometimes, his articles / papers dealt entirely with arguments either accepting or rejecting the ideas of his predecessors and supporting his own conclusions with substantial evidences. His understanding of historical methodology is not monotonous or stereotyped, and not too traditional but one of systematic analysis of available sources and drawing conclusions.

The most commendable attribute of a true historian is his regard for accuracy and truth, and consequently, freedom from prejudice of any kind. Indian historian R.C. Majumdar opined, "truth nothing but the truth and the whole truth, so far as it may be ascertained, should form the steel frame of history".<sup>7</sup> Sastri was second to none in his firm resolve to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. His masterpieces, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, *The Cholas*, and *A History of South India* are the outcome of rare historical insight and understanding of the materials, matters and situations, based on objective reasoning. In all his works, he was in search of the reality of history.

Sastri was a scientific historian but not totally free from subjectivity and prejudice. A thorough study of his 26 books and more than 160 articles reveals his bias, partiality and predilections. His method of exposition was not uniform all through his writings. His scholarly attributes are discernible in his works written before 1956 in *The Pandyan Kingdom* (1929), *Studies in Chola history and Administration* (1932), *The Cholas* (in 2 vols. 1935, 1937 also in 1955), *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (ed. 1952) and *A History of South India* (1956). These works contain a mass of facts and figures, solutions to knotty problems and intricate questions, footnotes full of discussions, arguments, and supplementary facts with clear documentation. But his subsequent works written after 1956, namely *A Comprehensive History of India* (1957), *Sources of India with Special Reference to South India* (1964), *India, a Historical Survey* (1966), etc. were simple narration of events and episodes evading problems and issues.

He started his career with the writing of local history, *The Pandyan Kingdom* [1929], and *The Cholas* [2vols. 1935 and 1937 also in 1955], and then shifted to the writing of regional history, *A History of South India* [1955], afterwards to national level history, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* [1952] and *India, a Historical Survey* [1966], and finally to international history, i.e., his works on *Greater India*, *South Indian Influences in the Far East* [1949], etc. Sastri's conception of history is comprehensive and he touched on all aspects of history-dynastic, political, social, economic, religious and cultural.

A thorough study of his works reveals his biased views on ancient Tamilnadu and South Indian History, which created controversies. He boldly challenged the views held by several scholars that the Indus Civilization had Dravidian affiliation.<sup>8</sup> According to him the Dravidians and the Aryans had no connection with the Indus culture.<sup>9</sup> The Dravidians were confined to South India and did not spread over the whole of India.<sup>10</sup> He very strongly refuted the contention of many Tamil scholars that the people of the South are the original inhabitants of India and declared that the idea was born out of narrow Tamil nationalism. The Dravidians like the Aryans came from outside probably from Central Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean



region.<sup>11</sup> The Tamils of the pre-Aryan epoch did not have any civilization worth mentioning.<sup>12</sup> His bold assertion that the Aryan culture is superior to the Dravidian<sup>13</sup> raised many eyebrows and led to heated arguments. These pro-Aryan, pro-Sanskritic and anti-Dravidian views are criticised by many modern scholars who try to disprove his views.

Among his works, *The Colas*, his *magnum opus*, has made him famous at the international level. It attracted the attention of many foreign scholars like Burton Stein and Noboru Karashima. This book explains how much importance Sastri had given to facts and the minute details. He was firm in his conclusions and questioned those who contradicted him.

Though a few historians, namely R.C. Majumdar and R.K. Mukerjee, had evinced keen interest at that time in the maritime activities and cultural contacts of South India with South East Asia, it was Sastri's discovery of two Tamil inscriptions in Siam and in Sumatra, which remains a solid contribution. His works in this area are *South Indian Influence in the Far East* [1949], *History of Sri Vijaya* [1949], *South India and South East Asia* [ed. 1978].

He warned the historians against "hasty inferences" and emphasised the need for more caution in interpreting "the silent monuments and obscure epigraphs of other times than ours". For example, two granite pillars near Pegu in Burma announced that Rajendra Chola had conquered Pegu and erected pillars of victory there. But the fact was that Rajendra never conquered Pegu.

Sastri's legacy to the world of South Indian Historiography is unparalleled. The worth of his writings has been universally recognised by scholars both native and foreign. Considering his vast areas of study, voluminous writings and valuable contributions, Sastri may be rated as an eminent historian of Ancient Indian Historiography with particular reference to South India.

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## தாமிரபரணி நதியின் பெயர் ஆய்வு

த. ஆனந்தராஜ்

கொங்கராயர் குறிச்சி

நீரின்றி அமையாது உலகு (குறள் :20). இது ஒரு உலகப் பொது விதி. உயிரின் தோற்றமே நீரில்தான் என்பது அறிவியல் உண்மை. மனித நாகரிகத்தின் நாற்றங்கால்கள் நதிக்கரையில்ல்தான் வளர்ந்தன என்பது வரலாற்று உண்மை. இன்றைய 20-ம் நூற்றாண்டின் தொழிற்புரட்சி நீரின்றி அமையாது என்பது தொழில் கண்ட உண்மை.

இப்படிப்பட்ட புனித நீரை நெல்லை மாவட்டத்திற்கு வாரி வழங்குவது பொருநை நதியாகும். இந்நீரின் தூய்மை கெடாமல் பாதுகாக்க வேண்டியது நமது கடமை. இந்நீர் தொழிற்சாலை கழிவு மூலமும், பெரு நகர சாக்கடை மூலமும் கெடுகிறது. இது சுகாதாரம் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட ஒரு கருத்து.

இந்நதியின் பெயரிலும் மதம் கலக்கப்பட்டு அதன் தூய்மை கெட்டு அதன் இயற்கையான அழகான பெயர் மாற்றப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. நமது இன்றைய காலகட்டத்தில் மாவட்டங்களுக்கு தலைவர்கள் பெயர் சூட்டப்பட்டு பின்னர் எடுக்கப்பட்டது போல், பொருநை நதியின் பெயரிலும் இது மாதிரி நிகழ்ந்துள்ளது. நமது தாய்மொழி தமிழ் இனியது, திராவிட மொழிகள் 12க்கு தாய் மொழியாக இருந்திருக்கிறது என்று தமிழறிஞர்கள் கூறுகிறார்கள். இன்றைய சாதி, மத கலவரங்களுக்கு அப்பாற்பட்டு தமிழன் என்ற ஒரே இனம் என்றிருந்த நிலைமை மீண்டும் உருவாக தமிழால் மட்டுமே முடியும். தமிழ் மொழி, தமிழன், தமிழ் நாடு என்ற உணர்வை வளர்க்க வேண்டும்.

இந்த நதிக்கு பழைய இயற்பெயர் பொருநை சூட்டப்பட வேண்டும். தாமிரபரணி என்ற புதிய பெயர் எடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும். பழைய பெயரும், புதிய பெயரும் எப்படி வந்திருக்க வேண்டும் என ஆய்வதே இக்கட்டுரையின் நோக்கம். பொருதல்:- போரிடல் என்பது பொருள். பெருநன் :- போர்வீரன். இது புறநானூறு பாடல்களில் பல இடங்களில் வருகிறது. ஆண் வீரனுக்கு பொருநன் என்றும் பெண் பால் வீராங்கனைக்கு பொருநை என்பதும் பொருள். உலகு எங்கும் பெரும்பாலும் நதி, நாடு, மொழி அனைத்தும் பெண்பாலாகத் தான் மொழி இலக்கணம் கூறுகிறது. அதே வழியில் நமது நதிக்கும் நமது முன்னோர் தமிழ்ச் சொல்லை "பொருநை" எனச் சூட்டி அழைத்து வந்துள்ளனர். பாண்டிய நாட்டு வீரமிக்க மக்கள் தம் நதிக்கு வீரமிக்க பெயரை சூட்டியுள்ளனர். அந்நீரை பருகி வீரம் பெற்றனர். அதன் புதல்வரும் வீரர்களாக வலம் வந்தனர்.

பொருநன் என்ற சொல் பின்வரும் புறநானூற்று பாடல்களில் வருகிறது.

2ம் பாடல் 58 வரி 9, 61 : 12, 68 : 10, 70 : 9, 78 : 6, 87 : 2, 140 : 1, 152 : 31, 229 : 14, 380 : 9, 382 : 3, 389 : 5, 390 : 12, 391 : 12, பொருநை என்ற சொல் 11 : 5, 387 : 34

களம்புகல் ஓம்புமின் தெவ்வீர் போர் எதிர்ந்து

எம்முளும் உளன் ஒரு பொருநன் - வைகல்

என் தேர் செய்யும் தச்சன்

தங்கள் வலித்தகால் அன்னோனே

அகத்தியனும், அவனுடைய பன்னிரண்டு மாணவர்களும் வாழ்ந்த மலை பொதிகை மலை. அதிலிருந்து புறப்படுவது இந்நதி. சேரனோ, சோழனோ, தமிழ் சங்கம் வைத்து தமிழை வளர்க்கவில்லை. பாண்டியனே தமிழ் சங்கம் வைத்து தமிழை வளர்த்துள்ளான். அப்பேர்ப்பட்ட பாண்டியர்கள் தமிழ் பெயரைத்தான் சூட்டியிருப்பார்கள். எனவே தாமிரபரணி என்ற பெயர் பிற்காலத்தில் சூட்டப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். தமிழர்கள் நசுக்கப்பட்டு ஒடுக்கப்பட்ட காலத்தை தமிழ்ப்பண்பு, கலாச்சாரம், நசுக்கப்பட்ட காலகட்டத்தில் சமஸ்கிருத மொழி ஆதிக்கம் பெற்ற காலத்தில் இம்மாற்றம் நிகழ்ந்திருக்க வேண்டும்.

தமிழ் வரலாற்றுப்படி, பிற்காலப் பாண்டிய மன்னர்கள் இந்த நெல்லை மாவட்ட பகுதியில்தான் இருந்து கடைசி காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்து மறைந்ததாக கல்வெட்டுக்கள் கூறுகின்றன. (பாண்டியர்கள் வரலாறு, பக்கம் 166 டி.வி சதாசிவபண்டாரத்தார்).

பாண்டிய மன்னர்கள் சகோதரர்கள் சண்டையாலும், அன்னியரின் சூழ்ச்சியினாலும் வலிவு இழந்த காலத்தில் அவர்களால் தமிழ் மொழி உணர்வை நிலை நிறுத்த முடியாமல் போய் பலகீனப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். தமிழகத்திலுள்ள சைவ கோயில்களில் தனி சிறப்புமிக்க சில கோயில்கள் உண்டு. அவற்றை பஞ்ச சபை என்பர்:

- திருவாலங்காடு - இரத்தினசபை
- சிதம்பரம் - கனக சபை (பொன்)
- மதுரை - இரசித சபை (வெள்ளி)
- திருநெல்வேலி - தாமிர சபை
- திருக்குற்றாலம் - சித்திர சபை

இந்த காலக்கட்டத்தில் நெல்லையப்பர் கோவில் விழாக்கள், வழிபாடுகள் சீரும் சிறப்புமாக நடந்து வந்திருக்க வேண்டும். நெல்லையப்பர் கோவில் கடவுளின் உருவம் (லிங்கம்) தாமிர உலோகத்தால் செய்யப்பட்டிருப்பது. எனவே இதற்கு தாமிர சபை என பெயரிடப்பட்டது. தாமிர மேடையில் தாமிர உலோகத்தால் செய்யப்பட்ட (தாமிர பரண்) வீற்றிருக்கும் கடவுள் தான் நெல்லையப்பர் ஆகும். அந்த கடவுளின் பெயரையே நமது மாவட்டத்தில் ஓடும் நதிக்கு சூட்டி பெயர் மாற்றம் செய்துள்ளனர்.

குறிப்பு :

கி.பி. 1748ல் வரகுணராம பாண்டிய குலசேகர தீட்தேவ தீட்சிதர் என்று தன்னைச் சிறப்பித்துக் கொண்டார். மேலும் பல பாண்டியர்கள் சோமாசியார், தீட்சிதர் என்ற பட்டங்களை தனக்குத் தானே சூட்டி சிறப்பித்துக் கொண்டனர். இவர்களால் இந்நதியின் பெயர் தாமிரபரணி என மாற்றப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். 18-ம் நூற்றாண்டுக்கு முன்னர் நம் நதியின் பெயர் பொருநை என்று தான் இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும்.

முச்சங்கம் வைத்து தமிழை வளர்த்த பாண்டியர்கள் ஒருபோதும் பொருநை என்ற பெயரை எடுத்துவிட்டு தாமிரபரணி என பெயரிட்டிருக்கமாட்டார்கள். ஏன் நமது நதிக்கு பழைய தமிழ்ப் பெயரை, இனிய பெயரை, வீரப் பெயரை சூட்டி அழைக்கக் கூடாது?

நெல்லை மாவட்டத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள்

ஒரு வரலாற்றுக் கண்ணோட்டம்

கவிதை வடிவில்

ஊர்க்காடு பொன். அலங்கார பாபு

உதவி நூலகர்,

ம. சு. பல்கலைக்கழகம்,

நெல்லை - 627 012.

1. வேதநாயக சாத்திரியார்
2. மனோன்மணியம் சுந்தரனார்
3. வெ. ப. சுப்ரமணியம்
4. மு. சு. பூரணலிங்கம் பிள்ளை
5. வ. உ. சிதம்பரனார்
6. சுப்ரமணிய பாரதி
7. கர். சுப்ரமணியம்
8. இரா. பி. சேதுப்பிள்ளை
9. நீலாம்பிகையார்
10. பிறதமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள்
11. இன்றையத் தமிழ் அறிஞர்கள்
12. குறிப்புதவிய நூற்கள் பட்டியல்

பொதிகையில் பிறந்தாள்

எங்கள் தாய்

பொங்கும் மகிழ்ச்சிதந்தாள்

எங்கள் தாய்

பூந்தமிழாய் மலர்ந்தாள்

எங்கள் தாய்

பொருளைப் பாலாட்டினாள்

எங்கள் தாய் - அது

நதிப்பால் அல்ல

ஞானத் தமிழ்ப்பால் !

தேன் உண்ட வண்டாய்

ஞானத்தமிழ் உண்ட

நெல்லைப் பதியோர்

நிகரிலாத் தமிழ்ப்படைத்தார்!

செகமெலாம் புகழ்ச்-

செந்தமிழ் நடைதவழ்ச்

சீர்பரப்பும் தெய்வப்புலவரானார்!

கலைமகள் அவர் ... நா தழுவக்

கற்கண்டாய் கனிரசமாய்க்

காதலுடன் கவிபுனைந்தார்

காவியம் படைத்தார் - என்றும்

உயிரோவியமாய்த் திகழ :

### 1. காலம் : 1774

ஞானத்கும்மியும், ஞான வழியும்  
ஞான ஏத்தப்பாட்டும், மெய்யறிவும்  
பெத்தலகேம் குறவஞ்சியும் தந்தார்  
வேதத்தின் நாயகர் - நெல்லை  
வேதநாயக சாத்திரியார் -

### 2. காலம் : 1855 (05-04-1855)

அடியாராய் வாழ்ந்தார் - நல்  
ஆசானாய்த் திகழ்ந்தார்  
ஆன்மீக நெறிநின்றார்  
நூற்றொகை விளக்கம்  
கண்டார் - திருவிதாங்கூர்  
பழைய மன்னன் வரலாறு  
புனைந்தார், சிவகாமி  
சரிதம் படைத்தார்  
சைவப் பிரகாசச் சபை தந்தார்  
இங்கிலாந்து வரலாற்றுக்  
கழக உறுப்பினரானார்  
இராவ் பகதூர் பட்டம்  
பெற்றார் - சுந்தரம்  
சுவாமிகளின் சுந்தரச் -  
சீடரானார் - மனமெலாம்  
வாழ்த்தும் மாசிலா  
மனோன்மனியம்  
தந்தார் - மாமேதை  
சுந்தரனார்

### 3. காலம் : 1857 (14-08-1857)

அகலிகை வெண்பாவும்  
ஆடுதுறை அம்பலவாணர் தேசிகமாலையும்  
நெல்லைச் சிலேடை வெண்பாவும்  
தென் இந்தியச் சாதி வரலாறும் -  
தனிக்கவித்திரட்டும் நெஞ்சம் மகிழத் தந்தார்  
முதுபெரும் புலவர், தமிழ்ப் பெருங்கவி  
அறிஞர் வெ. ப. சு. வெ. ப. சுப்ரமணியம்

### 4. காலம் : 1866 (24-05-1866)

முன்னிப்பள்ளம் தந்த  
முழுஞானப் புலவர்  
பரிதிமாற் கலைஞரின் நண்பர்  
மாக்னில் ஆனர்ப் என்ற  
புனை பெயரைக் கொண்டவர்  
ஞான போதினி நல்கிய நல்லறிவாளர்  
குறள்மொழிபெயர்த்த இலக்கிய நாயகர்  
இனிமைப் பண்பாளர் (மு. சு. பூரணலிங்கம்)

5. காலம் : 1872 (05-09-1872)

வெள்ளையன் மிரளக்  
கப்பலோட்டினார்  
வெந்துயர் வீழ்ந்து  
வெதும்பித் தவித்தார்  
செக்கிழுத்துச் செல்லாய்ப்போனார்  
என்று மட்டும் வரலாறு கூறும் - இவர்  
மெய்யறிவு மெய்யறம் வரைந்த  
மெய்மைக் கவிஞர், சிறைவைக்கப்பட்ட  
செந்தமிழ் படைப்பாளர் -  
சிறந்த மொழி பெயர்ப்பாளர்  
இன்னிலை நூலிற்கு - இனிய உரை எழுதியவர்  
சிவஞான போதத்திற்குச் சிற்றுரைதந்தவர்  
அறத்துப்பால் உரை தந்த குறட்காவலர்  
சுயசரிதை எழுதிய சுதந்திரப் பாவாணர்  
ஓட்டப்பிடாரம் கண்ட ஓப்பிலாக்கலைவாணர்  
தமிழ்ப் பெருங்கவி, பெருங்கவி வ. உ. சிதம்பரனார்  
என்பதை மறைத்து விட்டார் வரலாற்றில்

"என் மனமும் என் உடம்பும்  
என் சுகமும் என் அறமும்  
என் மனையும் என் மகவும்  
என் பொருளும் என் மதியும்  
குன்றிடினும் யான் குன்றேன்  
கூற்றுவனே வந்தாலும்  
வென்றிடுவேன் - காலால் மிதித்து".  
(உ-ம்) அச்சமில்லை, அச்சமில்லை

6. காலம் : 1882 (11-12-1882)

எட்டயபுரத்து எழுஞாயிறு  
முத்தமிழ்க் கவிபாடும் முனிவரேறு  
புதிய ஆத்திச் சூடி புனைந்த  
புலவரேறு - புனித இலக்கியங்கள்  
படைத்த கவினேறு - சிவஞான  
யோகியார் போற்றச்- சிறப்புப்  
பெயர் பெற்றான் பாரதி - அன்றுமுதல்  
சுப்ரமண்ய பாரதியாக

7. காலம் : 1888 (05-11-1888)

நெல்லையில் சைவசித்தாந்தச்  
சங்கம் அமைத்தார்  
சென்னையில் - நண்பர்  
சங்கம் படைத்தார்  
மயிலையில் - வள்ளுவர்  
கழகம் சமைத்தார் - இவர்

காசேதான் கடவுளடா எனக்  
காசுதேடுவோர் பலர் இருக்க  
தமிழிற்குக் காசாய்த் திகழ்ந்தார்  
கா. சுப்ரமண்யம்

## 8. காலம் : 1896 (02-03-1896)

நகர்ப்பெயர் மாற்றியவர்  
ஊரும் பேரும் உரைத்தவர்  
உண்மைத் தமிழின்பனம் தந்தவர்  
செப்பரை தந்த செல்வர்  
இரும்பு மனிதர் - அரகஞ் -  
சண்முகனார் வாழ்த்தும்  
அதிசய சிறுத் தொண்டர் - தமிழ்த்  
திருத்தொண்டர் இரா. பி. சேது

## 9. காலம் : 1903

தமிழ்நாடும் தமிழ்மொழியும் படைத்தவர்  
மேனாட்டுப் பெண்மணிகள்  
முன்னேறுவ் தெப்படி? என  
முறைத்தமிழில் - தனித்தமிழில்  
நூல்கள் பல யாத்தவர்  
தாய்க்குலத்தின் பெருமையினை  
தரணிகாணச் செய்தவர்  
தனித்தமிழ் இயக்கத்தின் - தன்னேரிலாத்  
தலைமகனார் - மறைவை அடிகளார்  
மகளார் - மாமணி நீலாம்பிகையார்

## 10. நெல்லை வாழ் பிறபுலவர்கள்

1. சாமி விருதை சிவஞான யோகிகள்
  2. தண்டபாணி அடிகள்
  3. திரிகூட ராசப்பக் கவிராயர்
  4. ரசிகமணி சிதம்பரனார்
  5. நாராயண தீட்சதர்
  6. சிவஞான முனிவர்
  7. மயிலேறும் பெருமாள் பிள்ளை
  8. குமரகுருபரர்
  9. வித்வான் வே. மாணிக்க வாசகம்
  10. இ. மு. சுப்ரமண்யம்
  11. பேராசிரியர் அருணாசலம் பிள்ளை
  12. வென்றி மாலைக் கவிராயர்
  13. வண்டானம் முத்துசாமி அய்யர்
  14. அவிநாசிப் புலவர்
  15. பொன்னம்பலம் பிள்ளை
  16. சுப்ரமண்ய தேசிகர்
  17. புதுமைப் பித்தன்
- சிவகுரு நாத பிள்ளை  
உமறுப் புலவர்

## 11. இன்றைய தமிழ் அறிஞர்கள்

18. தி. க. சிவசங்கரன்
19. தொ. மு. சி. ரகுநாதன்
20. புலவர். தி. சு. மணி
21. வல்லிக்கண்ணன்
22. தோப்பில் முகம்மது மீரான்

நருந்தமிழில், செழுந்தமிழில்  
நவமணிகளாய், ஒன்பதின்மரை  
நயமாய் உரைக்க, வாய்ப்பு நல்கிய  
தமிழ்நாடு வரலாற்றுப் பேரவையும்  
வரலாறு படைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கும்  
சுந்தரனார் பல்கலை வரலாற்றுத் துறையும் - என்றும்

மண்ணின் பெருமையை  
மலைபோல் உயர்த்தப் பாடுபடுவோம்,  
வரலாறு படைப்போம்

## 12. குறிப்புதவிய நூற்கள் பட்டியல்

1. நெல்லைத் தமிழ்ப் புலவர்கள்  
(முதற் பத்தகம்)

ஆக்கியோன் - கணியர், டாக்டர். இ.மு. சுப்ரமணிய பிள்ளை (சென்னை மாகாணத் தமிழ்ச்  
சங்க அமைச்சர்) வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய சைவ  
சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற்பதிப்பு - 1952.

2. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(இரண்டாம் பத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசுவாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய  
சைவ சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற்பதிப்பு - 1947.

3. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(மூன்றாம் பத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய  
சைவ சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1948.

4. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(ஐந்தாம் பத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய  
சைவ சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1953.

5. தமிழ்ப்புலவர் வரிசை  
(எட்டாம் பத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய  
சைவ சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1955.



6. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(பத்தாம் புத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய சைவ  
சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1955.

7. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(பதினோராம் புத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய சைவ  
சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1955.

8. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(பன்னிரெண்டாம் புத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய சைவ  
சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1955.

9. தமிழ்ப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(முப்பத்தொன்றாம் புத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - சு. அ. இராமசாமிப் புலவர் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய சைவ  
சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1955.

10. பாண்டி நாட்டுப் புலவர் வரிசை  
(இரண்டாம் புத்தகம்)

ஆசிரியர் - புலவர் இரா. இளங்குமரன் வெளியீடு - திருநெல்வேலி தென் இந்திய சைவ  
சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம் முதற் பதிப்பு - 1975.

## வரலாற்று நோக்கில் கலைஞர் (மு. கருணாநிதி) அவர்களின் படைப்புகள்

டாக்டர். ந. வேலுசாமி

பதிவாளர்,

பெரியார் பல்கலைக்கழகம்,

சேலம் - 636 011.

தமிழ்வேள் கலைஞர் அவர்களின் இலக்கியப் படைப்புகள் அனைத்தையும் வரலாற்று நோக்கில் ஆராய்ந்தோமானால் அவைகளில் சில சங்ககாலத்திற்கு அழைத்துச் செல்கின்றன. சில இடைக்காலத்திற்கு இட்டுச் செல்கின்றன. பல, சம காலத்தில் தோய்ந்திடச் செய்திருக்கின்றன, எந்தக் கால கட்டத்தை நமக்குக் சுட்டிக் காட்டினாலும் அவரது எழிலும் ஏற்றமும் கொண்ட நடை, எதுகை, மோனை, உவமை சொல்ல முடியாத உவமை எடுத்துக் கொண்ட பொருளை விளக்கக் கையாளும் குட்டிக் கதைகள், சிந்தனைச் சாரல், தேவையான அளவு வரலாற்றுச் சான்றுகள் மற்றும் இன்னபிற ஆற்றல் கூறுகளும் ததும்பி நிற்கக் காணலாம்.

மேலே குறிப்பிட்ட இந்த நடை, அவர் முதறிஞான பின்பு வந்த நடை அன்று. 'இளமை பலி' என்ற தலைப்புக் கொண்ட அவரது முதல் எழுத்தோவியம் தொடங்கி, பிறகு குடியரசு இதழில் எழுதியவை உள்ளடங்க இன்று வரை வந்த இலக்கியப் படைப்புக்களிலும் தொடர்வதை நாம் தரிசிக்கின்றோம்.

நான்கு கால கட்டங்கள்:

கலைஞர் அவர்களின் நடை அவரது மாணவப்பருவம் தொடங்கி இன்றுவரை மாறாமல் ஒரே சீராக இருந்து வருகிறது என்பது உண்மை. 21 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலும் அதே நடையுடன் இலக்கியப் படைப்புகளைத் தீட்டுவார் என்பதும் உண்மையிலும் உண்மை. ஆனால் பாடுபொருள் அந்தக் காலச் சூழலுக்கேற்ப மாறிவந்திருக்கிறது. தேவை கருதி இனி எதிர்காலத்தில் மாறியும் என்பதும் உண்மை..

எனவே, அவரது இலக்கியங்களை நான்கு கால கட்டங்களில் நிறுத்துப் பார்ப்பது பொருத்தமாகத் தோன்றுகிறது. அந்தக் கால கட்டங்கள் வருமாறு:

1. கலைஞர் அவர்கள் சார்ந்த அரசியல் இயக்க வளர்ச்சிக் காலம்,
2. கலைஞர் அவர்களின் ஆட்சிக் காலம்,
3. கலைஞர் அவர்களின் ஓய்வுக் காலம்,
4. மீண்டும் கலைஞர் அவர்களின் எழுச்சிக் காலம்.

### 1. கலைஞர் அவர்கள் சார்ந்த அரசியல் இயக்க வளர்ச்சிக் காலம்

கலைஞர் அவர்களின் அரசியல் இயக்கம் திராவிட முன்னேற்ற கழகம். அந்த இயக்கம் 1949ல் தொடங்கப்பட்டது. அன்று தொடங்கி, அந்த இயக்கத்தின் வளர்ச்சியில் அந்த இயக்கம் ஆணையிட்ட அறப்போர்களில் பங்கேற்றுக் களம் பல கண்டிருப்பதை அறிந்து மெய்சிலிர்த்துச் செய்கிறது. அத்தகைய சூழலில் கல்லக் குடிப் போராட்டத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுச் சிறைசென்று மீண்டதைச் சொல்லும் கலைஞர் அவர்களின் தியாக ஏடாக 1953ஆம் செய்திகளைத் தாங்கி வந்திருக்கும் நூல் 'ஆறு மாதக் கடுங்காவல்'. நாம் சிறையில் இருக்கிறோம். வெளியிலே நமது கழகம் வளர்கிறது. "நாம் பூட்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறோம் வெளியே பல கிளைக் கழகங்கள் திறக்கப்படுகின்றன" என்ற மகிழ்ச்சி பெருக்கெடுத்தது. அந்த சந்தோஷத்திலே நாட்கள் ஓடிக்கொண்டிருந்தன<sup>2</sup> என்ற குறிப்பு கலைஞர் அவர்களின் இயக்க வளர்ச்சில் பணிகளுக்கிடையே எழுந்த நூலை சுட்டுகிறது.

### கலைஞர் அவர்களின் ஆட்சிக் காலம்

திராவிடமுன்னேற்றக் கழகம் பேரறிஞர் அண்ணா அவர்களின் தலைமையில் 1967 ல் தமிழக ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பை ஏற்றது. அண்ணா அவர்களுக்குப் பிறகு 1969 முதல் ஜனவரி 31 நெருக்கடி நிலைப் பிரகடனம் செய்யப்படும் வரை கலைஞர் அவர்கள் தமிழக முதல்வராக வீற்றிருந்தார்.

அண்ணா அவர்களின் தலைமையில் அமைந்த அமைச்சரவையில் கலைஞர் அவர்கள் பொதுப்பணித்துறை அமைச்சராக வீற்றிருந்தபோது, 28-09-1968ல் 'நீர்க் குடும்பம்' என்ற தலைப்பில் நடந்த கவியரங்கிற்குத் தலைமை ஏற்றுக் கவிதை புனைந்து அரங்கேற்றியதை அறிய முடிகிறது. கலைஞர் அவர்கள் எழுதிய வரிகளில் சில

"நீர்க்குடும்பத்தில் ஒன்று குறைய வேண்டும்,

மற்றொன்று மறைய வேண்டும்

வியர்வை குறையவேண்டும் வேலை செய்வோர்க்கு

கண்ணீர் மறைய வேண்டும்

எல்லார்க்கும் இன்பம்.

என்றும் வேண்டுவதால் கண்ணீர் மறைய வேண்டும்!":

1968 ல் அவர் வடித்த வரிகள் செயலாக்கம் பெற வேண்டும் என்பதால் அன்று முதல் இன்று (1998) வரை உழைத்து வருகிறார் என்றால் அது எழுத்து. எழுத்து உண்மை யன்றோ!

### 3. ஓய்வுக் காலம்

கலைஞர் அவர்களின் ஓய்வுக்காலம் என்பது, அவர் ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பில் இல்லாத காலத்தைக் குறிப்பதற்காகக் குறிப்பிட்ட சொல், ஓய்வை அவர் எண்ணற்ற சமுதாயப்பணிகள், இலக்கியப் பணிகளில் ஈடுபடுத்தி வந்திருக்கிறார் என்பது உள்ளங்கை நெல்லிக்கனி.

கலைஞர் அவர்களின் முத்திரை இலக்கியங்கள் தோன்றியதே இந்தக் கால கட்டங்களில்தான் எனில் மிகையல்ல. 1977 முதல் 1989, அவர் ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்புக்கு வரும் வரை, ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பில் சாதிக்கும் சாதனைக்கும் ஈடாக இலக்கியப் பணியில் தனி ஒருவராகச் சாதித்துள்ளார் என்பது இந்த ஆய்வாளரின் கருத்து.

கலைஞர் அவர்கள் ஏழுதுகோல் பிடித்த நாள் முதல் இடையிடையே எத்தனையோ சித்திரங்களையும், கட்டுரைகளையும், கதைகளையும், கவிதைகளையும், தலையங்கங்களையும் எழுதியுள்ளார். பல திரைக் காவியங்களைத் தீட்டியுள்ளார். அவைகளை எல்லாம் எடுத்துக் கொள்ள இயலவில்லை. அவரது முத்திரைக் காவியங்கள் மட்டும் இங்கு எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன.

எனவே, கலைஞர் அவர்களின் ஓய்வுக் காலத்தில் அதாவது 1985இல் பிப்ரவரித் திங்களில் முதல் பதிப்பாக வந்த 'குறளோவியம்' உலகெங்கும் பரந்திருக்கும் தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகத்தாரால் போற்றப்படும் காவியம் ஆகும்.

ஊர்க்காவலன் ஒருவன், உழைக்காமல் உறக்கத்தில் ஆழ்ந்துவிட்டான். மூன்று குழந்தைகளை இழந்து பெற்றோர்களும் மற்றோர்களும் அவனை அணுகி அந்தப் பணிக்கு அவன் பொருத்தமற்றவன் என்பதைக் குறிப்பிட்டு கேலி புரிந்தனர்.

'நீ எதிலும் காலம் கடத்துபவன், மறதியின் வடிவம், சோம்பலின் சுரங்கம், தூக்கத்தில் மன்னன், உன்னால் எங்களைக் காப்பாற்ற முடியாது' என்று உணர்ந்தோம். நாங்களே அந்தப் புலியை வீழ்த்தி விட்டோம். நீ வேண்டுமானால் அந்தப் புலியின் தோலை உரித்துக் கொண்டு போ என்று ஊரார் கூறுவதாக உருவகப்படுத்தி விட்டு, காலந்தாழ்த்தல்-மறதி-சோம்பல், அளவு மீறிய உறக்கம் ஆகிய நான்கும் கெடுகின்ற இயல்பு படைத்தவர்கள் விரும்பி ஏறுகிற மரக்கலம் ஆகும் என்று

'நெடு நீர் மறவி மடிதுயில் நான்கும்

கெடு நீரார் காமக்கல' (4)

என்ற குறளுக்கு ஒவியம் தீட்டியிருப்பது வாழ்க்கையில் முன்னேற விரும்புவோருக்குத் தேவையான ஒன்றேயல்லவா!

இந்தக் கால கட்டத்தில் அடுத்துக் குறிப்பிட வேண்டிய நூல் 'நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதி' இரண்டாம் பாகம் ஆகும். 1969 முதல் 1976 வரையிலான ஏழாண்டு கால வரலாற்றுக் குறிப்புகளையும், கலைஞர் அவர்களின் வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகளையும் கொண்டது.

இந்த இரண்டாம் பாகம் எத்தனையோ வீரவரலாற்றை அடுக்கி வைத்திருந்தாலும், அரசியல் சட்டத்தின் 356வது பிரிவைப் பயன்படுத்தி தமிழக அரசைக் கலைத்து 1976 ஜனவரி 31ல் குடியரசுத் தலைவர் ஆட்சியை நடைமுறைப்படுத்தும் நிகழ்ச்சியையும், (5) நெருக்கடி நிலைப் பிரகடனக் காலத்தில் தி.மு.க என்ற மாபெரும் தமிழக அரசியல் அமைப்பிற்கு ஏற்பட்ட சோதனைகளையும் விவரிக்கும் பெட்டகமாக இது விளங்குகிறது.

அடுத்துக் குறிப்பிடக் கூடிய கொங்குச் சீமைக்குச் சொந்தக்காரர்களான அண்ணன்மார் சாமிகளைப் பற்றி கலைஞர் வரைந்த வரலாற்றுப் புதினமாகிய 'பொன்னார்-சங்கர்' நூலைக் குறிப்பிட்டு மகிழலாம். தமிழக்கனி பதிப்பகத்தின் உரிமை பெற்றுப் பூம்புகார் பதிப்பகம் வெளியிட்டுள்ளது.

தமிழக்கனி பதிப்பகத்தின் உரிமை பெற்று திருமகள் நிலையத்தாரால் வெளியிடப்பெற்ற மற்றொரு முத்திரை நூல் "திருக்குறள் கலைஞர் உரை". பரிமேலழகர் தொட்டு இன்றுவரை காலங்காலமாகக் குறளுக்கு உரை எழுதிய பெருமை பெற்றவர்கள் பலர். ஆனால் அந்த உரைகளுக்கெல்லாம் மேல், கலைஞர் உரை எழிலும், புதுமையும் பூத்துக் குலுங்குவதற்கு ஓர் எடுத்துக்காட்டு

கடவுள் வாழ்த்தை வழிபாடு என்று கூட்டியிருப்பதும்

"வேண்டுதல் வேண்டாம் இலான்படி சேர்ந்தார்க்கு

யாண்டும் இடும்பை இல"

என்னும் குறளுக்கு விருப்பு வெறுப்பற்றுத் தன்னலமின்றி திகழ்கின்ற வரைப்பின்பற்றி நடப்பவர்களுக்கு எப்போதும் துன்பமில்லை (6) என்ற உரையில் தெய்வத்தைப் பற்றிக் கூறாமல், மனிதருள் தெய்வமாக இருக்கும் ஒருவரைப்பற்றிக் கூறியிருப்பது நேசிக்கத்தக்கது.

#### 4. கலைஞர் அவர்களின் எழுச்சி காலம்

இங்கு கலைஞர் அவர்கள் ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பில் இருந்த காலத்தை மட்டும் கணக்கிலெடுத்துக் கொண்டு சிந்திக்கப்படுவதால், 1975, டிசம்பர்த் திங்களில் வெளியிடப் பெற்ற "நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதி" முதல் பாகம் மறக்க முடியாதது. இது, கலைஞர் பிறந்த 1924ம் ஆண்டுமுதல் 1969ம் ஆண்டு வரையிலான அவரது வாழ்க்கை வரலாறு, மற்றும் அவர் வாழ்க்கையில் இரண்டறக் கலந்த இயக்க வரலாற்றையும், சில உலக வரலாற்றுச் செய்திகளையும் உள்ளடக்கியது.

தன்வரலாறு (Autobiography) என்ற இந்த வகை நூலை, காந்தியடிகள் சத்திய சோதனை எனப் பெயரிட்டார். டாக்டர் உ.வே.சா. 'என் சரித்திரம்' என்றே பெயரிட்டார். பத்மபுரீ நெ.து.சு நினைவு அலைகள் என்று குறிப்பிட்டார். கலைஞர் அவர்களோ இந்தப் பெயர்களுக்கெல்லாம் முத்தாய்ப்பு வைப்பது போல் எழுத்துக்கெழுத்து பொருந்தும் 'நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதி' என்று பெயரிட்டார். இந்தப் பெயரே ஓர் இலக்கியக் கொடை எனலாம்.

கலைஞர் அவர்கள் 1974ல் ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பில் இருந்தபோது வெளியிட்ட நூல், கலைஞரின் ரோமாபுரிப் பாண்டியன். "கலைஞர் கருணாநிதி இவர்கள் எழுதிய தொடர் கதைவிழுந்து எழாமல், நிமிர்ந்தே நின்று கொண்டு இருப்பதற்குக் காரணம் அவர் எடுத்துக் கொண்ட சரித்திரத்தினுடைய பலமான பின்னணி என்பது தான் மிக முக்கியமானதாகும்" என்ற கவிஞர் கண்ணதாசன் அவர்களின் குறிப்பிலிருந்து தலைசிறந்த வரலாற்றுப் புதினப் படைப்பாளர் என்பதை உணர முடியும்.

13-05-1996 முதல் மீண்டும் தமிழக ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பேற்று பின்பு ஜூன் 1997ல் வெளியிடப்பெற்ற நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதி மூன்றாம் பாகம், 1976க்குப் பின் 1991 வரையில் உள்ள பதினைந்து

ஆண்டுக்கால வரலாற்று நிகழ்ச்சிகளை வடிப்பது ஆகும். கலைஞர் அவர்கள் தம் 67 ஆண்டு அனுபவங்கள் தான் பல்வேறு கால கட்டங்களில் வெளியிடப்பட்ட நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதியின் மூன்று பாகங்கள் ஆகும்.

**முடிப்பு :**

வரலாற்று நோக்கில் கலைஞர் அவர்களின் இலக்கியப் படைப்புகளில் ஒரு சிலவற்றைத்தான் இங்கு வரையறை கருதி எடுத்துக் கொள்ள முடிந்தது. சில சொல்லிப் பல நினைக்கத் தூண்டுவது நம் குறிக்கோள் இயல்வதும் அதுவே.

பவள விழாக் கண்ட கலைஞர் அவர்கள், நெஞ்சுக்கு நீதி நான்காம் பாகத்தை வரைந்தனர்தான். அவரது நூற்றாண்டு விழாவின் போது, அவர் தமிழகத்திற்கு வழங்க விருக்கின்ற சொற்கித் நடையும் என்றும் இருக்கும் தனித்த தமிழ் நடையாகவே இருக்கும்; அவர் காட்டும் உவமைக்கு உ சொல்ல முடியாதபடி நிலைக்கும்.

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