

TAMIL NADU HISTORY CONGRESS

**SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION
OCTOBER 23 & 24 - 1999**

Islamiah College

**Vaniyambadi
North Arcot District**

Editor

Dr. K. SADASIVAN,

M.A., M.Phil., Dep. in Arch., Ph.D.,

**Professor & Head
Department of History
Manonmaniam Sundaranar University
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General Secretary

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Editorial Note

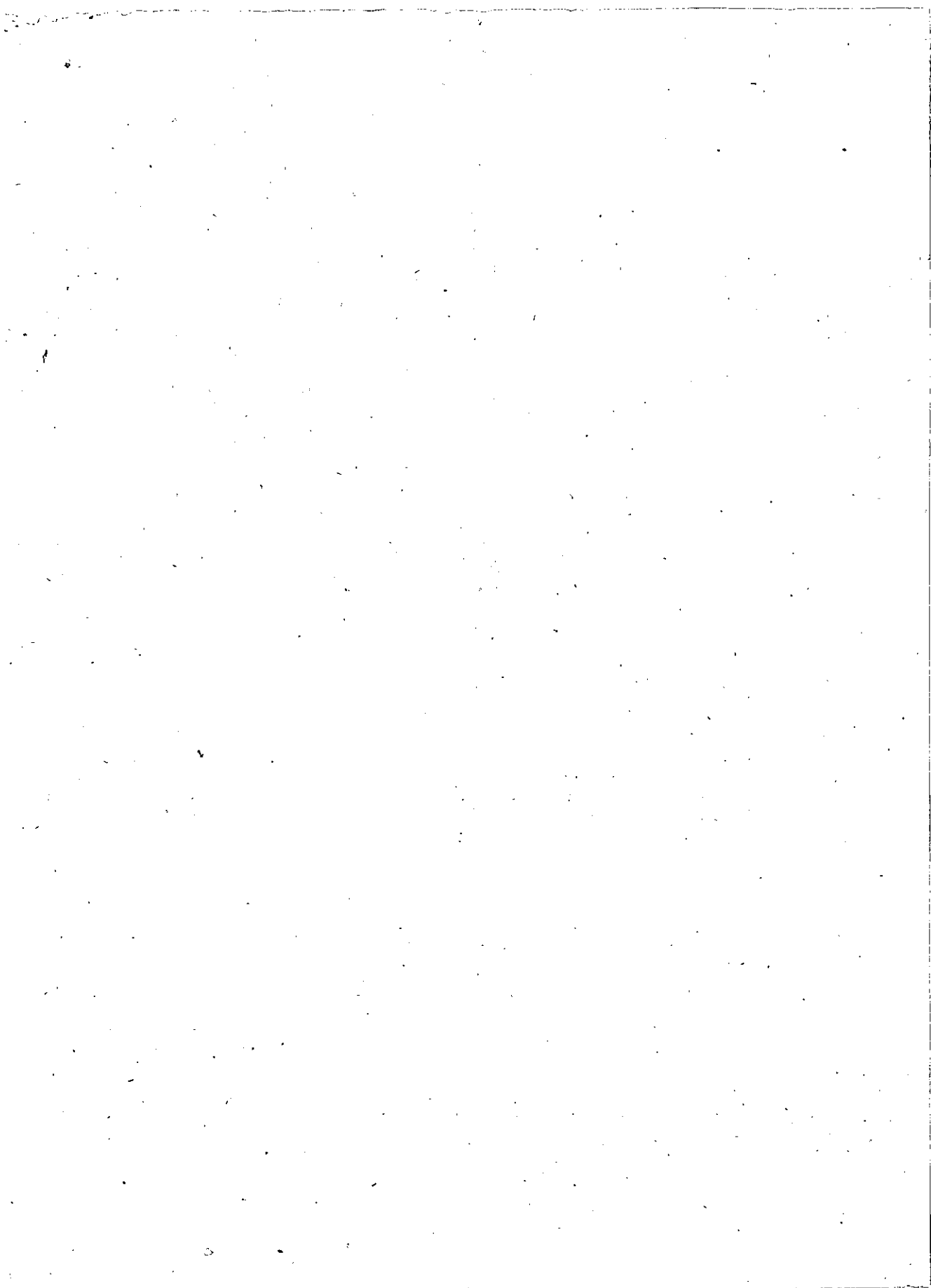
We have unbounded joy in placing before you the Proceedings Volume of the Sixth Annual Session of Tamil Nadu History Congress held under the auspices of the the Department of History, Islamia College, Vaniyambadi, North Arcot District in October, 1999. Located in a serene atmosphere in a little elevated area, the college was found in 1919 under the cooperative endeavour of the Muslim Educational Association of South India of the Vaniyambadians, the college has acquired a coveted place in the educational map of India.

The papers presented on the four sections Political & Administrative, Social & Economic, Art & Culture and Historiography - serve as a sheet anchor to the intellectual vibrancy of historians of Tamil Nadu, young and old alike. It has been of much satisfaction that many scholars have written their papers on various aspects of the history of South India, Tamilnadu in particular. Of these, the minimum is on Historiography. However, the Editor records with a heavy heart that he had to reject some of the papers which fell short of themes, standards and method (even absence of footnotes and references). Meanwhile, the Editor feels happy that those papers included in the volume have something new to tell to the world of scholarship.

The Editor would like to record his thanks to the Office-bearers of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for having given him one more opportunity to edit this Volume. He very happily records his thanks to Mr. N.M. Mohamed, Mr. Mohamed Nazar and Dr. A. Asaraf Ali, all his Ph.D., Scholars and members of the Faculty of History, Sadakathullah Appa College, Tirunelveli and Selvan Job Retnasingh, Mr. S. Godwin Prabhakaran Schwartz and Selvi B. Jishamol all his M.Phil. Scholars, for their timely assistance in bringing out this volume. He also wishes to record his thanks to the Fatima Printers, Palayamkottai for the neat execution of the work.

Palayamkottai-2.
05-09-2001.

Dr. K. Sadasivan,
Editor.



TAMILNADU HISTORY CONGRESS

Sixth Session 1999

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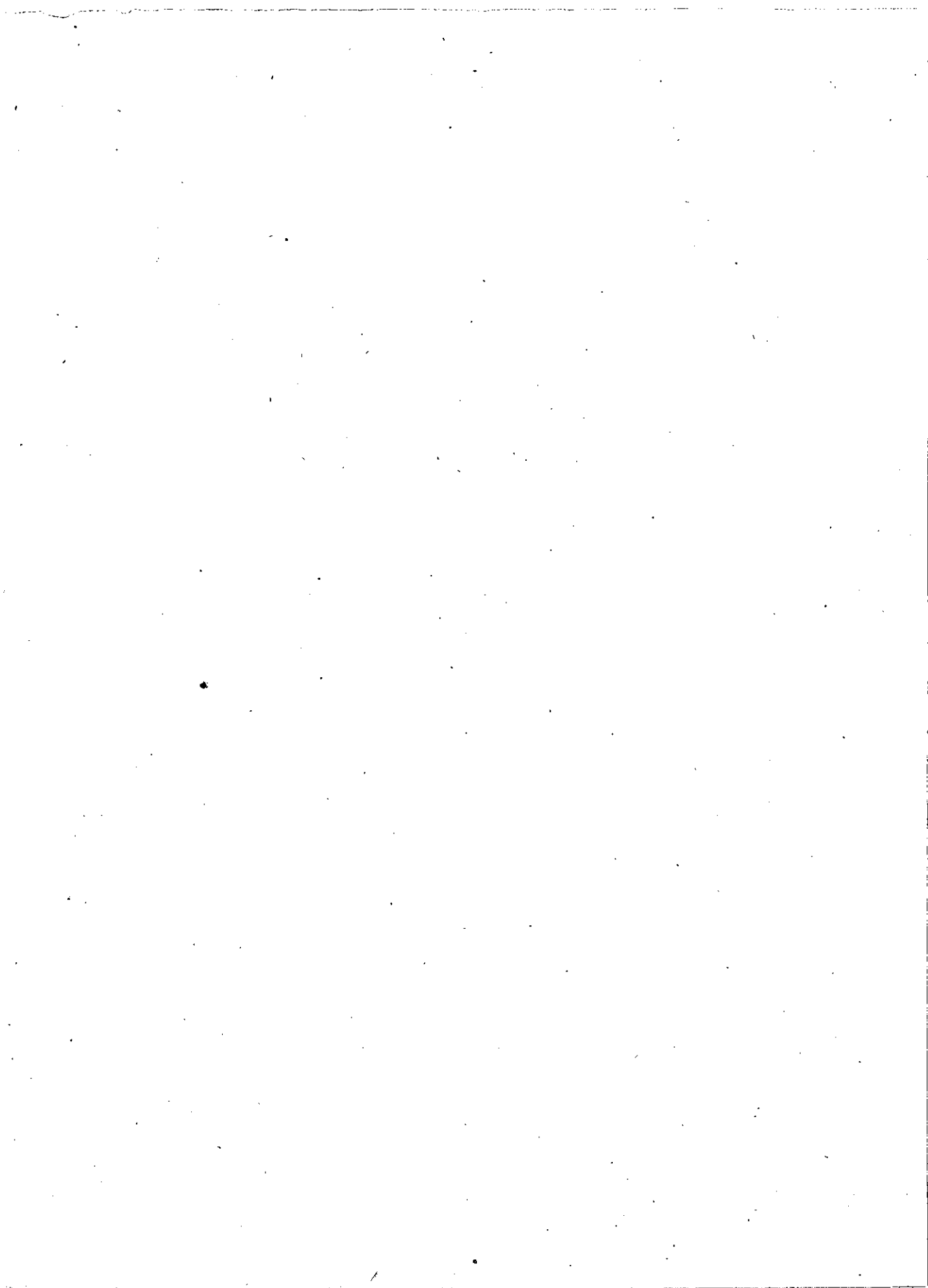
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Political & Administrative History: Dr. (Mrs). A. J. Thinakaran



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GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

Prof. P. Jagadeesan

The doyen among historians and the founder Vice-Chancellor of two universities Professor Shiek Ali, noted administrator and educationist, former Vice-Chancellor of University of Madras Professor Sathik, my friend and Vice-Chancellor of Calicut University Professor K.K.N.Kurup, President of this session Professor Y.Subbarayalu, Dr.S.Kadirvel the President of the Fifth Session, Professor R.Champakalakshmi, Dr.N.Tahir Ahamad, Local Secretary of this Sixth Session, Dr.Balambal the Sectional President of Historiography Session, Dr.Rasu, Sectional President of the Art and Cultural History Session, Dr.Chandrasekaran the Sectional President of Political History Session and Dr.Venkataraman the Sectional President of Socio-economic Session, the Secretary and the members of Islamiah College Trust Board, TNHC Office Bearers and Members of the Executive, Fellow delegates, distinguished guests, the Press, Ladies and Gentlemen.

On behalf of myself and the Executive of the Tamil Nadu History Congress I join hands with Dr.Tahir Ahamad the Local Secretary in welcoming you to this historic College and the Sixth Session of the T.N.H.C.

The Tamil Nadu History Congress during the last six years has held its annual sessions at various universities. It has traversed from the shores of Bay of Bengal to the banks of River Tamiraparani, of course, by passing River Vaigai.

During this six years the Tamil Nadu History Congress has been making a steady progress. One unique feature has been, the Life Membership of T.N.H.C. has virtually doubled during the years 1997-98 and 1998-1999. The T.N.H.C. has been trying to fulfill its avowed objectives. The Congress has invited over the years noted historians of South India particularly Tamil Nadu to address its annual sessions. In this respect, each session, thus far, is a landmark in the history of this nascent organization.

The Fifth Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress was hosted by the Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli on 24-25, October 1998. The Fifth Session was attended by a large number of outstation and local delegates. The Local Secretary of the Fifth Session Dr.K.Sadasivan, Professor and Head, Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, had shouldered a heavy responsibility and made this particular session a memorable one. Local hospitality including excellent arrangements like food and accommodation, made the delegates feel at home in the deep south of Tamil Nadu.

The Inaugural Session of the Fifth Session was presided over by Dr.K.P.Aravanan, Vice-Chancellor, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli. In his Presidential address Dr.Aravanan expressed concern at the recurring caste conflicts in the southern districts. He

underlined the important role of the historians in comprehending the complex social phenomenon and pointing out the social maladies in a social system which lay at the root of social disturbances.

Dr.K.Ponmudi, the Hon'ble State Transport Minister, in his inaugural address, stressed the need for research to put an end to the caste and communal conflicts in the country. The Minister, as he was himself a student of history and researcher, has rightly pointed out at the wrong notion held by public that history is nothing but the narration of the past events in a chronological manner. He drew the attention of the participants by highlighting the changed character of historiography and historical methods. Particularly, conceptualisation and theorizing, the Minister said, have moved to the centre stage of historical writing.

Professor P.Jagadeesan, the General Secretary of the Tamil Nadu History Congress and Vice-Chancellor of Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli presented the Fourth Annual Report of the Tamil Nadu History Congress held at Tamil University, Thanjavur.

Dr. S. Muthukumar, former Vice-Chancellor of Bharathidasan University and present Member-Secretary for State Council for Higher Education, Tamil Nadu offered his felicitations to Thiru R.Krishnamurthy, Editor, *Dinamalar* for being award the prestigious membership of the Royal Numismatics Society, London.

Thiru R.Krishnamurthy, Editor, *Dinamalar* has narrated his illustrious career for 25 years

as a historian of TamilNadu history and for 15 years as a numismatist of ancient coins of Tamil Nadu. The Royal Numismatics Society, London has awarded its prestigious membership to Thiru R.Krishnamurthy for his invaluable books : ***Tamil Coins of Sangam Age and Later Roman Coins Found in Madurai and Karur.*** The Tamil Nadu History Congress felt proud in honouring and felicitating Thiru.R.Krishnamurthy for his yeoman contribution to numismatics.

Soon after the inauguration, Dr.S.Kathirvel, former Professor of Area Studies, University of Madras, was installed as the new President of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. In his address, Dr.Kathirvel has analyzed the behaviour of the Maravas which was indeed a socio-anthropological study.

This was followed by the Technical Sessions. Dr.A.Manikumar as Sectional President of Political and Administrative History in his address analyzed the polemics of "Congress and Justice Politics". The Sectional President of Social and Economic History Dr.Prema Kasturi portrayed the general perception of women in Tamil literature right from Sangam Age down to the contemporary times. Dr.Raju Kalidos headed the Art and Cultural History. He highlighted the changing perspectives of the art and cultural history. Dr.D.Daniel heading the Historiography Session brought out in detail the trends and developments which led to the growth of historical writings in Tamil Nadu during the 19th and 20th centuries. The Technical sessions went on till the afternoon of next day i.e., 25th October.

On 24th evening Dr. T. K. Venkata-subramanian, Professor of history, Delhi University delivered the Tamil Nadu History Congress Endowment Lecture under the title "MORPHOLOGY OF CULTURE AND EVOLUTION OF PERFORMING ARTS IN TAMIL NADU".

The usual Executive Committee meeting of the Tamil Nadu Congress was held in the Senate Hall of the Manonmaniam Sundaranar University on 24th October, 1998 in the evening with the following agenda :

A. To Consider the offer of Department of History, Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi to host the Sixth session.

B. To approve the audited statement of accounts for the year 1996-97.

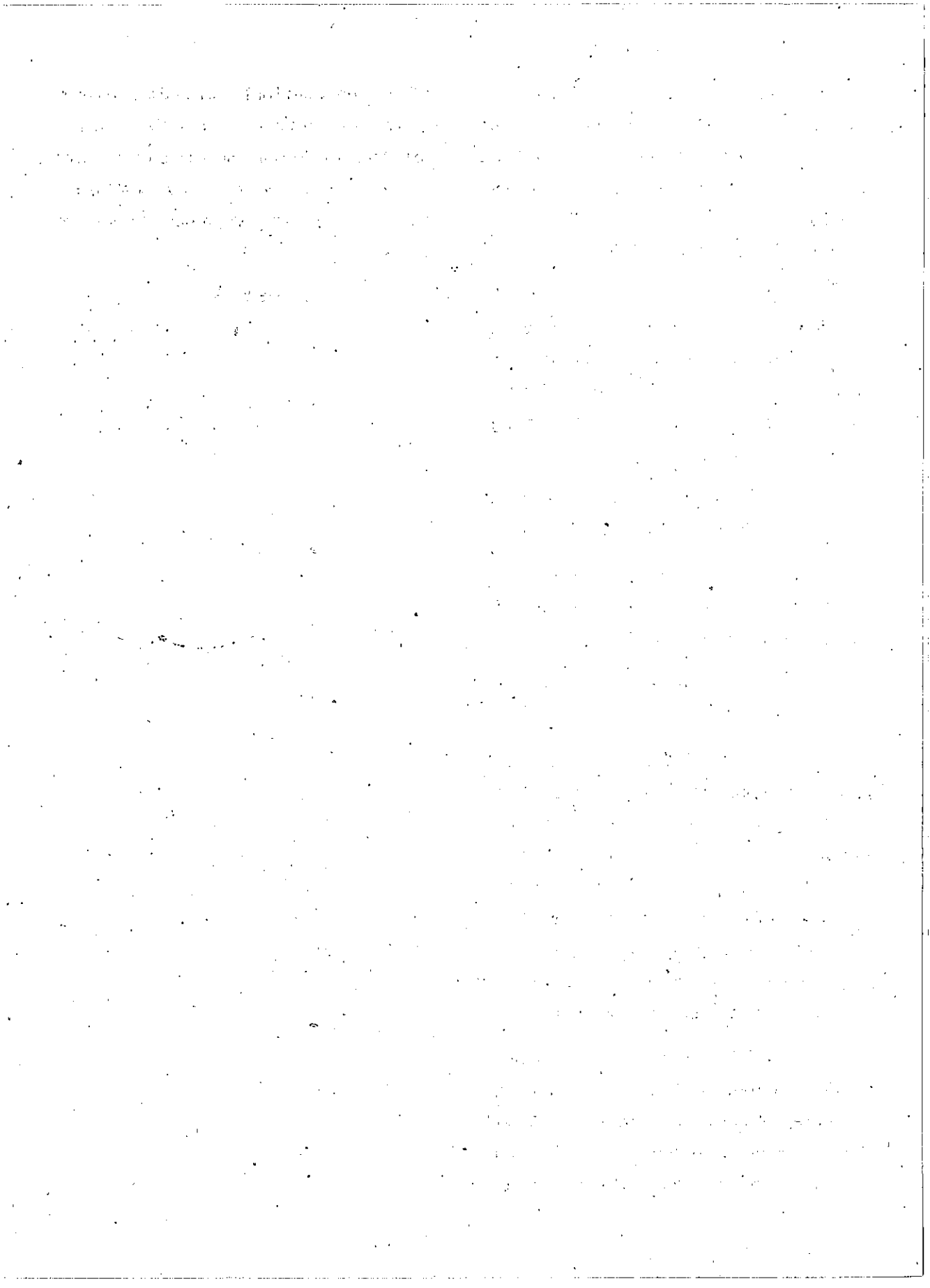
C. To approve the report of the General Secretary.

The General Body met on the 25th afternoon with more than 130 delegates. The General Body unanimously passed the following : the audited statement of accounts for the year 1996-97 presented by the Treasurer Dr.A.Chandrasekarn, the Annual Report of the General Secretary, the invitation extend by the Department of History, Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi to host the Sixth Session.

The Valedictory function was held soon after the General Body meeting. Dr.K.P.Aravanan, Vice-Chancellor of Manonmaniam Sundaranar University in his valedictory address, disputed the general understanding that the people of

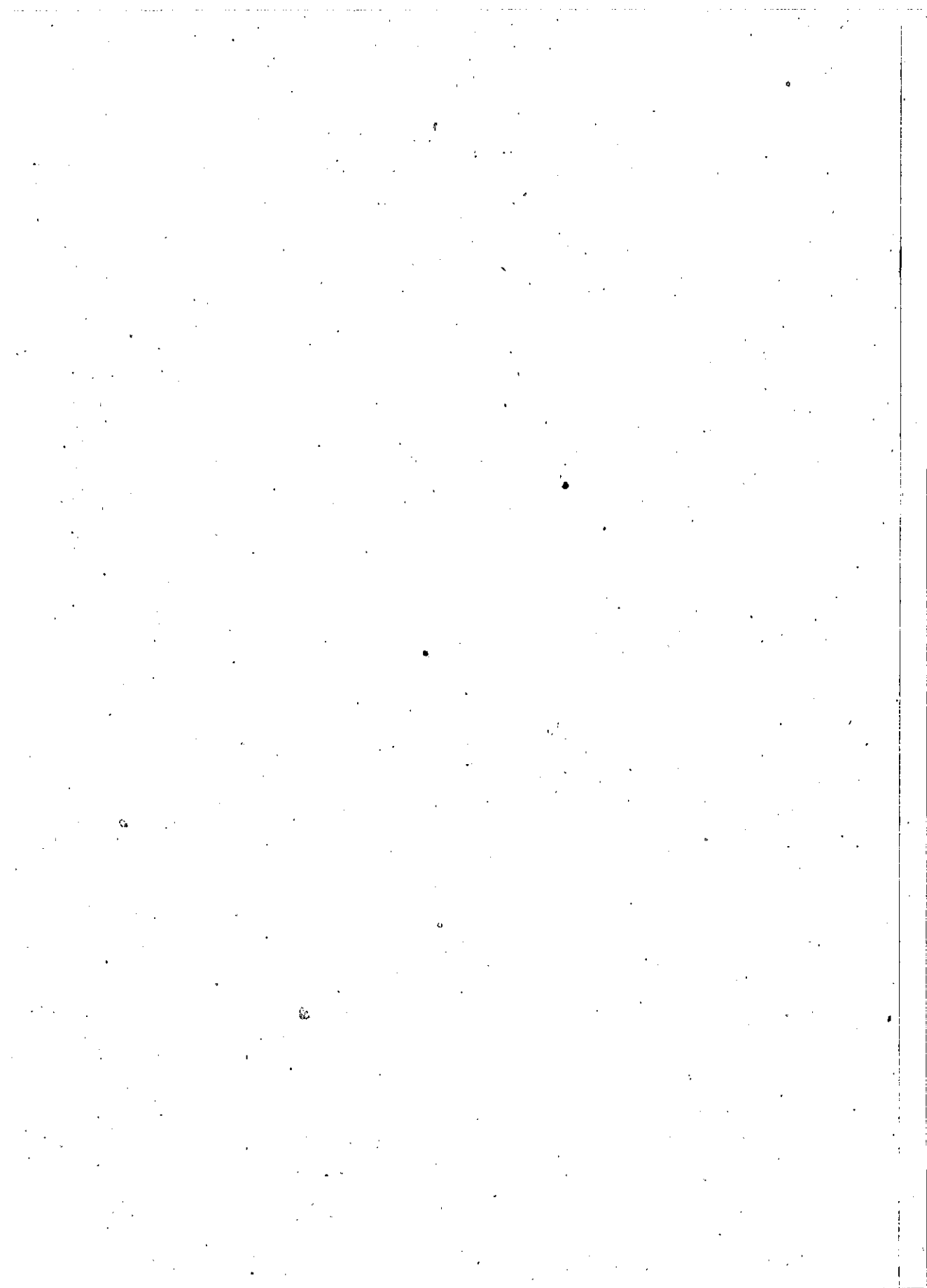
India in general, and of Tamil Nadu in particular, that they lacked a sense of history. Dr.S.Kadirvel, the President of the Fifth Session presided over the function. Dr.K.Sadasivan, the Local Secretary of the Fifth Session proposed a vote of thanks.

★★★★★



GENERAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Professor Y. SUBBARAYALU



Presidential Address

Does History have a future in our Academia?

Prof.Y. Subbarayalu

Department of Epigraphy and Archaeology
Tamil University, Thanjavur

I wish to thank Prof. Jagadeesan, the General Secretary, and office-bearers of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for giving me this honour of presiding over the 6th annual session being held under the auspices of Islamiah College at Vaniyampadi. I wish also to thank Dr.Tahir Ahamad, Local Secretary and Principal, for graciously coming forward to host this session here. I only wish that I should rise to your expectations. But I have only some random thoughts to share with you on the state of history teaching in the academic institutions of Tamil Nadu. Whether history as a discipline has got a future in our educational system is a moot point. The answer would be in the negative if some drastic steps are not taken immediately to restore it to its rightful place. There are both external and internal factors that are impeding the progress of historical studies in our academic world. Our policy-makers in general think that history like any other so-called humanities is a non-utilitarian subject. Actually they are not sincere in their thinking. As politicians they cannot survive in a historical vacuum. Day in and day out they fall upon one or other historical evidence for their political management. Defined in its simplest terms history is the study of man's progress over several millennia from the remote prehistoric past and we standing on the

threshold of the 21st century are inheritors of the accumulated knowledge and experience of our forebears over the millennia. It is simply impossible to ignore or forget this huge inheritance. That means, no individual or institution can ignore history. A yardstick used by the policy-makers to measure the utility of an academic discipline is the number of jobs it can create. When it comes to that, how many jobs are created by the so-called sciences? In this connection I wish to bring to your attention a recent news item in *The Hindu* dated Oct.6,1999, p.4, if you had not already noticed it. A memorandum of understanding for setting up a naphtha cracker in the state was signed by Tamilnadu Industrial Development Corporation and Mitusi of Japan. The petrochemical complex which will produce several lakhs of tones of different chemicals will take a total investment of Rs.7,500 crores and will generate direct and indirect employment for 10,000 persons according to an official release. What a great achievement -10,000 jobs for Rs.7,500 crores of rupees!. Do you really think science will solve the unemployment problem? We should not blame the scientists for this lopsided development. It is the senseless non-human policies pursued by our politicians that are to be blamed. Ultimately it is the meek attitude of the historians and their

colleagues in the sister disciplines that has landed them in a miserable situation. We have a great responsibility to educate that policy-makers. First, we have to produce good students of history.

Are we well-equipped to do this onerous job? Is there the proper environment for doing this work? A little introspection will tell you that the situation is really depressing. In Tamilnadu there are eleven full-fledged universities, out of which seven have PG departments in history. Not all these can claim to be full-fledged departments, as most of them have less than four faculty members. Now Madras University is reduced to only one member. Among the two hundred and odd affiliated colleges all over the state, some sixty-eight are run by the state Government and the remaining by private management. There are not many private colleges which offer UG courses in history and PG courses are offered only in very few of them. In this regard government colleges are better disposed. Some forty out of sixty-eight colleges run UG and ten of them have PG too. But as in the universities, the faculty strength is depleting here also due to some unwritten policy of the Government not to fill up the vacancies arising out of the retirements. There is no question of creation of new posts at all.

The library facilities in most of the colleges, as far as I understand, are not up to the mark. The annual grant for books is very meagre gen-

erally, even the meagre sum is not used properly. It is said that multiple copies of some substandard textbooks are purchased again as the students seemingly opt for them only. Practically there is no journal either in English or Tamil in majority of the colleges. In modern days there cannot be any education without books and journals and so our libraries would vouch for our educational standards. Who is responsible for the poverty-stricken libraries? It is the duty of the teachers to wean away the students from the substandard texts and notes that attract them easily. Of late the trend is becoming worse as the student can write all his examinations in history in Tamil and there are very few standard books in Tamil, originals or in translations. The students have no inclination nor get encouragement or compulsion to read English books. I am not for "English medium only". But I want to stress that opting for Tamil medium does not mean to give up English once and for all. We in this age of globalisation cannot ignore English as it is the premier gateway to world knowledge. The students need not become adept in English oratorical skills. When one is exposed to non-Tamil environment he can easily pick up the spoken form of any alien language. But our students must have a good working knowledge of English language to read, understand and digest information found in standard English books. In schools and colleges opportunities should be provided to develop the skills in English language. In univer-

sities which are in a more vantage position should provide facilities for the students to learn more than one foreign language at the PG level.

As teachers, it is our duty to update our knowledge in our respective fields of specialization, whether they be ancient, medieval or modern, Indian foreign history and try to inculcate the same to the younger minds. It would be highly irresponsible on our part not to arrest the fast declining standards in the teaching of our discipline. It is not the responsibility of the members of the Board of Studies alone, the meetings of which bodies have become routine and dull affairs. The entire teaching faculty in history departments should take initiatives. The work should start seriously first at the college level and go upwards to Boards of Studies and other higher authorities. The experience of each and every teacher should be given consideration, both the senior and junior faculties should interact with each other on the one hand and they together should have dialogue with the students on the other hand to understand the problems and rectify the defects and shortcomings in the entire system-curriculum content, teaching methods, semester pattern, examination system, etc. There should be loud thinking to change the examination pattern. Passing with some minimum marks cannot be the entire goal of the system.

The reasons for the popularity of substandard textbooks among the students may be 1)

the examination-oriented curriculum, 2) non-availability of standard textbooks within the reach of students in libraries or otherwise, 3) the failure on the part of the teachers to introduce even the few available good text (which may be partly due to their own unfamiliarity with those texts). Our curriculum is so structured that there is not much difference between what the students learn in Higher Secondary Schools and what they do in UG course. This feature has become more pronounced after the semester system has been introduced. There is very little scope for intensive study of any field under the existing semester system. It is not the variety and bulk of different histories that matters. Rather the goal should be the depth of understanding of some selected histories, particularly the local and regional history (Tamil Nadu in our case) in juxtaposition or comparison with the histories of other regions and countries. Here the students must be made to feel the original sources and to understand the different concepts and methodologies involved in interpreting those sources instead of asking them to remember by rote a volume of mere names and dates of kings, dynasties and battlefields.

This sort of curriculum can be implemented only by constant dialogue between the teacher and students and by introduction of good texts, original or translated into Tamil, to the students. The student can be made, by such orientation, to take real interest in the subject. The quality of teaching will also improve substantially and

will raise the standard and status of history as against other disciplines.

What I wish to emphasize is that we have to reorient our teaching of history, to raise its quality. How it should be done has to be discussed at all levels of the academic community and not just by those sitting on the ivory towers.

Next let me make a brief review of the historiography of medieval Tamil Nadu, with which I am somewhat more familiar, to stress the point that very little of recent research findings have percolated to the level of textbooks used by the students.

The 1970s may be said to be a dividing line between the old school and the new school in the historiography of South India. Most of the available comprehensive works in South Indian history had been written by early 1950s. Political histories of several major dynasties were available by that time. Fortunately, most of these works were made available in Tamil by Tamil Nadu Textbook Society, ICHR and some other publishers in 1970s and 1980s.

In 1970s some foreign scholars took much interest in South Indian history. The American historian Burton Stein made at this juncture a critique of the earlier historiography. He pointed out serious lacunae in the concepts relating to economic organization and society in the earlier studies. According to Stein, the earlier writings did not consider these things in a systemic

way. Rather it was assumed that the relationship existing between the web of social and cultural phenomena comprising medieval South Indian peasant society and other sectors of the social order was obvious and unchanging. Consequently it is not possible from the existing writing to formulate a progressive or cumulative understanding of South Indian agrarian order with reference to which more recent developments could be understood. Secondly, and obviously, without serious consideration to the agrarian arrangements of medieval age, many other aspects of medieval society-most notable political arrangements - have been poorly analyzed. Stein, therefore, undertook to reinterpret the whole evidence, mostly secondary, and gave some new conceptions relating to the agrarian society of the medieval times. He also introduced the concept of 'segmentary state' to describe the political organisation of the times.

Whether one agrees with the concepts of Stein or not, there is no denying the fact that the progress of South Indian historical studies during the last two decades owes much to these new ideas of Stein. Coupled with this, the slow percolation of the ideas of the Marxist school of historians like D.D. Kosami, R.S.Sharma, Romila Thapar and Ifran Habib from North India reinvigorated the historical research on South India including Tamil Nadu. So too the work of N.Karashima of Japan who introduced intensive micro-level studies coupled with quantitative methods. During the last two decades several

monographs, books, theses and articles have been written by foreign as well as Indian scholars on economy, particularly agrarian organization, revenue system, trade and urbanization, state formation, political study of minor ruling families, religion and art, nature of social change including caste system, slavery, etc. Now we have a better picture of the historical changes in medieval society, economy and polity. The big question is how far this new information has been taken in, digested and understood by the teachers of history generally. Of course, the periodical refresher courses conducted under the aegis of UGC help in this regard to some extent. But from my experience with the students joining in M.Phil course during the last few years I can say the situation is not so encouraging.

Of late there is another curious tendency among history teachers in Tamil Nadu not to take seriously about pre-modern history. Either the ancient or medieval periods are ignored entirely or they are treated very simplistically. This tendency is also not to be encouraged. Several problems of modern times have their historical origins in ancient and medieval times. For example, the caste system, the bane of our present society, matured during the later half of Chola times, i.e., during the 12th and 13th centuries. And the caste system cannot be studied in isolation, as pointed out by Stein it can be studied properly only in relation with the agrarian structure of medieval times. To put it summarily, periodisation into ancient, medieval and modern should help

in better understanding of each phase as links in a long historical process. A history teacher in Tamil Nadu ideally should have, besides a broad understanding in general Indian history and international histories, a thorough grasp of the major stages in the entire range of Tamil Nadu's history, right from the prehistoric past to present day. Because it is the only history where he has a natural advantage of doing in-depth study by undertaking field studies. It is however true that a student can become a history teacher nowadays with very little knowledge on pre-modern Tamil Nadu as the course on Tamil Nadu has been made optional at PG level in many of our universities. Whether this trend is really good, I will leave it to your learned consideration.

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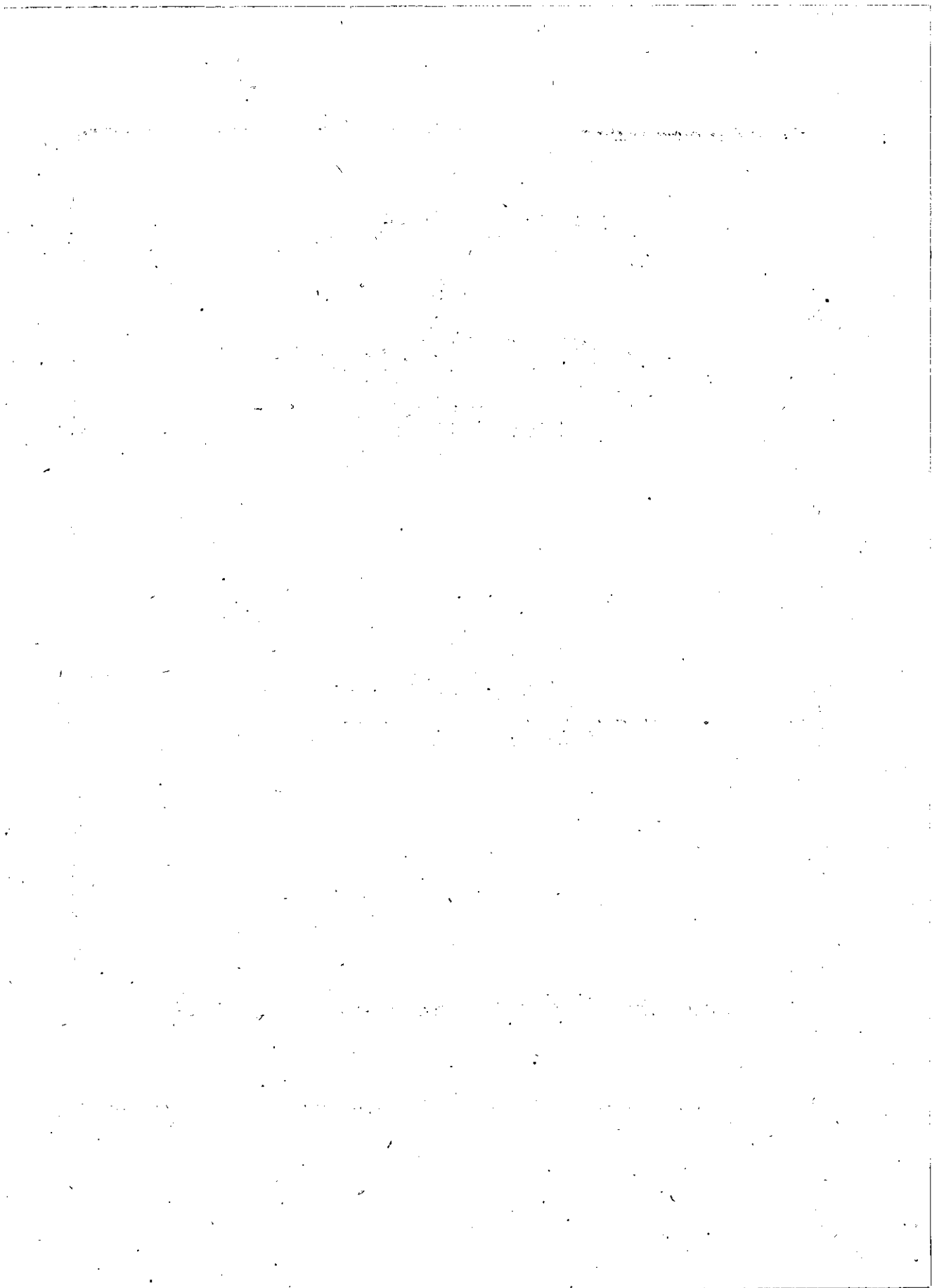
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**POLITICAL
&
ADMINISTRATIVE
HISTORY**

**SECTIONAL
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS**

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Political and Administrative Aspects and Moral concepts in Tamil Nadu History

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Revered scholars, Respected organisers of this historic function, distinguished historians, fellow students of History, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen.

At the outset I express my sincere gratitude to the Executive Committee and the Members of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for giving me this opportunity to be the President of the Political and Administrative section of the Sixth Annual Conference to the Tamil Nadu History Congress at this notable Centre of Learning, Vaniyambadi.

I like to highlight on the subject Political and Administrative Aspects and Moral Concepts in Tamil Nadu History which, I hope, Would be apt to reminisce since we are getting prepared to tread into the new millennium in a short period. I have only attempted to present some random thoughts on this field as felt that this would impel further research in this direction.

History of Tamil Nadu is a fascinating chapter in the History of India. Tamil Nadu has a hoary past. Its heritage is tapestry rich and variegated. Prof. Sundaram Pillai a versatile Tamil Scholar expressed that the scientific historian of India ought to begin his study with the basin of Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai rather than the Gangetic plain, as it has been the fashion for long. Echoing this Vincent A. Smith observed

that historians of Ancient India have given primary importance to the North and scant attention had been paid to south India.

Tamil Nadu has rich traditions. Its institutions right from ancient times had been remarkable. Even during the pre-historic times as it is evident from the materials collected from the sites, the Tamils had natured institutions which are no way lesser in quality and standards when compared with the institutions of other ancient countries which had developed excellent civilisations. From the celebrated Sangam age, the Tamils had distinctly developed institutions of high order: The political, Social, economic, religious, cultural and military institutions which had grown through the ages remain as legacies of the Tamils to the world.

It is to be remembered here that in the realms of politics and administration, Tamil Nadu had contributed a great deal. Prof.K.K. Pillai observed that it was regrettable that the historians were giving an undue importance to political history. Many historians are of the opinion that History is no more a story of the kings and queens and wars and battles of the past. They consider that rise and fall of empires alone with intermittent periods of chaos and confusion do not constitute history. Their view is that social life, economic activity, art and architecture, religion and philosophy constituting the elements of culture

deserve as much attention as political, military and administrative history.

However, it must be pointed out here that without an organised government and administration, no aspect of human activity can flourish in any region of any country. Francis Bacon foretold that the world has become "the Kingdom of man". To achieve this end man had to fight and organise. He had to complete his conquest over creatures, animals and ultimately over his environment. F. S. Marvin observed that "man has imposed himself on the animals by dint of his gradual accumulation of knowledge and his consequent power of organisation and government". It is this trait of man struggling against his adversaries and winning over them to establish his supremacy that had given rise to the socio-economic, religious and cultural elements. Man has dared to get his foot on the neck of the nature also. This strong characteristic of man swaying over political, military and administrative spheres stimulated the evolution of the finer aspects of man's life. It is imperative that the government and its organisations cover the whole social life of man. The principles which regulated human association has always been inherent in man. Also, the progress of government generally lies in the deepening and extension of man's duty towards his neighbour. This is man's moral obligation to his fellowmen and to the society. Hence, political and administrative aspects has always dominated over other aspects and a country's culture had been moulded according to the fluctuations in political and administrative spheres.

Through the ages, Tamil Nadu had been under the hegemony of the Cheras, Cholas and

Pandyas of the Sangam period, Palavas, Imperial Cholas, Later Pandyas, Vijayanagar rulers and Nayaks, and finally under the British. During these ages, Tamil Nadu had witnessed spectacular events and significant personalities contributing to its growth. A good government had been formed by respective rulers for their territories under their control and well administered. The Sangam classics like Tirukkural and Purananuru speak about ethics and morality in Politics and Administration. Like Arthasastra, such classics are compendiums on statecraft, political strategy, diplomacy and so on. Their ultimate objective is the protection of people with the preservation of their rights with dignity. These works are replete with such moral concepts.

The provincial, judicial and revenue administration, the public works programmes like construction of dams, roads, and reservoirs, the opening of hospitals, the institution of charities and endowments for the poor, disabled and needy and the planting of trees on the highways by the rulers of the past truly indicate that the government was the government for the people. Impartial justice was rendered to all people irrespective of caste, creed, sex or colour. When judgement was miscarried, rulers mostly never failed to make amends to which is evident from the literary episodes of Pandiyan Nedunchezhian who executed Kovalan and Porkaipandiyar.

Afforestation brings rain and leads to prosperity. Deforestation results in drought conditions and famines. Hence, the rulers of the past encouraged planting of trees everywhere. Seemingly it was meant for travellers, pilgrims and wayfarers proceeding through the highways. But the underlying reason undoubtedly had been to get copious monsoon rains.

In a similar manner, the Pailavas constructed wells, tanks and lakes all over their kingdom to store water, particularly rain water which could be used for irrigation and other purposes during the periods of monsoon failure. Imperial Cholas and a few later rulers followed this practice to some extent. However, in modern times, such efforts are not being undertaken and the excess water from torrential rains is not saved but is allowed to be drained in the sea or to inundate human habitations.

Administration under the Imperial Cholas had been a striking example of their political skills. Their provincial and local administration, with the divisions of Mandalam, Kottam, Kootram, and Gramam and governing councils and assemblies stands as a testimony to their administrative efficiency. Furthermore, the Kudavolai system, the ballot system of elections in the period of the Imperial Cholas clearly vindicate the fact that the government was the government of the people and by the people, though the monarch was at the helm of affairs.

In the mediaeval period during the rule of the later Pandyas and Vijayanagar Kings, Tamilnadu witnessed unique judicial systems: Administration of justice was even-handed. Theft, adultery, forgery and treason were among the more serious offences. One of the methods used for detection of crimes was trial by ordeal. This system did not have any semblance of natural justice. However, this was in practice in many countries of Europe. According to this system the suspect had to undergo a form of torture which if he survived unscathed, he was deemed innocent, otherwise guilty. Sometimes

this torture was in the form of compelling the suspect to dip the fingers in boiling water or to keep them in fire or to put his hand into a pot containing a cobra. Though these forms were inhuman they were followed strictly to check crimes in the society. The principle behind the practice was to protect the people from violent criminals. But, in the present day these practices are considered as abominable acts in the context of human rights administration.

In the modern period, when the British took over the administration of India, Western elements and concepts permeated through the sphere of Indian administration. Particularly, the concepts like Rule of Law, the Parliamentary Democracy and the Organised Bureaucracy entered into the realms of Indian Politics and Administration. Thus, the English systems gradually began to take roots in the Indian soil. Though the Rule of Law had been enunciated to declare equality of man, it was rarely followed in British India. India was fleeced of its wealth and resources and Indians were bound by fetters. The British Imperialists preached about the precept but had not followed it very much in India.

In the Twentieth century, when the Freedom Struggle was raging high, the British administrative system received a setback. The advent of Gandhi brought into the horizon of India strange principles and unique concepts. The disturbances all over India dismayed the British Imperialists. The political scene was rocked by chaos and confusion. The sacrifices of nationalists inspired the patriotic citizens and startled the British authorities. Gandhi's nonviolent Satyagraha, protests and demonstrations, the

Non-Cooperation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Saft Satyagraha and the Quit-India Movement thrilled the entire nation. In Tami Nadu the sacrifices of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva, Subramanya Bharathiar, Tiruppur Kumaran, C. Rajagopalachari, S. Sathyamurthi, Vanchi Iyer, Nilakanta Brahmachari, V.V.S. Iyer and many more men and women of this land stimulated the patriotic spirit of the people, who with passage of time became restive and began to indulge in vigorous nationalist activities. Thus, from the advent of Gandhi the Indian National Movement became the people's war against the British rule. The British Imperialists were shocked at these developments. Their administrative machinery could not be geared up further and hence, they had to close down their administrative business in India once and for all and sail for England. Indian National Movement was a great political event in the annals of the History of the World.

In this context it has been said by a few that Gandhi sowed the seeds of disaffection against the ruling government. They feel that he transgressed the rules and regulations existed at that time to achieve his ends, thus, paving the way for indiscipline in politics. The accusation was that he created deadlocks in British administration. His example was followed by the Nationalist leaders of Tami Nadu. Severe penalties, torture and harsh punishments did not deter the nationalists from their involvement in patriotic activities. Almost all sections of people indulged in violent activities against the British rule bringing heavy pressures on the authorities and confounding them to a great extent. The antagonists of Gandhi point out that the present

ills and adverse political demonstrations are the products of his Nationalists activities.

However, it must be remembered that Gandhi's nonviolent Satyagraha was an effective political weapon at that period of time. The mighty British empire could not be brought down by force of weapons or by force of military power. Hence, Gandhi's intellectual sagacity and political maturity adopted the non-violent methods. Only with good intentions he introduced these methods in the political scene. He never wanted people to indulge in violent activities. However, it so happened that at every stage in the Freedom Struggle violent sentiments crept in resulting in fierce and vain activities of the people against the alien rule.

In the Post-independence era fasting, demonstrations, strikes, lockouts, hartals and protests have been made by the affected lot against the authorities to redress their grievances. But a few unscrupulous elements misuse them for their personal selfish ends. As a result, society is being disturbed by such activities affecting the moral and material conditions. This kind of situation is a stumbling block to the growing nation like India. Further, the advocates of Gandhian principles argue that Gandhi cannot be made responsible or accused for all these present day strikes and dislocations in administration since he believed everything good and did everything with good intentions.

Another itchy problem in the socio-political field in the Post-independence period is in respect of human rights. As per the covenant of the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948, the State is made re-

sponsible for the material needs and welfare of its citizens. It is expected to provide adequate employment, healthy environment, educational facilities and various other essential requirements to the people, But on many occasions, government itself is transgressing its limits and gives directions to the bureaucrats to ignore certain provisions of the enacted laws so as to suit its convenience in certain administrative matters. This is termed by the critics as governmental lawlessness which has been manifested in different forms. For instance, construction of dams or roads or reservoirs or essential buildings at certain places may result in the eviction of people from the areas of constructions. People in these areas are forcibly directed to vacate in spite of their long habitation there or their sentimental attachment to these places or long professional pursuits there. The people accuse this as governmental lawlessness and feel that such an act was a gross violation of human rights. Eviction of people from roadsides for expansion of highways and dislocating shopkeepers from original sites for construction of buildings in various parts of Tamilnadu has been occurrences in recent years. However, government is not cognizant of their sentiments and it states that this venture is for public interest and general welfare brushing aside the human rights aspects involved in such acts.

More serious problem than this in affecting the social and political order in Tamil Nadu, as in other parts of India is the caste oriented politics. With the help of caste label, vote bank is captured and in this power politics democratic institutions are influenced and dominated by powerful and numerically larger caste groups.

This will lead to segmentation of society and it will spread from one region to the other. This is again a drift from democratic and ethical standards and this drift will affect human association. Tamil Nadu has been reeling under such problems for over centuries. To get over from them is a strenuous task. National poet, Submmanya Bharathiar stated "O Child! There are no castes". But a casteless society is still a day dream. However, Utopian idealists in contemporary Tamil Nadu feel that a nation with clean politics and without the sting of casteism is not an unattainable goal.

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(Emanation of the Sovereign Symbols of the three Ancient Tamil Kingdoms)

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தமிழ் நாட்டை ஆட்சி செய்த பாண்டிய, சேர, சோழ பெரும் பழமை வாய்ந்த முக்குடியினர். பாண்டியருக்கு மீனும், சேரருக்கு வில்-அம்பும், சோழருக்குப் புலியும் அடையாள சின்னங்களாக இருந்தன. இம்மூவேந்தர்களுக்கும் உட்பட்ட சில சிற்றரசர்களும் இருந்திருக்கின்றன. அவைகளுக்கென்று தனியே அரசுச் சின்னங்கள் ஏதும் இருந்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இது சங்க கால பழைய இலக்கியங்கள் வழியாகவும், தொடர்ந்து நாணயங்களின் வரிசைகளில் காட்டப் பட்டுள்ள வகையாலும் எல்லோராலும் அறியப்பட்டதே.

மூவேந்தர் அரசுச் சின்னங்கள்:

தமிழ் பேசும் நல்லுலகத்தை ஓர் அரசனே பேரரசனாக இருந்து பேணி வந்திருக்கலாம், எனினும் [கடைச்]¹ சங்க காலத்துவக்கத்திலிருந்தே மூன்று கூறாகப் பிரித்து அம்மூன்று குடியினரும் ஆண்டு வந்திருக்கின்றனர். மூவேந்தர் என்ற முறைமை கெடாது பலப்பல நூற்றாண்டுகள், சங்ககால இறுதிவரை ஆண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

நான் ஆராயப்புகுந்தது இம் மூவேந்தர்களின் அரசுச் சின்னங்களாகிய மீன், வில்-அம்பு, புலி என்பன எவ்வாறு

வந்துள்ளன என்பது குறித்தே. மூவேந்தர்களின் ஆட்சி எவ்வாறு எப்போது துவக்கப்பட்டதோ அப்பொழுதே அச்சின்னங்களும் உருவாக்கப்பட்டன.

கி.பி.1881-ல் காட்டுவெல் பாதிரியார் எழுதிய திருநெல்வேலி வரலாறு என்ற நூலில் பாண்டிய, சேர, சோழர்களின் மூதாதையர்கள் மூவர் உடன்பிறந்த சகோதர்கள், கொற்கையில் ஒன்றாக வாழ்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள்; பின்னர் காலத்தின் கோலத்தால் பிளவு ஏற்பட்டு மூவரும் மூன்று நாடுகள் கண்டார்கள் என்றும் கூறுகிறார்². இதற்கு குறிப்பாக ஆதாரமேதும் காட்டப்படவில்லை. எனினும் நீண்டகாலமாகவே மரபு பேணியும் அவரவர்தம் உரிமை எல்லைகளை மாறாது பேணியும் வந்தது பார்க்கின், துவக்கத்தில் நெருங்கிய உறவுப்பந்தம் இருந்தமை நமக்கு ஒருவாறு புலப்படுகிறது.

அண்மைக்காலத்தில் திருக் கோனிலூர், மதுரை, காவேரிப்பூம் பட்டினம் கரூர் ஆகிய ஊர்களின் அகழ்வாய்வுகளுக்குப் பின்னர் அம் மூவேந்தர்களும், வெளியிட்ட நாணயங்கள் பெருவாரியாகக் கிடைக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளன. அவை பெரும்பாலும் சதுர,

நீளசதுர வடிவிலுள்ள செப்புக் காசுகளேயாம். அவற்றின் முன்புறம் பல்வேறு சின்னங்கள், முத்திரைகள், விலங்குகளின் வடிவு-ஒவ்வொரு அரசர் ஆட்சிக்கும் ஏற்ப அமைக்கப் பெற்றிருப்பினும், பின்புறம் ஒரே சீராக மூன்று தமிழ் நாடுகளின் நாணயங்களிலுமே, அந்தந்த நாட்டு அரசர் சின்னமே பொறிக்கப் பெற்று இலங்குகிறது. இதன் ஆய்வையே விரிவுபடப் பார்ப்போம். இந்நாள் வரை இதையாரும் ஆய்வுக்கு எடுத்துக் கொண்டாரில்லை.

பாண்டியநாடு:

தொன்மைமிகு பாண்டிய நாட்டு நாணயங்கள்தான் முதன்முதலில் தாமிரபரணி மற்றும் வைகை நதிப் படுக்கைகளில் கண்டு எடுக்கப்பட்டு குறிப்புகள் வெளியிடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அனைத்துப் பாண்டிய சங்ககால நாணயங்களிலும் தவறாது மீன் போன்ற நேர் கோடுகளினாலான படம் ஒன்று வரையப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இதனைத் தற்கால நாணயவியலர்கள், திரு. இரா. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி, திரு. மிக்கேல் மிச்சினர் போன்றோர் கோட்டு மீன் வரைபடம் (Stylised Fish) என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார்கள்.

கி.பி. 1888 ஆம் ஆண்டு வேலூர் டேனிஷ்லுத்தரன் மிஷனைச் சார்ந்த லொவன்தால் பாதிரியார் வெளியிட்ட திருநெல்வேலி நாணயங்கள் என்ற நூலில் ஆறுவகை முத்திரைக் காசு

களையும், ஒன்பது வகை அச்சப்பதிப்பு நாணயங்களையும் வரிசைப்படுத்தி எழுதும் போது அவைகளைனத்திலும் பின்புறம் ஒரே மாதிரியான சின்னங்களாக இருப்பது தெரிவிப்பதுடன், பின்புறத்தில் மீன் போன்ற நேர்கோடுகளாலான படம் ஒன்று வரையப்பட்டிருப்பது புகைப் படங்கள் மூலம் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

அழகிய வடிவமைப்புடன் முன்புறத்தில் யானை போன்ற உருவங்களைப்பதித்த மன்னன் பின்புறத்தில் மீன் போல நல்லதொரு வடிவமைக்காமல் இவ்வாறான கோட்டுமீன் சின்னம் போடுவானேன்? இது என்னைப் பல நாட்கள் உறுத்திய வினா!

இருகோடுகளினாலான குறுகிய கோணம் ஒன்றின்மேல், கவிழ்ந்த மற்றொரு கோணமு அதன் கோடுகளை நீட்டித்து மீனின் துடுப்புகள் போன்ற கோடுகளும் வரையப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. பொருந்திய இரு கோணங்களாலான நசுங்கிய சதுரம் போன்ற அமைப்பில் பாண்டிய நாடு அமைந்திருக்கிறது. துடுப்புகள் காட்டப்படாத முனையை குமரி முனையாகக் கருதி வரைந்த வரைபடம் இது. காகிதம் காணாத காலத்தில் சுவற்றில் தான் படம் வரைய வேண்டியிருந்தது; மணலைப்பரப்பி விரலினால் வரைந்தனர். எழுதிக் கற்றனர். அவ்வகையில் மன்னன் அவன் நாடெல்லாம் சுற்றிக்கண்ட அவனது

நாட்டின் பரப்பை இவ்வாறு வரைப் படம் வரைந்து அதனின்றி யூகித்து ஓர் உருவம் பிறப்பித்துக் கண்டதே மீன் சின்னமாகும். [படம்.1]

நல்ல இணைந்த உறவுகளோடு கூடிய மூவேந்தர்களும் அந்தக்காலத்தில் வெளியிட்ட இதுபோன்ற செப்பு நாணயங்களையும், ஆய்ந்து முடிவுகாணும் போது, மேல் கூறிய எணது வரைபடம் என்ற கூற்று உறுதி செய்யப்படும்.

திருச்சி சர். தேசிகாச்சாரியில் தென்னிந்திய நாணயங்கள் என்ற நூலில் பன்னிரண்டு பாண்டிய நீள்சதுர நாணயங்களை வரிசைப்படுத்தியுள்ளதில், அனைத்திலும் பின்புறம் ஓர் கோட்டுமீன் வரைப்படமும் அதன் மேல் முனையைச் சுற்றி இருமருங்கும் வளைந்த ஒரு கோடு இருப்பதாகவும் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது. [படம்2] இப்பொழுதைய வரைப்படங்கள் வடக்கு தலைப்பக்கம் மேலே வைத்து வரையும் முறைபாடு, தொன்மைக்கால முதல் படத்திலும் எதிர்பார்க்கலாகாது. ஆகவே இக்கோட்டுமீன் வரைப்படம் மேல் நோக்கி இருப்பது போலும் சொல்லப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்தச் சின்னத்தோடு இணைந்த வளைந்த கோடு மூவேந்தரில் துவக்ககாலப்பாண்டியர் நாணயங்களில் குமரிமுனையாகப் பாவித்து மீன் வாய்ப்புறத்தின் கீழே [தெற்கே] தெளிவாக்க காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

ஓர் வியப்புறும் செய்தி ; இந்த முனைக்கோணத்தைச் சுற்றிய வளைந்த கோடு கடைச்சங்க துவக்கக்காலப் பாண்டியன், கடல் கொண்ட கபாடபுரம் தலைநகராகக் கொண்ட தென்குமரி நாட்டை ஏக்கமுறு நிலையில் எண்ணி வரைந்த கோடாகும். கடல் கொண்ட நாட்டை உறுதிப்படுத்தும் சான்றாக இதனை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளலாம். இதையனாரின் களவியல் உரையில் காணும் முச்சங்கங்கள், கடல்கொண்ட நாடு, பஹுனி ஆறு, கபாடபுரம், தென்மதுரை என்பனவெல்லாம் வெறும் கற்பனையல்ல.

இந்த கோட்டு மீன்வரைப்படத்தில் மலை, நதிகள் போன்றவற்றைக் காட்டவில்லையாயினும் வரைப்படம் வழி நோக்குங்கால் தற்காலத் தமிழ் நாட்டின் மதுரை, தேனி, இராமநாதபுரம், விருதுநகர், சிவகங்கை, திருநெல்வேலி, தூத்துக்குடி மற்றும் கன்னியாகுமரி மாவட்டங்களையும், கேரளத்தின் தென்கோடிப் பகுதியையும் சேர்த்துக் காட்டியதுபோல் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளலாம். இது பழைய பாண்டிய நாட்டின் எல்லை குறித்த தனிப்பாடலில் காட்டியவாறு வடக்கே வெள்ளாறும், தெற்கே குமரி முனையும், கிழக்கே கடலும், மேற்கே பாண்டியன் பெரு வழியான செங்கோட்டையினின்று திருவணந்தபுரம் நோக்கிய பாதையும் அமைந்தமைக்கு இணையாகவும் பாவிக்கலாம்.

இக்கோட்டு வரைப்படம் பிற்கால நாணயங்களில் நல்ல ஓவிய உருவில் மீனாகக் காட்டியிருப்பது யாரும் அறிந்ததே.

சேரநாடு:

சங்ககாலச் சேரநாடு மேற்கு மலைத்தொடருக்கும், மேலைக் கடலுக்கும் இடையே உள்ள குறுகலான நிலப்பகுதியேயாம். மூவேந்தர்களின் துவக்கக்காலத்தில் பாண்டியன் தன் நிலப்பரப்பை மீனின் வடிவில் பொருத்தியது போல் சேரநாடு கொண்ட மன்னன் தன் நாட்டை வில்-அம்பு போல் வரைந்து காட்டி அதை அவன் கொடிச் சின்னமாக, அரசுச் சின்னமாக ஆக்கினான். வளைந்து எல்லையாய் அமைந்த மேலை மலைத்தொடரை வில்லாகவும், மேலைக்கடற்கரையை நாணகயிறாகவும், சோழன் நாடு புகும் வழியாக அமைந்த பாலக்காட்டு கணவாயைக் காட்டும் வகையில் அம்புக்குறியிட்டும் அமைந்த பங்கு எண்ணி வியக்கத்தக்கது. சேரமானின் வில்-அம்பு கோட்டும் வரைப்படம் நாட்டின் அமைப்பையும், அரசுச் சின்னத்தையும் ஒரு சேர தெளிவுறுத்து வதால் பிற்கால நாணயங்களில் சிறப்பு வடிவு கொடுக்க வேண்டிய அவசியம் நேரவில்லை.

சங்க கால சேரநாட்டு நீள் சதுரச் செப்பு நாணயங்கள் அண்மையில் நிறைய களூர் போன்ற ஊர்களில் கைவரப் பெற்றிருப்பது பலரும் அறிந்ததே. சேரநாடு தற்போதைய கேரள நாட்டின்

தென்கோடி நீங்கலாக மிகுதியும், அதற்கு மேல் கர்நாடகத்தில் ஓரளவு கடற்கரைப் பகுதியையும் சேர்த்து அமைந்திருக்க வேண்டும். காலப்போக்கில் மொழி மாற்றங்கள் நிகழ்ந்தமையை வைத்து இதைப் பழந்தமிழ் நாட்டுச் சேரனின் பகுதி என்பதை மாற்றிவிட இயலாது.

சேரநாடு வேழமுடைத்து என்று மிகவும் பெருமைபட காலங்காலமாய் பேசப்படுகிறது. தொன்மை இலக்கிய வாயிலாக மட்டுமின்றி நிலையான சரணாலயம் அமையப்பெற்று இந்நாள் வரை அது விளங்கப் பெறுகிறது. சேரர்கள்தான் உலகில் முதன்முதலில் யானைகளை மனிதநேய விலங்குகளாகப் பழக்கப்படுத்தி, அரச வாகனமாகவும், படைகளில் யானைகளை அணிபுகுத்தவும் ஏதுவாக இருந்தனர். யானையை அடக்க அங்குசத்தைக் கண்டுபிடித்து உலகுக்கு ஈந்தவர்களே சேரர்கள்தாம். உருவில் மிகப்பெரிய யானையை சிறிய அங்குசம் கொண்டு பண்படுத்துவது; ஓர் பரந்த நாட்டை மன்னன் செம்மையாகக் காத்து வருவதற்கு இணையாகக் கொள்ளலாம். ஆகவே பொதுவாக அரசுச் சின்னமாகிய வில்-அம்பின் அருகிலேயே சங்குசத்தையும் நாணய பின்புறத்தில் காட்டுவராயினன்.

சோழநாடு:

தமிழ்நாடு முழுமையும் கடைச் சங்கக் காலத் துவக்கத்திலிருந்தே மூவேந்தர்களால்தான் ஆளப்பெற்றமை இலக்கியங்கள் வாயிலாக அறிகிறோம். சேரநாடு பரப்பளவில் சிறியது. பாண்டிய

தென்முனை நாடு அதைவிடப் பெரியது. சோழநாடு தமிழ் பேசும் மிகுந்த பெரும் நிலப்பரப்பு அனைத்தையும் கொண்டது. சோழ மன்னன் பெரும்பாலும் இப்பொழுதைய திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி, தஞ்சாவூர், நாகப்பட்டினம், திருவாரூர் மாவட்டங்களைச் சேர்ந்த காவிரிப்படுகை நிலங்களைப் பெரிதும் கவனித்துக் கொண்டு, மேற்கு வடக்கு பகுதிகளுக்கு நம்பிக்கைக்குப் பாத்திரமான ஆளுநர் மூலம் அரசோச்சியமை தெரிகிறது.

பாண்டியநாடு, சேர நாடு வரைபடம் கண்டதுபோல் சோழ நாடும் வரைபடம் மூலம்தான் வகைபடுத்தியிருக்க வேண்டும். இதைத்தெளிவுறுத்துவதற்கு திரு. இரா. கிருஷ்ண மூர்த்தியின் மலையமான் சங்ககால நாணய வரிசையின் ஆய்வு நூல் மிகவும் துணை வந்தது. ஐம்பதிற்கும் மேற்பட்ட நாணயங்கள் குறிப்புகளுடன் இதில் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது.

சோழ நாடு பரந்த நிலப்பரப்பை உடையதாக இருந்ததுடன் முதன் முதலில் பாண்டிய, சேர, சோழராகப் பிரிந்து ஆளப் புகுந்தக்கால், சோழன் மிகவும் இளவலாகவும் இருந்திருக்கக் கூடும். ஆகவே மேற்கு, வடக்க பாதுகாப்பிற்கு திறமையும், வலிமையும் பொருந்திய மூத்த உறவினன் மலையமானாக, பாதுகாப்பு ஆளுநராகப் பொறுப்பாக இருந்து கட்டிக்காத்து வந்திருக்கிறான். பாண்டிய, சேர

மன்னர்களுக்கு ஒத்த வயதும், திறமையும் மலையமான் பெற்றிருந்தமையால் அவர்களைப் போல் நாட்டிற்கு வரைபடம் வரைந்து அதனைச் சோழ மன்னருக்காக நாணயங்களில் மூவேந்தர்கள் போல் முன்புறம் கம்பீரமான யானையைப் போடாமல் இரண்டாவது வரிசைக் காவலுக்குரிய குதிரையைப் போட்டிருக்கிறான்.

தமிழகத்தில் புழங்கிய நாணயங்களுக்கு தொகுப்பு நூலொன்று சமீபத்தில் படைத்த மிக்கேல் மிச்சினர் - [Coin Circulation in Southernmost India] பாண்டிய நாடும், சேரநாடும் வெளியிட்ட மிகக் தொன்மையான பருமனான கனமான யானைக்காசுகள் [8.00 கிராம் வரை எடை] அவைகளின் நாட்டுச் சின்னங்கள் தவிர்த்து, மற்ற எல்லா வகையிலும் ஒருமித்து ஒரே வடிவில் துலங்குவதாகத் தெரிவிக்கிறார். அதற்கு இணையாக சோழன் காசுகளோ, மலையமான் காசுகளோ அமையவில்லை.

மலையமான் தனது கோட்டையில் சோழமன்னர்க்கு உரிய புலியின் சின்னம் பொறித்து வைத்திருந்தான் என புறநானூறு கூறுகிறது. [விடர்புலி பொறித்த கோட்டைச் சுடர்பணிபுறம் 174/17]

பழந்தமிழ் நாணயங்களில் எழுத்துக்கள் ஏதும் பொறிக்கப் படவில்லை. கிரேக்க, உரோமானியர்

வருகைக்கப்பின், அவர்களின் நாயணங்களைக் கண்ட பின்னர்தான், அது இங்கும் எழுத்துக்கள் பொறிக்க ஏதுவாயிற்று என்பது நாணயவியல் அறிஞர்கள் கருத்து. நாணய முன்புறம் எழுத்துக்கள் பொறிக்கப்பட்டவை சங்ககால இறுதியில் [கி.மு. முதல் நூற்றாண்டு, கி.பி. முதலிரண்டு நூற்றாண்டுகள்] வந்தவை என்றும், பல்வேறு சமயச் சின்னங்களும், உப சின்னங்களும் தாங்கி வெளிவந்தவை, அதற்கு முந்தியவை என்றும், எந்த உபசின்னங்களும் இன்றி யானை முன்புறமும், பின்புறம் அரசின் நாட்டுச் சின்னமுடைய நாணயமே மிகத் தொன்மையானதும், முதல் வெளியீடாகவும் கருதவேண்டும்.

சங்ககால மலையமாளின் காசுகளில் தொன்மையான எழுத்துக்கள் பொறிக்கப்பட்டாததும், முன்புறம் குதிரை தீனித்தொட்டியுடன் மட்டும் தனித்தே காட்டப் பெற்றதுமானவை முதலில் சோழநாடு முழுமைக்குமாகப் போடப்பட்டு இருந்திருக்கலாம். அதையடுத்தே சோழ மன்னனின் நேர்முக வெளியீடுகளாக, பின்புறம் புலிச் சின்னத்தோடு [முன் காலொன்றைத் தூக்கி வாலை நிமிர்த்தி நிற்குமாறு] நாணயங்களும் வெளி வந்துள்ளன.

எவ்வாறாயினும் மலையமானும் சோழ நாட்டின் அங்கமே. ஆகவே அந்த நாணயங்களை அனைத்திலும் பின்புறம்

காட்டியுள்ள வரைபடத்தை ஆராயலாம். விரிந்து பரந்த சோழ நாட்டை மன்னன், குதிரை போன்ற வாகன வசதி மட்டுமே கொண்டு சுற்றி தெரிந்து கொண்டு அவன் மனக்கண் உதித்த சமநிலங்கள்தவிர்த்து - மலைகள், நதிகள், பெருங்குன்றுகள் போன்றவற்றைச் சாட்டி இந்த வரைப்படும் வரையப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

இரண்டு நதிகள் - மூன்று முகடுகளாகக் காட்டிய மலைத் தொடரினின்று உற்பத்தியாகி ஓரளவுக்கு இணையாக வளைந்து நெளிந்து செல்வதுபோல், இரு கோடுகளாகக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. நாணய உலோகம் தூக்கலாக மலைமுகடுகள் தெளிவுறக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. இது சோழ நாட்டின் இரு முக்கிய நதிகளான காவிரியாறும், பெண்ணையாறும் ஆகும். அதன் உற்பத்திமலைகளிலிருந்து அது சோழ நாடாகப் பாவித்து வரையப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அந்த நதிகளின் இடையே உள்ள பரந்த நிலத்தில் அமைந்த சேர்வராயன், பச்சைமலைக் குன்றுகளை எல்லாம் சிறு சிறு புள்ளிகளாகவும், கோடுகளாகவும் வரைந்து காட்டியிருக்கிறான்.

ஆற்றுச் சின்னங்கள் நாணயங்களின் வருகின்றன என்பதையும் அதன் வெளியீட்டுக் காலத்தைக் கணக்கிடும் பொருட்டும், திரு. இரா. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி அவர்கள் அவர்தம் நூலில் உச்சியினி, ஏரான், மதுரா போன்ற சில வட இந்திய நாணயங்களின் சின்னங்களைக் காட்டி

எழுதியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவையெல்லாம் ஓர் சிறிய நீரோட்டப் பகுதியைக் காட்டுவதாயும், இருவர் அருகில் நின்று கண்டுகனிப்பது போன்று தான் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. மலையினின்று பிறந்து வரும் ஆற்றின் முழு நீள வரைப்படங்களாக மலையமான்நாணயங்களில் நன்கு காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

நதிகளின் மிகச்சரியான போக்கு, சரியான அமைப்பில் உற்பத்தி மலைகள் இந்த நாணயங்களில் காட்டப்பட வாய்ப்பில்லை. ஆகாய நோக்கில் புகைப்படம் செங்குத்தாகவோ, ஒரு கோணத்திலோ எடுத்து அதன்மூலம் வரைப்படம் வரைவது போலவோ, நவீன காலத்தில் விண்கோள் படம் எடுப்பது போன்று மிகவும் தெளிவுறக் கண்டு வரைப்படம் தீட்டுவது போலவோ நாம் எதிர்பார்க்கலாகாது. அதிலும் இது தனிமனிதன் தன் புலனுக்க ஏற்ப கைகளால் மணலில் பதித்த வரைப்படம். ஆகவே இது பூரண சுத்தம் பெற்றுக் துலங்க இயலாது.

அடுத்து ஆற்றின் வளைந்து செல்லும் பகுதிக்கு அப்பால் நான்கு பக்கச்சரிவுள்ள உயர்ந்த மலைமுகடு ஒன்று அவ்வரைப்படத்தில் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. எவ்வளவு அழகாக நீலகிரி மலை முகடுகளைக் காட்டியிருக்கிறார் பாருங்கள்; அதையும் தாண்டி இரண்டு கோடுகளாகவோ அல்லது ஓர் அம்புக் குறிபோலவோ காட்டியிருப்பது, சேரநாடு

புகும் பாலக்காட்டுக் கணவாய் வழி என்று சொல்லவும் வேண்டுமோ! என்னே அவர்தம் தெளிவுறும் சிறுபடம்! என்று வியக்கும் வண்ணம் அமைந்துள்ளது.

தொன்மைக்காலத்து இந்திய வாணவியல் வல்லுனர்கள் நட்சத்திரக் கூட்டங்களை அவைகளை இணைத்த கோடுகளினாலான உருவத்தை அவர் கட்டுத் தோன்றியவாறு பெயரிட்டனர். இந்த மலையமானின், சோழ நாட்டு வரைப்படமோ, முக்கிய நாட்டு அடையாளங்களை [Land Marks] செவ்வனே பலரும் தெளிவுற உணரும்வாறு காட்டுகிறது. இந்த வரைபடத்தை மலையமானின் தலைநகர் திருக்கோயிலூரின் வடிவாகப் பாவித்து எழுதுவது பொருந்தாக் கூற்று.

கோட்டு வரைபடத்தைத் தொடர்ந்து அதனை அடுத்து காவிரிப் படுக்கைப் பகுதிகளில் கண்டெடுக்கப் பட்டவைகளாகக் காட்டப்பெற்ற சங்க கால புலிபொறித்த நாணயங்களை ஆராய்ந்து அதன்பின்புறத்தையும், இந்தக் கோட்டுப்படத்தையும் ஒப்பிட்டு நோக்குங்கால் புலியின் ஒரு காலுயர்த்தி வாலைத் தூக்கி வைத்திருக்கும் உருவம் மிகவும் பொருந்துவதாகத் தெரிகிறது. இரண்டு நதிகளின் வளைந்த உருவமும், அதனூடே புள்ளிகளும் கோடுகளும் புலியின் உடலமைப்பையும், முன்தூக்கி ஒரு பாதம் நீலகிரி மலைமுகடு போன்றும், தலைப்பாகம் உற்பத்தி மலைகளுக்கு

இணை போலும் பாவித்துச் கொள்வது மிகுந்த கச்சிதமான அமைப்பாகும். தற்போதைய கர்நாடக மாநிலத்தின் தென்பகுதியிலமைந்த மைசூர், கொள்ளேகாலம் முதலாக பெங்களூர் மற்றும் கோலார் பகுதி வரையும், நீலகிரி, கோவை, கிருஷ்ணகிரி மாவட்டங்கள் எல்லாம் மேற்காகவும், காவிரிப்படுகை, தெற்கு, தென்கிழக்கப் பகுதியாகவும், புலி தன் வாலை உயர்த்திக் கோடிட்டுக் காட்டியிருப்பது வங்கக்கடல் கிழக்கு எல்லையாகவும், வடவேங்கடம் வரை நாட்டின் பரப்பாம் என்பது நன்கு புலப்படுகிறது.

ஆகவே கோட்டு வரைபடம் மூலம் நாட்டின் எல்லையை மனக்கண் முன் நிறுத்தி அதன் உருவப் பெருட்களாக மீன், வில்-அம்பு, புலியின் உருவங்களைத் தங்கள் இலச்சினையாகத் தமிழ் மூவேந்தர்கள் தேர்ந்து புகுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது தெளிவு. தமிழ் வேந்தர்கள் முதன்முதலில் சுமார் 3500 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னரே தங்கள் நாடுகளுக்கு வரைப்படம் வரைந்து பார்த்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதும் எண்ணி எண்ணி வியக்கத்தக்கது.

சான்று பயக்கும் இலக்கியக் குறிப்புகள்:

கயல், வில்-அம்பு, புலி என்ற மூவேந்தர்களின் அரசுச் சின்னங்கள் கடைச் சங்கத் துவக்க காலத்திலே புகுத்தப்பட்டது. சங்க கால இறுதியில்

வெளியான சிலப்பதிகாரமேனும் காப்பியத்தில், சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் இமயத்தில் பத்தினித் தெய்வம் கண்ணகிக்கு சிலை வடிக்க கல் எடுத்துவர எண்ணும்போது, அமைச்சர் வில்லவன் கோதை கூறுவதாகச் சொல்லுமிடத்து:

இமிழ்கடல் வேலியைத் தமிழ்நாடாக்கிய
இதுநீ கருதினையாயின் ஏற்பவர்
முதுநீ ருலகில் முழுவது மில்லை
இமய மால்வரைக்கு எங்கோன் செல்வது
கடவு னெழுதவோர் கற்கே யாதலின்
வடதிசை மருங்கின் மண்ணாக் கெல்லாம்
தென்றமிழ் நன்னாட்டுச் செழுவிற்
கயல்புலி

மண்டலை யேற்ற வரைக வீங்கு.

-சிலம்பு 25: 165-172.

உலக முழுவதும் தமிழ்நாடாக்க நீ கருதினால், நின்னை எதிர்ப்பவர் எவருமில்ர். இமயமலைக்கு எம் அரசன் செல்வது கடவுள் எழுத ஓர் கல்லுக்கே. ஆதலால், வடதிசையில் வாழும் மண்ணாக்கெல்லாம் நம் தென்தமிழ் நாட்டுச் செழுமை வாய்ந்த வில், கயல், புலி என்னும் முத்திரைகளையிட்டு ஓலையனுப்பும்படி சொன்னான். மொழி அடிப்படையிலுள்ள நாட்டுப்பற்றினால், இச்சின்னங்கள் மூன்றும் தமிழகம் முழுமையும் காட்டுவன என்ற கருத்தில் அவ்வாறு கூறினார்.

சேரன் செங்குட்டுவனும் இமையம் வரைச் சென்றவன் இமய நெற்றியில் வில், புலி, கயல் என்ற மூன்று இலச்சிணையையும் ஒரு சேரப் பொறித்து, தமிழ்நாடு முழுமையுமே ஆங்கு வந்துள்ள நிலையெய்தியது காட்டி வந்தான்.

- சிலம்பு: 29: 1 கட்டுரை.

இதிலிருந்து நாம் அறிவது கடைச்சங்ககாலம் முழுமையிலுமே, மூன்று நாடுகள், மூன்று சின்னங்கள் என்ற கோட்பாட்டை ஒருபோதும் கைவிட்டார்களில்லை. சிற்றரசு வேளிர்களும் அதிக வலுப்பெற்றிருந்த சூழ்நிலைகளிலும்கூட அவர்களுக் கென்று சின்னமேதும் கற்பித்துக் கொண்டார்களில்லை. மூன்று சின்னங்களும் தொன்மைத் தமிழகம் மூன்றாகப் பிரித்த காலத்தில் அப்பகுதிகளின் வடிவமைப்பிலிருந்து அமைக்கப் பெற்றதுதான் என்பதனை நன்கு உணரலாம்.

தொன்மைமிகு தமிழர்கள், மக்கள் வாழும் நிலப்பகுதிகளை இயற்கை அமைப்பின்படி ஐந்து திணைகளாகப் பகுத்து, [மலையும் மலையைச் சார்ந்த பகுதி குறிஞ்சி என்றும், வறண்ட மணல் தேரி பாலை என்றும் காட்டு நிலங்கள் முல்லை என்றும் பரந்த நதிப்படுக்கை நிலங்கள் மருதம் என்றும் கடலைச் சார்ந்த நெய்தல் என்றும் பகுத்துரைக்கப்பட்டது] அந்தக் கூறுகளில் அவதியும் மக்களின் வாழ்வு நிலையும் அத்திச் சார்ந்தே பண்பட்டு வளர்ச்சி அடைவதையும்

உணர்ந்துள்ளனர். சங்ககாலத் தொகை நூற்கள் ஐங்குறுநூறு, அகநானூறு, கலித்தொகை போன்றன வாயிலாக இச்சிறப்பு வாழ்வியல் பண்பாட்டை விளக்கமாக அறிகிறோம். அவ்வாறு ஆழ்ந்து இயற்கைவித்திலிருந்து விளக்கம் தரும் தமிழகத்தில், அவர்தம் மூன்று நாட்டுச் சின்னங்களும் ஏதோ வாழ்வியலில் வளர்ச்சியடையாதவர்கள் தெரிவு செய்து போல் கயல், வில்-அம்பு, புலி என்று எடுத்துக் கொள்வது சரியன்று. நாட்டின் சின்னங்கள் நாட்டின் வடிவமைப்பிலிருந்து யூகித்து உருவகித்த ஒன்றேயாகும்.

எடுகோள் நூற்கள்:

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6. மலையமான் - சங்க கால நாணயங்கள் - இரா.கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி-1986
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8. சங்ககால தமிழ் நாணயங்கள் - இரா. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி-1997
9. புறநானூறு
10. சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

அடிக்குறிப்பு [Foot Note]

1. கட்டுரையில் வரும் சங்ககாலம் என்பது கடைச்சங்க காலமே. முதலிரு சங்க காலத்திலும் தமிழகம் தெற்கே குமாறிக்கோடு, பஃறுளி ஆறு போன்றன அடங்கிய கடல் கொண்ட பகுதிகளையும் கொண்டிருந்தது; வேறு வடிவபெற்ற தமிழகமாக இருந்தமையால், இவ்வரைபட விளக்கத்திற்கு ஒவ்வாததாகிறது.
2. மூவேந்தர்கள் என்ற கோட்பாடு கடைச் சங்க கால முழுமையிலும் உள்ளது. தொன்மையான தொல்காப்பியத்தில் மூவர்தன்பொழில் என்றும், அகநானூற்றில் மாமூலனாரால் தமிழ்கெழுமூவர்காக்கும் என்றும் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. சங்ககால இறுதியில் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் தென்றமிழ் நன்னாட்டுச் செழுவிற் கயல்புலி என்று மூவரின் சின்னங்களையும் ஒரு சேரப் பேசப்படுகிறது.
3. மூவேந்தர்கள் கோட்பாடு முதலில் உறுதியாக ஏற்கப்பட்டு, தொடர்ந்து மூன்று நாடுகளாகவே பலகாலம் பேணப்பட்டு இருந்தமையால், அம்மூவேந்தரும் தமிழகத்தின் மிக வலுவான ஒரே அரசு வழியின் தோன்றலாக இருந்திருக்க வேண்டும். ஆகவே கால்டுவெல் பாதிரியார் யுகித்தபடி பண்டைய பாண்டியனின் வழிவந்த மூன்று சகோதரர்களாகப் பாவிக்கப்பட்டது.

4. கடைச்சங்ககாலம் 500-600 ஆண்டுகள் என்று குறுகியது அல்ல. சங்ககால நாணய வெளியீட்டின் தொன்மையை கி.மு.1300 வரை நீட்டித்து, நல்ல சான்றுகளுடன் ஏற்கெனவே தென்னிந்திய நாணயவியல் கழக கன்பாகுமரி [1999] மாநாட்டில் கட்டுரை வாசித்துள்ளேன். களவியலுரை லுள்ளவாறு, 13 நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னரே தரப்பட்ட சான்று பயக்கும் அச்செய்தியின்படி, 1850 ஆண்டுகள் என்பதை ஏற்பதே சாலும்.

DIVINITY AND ROYALTY - POLITICO-CULTURE OF THE NAYAKS OF THANJAVUR

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The Nayaks of Thanjavur who ruled between 1532-1675 A.D were very conscious of their royalty. They gradually equated them with God's. They even absorbed divine status. Mannargudi, the sacred centre of Vaishnavism, became Raja Mannargudi. The name of the deity, therein, Raja Gopalaswami was the outcome of Nayak King's claims to equality with God. The contemporary literary sources explicitly give expression to a new kind of King - God relationship. The Nayak court literatures of new genres like Yakshagana plays (Annadanamaha natakamu, Raghunatha bhyadayamu), Karyas in campin form (Sarangadhara cantramu and Vijayavilagamu of emakura venkatakavi); Raghynathabhyudaya of Ramabhadremba, Sahityaratnakara of Yajnanarayana Dikhita) Dvipada Kavyas (abhyudayamu compositions - Viajyarahurai Raghunathanayakabhyudams) expose certain durability that existed in the king God relationship.

In the abhyudamu and Yakshagana genre of literary texts, the king is cast as the divine subject, his daily routine a framework of ritualized revelation. The Nayak's daily routine is a divine, ritualized cycle, he is imagined as a living God. Scholars like Velcheru Narayana Rao and others have pointed out that hitherto distinct domains, attributes and, power were interpenetrated. It was a prejudice to the older conceptualization of kingship. It also denotes the Vaidika Brahmins to subservient status. (Velcheru Narayana Rao et.al:1992).

It has been pointed out that during the period of the Nayak's of Thanjavur a major shift has taken

place in the antication of traditional political roles : the classical dharma ideology which coloured Chola period politics has significantly atrophied to be replaced by a new self confident model of Sudra kingship. Infact in this period the political sphere has successfully absorbed the sacred arena of temple and temple deities. Though the temple and the deity therein were truly dependent upon the service, support and intervention of the king, the latter is now the centre of a sacred sphere. Indeed the Nayak political centre has reasimilated the royal structure of the sacred centre. It proclaimed the primacy of its own form of the divine. (Velcheru Narayana Rao et al:1992, p.217)

Scholars have further pointed out that there was the collapse of the old conceptualization of kingship in which Kshatriya - Brahmin nexus was very much explicit. In contrary to this, the Nayak kingship in Thanjavur was unitary in character, individualized and represented by more centred ruler. Infact, the king's autonomy has been strengthened even in relation to Bhakti God (I bid).

In the context of above promise the question could be raised why such a shift from the old order to the new one. It is to be interpreted in the light of certain historical facts. The Nayak's being alien to the land of the Tamils, both from political and linguistic points of views, had to necessarily maintain certain ethos to win over the populace of the land. In the process they contained the medieval practise of endowments and patronage of Siva temples. Major Siva temples of the region received their

special patronage. (Kndavayil Balasubramanyam : 1999). Infact their patronage to Vaishnava institutions was remarkable. Rajagopalasamy temple at Mannargudi received a special attention of the rulers. (ibid). Infact the grandeur and mightiness of the temple suited the personal religion of the rulers. It also reflected the nature of the monarchy and Royalty of the Nayaks. Doubt the less Mannargudi could be treated as the religious capital of the Nayaks. Furthur more the Nayak rulers carried on the legacy of the medieval Bhakti tradition to the posterity with great favour as endorsed by the endowments to temples for worship and festivals. But a different attribute is perceptible on the part of the rulers now. Thogh the king granted gifts, it was viewed as power flowing from court to temple. (Velcheru Narayana Rao:1992). The opening verse of Rajagopala vilsamu mentions that a sample cowherd became Rajagopala. It is viewed in the text as Rājagopala's entire status in this temple has emerged out of Vijayaraghava's gifts. In this verse there is a powerful claim to equality the idea mostly motivated by identity claims. (ibid). This Nayak claim of different order altogether was a sequel to a Telugu ruler gaining political legitimization, rather popularity for firm rooting in the land of the Tamils. In the absence of a far reaching autonomisation, such a gesture on the part of the Nayak's was much warranted.

The paradigm shift with regard to the concept of kingship of the Nayaks of Thanjavur as reflected in the contemporary literature was also necessiated by the social status of the Nayaks. Being non-Kshatriya rulers, they were consciously attempting to gain legitimization in the land of the Tamils after establishment of their kingdom. Inscriptional sources mention about the Suolra origin of the Nayaks of Thanjavur. Sevappa Nayak, the founder of the dynasty was the son of Timmappa Nayak of Nedunkunram in Tondaimandalam who belonged to chaturtha gotra (S.I.I. vol.no: 23;497 of 1917). In the an-

cient and medieval Indian context, the rulers of the dynasties where normally conscious of their origin. They used to proudly proclaim their solar or lunar descendancy. The Nayaks of Thanjavur who were sudras by origin had to necessarily legitimize their Royalty. That was a necessary evil in the caste ridden Indian context. In the process the Nayaks equated themselves with God. Thus the concept of equality in the king-God relations and the subsequent absorption of divine qualities leading to a certain duality in the kingship was to a concommittant with the legitimization of the Nayak establishments in Thanjavur. Further now the kshatriya - Brahmin nexus of the old order was replaced by the proclamation of equality of sudra rulers with Brahmins as evidenced by the prefix Ayyan to the names of the Nayak kings. The periodical exhibition of the yakshagana plays was only to instill in the minds of the people their divine attributes or rather to remove the stigma on their social status from the memory of the ruled. Infact these kings exhausted the state resources (cash) only in playtul and sensuous modes than in establishing organisational autonomy or re-fashioning political centre.

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Tirunelveli and Tiruvarangam in Late Pandya Times of 13th - 16th Centuries A.D.

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In the Later Pandya inscriptions of 13th-16th centuries of Tirunelveli and Sri Rangam, it is found that each area possessed a different set of economic transaction and social arrangement. Although the general pattern of the society was land-based one, it did not cause for the evolution of uniform social arrangements and economic transaction in both the areas.

The Temple and its Social links :

The administration and the social links attached to the temple itself was different considerably between the Nellaiyappar temple of Tirunelveli, and the temple of Tiruvarangam of Sri Rangam.

The Pandya period was a great boon to Tiruvarangam temple. Ever before the Pandya king handled the administration of the temple, the finance and resource of the temple were fraudulently appropriated by the ten managers of the temple. In this regard, an inscription issued by the Pandya King Maravarman Sundara Pandya I dated in 1225 A.D., gives a vivid account of this misappropriation.⁽¹⁾

It says that ten previous managers of the temple, in their respective managership period had colluded with the officials of Orissa. By this collusion they fixed the excessive tax amount to be paid by the temple. These managers distributed the paddy of the temple land (Tiruvidaiyattam) to the Orissa Officials, saying that they were the permanent men of the temple (Nilaiyal) They divided the lands of the temples situated in various places (mandalam) as their

own and collected the tax amount through their own men. After the collection of the taxes, the collected amount was shared by the managers and the Orissa officials. These deed ceased when the Pandya kings and their officials possessed the administration of the temple. The following temple bodies viz: Ziyar, the share holder of the temple, Tirupathi Vaisnavites, the persons who did the temple services (Janagakal) sabhai, and the others assembled together and decided that fraudulent managers should be excluded, and the post of temple manager should be selected for yearwise.

Another inscription issued by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I dated in 1261 A.D. records that the temple managers should not be selected from one particular group, (Kottu) but from the various groups. Further, it states that the treasury of the temple should be protected also by the local villages.²

Another inscription issued in the period of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I dated to 1261,³ mentions that changes were made in the formation of temple managership. The inscriptions further mentions that according to the orders issued by the king, the temple constituted its managership from various groups of the temple bodies.

All the above three inscriptions clearly indicate that the king were very particular for the protection of the temple and its resources. Although the kings were not directly involved in the protection of the temple, they instructed the

temple authorities then and there for the modification of its management. Thus these inscriptions indicate that at Sri Rangam, the control and Protection of resources were brought under the tight control of the temple bodies through the vigilance of the king.

But Tirunelveli inscriptions indicate a different picture about the temple and its control over the resources.

An inscription issued in the period of Kulasekara I dated to 1193 A.D.⁴ mentions that two armymen namely kaikōlar made donation to the temple. For that, they requested the king to allot land taxes to the oil managers for the supply of oil. Accordingly, the king granted the land taxes of two vēli land to the oil merchants.

Another inscription issued in the period of Virapandya dated in 1258 records that the merchants of Tirunelveli gave a contract to an individual on the receipt of gold from him, Theree they pledged that they would supply oil to the temple.

Another inscription issued in the period of Sundara Pandya datable to 1227 records that Sabai would pay the dues of the king to the temple.⁷

From the above inscriptions, the Nellaiyappar temple and its resource control is revealed as follows :

Generally the donors do not donate the objects directly to the temple. Instead, the donors only mentioned the ritual service to be done by the temple. The necessary resources for the concerned rituals were given to other persons with a stipulation to supply the necessary items. For example, if a person donated lamp to the temple, he did not donate or deposit the money in the hands of the temple.

Instead of it he gave to the merchant and asking him to supply the necessary ghee to the temple. This sort of transaction indicates that the temple did not possess any capital amount in its name. All the resources of the temple were vested in the hands of the individual or in the hands of the bodies like Sabal, & Nagarattar. This feature is something new to feature of Tiruvarāṅgam temple where the temple possessed the capital in its own name, and a tight supervision was adopted by the king for the management of temple through him.

Social organisation :

In the social organisation, there are distinctive features from Tirunelveli to Thiruvaramam. In Tirunelveli, the society had evolved into various groups of people and there found the following groups : Sabhai, the merchants, the military men, the shepherds, chieftain, and dancers Tirunelveli in the later Pandya times attained a composite feature in its social arrangement.

But in Tiruvarangam, the society was in the domination of Brahmins. It is revealed in many inscriptions and some may be quoted as below :

An inscription of Sundarapandya II dated in 1276⁸ AD. mentions that an individual donated paddy for the benefit of Srivaishnavar mutt.

Further an inscription issued in the period of Jatavarman Virapandya dated to 1307⁹ records that a brahmin priest had exchanged the land for the making of Brhmin settlement. Above all, the inscriptions of Tiruvarangam indicate that the formation of brahma madeyam and making donations to the brahman in settlement was a busy activity in the period of our discussion.

An inscription issued in the period of Jatavarman Virapandya mentions that an individual hailed from Pandya mandalam namely peria Perumal alias Kalingarayar had purchased the lands from sabhai of Vikramachola chaturvedi mangalam and made a habitation site for brahmins in the name of kaliyaga Ramacharupedi mangalam ¹⁰. Another inscription issued in the period of Jatavarman Sundarapandya III dated to 1311-12AD records that a Chieftain by name venattadigal had created a brahmdeyam by name Ravivarma Chaturvedi mangalam ¹¹. Another inscription issued in the period of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya III mentions that the king formed a bramadeyam by name Kothandarama charuvedi mangalam ¹².

Thus, the inscriptions of Tirunelveli and Tiruvarangam indicate that while Tirunelveli witnessed a multi-caste composition society, Tiruvarangam society revealed a brahmin dominated social life.

Economic transaction:

There was not a uniform pattern in the economic life between the two discussing areas.

In tiruvarangam, the sales of land happened in direct manner, i.e the seller sold the land to the purchaser. This type of the sales was called as cash in payment namely Krayachelovu ¹³. Herein the sale of procedure the seller certified that it was the only sale deed of the land, and there were no previous sales deed happened. This type of certificate indicates that in Tiruvarangam fraudulent sale deed had happened. However, in Tirunelveli, there were no such sale deed. There the system of contract namely *pidipadu* prevailed. The terms and conditions of a *pidipadu* can be explained as follows.

An inscription issued in the period of Virapandya dated 1227AD records that the merchant of a street namely Sutta malli made a contract with a person from malaimandaelam. In the contract, it is said that the merchant bodies mentioned that they received money from the individual and agreed to supply oil to the temple ¹⁴.

Conclusion :

Two set of inscriptions indicate that in one area, ie in Tirunelveli, the agrarian based economy was slowly in moving towards the commerce base economy. On the other hand, in Tiruvarangam it is found that the economy was dominated by the gift-exchange pattern. These sort of different economics indicates that the Later Pandya economy possessed a various scale of economics, which prepared for the emergence of feudal economy in the Vijayanagar times.

References:

Foot - Notes

- 1) SII, XXIV, 192.
- 2) Ibid, XXIV, 202.
- 3) Ibid, XXIV, 203.
- 4) Ibid, V, 417.
- 5) Ibid, V, 425.
- 6) Ibid, V, 426.
- 7) Ibid, V, 437.
- 8) Ibid, XXIV, 206.
- 9) Ibid, XXIV, 209.
- 10) Ibid, XXIV, 214.
- 11) Ibid, XXIV, 222.
- 12) Ibid, XXIV, 223.
- 13) Ibid, XXIV, 230.
- 14) Ibid, V, 434.

Nayankara System of Provincial Administration Under Vijayanagar Rule : As gleard from Epigraphs of North Arcot.

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The word Nayaka is derived from the Sanskrit word Nayaka which means a leader, chief or general. The Pandyas, the Cholas and the Hoysalas used the term to their commanders and captains. The variations of the word Nayak, Naik or Nayaka signify as much as a governor, vassal or viceroy and it was followed by Vijayanagar emperors. The use of the term to mean a provincial viceroy is peculiar to the Vijayanagar empire. The emperors of Vijayanagar, on many occasions chose a governor from the Nayakas, Local chiefs and subordinate officers. Narasanayaka was the governor of the region appointed in the early quarter of the sixteenth century. These governnors were usually called Dandanayakas. Somaiyya Dananayaka was mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiruvannamalai¹. These Dandanayakas played a vital role in the political, economic and socio-cultural life of the people in the Rajyam. Apart from the offical duties, the Nayakas were given Amaram lands, these nayakas were called as Amaranayakas. During the time of Achyutadevaraya the empire was distributed to more than two hundred captains (Nayakas)². Inscription of Pudupadi in Padaividu Rajyam mentions about Amaranayakattanam land gift which was granted to a nayaka by name Obulanayaka³. This shows that the Nayakas received quite often land gifts from their overlords for their valuable services.

The Amaranayakas had several responsibilities, they had to pay a fixed annual financial contribution to the emperor for the lands

which they received from him. Also, they had to offer to the king a certain number of infantry, cavalry and elephants in times of war. On certin ceremonial occasions like the birth of a son or daughter to the king, the nayakas were expected to give valuable presents to the king. The nayakas were also expected to send to the king everyday rice, meat and fowls with all other necessary things⁴.

The Nayakas had to maintain two officers at the imperial headquarters. One of them was the military agent Dalavai who was the chief captain and was incharge of the feudal army maintained at the capital⁵. Another officer was the Sthanapati or civil agent. His duty was to safeguard the interests of his master at the capital. Nayakas were also to maintain courts in their jurisdiction and forts for the defense of the province.

The Nayakas were regarded as guardians of peace as they were entrusted with the task of detecting crimes and dispensing with justice in the rural areas. Their police duties were known as *Padikaval* or *Arasukaval*. Clearance of forests, extension and improvement of irrigation and agriculture, founding new villages and towns, promotion of material advancement, maintenance of peace and order, and administration of justic in their areas⁶ were some of the responsibilities of the Nayakas.

The Nayakas enjoyed several privileges. They occasionally travelled long distances in palanquins. They handed over the

representations of the people to the emperor in person in the capital. They received on various occasions gifts of rich and golden laced clothes from the king. The kings or gave these presents to the Nayakas after receiving due tributes from them⁷. The position of Nayaka was always next to Mahamanadalesvara.

Nayankara System

Nayankara system was an important feature of the provincial government of the Vijayanagara rulers. This system was based on the feudalism of the mediaeval times. The king was considered to be the owner of the soil and he distributed the lands to his dependents. In Vijayanagara empire, services to the ruling monarch were rewarded by the grants of territories. Those who held lands from the king were called *Amaranayakas* and their territory was known as *amaram* or *nayakkattanam*⁸. The Nayakas held lands of the emperor under a military tenure called *amaram*. *Amara* means a grant of land by the king to a Nayaka on condition of providing military service to the king. *Nayaka* was the name of the military chief who held the land and an office generally referred as *Kara*. Therefore, the term *Amaranayankara* may be inferred as a system in which a piece of land was granted to a Nayaka for which he had to render military services to the king. For the above grant, Nayaka had to perform two functions. Firstly they had to pay a fixed annual financial contribution to the imperial exchequer which according to Nuniz was half of their revenue, secondly they were required to maintain a sufficient number of troops for the king and serve him during the times of war.

The king himself fixed the number of troops on the basis of the revenue they derived.

The Nayakas had to pay not only the tribute but also presents to the sovereign on the occasion of the birth of his children, on his birth days and on the new year's day. They were not permitted to live in any place outside the *amaram*. Failure to conform to these obligations was liable to be punished. If they failed to maintain the full number of soldiers or declined to pay tribute according to their obligations, the *amaram* lands were confiscated and they were also severely punished⁹. The *amaram* villages of the Nayakas formed the intermediaries between the government and the ryot. Another salient feature of the Nayakara system was that the holders of Nayankara lands were only tenants at will and that their lands were not hereditary possessions. The emperor might at any time deprive them of their lands. This was a practice which seemed to have been in operation for long.

The Nayankara system of the Vijayanagara has very strong affinities to feudalism of mediaeval Europe. But the analogy is limited only to a few respects. Feudalism of Europe contained both a social element based upon land tenure was conspicuous whereas the political element was not present anywhere. No instance of an *Amaranayaka* swearing fealty and rendering homage to his overlord is recorded. Moreover the practice of sub-infeudation which was a common feature of feudalism was not present in Nayakara system.

Hence, the Nayaka was only a military vassal. Also, he does not interfere in the internal administration of the local institutions like Sabha, Nadu and Ur. In course of time the nayakaship became hereditary when the king at the centre became weak and effeminate.

Zamindars of Dindigul with Sepcial Reference to Kombai

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In this paper an attempt has been made to trace the political history of Kombai right from Viswanatha Nayaka (1529 - 1546) to the present day. The term Kombai is derived from a Canarese word, meaning a village at the foot of a hill. Kombai was one of the twenty six palayams in Dindigul region, created by Viswanatha Nayaka. It is situated at the head of the Cumbum Valley and historically it consisted of five villages (470 cheys of Nunjah, 5420 kuli of punjay, 470 kuli of arable lands)¹. The *palayams* were ruled by poligars which literally means the chiefs of armed camps. The poligars of Dindigul district accompanied Viswantha Nayaka, when he invaded Madurai. As faithful dependents and adherents, they looked for reward after the completion of the conquest. Viswanatha Nayaka pacified these adventurous adherents and the old discontented chiefs by conferring on them a dignified status and definite proprietary right over a portion of the land². They were responsible for the managemebt of estates assigned to them. In this way one 'Apajee Gounden' received assignment of land around Kombai village. The Kombai zamindars were capiliar *Kambalattar* ruled Kombai for several centuries. Their language was Telugu blended with Canarese³.

The poligars collected money from the *palayam* assigned to them, paid one - third to the sovereign. They were under the obligation to assist the Madurai kind with all their forces in times of war. It was the Nayaka's government

which created the local chiefs for the protection of the country and support of the sovereign. According to family tradition these poligars developed the country in those days by founding new villages, building temples and dams and by constructing tanks⁴.

The Nayaka rule of Madurai came to an end in 1736 with the advent of the Newab of Arcot led by Chanda Sahib. Subsequently, Dindigul came under the rule of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore. During the Mysore rule, Kombai was a part of the Dindigul province⁵. In 1788 Tipu Sultan himself came down to Dindigul and resumed most of the *palayams* of arrear of tribute. As the poligar of Kombai promptly paid tribute to Tipu Sultan, the *palayam* escaped for the resumption⁶. However, the poligars of Dindigul exercised military powers and acted independently as substitutes of the government, challenging the Mohammedan administration. In the confusion that followed, relation became strained which brought about frequent violence and political turmoil⁷.

When the third Mysore War between the English and Tipu Sultan started in 1790, the former's army under Col. James Stuart captured Dindigul. Kombai as a part of Dindigul, became a permanent part of the British Government⁸. In 1795 the British Collector of Dindigul in his letter to the Board of Revenue stated that the name of the poligar in Kombai was Appajee Gounden and he attended the 'Cutcherry' of the collector⁹.

However, after the Company acquired the Dindigul province the poligar Appajee Gounden became troublesome and in May 1795 was stirring up disturbances in the Cumbum Valley. Eventually, the estate was resumed and allowance was granted to the dispossessed proprietor. The poligars of the several palayams in Dindigul withheld the tributes to the English East India Company. The poligar of Kombai organised rebellion against the British rule. However, the well equipped British army brought all the areas under their control¹⁰.

After the suppression of the rebellion, the poligari system was abandoned and peaceful condition was created for revenue settlement. The poligars had special influence and authority in their *palayams*. The British found it convenient to entrust the revenue collection to them. On 1 December 1801, the Madras Government announced its intention to establish a permanent assessment of land revenue in respect of their palayams upon the principle of Zamindari tenure. In accordance with the principle the poligars became Zamindars and their ancestral estates became Zamindari estates in the changed circumstances¹¹.

This proclamation was followed by the assessment of land in the *palayams* and the amount fixed by the government was considered as the permanent *peshcush* (fixed tribute to Government) Payable to the Government¹². Kombai was assessed by the British Collector Thomas Boyer Hurdis and implemented the principles of zamindari tenure there. In 1803 - 1804 the *peshcush* fixed for Kombai was Rs. 6506 at 70% of the total collection of Rs. 9252. The introduction of Zamindari tenure on the basis of the survey and settlement of the Collector

turned out to be incorrect as proved by subsequent experiments. All lands were over assessed. Collector Parish, the successor of Hurdis, reported to the Government that most of the zamindaries in the District of Dindigul fell into arrear to the Company¹³. In 1815 the zamindar of Kombai expressed his desire to relinquish his claim of zamindari as it suffered due to over assessment to the Government¹⁴.

In 1817 the Government assumed Kombai for arrears and in the year of assumption the total collection of revenue was Rs. 4966. The period between 1817 and 1832 the average of the first sixteen years the total collection was Rs. 5612. The balance due by the zamindar at the time of assumption was Rs. 19703. Adding the interest together with the arrears and collection charges the amount rose to Rs. 78,994. It was required to the zamindar to remit the amount to restore the zamindari to him¹⁵.

As the Zamindar had hereditary claim over the Zamindari, the Board of Revenue recommended that it would be unjust to hold the Zamindar answerable in person and property for the arrear due to over assessment. The ejected Zamindars of the attached estates had local influence and status. The attachment without allowance would create resentment in the minds of the hereditary chiefs. So the Madras Governor - in - Council in 1821 sanctioned an allowance of ten percent of the total collection of tax from the respective Zamindaries known as *Malikhana*¹⁶.

During the period of British assumption, the Government officials calculated the real value of the Zamindaries in Dindigul province. The Government called upon all those Zamindaries who were under attachment either to pay their

arrears or to surrender their territories. In case of surrendered Zamindaries, the Government allowed to continue the Malikhana which they had been enjoying. Some Zamindaries in this district were unable to administer the Zamindaries due to arrears or the trouble of Collection. They executed deed of surrender of the Zamindaries to the District Collector and surrendered all rights over the revenue affairs of the Zamindaries. It was legally carried out to prevent the claim of the descendants in the future. However, they received ten percent Malikhana of the total collection for the maintenance of their families

¹⁷

On 28th September 1841, the Zamindar of Kombai petitioned for restoration of the estate on payment of Rs. 2000 of the original balance and 500 per annum till the liquidation of the original interest. The offer was rejected as the Zamindar was unable to clear his arrears. Consequently, on 9th July 1842, he gave formal surrender of the Kombai Zamindar, to the Government. Thus Kombai became one of the Malikhana holders in Dindugul region. Again, on the petition of the Zamindar to Government, the legality of the issue of assumption of Kombai Zamindar was taken to the Court of Directors. The court of Directors in England remarked in June 1844 that it would be competent to the District Collector to restore the estate or enter other arrangements which required the preservation and protection of the rights of the cultivators. Meanwhile the Zamindar of Kombai linked the arrears of the revenue with the loss of land in the border dispute of the neighbouring Thevaram Zamindari. The District Collector settled the border dispute between the two Zamindaries. In this settlement Kombai lost

5500 kurkams of Punjab lands. It resulted in the reduction of *peshcush* amounted to 530 pons or Rs. 1085. However, the reduction of the amount did not bring any major change in the original arrears and the Government assumption of Kombai.

In 1847 once again the Kombai Zamindar explicated for the restoration of the Zamindari. he stated that the surrender of the Zamindari done earlier was in fear of declining the Board's ultimatum either to surrender the Zamindari or pay the arrears for the reinstatement of the position ¹⁸. However, the Board of Revenue considered that the Zamindari of the Kombai was incorporated with government lands and the district revenue authorities collected the reasonable land tax as existed in the neighbouring government land for a long time. The restoration of the zamindari to proprietor way was disadvantageous to the ryots other a long period of government management. After attachment of the Zamindari, the Zamindar became a titular Zamindar as he was not entrusted the official function of collection of revenue from the people. Thus Kombai Zamindar enjoyed the status of titular Zamindar from 1842 to the present day ¹⁹.

In the Madras Presidency the Zamindari system was abolished in 1949 by enacting a law in the Madras State Legislature. The Government converted the Zamindari estate into a Ryotwari land by paying compensation to Zamindars ²⁰. However, the Malikhana holders like Kombai were not touched by the law. The descendants still draw the pension of ten percent Malikhana, fixed in 1821 from the government amounted to Rs. 49.50 every month ²¹.

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FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN VELLORE REGION - A STUDY

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Vellore Mutiny (1806)

The Vellore region played a unique role in India's freedom struggle. Following the South Indian Rebellion of 1801,

1) The sepoys and the rebels in Vellore waited for a chance to defy the British. The opportunity came when the British introduced military reforms among the Indian sepoys which affected their traditional customs. The Indian sepoys refused to remove the beards and the moustaches and to wear the turban. On 10th July 1806, the Indian sepoys at Vellore captured the Vellore Fort all on a sudden. They removed the British flag and hoisted an old flag of Tippu

2) Col. Gillespie rushed from Arcot to Vellore with a fine artillery and after a massacre of 500 Indian sepoys the historic Fort of Vellore was once again brought under the control of the British

3). Tippu's sons were punished severely by the British. Though the Revolt was a localised and restricted one, it had its own historical significance. Dr. Savarkar and others consider the Revolt of 1806 as a rehearsal against company rule

4) Further, a secret official Report on Vellore Mutiny (1806) said that the Revolt was not due to military reforms but it was mainly an attempt of the rebels to establish Muslim rule once again.

5) It is also said that the Vellore Mutiny was a prelude to the Revolt of 1857.

Vellore and the Indian National Congress (1885 – 1905 AD)

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and it had its firm belief in the British sense of justice and fair play. Mr. Kesavapillai of Gudiyattam had participated in the first Indian National Congress Meeting held in Bombay in 1885 and expressed the national feelings and sentiments of people of Vellore.

6) Freedom lovers in Vellore district convened meetings in Vellore and a drive to include more number of members could see the light of the day in Arcot, Polur, Vellore, Raniper, Gudiyattam, Tirupattur and Vaniyambadi taluks. Meetings were also conducted in different parts of Vellore district to create a national feeling in the minds of the natives. The activities of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905 were liberal in their outlook and moderate in their temperament. The leaders of the Congress concentrated much on strengthening the Congress and not on freedom, representation or other political aspiration.

7) However, a spirit of nationalism was introduced into the minds of the people of Vellore Region. The branches of Home Rule League and Brahmo Samaj did a lot in this regard under the dynamic leadership of Saminatha Iyer of Ranipet,

Vijayaraghava Mudaliar of Lalapet, Chakravarthi Iyengar of Walajapet and few others by convening meetings in all important towns in the district⁸. Further, Mr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu advocated the importance of National education in Vellore⁹.

Freedom Struggle in the Vellore District (1905 – 1920)

Home Rule, Swadeshi and Khilafat movements were three major events of the above period in which the people of Vellore district had registered their active participation. As part of the Swadeshi movement, a drive to develop indigenous industries was launched in Vellore Region. Gold coins and Swadeshi coins bearing the figures of Goddesses Lakshmi and Saraswathi were distributed to the natives of Tirupattur and thereby, the freedom fighters of Vellore took up the British privilege of minting coins. But it was curtailed by the British forces without serving summons on any one.

10) On 14th November 1921, two Congressmen Mr. Pasupathi Iyer and Muhamad Abdullah of Vellore were arrested for their active participation in the Swadeshi movement in Vellore.

11) Similarly the people of the Vellore region extended their wholehearted support to the Home Rule Movement. One of the objects of the Home Rule Movement was to secure Home Rule for the Indians through constitutional methods thereby extending support to the Indian National Congress. Montague Chelmsford declaration was the outcome of the Home Rule Movement. Again in 1919 Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem of Melvisharam, V.M. Obaidullah of Vellore, Abdul Rahim of Vaniyambadi and sev-

eral other stalwarts raised their voice in support of the Khilafat Movement and on 19th March, 1920 condolence meetings were held at Vellore, Gudiyattam, Ambur, Vaniyambadi and Tirupattur.

12) These three movements were successfully carried out in the Vellore Region.

Role of Vellore in the Freedom Struggle under the Leadership of Gandhiji (1921 – 1947 AD)

The Indian National Movement received a new impetus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhiji. Adhering to the guidelines and directions given by the Indian National Congress, the people of Vellore Region actively participated in the Non-Co-operation movement and Salt Satyagraha.

Non Co-operation movement in Vellore District

By the end of April 1921, eleven magistrates tendered resignation, 3 surrendered their titles and three resigned from the Legislative Council. In Vaniyambadi, students of the Islamiah College and Muhammadan Girls School boycotted classes.

13) Several meetings were also conducted in support of the Anti-liquor campaign. A group of 700 persons gathered together in Vellore and assaulted the police but the police arrested the picketers. As many as 275 persons were convicted from Nov. 1921 to Dec. 1921.

14) The Simon Commission arrived in Madras on 18th February 1928 and permission was neglected to hold public meetings, processions and demonstrations. Swaminathan, Akkur Anandachariar, Jamadagini, Sundaravaradan,

Kuppusamy and Obaidullah were arrested for their anti-British and Civil Disobedient activities and were sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment under sec. 144.

15) Civil Disobedience movement (1930 – 34 AD)

In the Vellore Region as in other places Civil Disobedience Movement had its mighty influence felt in protest of the oppressive and suppressive measures taken by the British against the freedom fighters of Vellore. Public meetings were held and the natives refused to pay taxes and land revenue, boycotted foreign goods, and picketed liquor shops in the towns of Vellore, Arcot, Walajapet, Kaveripakkam and Gudiyattam.

16) Somasundara Iyer, S. Ganesan and Gopal Sastri were arrested and sentenced to one year imprisonment for their anti British activities.

17) Similarly, Jamadagini and Akkur Anandachari and 100 other volunteers launched Salt Satyagraha at Gudiyattam. A batch of 13 Satyagrahis from Gudiyattam reached sholinghur on 17th April 1930.

18) Gandhiji's arrest on 6th May 1930 and the British Government's violent and inflammatory speeches were counteracted in Vellore, Tirupattur, Ranipet, Walajapet and Gudiyattam. Renowned freedom fighters of the district, Munisamy Mudaliar and Kalyanarama Iyer were arrested for picketing the shops selling foreign cloth. Vigorous participation of the people of Vellore in these movements indicate their nationalistic sentiments. Further, their true spirit

inspired others to take active part in the forthcoming movements.

Role of Vellore in the last phase of the freedom struggle

The August Rebellion of 1942 was initiated in the district by Hon'ble Kamaraj, who later became the Chief Minister of TamilNadu.

19. Kuppusamy, Srinivasan, Jeevarathinam, Rajagopalan, Krishnamoorthy and others had their vigorous participation in the Quit India Movement. Dedicated freedom fighters with all vigour and enthusiasm joined the Indian National Army founded by Subash Chandra Bose. C.M. Chinnasamy of Arkonam and Kuppusamy and Obaidullah of Vellore were arrested for their violent activities. The news of the arrest of the freedom fighters spread like fire. Strikes, lockouts, processions, hartals and demonstrations were launched everywhere upto 1947 as per the guidelines given by the Indian National Congress. And finally on 15th August 1947 India got her independence, thanks to the valuable services and sacrifices of the freedom fighters.

In the freedom struggle the role of Vellore Region under a team of dedicated and devoted freedom fighters is praiseworthy and even noteworthy. Without the efforts of such selfless and dedicated souls, India could not have broken the cudgels of slavery. Their saga of service should inspire us to trek their path in the best interest of the country and its people. Vellore district has attained the stature of Waterloo in the memorable pages of Indian History. The is-

sue of Gold Swadeshi coins by curtailing the British privilege, the Salt Satyagraha March from Guliyatham to sholinghur and the active participation of the freedom fighters of Vellore in the Indian National Army are milestones in the annals of the freedom movement in Vellore.

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V. V. S. Aiyar: His Revolutionary Thoughts and Deeds

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Affectionately called by VD Savarkar as Rishi and assessed by Gandhi as "a persevering servant of the nation", Varahanur Venkatesa Subramania Aiyar, shortened by himself into VVS Aiyar¹ (1881 – 1925), was a scholar-revolutionary-nationalist of India from 1907 to 1925. Having "a well-built body, a strong athletic form, a broad intellectual forehead, a bold nose, with the majestic beard adding to the arresting personality"², VVS Aiyar was an advocate of individual terrorism and the cult of the bomb in achieving independence to India from British bondage. Coming under the spell of the revolutionaries at London, particularly of VD Savarkar, Aiyar, until then a devoted son to his parents and a loving husband to his wife, had undergone a metamorphosis and was transformed into an admirer of VD Savarkar's unflinching love for his own Mother Country. Inspired by Savarkar's fiery speeches, reasoning, meticulous planning and militant nationalism^{2a}, Aiyar had sacrificed himself to this great patriot and became the formers 'right hand' man^{2b}. Besides Savarkar, Shyamji Krishna Varma, Madame Bhikhaji Rustome Cama, Sardar Singhji Rana, TSS Rajan, and MPT Acharya too had left their impress on Aiyar. A disciple of the great British sociologist Herbert Spencer, Aiyar was very much attracted towards his words, "Resistance to tyranny is not simply justifiable, but imperative". He had further been influenced by the British humanists and intellectuals, particularly 'the venerable socialist leader' HM Hyndman, who was to inspire and guide the revolutionaries of India House and a young Briton, Guy A. Aldred, printer of 'Indian

Sociologist' – the first Briton to be imprisoned for India's cause³. Madan Lal Dhingra in London and Vanchi Iyer in Pondicherry are said to be his products.

Such an arresting personality in India's fight for freedom was not given his due place in our history. Being an individual terrorist, he was sidelined in most of the works on India's national movement, particularly Tamilnadu. In the work of Ma. Po. Sivagnanam⁴, recollecting his own experiences and service to the cause of the nation, much attention was not given to the works of VVS Aiyar or Dr. TSS Rajan or MPT Acharya. Even Pe. Su. Mani⁵ in his complete work on Aiyar, has not thrown much light on the latter's historic escape from London via Paris to Pondicherry. Similarly, the account given about Aiyar by Prof. N. Subrahmanian⁶ is sketchy and lop-sided. Hence this study about VVS Aiyar, his revolutionary thoughts and deeds.

This **heroic light** or the **firebrand hero**, whom Tamilnadu had bequeathed to Indian nationalism, lived just for forty-four years. On reaching London, he was immediately transformed into a nationalist-patriot, an extremist and a terrorist. Moving closely with Madanlal Dhingra, Madame Cama and Rana, he was turned virtually into a follower of Savarkar⁷ in his underground activities.

Born on April 2, 1881 at Sinnalapatti near Karur in the erstwhile Trichy district in a middle class Brahmin family to varahaneri Venkatesa Aiyar and Kamatchi Ammal as their eldest son, VVS Aiyar was educated in the lo-

cal school in Trichy and passed his matriculation examination in 1895⁸, getting the fifth rank in the Presidency. Choosing History, Economics and Latin, Aiyar came out in flying colours in the B. A. Degree Examination in 1899. Getting a special first grade in Latin, he passed the Pleader's Examination in 1902 and, set up practice in the Trichy Courts. In 1897 he married Bhagyalakshmi, his own maternal uncle's daughter. This couple gave birth to three children, two daughters and one son. Their eldest daughter Pattammal passed away as a child while Aiyar was in Paris. Their second daughter Subadra was drowned in the Papanasam falls in 1925, which incident took away his life also. His son Dr. Krishnamoorthy is serving as a medical practitioner in the Tiruvanaikkavil at Trichy. His wife survived him for many more years and passed away at her 73 age⁹.

Living in Trichy for 25 years, Aiyar then left for Rangoon in 1906 in search of good fortunes and set up practice there as a Pleader with the support of K. G. Pasupati Aiyar, his wife's cousin, who was a leading businessman there, where he met his classmate TSS Rajan. In his twenty-sixth year, on October 10, 1907, at the instance of Pasupati Aiyar, he left for London to qualify himself for the degree of Barrister. He met Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in the India House at London which was established with the munificence of Shyamji Krishna Varma, a noble Parsee man, with noble intentions and high thinking. Here Aiyar's life underwent a sudden change from a politically novice to a politically and intellectually awakened fire brand. In the India House he met many Indians and became a member of Savarkar's **Abhinav Bharat** and later became its Vice-President. While in London, he was a member of the Free India Club and thus developed a sense of love for his coun-

try. At the end of his studies at London, on the day of conferring the Bar-at-Law degree, he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England and thus he was suspected of a terrorist¹⁰. At this dangerous hour his knowledge in Tamil Sanskrit, Latin and French came to his rescue, particularly in his attempt to develop contacts with the outside world.

What made him a terrorist?

People become violent and militant when something untoward or unhealthy happens. It had widely been felt that the moderates failed to protect the pride of the country and many of them, after their return from some foreign countries, sought berths under the raj in India¹¹. They had been attacked for having mortgaged the pride of the nation to the Britishers by their policy of mendicancy. They could neither take severe steps to annul the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905; nor the extremists in the Congress wreck vengeance on the well-planned and executed act of the Viceroy and his administration. This new brand of nationalists felt that in spite of severe economic crunch, the raj was indulging in wasteful opulence and expenditure in celebrating the golden jubilee in 1908 of the British Crown taking over of India in 1858. It was commemorated by a Proclamation by the King – Emperor Edward VII¹². Besides, in some places of London, the suppression of the Great Revolt of 1857 was celebrated as a Mutiny on 1st of May 1907 in which our leaders were depicted as self-centered murderous brigands¹³. By the end of 1911 after the coronation of King George V, a Durbar was held at Delhi to show that he was the Emperor of India. Before that the capital of India had been shifted from Calcutta to Delhi¹⁴. They hated the British government's insistence that any Indian educated in England or

for such situations was heroism – birth of heroic sons in heroic mothers. To inculcate heroism in mothers and sons, the revolutionaries encouraged the worship of Sakthi and Ganesh and the conduct of Kali festival. For spreading heroic ideas and nationalist feelings, VVS Aiyar wrote the adventurous lives of Chandragupta Maurya, Napoleon, Sivaji and Garibaldi, Emerson and **Mahatma** Booker T. Washington³³. The revolutionaries in the India House at London had decided to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the heroes of 1857. On May 10, 1907, a great and memorable meeting was held in India House, fasts were observed and vows were taken to undergo a week of self-denial. A pamphlet, "O Martyrs!" was printed and circulated widely.

Indian students of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as the Inns of Court, appeared wearing badges with the slogan "Honour to the Martyrs of 1857"³⁴. Copies of the English translation of VD Savarkar's **1857: The First War of Indian Independence** were secretly sent to historians and revolutionary circles of England, Ireland, France, Russia, America, Turkey and Germany and thus helped them acquaint them with the real picture of the events of 1857³⁵. Moreover, the anti-partition day was observed in the city on October 16, 1908 with a meeting presided over by Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal, Khaparde and Karandikar³⁶. Another meeting was held the same day in the same hall by the India House group. Khaparde presided and Madame Cama spoke on **Boycott**. Turkey was congratulated for having become a Republic. Moving the resolution on Turkey, VVS Aiyar spoke. The principal resolution at the meeting advocated absolute independence to India and expressed strong doubts about the forthcoming Reforms³⁷. Nine days after this National Conference, the India House group organized an-

other meeting this time to celebrate the birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh³⁸.

VVS Aiyar's approval of individual terrorism or the cult of the bomb is evident from one of the police intelligence reports of London. It reads, "...at one of Sunday meetings which they still kept going on the 10th, April, 1910, he said that terrorism or individual assassination was only the first stage of revolution, although it should be carried on for the present with undiminished vigour they ought to keep in view of their ultimate goal, namely a final revolution and a pitched battle with the English forces. It was necessary, therefore, to send out men to America or France for the purpose of learning the manufacture of arms and ammunition of the latest type and of studying the essentials for military training. The only proper limitation of terrorism or individual assassination, was collective assassination or war"³⁹. It is learnt that VVS Aiyar also believed in the efficacy of violent means, agitational politics, strikes, public protests, public or secret meetings and thus believed that a sort of pressure could be exerted on the government. He also believed that terrorism was a prelude to, and a harbinger of revolution. He also believed that terror is a means to achieving liberation. "Terrorism is not complete without revolution and revolution is not complete without terrorism"⁴⁰.

Getting philosophical and political support from Herbert Spencer, Hyndman, Aldred and others, the militants found expression to their views through some organs and organizations. Of the major organizations mention may be made of the India House at London, its **Free India Club**⁴¹ and the **Abhinav Bharat** in England. The organs like **Indian Sociologist** of Krishna Varma and Savarkar, Hyndman's **Justice**, Krishna

Varma's **Home Rule League** and the journal **Indian Reformer**, Madame Cama's **Vande Mataram**, Hardayal's **Talwar**, **Jugantar** and Tamil Weeklies from Pondicherry **India**, **Vijaya**, **Suryodhayam**⁴² – all carried the revolutionary ideas, exhortations to the youth of India and secrets of the terrorists. Aiyar wrote series of articles on Napoleon, Garibaldi and Emerson in the Tamil Weekly **India**. He also wrote a weekly **London Letter** to the paper focussing attention on events of interest to India, happenings in London, and Europe. The **London Letter** gave instances of British brutality and ruthlessness in Ireland against the efforts of the **Sinn Feins**⁴³. In the company of other militants he planned some strategies and designed some devices – writing series of letters to his family members, friends in Paris and England to divert the attention of the British Intelligence⁴⁴. They manufactured weapons including bombs and revolvers and smuggled them out to India, particularly to Pondicherry⁴⁵. Aiyar was very much involved in giving military training to talented youths to target their enemies. He also sent select youths to get military training in the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors of Morocco⁴⁶. In fact, a study of the available material tells us that Aiyar had given a rigorous and heart-rending test to Madanlal Dhingra. Dhingra's deep devotion and martyrdom to the cause of his mother country moved VD Savarkar, Aiyar and Rajan⁴⁷. The **Abhinav Bharat** came to their help in secretly publishing seditious writings. VVS Aiyar's crowning victory was achieved in the English translation of VD Savarkar's 1857 and getting it secretly printed and released in England, India and Paris⁴⁸. VVS Aiyar, while narrating the work of **Abhinav Bharat** detailed the technique of revolutionary operation. In their preparation for a war with England, they drafted the following devices.

They are: (i) "the teaching of **Swedeshi**, **boycott** and national training; (ii) purchase and storing of weapons in neighbouring countries; (iii) opening of small factories; (iv) purchase of weapons in foreign countries and smuggling them to India; (v) waiting for a favourable opportunity to rise in revolt"^{48a}. VVS Aiyar kept contact with the **Sinn Feins** of Ireland, the **Nihilists** of Russia and the **Young Turks** of Turkey and is said to have contacted Kemal Ata Turk in London⁴⁹. By doing so, the militants tried to learn from them the techniques of revolutionary organisations such as the **Sinn Feins**, the **Nihilists** and the **Young Turks** and the handling of weapons. They also tried secretly to make bombs⁵⁰.

Another device they designed was secret correspondence. All correspondence and transactions between the leader and the members of the inner circle of the **Abhinav Bharat** were kept a close secret. To ensure utmost secrecy the members of the inner circle were to take an oath in front of the idol of Goddess Kali and sign with the blood taken by cutting the index finger. It meant they were sacrificing themselves for the revolutionary movement; working for the success of the revolution; executing the orders of the leader without hesitation; not to let out secrets even if they were tortured, etc. The leader was to keep close touch with the members of the inner council. As far as possible correspondence was to be through personal message⁵¹. They should not give scope for the British intelligence to suspect and intersect. In case sending letters through messengers or by post becomes inevitable they should use proxies and codes. VVS Aiyar is found to have used proxies and codes in order to save them from the surveillance of the police. We could gather details about Aiyar's proxies and codes from his **London Memoranda Notebook**, a priceless.

precious evidence, which, in fact, escaped the lynx-eyed Scotland Yard and other Intelligence men combing for evidence against Aiyar. Written in English longhand as well as in Pitman's shorthand (English), it contains many a treasured pieces of information of great value for understanding Aiyar and his friends at India House. Many pages of it were written in Tamil, some in Sanskrit and some in Grantha characters. Even in using the Pitman system, Aiyar had cleverly created and used a good number of grammalogues (abbreviations) of his own, possibly to baffle interlopers⁵².

The date of the purchase of the **London Notebooks** is written in Aiyar's neat, cursive longhand, "VVS Aiyar, 15th October 1907". One of the first entries gives the information "Arrived in London 10th October 1907"⁵³.

An important and valuable entry, noted on the inside page of the front flap read:

"1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
S U B R A M O N I E"⁵⁴

This was a code used for conveying confidential messages. There is also cryptic entry, which clearly shows Aiyar's interest in explosive chemicals and their place of procurement in India⁵⁵. These proxies and codes, in fact, saved them from the Scotland Yard in England, France and even in India.

His Revolutionary Deeds:

VVS Aiyar was involved in three major revolutionary deeds. They are: (i) Madanlal Dhingra's training in shooting Curzon-Wyllie; (ii) Aiyar's daring and historic escape from London to Pondicherry; (iii) Aiyar's shooting practice to Vanchi Iyer and the murder of Collector Ashe. All the three events reveal Aiyar's bravery, me-

ticulously shaming mind and silent and cautious execution beyond anybody's comprehension. In all the three Aiyar gave the slip to British Intelligence but every one of his movements was very closely watched.

Murder of Curzon-Wyllie and the Martyrdom of Dhingra:

On July 1st, 1909, London was electrified by news of a daring political assassination right in the heart of the city. Lt. Col. Sir Curzon-Wyllie, ADC to the Secretary of State for India was shot dead by a young Indian student Madanlal Dhingra. Captain C. Lalkaka, an Indian medical man tried to grapple with the assailant, but was shot at and died on the way to hospital. It was later learnt that Dhingra's aim was to wreak vengeance on Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, who cursed the Indians particularly the Hindus by partitioning Bengal in 1905. The letter purported to have been taken from him revealed the Hindu revivalism in the name of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna and Mother India. C. A. Perumal observes⁵⁶, "It was under brahminical revivalistic cover that the revolutionary nationalist feelings were aroused and shipped". Madanlal was a youth of great grit. As said earlier, he never winced when Aiyar tested his bravery.

On July 2, Madanlal was taken to the Westminster Police Court and charge-sheeted. The Indian community in London held a meeting on July 3 and condemned Dhingra. On July 5, when another meeting was held in the Caxton Hall, Savarkar tendered his dissent to a unanimous resolution condemning Dhingra. When a Eurasian named Palmer stuck Savarkar near his eye, MPT Acharya, who stood near Savarkar gave a thrashing to Palmer, who fell down and when Aiyar was about to shoot him, Savarkar winked and restrained him. Dhingra's father and

elder brother disowned him and expressed their loyalty to the British! The lives of Savarkar, Aiyar and Rajan were in danger. The British police intensified their surveillance. On August 17, 1909, Dhingra ascended the gallows firmly and cheerfully⁵⁷.

Aiyar, noting the surge of interest in the Curson-Wyllie incident exhibited by the London Press, continued to contribute extensive comments on the event with his own observations. The British police closely watched the India House at London. The police tried to collect clues to implicate Savarkar. But Savarkar very ably evaded arrest. By this time, when Savarkar developed health problems, his friends Shyamji Krishna Varma and Madame Cama advised him to leave London for Paris. Savarkar reached Paris with an escort and was found in the company of Krishna Varma and Madame Cama. After sometime, Aiyar went to Paris to consult Savarkar on some urgent confidential matters of business. Savarkar, who found his stay in Paris unproductive, started moving to London. He was arrested, refused bail and sent to jail on March 20. After trial, Savarkar was sentenced to deportation to Mandalay amidst strong protests and representations against the sentence⁵⁸.

Since Aiyar refused to take an oath of allegiance to the British King on the day of conferring on him the Barrister degree, he was considered a traitor and the British government wanted to put him in prison⁵⁹. The British Police was on the look out of the **South Indian Brahmin Revolutionary** and intensified its surveillance.

His daring escape:

Aiyar gave a slip to the British Police and reached Paris via Amsterdam. Staying in Madame Cama's house, he had prepared him-

self for making the daring escape very bravely and cleverly. Since he was **systematic** and **methodical** in all his approaches to problems of life, he made up his mind to face the challenge of the police watch. He stuck upon the plan of writing a series of letters to his friends in Paris and family members as if he had planned to go to Brazil to start a new life. He took care in growing his beard to present a typically different appearance. He equipped himself with different types of dress, that of a Parsee gentleman, Rustom Sait and of a pious Muslim fakir⁶⁰. To make a daring and secret escape, concealing himself, he had to proceed to Paris first through Amsterdam, while the police very closely watched the shores of Marseilles. Boarding a ship, Aiyar reached Rome and Turkey and then Cairo, Mecca and Medina and reached Bombay with the Haj pilgrims from Mecca. In that disguise he reached Colombo, boarded a ship meant for Calcutta and by another ship he reached Nagapattinam. At last, he reached Pondicherry on October 9, 1910 and there he called himself by his original name as VVS Aiyar and informed his presence in Pondicherry to the Madras government⁶¹. Earlier he escaped the British intelligence by his presence of mind. Once when the police on board the ship tried to trap him by showing a manipulated telegram addressed to VVS Aiyar, he very assiduously overcame the acid test by telling them that "it was addressed to VVS Aiyar and not meant for me". Then and there they sighted the letter **VVS** in his box and enquired: "What does it mean?" Aiyar very convincingly replied "O! that! Vir Vikram Singh, the first three letters of my name"⁶². He escaped the clutches of the British Police by his presence of mind, multi-linguistic knowledge and his disguise as a typical Punjabi. About Aiyar's daring escape R. A. Padmanabhan writes, "No actor going on the stage would have taken as

much pains as Aiyar did while preparing for his journey to India⁶². His escape was daring indeed!

Assassination of Collector Ashe:

Pondicherry, the French territory, offered asylum to many Indian revolutionaries, who made it a centre of revolutionary propaganda. From here a number of revolutionary journals and newspapers were published. **India, Vijaya, Suryodhayam, Dharmam** and **Karmayogi** were some of these journals. Although the Madras government took all precautionary steps to prevent these journals reaching the hands of Tamil readers in the Presidency, they however reached a wider circle of Tamil readers. The Pondicherry government also did not take any serious steps against the terrorists, for the reason that the latter echoed the French clarion call of **Liberty, Equality and Fraternity**⁶³. Though VVS Aiyar was in Pondicherry, the friendly relations that flowered in France between Madame Cama and VVS Aiyar continued to flourish in Pondicherry also. She made arrangements to pay to Aiyar monthly 50 francs as long as he was in Pondicherry from the amount of 10000 francs as deposit in the **Abhinav Bharat Trust** in 1912⁶⁴. While he was in Pondicherry she made him one of the Trustees of the **Abhinav Bharat Trust**⁶⁵. While in Paris, Hardayal opposed the Bengali model of terrorist of secret societies, but he advocated terrorism of the open type, whereas Chattopadhyay supported secret terrorism. However, VVS Aiyar strictly followed the Savarkar model⁶⁶. Although Aiyar accepted the revolutionary ideas of Savarkar, it seems none of the nationalists' economic or social thoughts or secular ideals could make any impression upon him⁶⁷. He however joined Madame Cama to participate in the International Socialist Congress held in Copenhagen in Den-

mark on August 27, 1910. Rules and regulations of the Congress, however prevented him from participating in the discussions. But, he was allowed to be an audience⁶⁸.

As it had been decided in Paris, the militants were instructed to carry out individual terrorism at the time of the coronation of the British King as Emperor of India in 1911 and the durbar that followed. Under such a surcharged situation, Vanchi Iyer, a clerk in the Forest Department at Punalur of Travancore State shot dead the Collector of Tinnevely, (earlier he was the sub-collector of Tuticorin), Ashe at Maniyachi at 10.40 am on June 17, 1911^{68a}. A letter taken out from his pocket, after he shot himself dead revealed that he was influenced by the Hindu revivalist ideas of the Mahrattas. It was already decided to shoot the British King George V down as and when he landed in India, for which purpose 3000 Madras patriots had made preparations. The letter said, "To disclose this, I the least one, did this act. This is what every man should do in Hindustan"⁶⁹.

Now the question is Why and How did Vanchi Iyer do this daring deed? Various reasons have been attributed to the assassination of Ashe. To be very precise, it has been said that the incarceration of VOC and the liquidation of his Company and the Sub-Collectors harassment of VOC (1908) were the major reasons for the incident. In addition, the Sub-Collector had put the workers of the Coral and B&C Mills to straitened circumstances, by his policies of long hours of work and low rate of wages. Once their demands were not given a patient hearing, the workers resorted to strikes which led to the closure of the Mills⁷⁰. Besides, the **Swadeshis** wanted to celebrate the release of Bepin Chandra Pal from jail by offering him a tumultuous reception. But, Collector Winch had issued prohibi-

tory orders against the conduct of any meeting or any function. This was an affront to the **Swadeshis**. When the Collector happened to see a shop beautifully decorated, he asked the reasons for it. When the servant replied that it was to celebrate the release of Bepin Chandra Pal, the Collector slapped him and thus the rising broke out in Tirunelveli. In the shooting that followed, the government had reported that four people (rioters) were killed. But, according to an on spot study, it is learnt that a total of seven people, including innocent ones, were killed⁷¹. The rising in Tirunelveli led to rising in Karur under Conjeevaram Krishnaswami Sharma and in Trivandrum⁷². The government found that VOC and Subramania Siva were guilty of the rising. Both of them were arrested, tried without proper investigation and imprisoned. Both VOC and Siva were ill-treated in the jails, which made VOC to have secret correspondence with VVS Aiyar regarding the assassination of Ashe⁷³. This, in fact, created an imperishable hatred against Ashe in Aiyars mind, and thus was preparing for the termination of the Collector. When the Assistant Medical Officer conveyed to VOC the news of Ashe's murder by Vanchi Iyer, while VOC was in the Kannur (Kerala) prison, his immediate reaction was one of joy that "nemesis had overtaken the evil person who was responsible for his incarceration and the liquidation of the Company"⁷⁴.

It has also been stated that Ashe had racial differences with the Indians. Like Lord Curzon, Ashe held that the whites were a superior race. He passed an order prohibiting the natives from taking bath in the Courtallam falls. The order stated that for two hours in the morning, while the whites were taking bath, the Indians should not go to the falls. To put an end to this highhandedness the Trustees of the

Kutrallanathar Temple approached the Court for their rights over the falls. The subordinate judge, who heard the case, passed the verdict that the Indians should not disturb the whites while bathing; they could conduct the **Poojas** near the falls. The full bench also upheld the decision of the subordinate court⁷⁵. Thus the Indians were denied of their own birth right in their own land. This racial discrimination is said to be one of the major reasons for the Maniyachi incident.

However, other reasons were also attributed. Sir Sankaran Nair, one of the trial judges of the Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case, found that Bharati's song "When will our thirst for freedom end?"⁷⁶, as the real cause of the murder of Ashe. It has also been said that some of the judgments passed in courts against some revolutionaries, either sentencing them to undergo life terms in prison, or deportation to foreign countries or hanging them infuriated some youths in India and made them violent due to their defeatist mentality. To quote Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, "In these circumstances some Indian youths developed defeatist mentality and turned violent. They believed that independence could be achieved by killing officials and thus terrorizing the government"⁷⁷. To establish his view, he cites a few instances of violent deeds of some youths. Kudhiram Bose, a youth of eighteen, who attempted on the life of a magistrate, missed the target and killed the women of Mr. Kennedy's family, was accused in the conspiracy and sentenced to death. His photograph was sold all over India. Nine Bengali youths, including one Aswini Kumar Dutt, were deported. Further, the continued harassment of VOC in prisons at Coimbatore and Kannur inflamed terrorists like Nilakanta Brahmachari and VVS Aiyar. Thus, according to Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, "An infuriated young Tamil decided to follow the example

of Kudhiram Bose⁷⁸. However, Ma. Po. Si.'s assessment of Vanchi's action is not fair; he has suppressed the truth in his intoxicated Gandhian cover of non-violence. When many of the foreign returned moderates were seeking berths under the raj, a few youths like Kudhiram Bose, Madanlal Dhingra, Vanchi Iyer, the Chaepkkr brothers and Bhagat Singh, unmindful of the consequences, sacrificed their lives for the liberation of their mother country. It was something uncommon among youths of those testing times.

Now there arises a question: Who was, in fact, behind this shooting incident? Nilakanta Brahmachari or VVS Aiyar? In the Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case, Nilakanta Brahmachari was indicted, whereas Aiyar's name was not included in the FIR⁷⁹. However, the Intelligence Reports relate VVS Aiyar with this murder⁸⁰. According to the Indian Seditious Committee Report, 1918, VVS Aiyar made all arrangements for giving shooting practices to Vanchi Iyer at Pondicherry⁸¹. But an Intelligence Report says, "...there can be little doubt that it was instigated from Paris through VVS Aiyar"⁸². An archival record in the National Archives, New Delhi, as mentioned in the book on Hardayal, states that the **Abhinav Bharat** did achieve the murder of Ashe by Vanchi Iyer through VVS Aiyar in Pondicherry⁸³. In the murder, Vanchi Iyer is said to have made use of Browning 256 Automatic Pistol, which is found to have been secretly sent to VVS Aiyar by Madame Cama from Paris in May 1911⁸⁴. According to the Intelligence Report Madame Cama wrote in her **Vande Mataram** on July 1911 admiring Vanchi Iyer's bravery. She wrote, "Two young brave country men of ours proved by their daring deeds at Tinnevely and at Hyndman Singh that Hinduism is not sleeping"⁸⁵.

How it happened? Vanchi Iyer, to begin with, was in the camp of Nilakanta Brahmachari, who had the branches of his **Bharat Matha Sangam** at Ottapidaram, Tuticorin, Tenkasi, Shenkottai and Punalur. It has been revealed in the Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case that one Sankara Krishna Iyer, a revolutionary and a relative of Vanchi Iyer had introduced the latter to Nilakanta Brahmachari at Punalur a year before the murder of Ashe in June 1910⁸⁶. When VVS Aiyar reached Pondicherry incognito Brahmachari did not meet him and did not develop contacts with him. At that time, Brahmachari is said to have been out of station. But, once when he stayed in Pondicherry, both of them met and kept contacts after February 1911. Vanchi Iyer from Punalur came here once to meet Brahmachari, but met VVS Aiyar. Having got to know about Vanchi Iyer, VVS Aiyar made good use of his bravery, emotions and wavering mind. Why did Brahmachari use the terms, **Wavering mind of Vanchi Iyer**? There are good reasons for it. It is said that Brahmachari and Vanchi Iyer were very close associates. Brahmachari seems to have made his influence on Vanchi. But differences arose among them in the matter of Vanchi's contribution to the publication of Brahmachari's two books, which the latter is said to have informed the former as if they were under print in Madras. Once Vanchi understood that Brahmachari was dishonest, he left the latter and joined VVS Aiyar⁸⁷. Moreover, Nilakanta Brahmachari was not in favour of individual assassination of British officials. Even when he was sounded about the wished of VOC in doing away with Ashe through some Marava chieftains in Tirunelveli, he guided them to refuse it. Aiyar himself drew up the plan, gave Vanchi shooting practice and a pistol and executed the plan and sought the murder of Ashe⁸⁸. But an eye-wit-

ness account says that Aiyar chose Vanchi Iyer from among fifteen such patriots, to whom the former gave training and got the Collector, shot dead by Vanchi Iyer in the presence of Pillai⁸⁹.

But, at the time of Ashe's murder, Nilakanta Brahmachari was away in Kasi⁹⁰. In his absence, his residence, parental house and the residences of his associates were searched and the police collected some incriminating material and pamphlets, which were meant for fomenting rebellion. On his return he was arrested. But in the court trial he was not found guilty, since the materials submitted to the court were found inadequate to convict him. However, he was sentenced to undergo 7 years imprisonment⁹¹. But, the real inciter, VVS Aiyar was left scot-free. Unperturbed by the developments, VVS Aiyar continued his routine work. He continued to give revolver practice to young Indians and preached national liberation. He addressed secret party meetings and organized calls for the revolutionary activities. In the meantime, the British government took measures to impress upon the French Indian Government the need for banishing the patriots to Africa. In spite of the failure of charges newly framed against the refugees, the then Governor of Pondicherry planned to deport them to Algeria. He, however, survived the threat of exile to Algeria⁹². It was in these years of 1914 – 1915, Aiyar began his literary contribution on **Tirukkural**⁹³. In 1920, he had widely travelled to Poona, Bombay, Nasik, Sabarmathi, Delhi, Haridwar, Kangri, Mathura, Agra, Oudh, BodhGaya and Kasi⁹⁴. He went to Madras and continued his terrorist activities. He was for some time from July 31, 1920, the editor of **Desabhaktan**. In his absence an article **Repression** appeared in the journal on its May 6, 1921 issue. He was charged with sedition under Section 124-A, IPC. Though Aiyar argued

that the article contained nothing seditious, the Chief Presidency Magistrate sentenced him to nine months simple imprisonment⁹⁵. In the jail Aiyar started writing a commentary on the **Bala Kantam** of Kamban's **Ramayana**⁹⁶.

Having been released on June 24, 1922 from the Bellary jail, he reached Madras. Thereafter in 1922-23, he started the **Tamil Gurukulam School** at Shermadevi to train youths in nationalism and patriotism. This School later became a centre of controversy, which very much affected his mind. But before his death in the Papanasam falls on June 3, 1925, he had mostly integrated himself with the Gandhian era of nationalism and attended many annual sessions of the Congress.

From the foregoing study, it is understood that VVS Aiyar was a nationalist of the first order. Though his method of militant nationalism or individual terrorism or the cult of the bomb was unacceptable to many, his means for the end were not uncommon to the world over. He was unabashed of following the cult of the bomb, if it could liberate his mother country from bondage. Though he was vehemently criticized for his incitement of murders by involving Hindu gods and goddesses and heroes of history, he was, in fact, not a Hindu revivalist. Unlike his counterparts, Aiyar was more reasonable and courageous. He was brave and brainy; a man with minute presence of mind and strong convictions. A person of strict morals and good habits, Aiyar was loved as a **Rishi** by VD Savarkar, and a man of action by Madame Cama and a good friend by Dr. T.S.Rajan. Being the **right hand man** of VD Savarkar, he was a brave man with kind heart, keen mind and strong will power. He was at his best as a conspirator, a literary critic and a short-story writer. A lawyer

who could argue his case, Aiyar was a successful propagandist and a secret publicist. A letter-writer, he could very successfully divert the attention of the British Intelligence and escape their eyes. What he had accomplished within the short span of forty-four years is extra-ordinary to be emulated by the younger generations minus his cult of the bomb. His thoughts were daring and his deeds were daring. He was a daring person indeed!

References

¹ This took place in 1907. R. A. Padmanabhan, VVS Aiyar, New Delhi, 1980, p.10.

² Khorshed Adi Sethna, Madame Bhikhaji Rustom Cama, New Delhi, 1987, p.84.

^{2a} Regarding this MPT Acharya wrote in an article later, "His personal charm was such that a mere shake-hand could convert to his views such obstinate man as VVS Aiyar and Hardayal not only convert but even bring out the best out of them". "Savarkar in London", "The Man and the Historian", **The Maratha**, 17.5.1930

^{2b} James Campbell Ker, **Political Trouble in India**, Delhi, 1973, p.178.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.37-38.

⁴ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, **History of Freedom Movement in Tamilnadu** (TI.)(tr. Eng) K. Chellappan, Thanjavur, 1988.

⁵ Pe. Su. Mani, VVS Aiyar: **Political and Literary Services** (TI.), Chennai, 1993.

⁶ S. P. Sen (ed.), **Dictionary of National Biography**, Vol II, Calcutta, 1973.

⁷ Savarkar's impact on Aiyar was found very great when the former wrote in Marathi the revolutionary work on the Indian Mutiny as 1857: **The First War of Indian Independence and Aiyar and**

some of his associates translated it into English and got it published secretly in England, Paris and India. R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, pp.30-33. Madame Cama got it translated into French by MPT Acharya

⁸ The date given in his "Brief Life History" in his translated version of **Tirukkural** appears incorrect. (VVS Aiyar, **Tirukkural**, Tiruchirapalli, 1998, pp.v-viii)

⁹ In 1908 when Aiyar was suspected of complicity in the Curzon-Wyllie assassination, rumours reached home that Aiyar would be arrested and hung or transported to Andamans. Taunted by some inconsiderate relatives for having produced such a son, his mother had drowned herself in a nearby tank. (R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.* pp.100-101).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.82.

¹¹ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, *op.cit.*, pp. 128-129.

¹² R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p-33.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.28-29.

¹⁴ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, *op.cit.*, p.138.

¹⁵ R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.73.

¹⁷ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, *op.cit.*, p.130. See also R. A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.131.

^{18a} R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.54.

¹⁹ Pe. Su. Mani, *op.cit.*, pp.60-61.

²⁰ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, *op.cit.*, p.127.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.128.

²² Pe. Su. Mani, *op.cit.*, pp.27-28. For further reasons see C. A. Perumal, "Revolutionary Na-

tionalism in Tamilnadu, 1900-1920", S. Manickam, (ed.) Reflections on Trends and Themes in History, Madurai, 1992, pp.60-61.

²³ Pe. Su. Mani, *op.cit.*, p.28.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.33.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.112.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.43-44.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.101.

³² *Ibid.*, p.102.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.23, p.56, p.58, p.137. Aiyar was very much attracted to Emerson's famous essay titled Self-Reliance and translated it into Tamil. Washington was the famous Negro leader, who rose from slavery, found the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881, the year Aiyar was born. Aiyar followed its pattern in later years when he established the Tamil Gurukulam School in Shermadevi in 1922-23.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ James Campbell Ker, *op.cit.*, p.187.

⁴⁰ M.G. Indra Devi, Terrorist Movement in South India, Trivandrum, 1977, p.9.

⁴¹ R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.16.; Also Pe.

Su. Mani, *op.cit.*, pp.34-35.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁴³ S. Manickam, *op.cit.*, p.62.

⁴⁴ R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.85.

⁴⁵ Khorshed Adi Sethra, *op.cit.*, p.54 & 101.

⁴⁶ The youths thus sent to get military training were MPT Acharya, Chota Dutt and Khan, a young Muslim member of **Abhinav Bharat**. (RA Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.44).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.49.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.31-32.

^{48a} RA Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.19 & S. Manickam, *op.cit.*, p.68.

⁴⁹ RA Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.22.

⁵⁰ S. Manickam, *op.cit.*, p.68.

⁵¹ RA Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.24 & S. Manickam, *op.cit.*, p.69.

⁵² RA Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, p.24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* RA Padmanabhan gives details about how Aiyar played with his name.

⁵⁵ See for details, *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27. These indicate VVS Aiyar's innovative intelligence and keen observation of men and matters.

⁵⁶ S. Manickam, *op.cit.*, p.63.

⁵⁷ R.A. Padmanabhan, *op.cit.*, pp.52-54.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.70-71.

^{58a} Pe. Su. Mani, *op.cit.*, p.57.

⁵⁹ **Tirukkural**, VVS Aiyar's translation, p.vi and Pe. Su. Mani, *op.cit.*, pp.62-63.

- ⁶⁰ **Tirukkural**, p.vi.
- ⁶¹ R. A. Padmanabhan, **op.cit.**, pp.85-87 & Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, pp.62-63.
- ⁶² R. A. Padmanabhan, **op.cit.**, p.92.
- ⁶³ Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, p.64.
- ⁶⁴ James Campbell Ker, **op. cit.**, p.200.
- ⁶⁵ Panchchan Saha, **Madam Cama**, Calcutta, 1973, p.36.
- ⁶⁶ Arun Chandra Guha, **First Spark of Revolution**. Appendix iv, Bombay, 1971, p.509.
- ⁶⁷ Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, p.62.
- ⁶⁸ **Ibid.**
- ^{68a} According to Chavadi Chokkalingam Pillai, son of Shenkottai Chavadi Arunachalam Pillai, who was with Vanchi Iyer at Maniyachi at the time of shooting of the Collector who was waiting in the compartment of the train for 45 minutes from 10.15 am, the Collector was shot at 10.45 AM (AIR Nellore, 8.15 am programme, August 15, 2000).
- ⁶⁹ Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, 66.
- ⁷⁰ About his ill-treatment in the Coimbatore jail, VOC was reported to have said in exasperation, "All this is the work of the Sub-Collector Ashe. Is there no end to this man's orgy?" (Quoted in R. A. Padmanabhan, **op.cit.**, p.110). For the pitiable plight of the workers of the Coral and B&C Mills See A. Sivasubramanian, VOC and the **First Workers Strike**, Madras, 1986, pp.19-24; and his "Folktales of the Mill Workers", in *Thamarai*, November, 1980. Also see S. Divan, **Terrorism in Indian Freedom Movement: The Maniyachi Murder** (Ti.), (Unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, 1994), pp.90-92.
- ⁷¹ See for detail, **Ibid.**, pp.105-107.
- ⁷² **Ibid.**, pp.106-109.
- ⁷³ **Ibid.**, pp.132-135.
- ⁷⁴ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, **op.cit.**, pp.131-132.
- ⁷⁵ S. Divan, **op.cit.**, pp.118-120.
- ⁷⁶ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, **op.cit.**, 129.
- ⁷⁷ **Ibid.**
- ⁷⁸ Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, **op.cit.**, 130.
- ⁷⁹ Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, p.66.
- ⁸⁰ **Ibid.**
- ⁸¹ **Ibid.**
- ⁸² James Campbell Ker, **op.cit.**, p.200.
- ⁸³ Dharmavira, **Lala Hardayal**, New Delhi, 1970, p.23.
- ⁸⁴ G.O. No:1112-1113-8.7.1911, Judicial Department, Confidential File, Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai.
- ⁸⁵ At Myman Singh in Bengal in June 1911, a young revolutionary shot at a CID Sub-Inspector (Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, p.67).
- ⁸⁶ James Campbell Ker, **op.cit.**, p.203.
- ⁸⁷ L. Sabapathi Pillai, **Indian War of Independence**, Trichy, 1976, pp.295-98.
- ⁸⁸ **Ibid.**, p.297. Aiyar saw the young man's potential and immediately converted him to his camp and indoctrinated him to carry out the shooting of Ashe. Vanchi agreed to do away with Ashe, went back to his place and then returned all ready for training. Recounting this Nagasami, Aiyar's assistant, says, "Dharmalayam gave a warm welcome to Vanchi. He stayed for a month. During this month, Aiyar came regularly and gave Vanchi private instruc-

tion. Each day, at 4 AM Vanchi would be taken to Garadikuppam Odai and given practice in shooting straight. Meanwhile the Browning pistol sent by Madame Cama arrived. A pamphlet titled 'The Duty of Aryans' was also ready... At the closing week of May 1911, one night Vanchi was escorted by myself and one Kannu Pillai out of Dharmalayam, with pistol and pamphlets. We went on foot to Villianur and then to Bahour. There we crossed the river and moved to Tiruppappuliyur where we put Vanchi on a train going South". (R. A. Padmanabhan, **op.cit.**, p.111).

⁸⁹ Chavadi Chokkalingam Pillai, son of Shenkottai Chavadi Arunachalam Pillai, says that his father was one among the fifteen, who made a secret search for Ashe in his office and residence and learnt that the Collector would be going to Kodaikanal with his family. This news reached them three days before the journey, i.e. on 14th June 1911. Vanchi Iyer and Arunachalam Pillai are said to have waited in the station many hours earlier and discussed the method of the execution of the plot.

⁹⁰ R. A. Padmanabhan, **op.cit.**, p.113.

⁹¹ **Ibid.**, p.114.

⁹² **Ibid.**, p.131.

⁹³ **Ibid.**, p.132-135.

⁹⁴ Pe. Su. Mani, **op.cit.**, p.3.

⁹⁵ R. A. Padmanabhan, **op.cit.**, -pp.159-160. The date of the publication of the article and the period of imprisonments wrongly given in Pe. Su. Mani's work.

⁹⁶ **Ibid.**, pp.160-162.

ARCOT - PONDICHERRY RELATIONS BETWEEN 1698 AND 1761

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The Carnatic Subha

In 1698, under Emperor Aurangzeb, Zulfikar Khan received appointment as the first Nawab of the Carnatic with headquarters at Senji, which he renamed Nasrat Godah (City of Victory). When he returned to Delhi in November 1701, his deputy Daud Khan Panni, an Afghan, took over in his place, but found Arcot on river Palar and transferred his seat. He occupied the nearby stronghold of Vellore and then marched to Villianallur. There he got in touch with the first French Governor of Pondicherry, Francois Martin, and even granted Ozhukarai to him. Since Daud Khan was recalled to Delhi, Sadatullah Khan became next Nawab (1710-32). (Sadatullah routed the 21-year young and rash Rajput Killedar of Senji, Raja Desingh, and erected Fatteh-pettai – Vijay Nagar – at the spot where the youngman fell. The heroism of Desingh and the self-immolation of his young wife on his pyre, moved Sadatullah so that he ordered Ranipet built in her memory). Viceroy Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah of the Deccan was too busy with Mughal affairs to wield effective control over the distant Arcot. Sadatullah was followed by his nephew Dost Ali¹.

Dost Ali, 1732-40

As soon as he ascended, Dost Ali directed his son Safdar Ali and son-in-law Chanda Sahib to take out an army against the Maratha kingdom of Thanjavur and Rani Minakshi of Tiruchi. Chanda Sahib forced out large amounts from Thanjavur, seized Tiruchi and imprisoned Rani Minakshi in April 1736. Raja Pratap Singh

(1739-63) of Thanjavur appealed to the Marathas of Satara for help against the Muslims².

Dost Ali chose to maintain good relations with both the French and the English. He had a fort at Alambarai, close to Pondicherry in which his treasury and mint were located. His faujdar and minister there by name Imam Sahib visited Pondicherry often and even granted loans and presents to the French Governor. Dost Ali also secured the right of mint for the French in 1735 (I : 40; II : 136)³.

In response to the appeal from Thanjavur, Raghoji Bhonsle came down south. His cavalry, about 40,000 or 50,000 strong, ravaged the northern districts of Arcot for several months beginning from the end of May 1740. The Marathas killed Nawab Dost Ali, and his second son Hasan Ali, in battle in July 1740, and then marched towards Tiruchi (I : 118; 126 etc.).

Safdar Ali Khan, 1740-42

Safdar Ali who returned to Arcot from Tiruchi to fight by the side of his father, heard the tragic news of his death, and retired to the better guarded fort of Vellore; while Chanda Sahib, who too had come out some distance, returned to Tiruchi. Safdar Ali succeeded to his father's gadi in July 1740. The fallen Nawab's widom and close relatives, including the families of his two sons-in-law, Chanda Sahib and Akbar Khan – fifty in all – fled for shelter to Pondicherry (I : 121, 123, 126); the family of Safdar Ali, however, found asylum at

In September 1740, Nawab Safdar Ali visited Governor Dumas, with a large following which included Chanda Sahib, in order to cement the ties with the French in the face of the Maratha irruption. While the Nawab returned to Arcot, Chanda Sahib proceeded to Tiruchirappalli. The wife of Dost Ali sent from Pondicherry a lakh or lakh-and-a-half pagodas to Safdar Ali at Arcot. The Marathas, receiving intelligence that the treasure had reached the Chetpet fort, surrounded it, and seized it.

Chanda Sahib was besieged by the Marathas at Tiruchi in March 1741. Unable to withstand, he surrendered to the Marathas, along with his son Abid Sahib. This news reached Pondicherry on 30 March 1741. Four days later, on 3 April, four Company's peons set out with a letter from Governor Dumas to Raghoji Bhonsla, pleading for the release of Chanda Sahib.

Murtaza Ali Khan, Governor of Vellore, who had married another sister of Nawab Safdar Ali, and was also his first cousin, being the son of his father's elder brother, murdered Safdar Ali while he was sleeping in his mahal at Vellore in October 1742. With Safdar Ali's death, the rule of the Naivaitis — meaning New Comers, who had emigrated from Arabia to India about 700 A.D. to escape the cruelties of the then Governor of Irak — came to an end at Arcot 4.

Murtaza proceeded to Arcot and installed himself as the Nawab. When the death of Nawab Safdar Ali became known at Chennapatnam, Governor Benyon caused the flag in the fort to be hoisted half-mast, and minute (funeral) guns fired. He and the

members of the Council, clad in mourning costumes, went to the church, and held a service. The Governor's wife put on mourning garments and repaired to the residence of the late Nawab's widow and mother to condole with them.

Anwaruddin Khan, 1743-49

A faction at Arcot declared the two-and-a-half year old son of Safdar Ali the new Nawab. Nizam-ul-mulk, aged eighty, with his sons — including the eldest Nasir Jung (30) — and nobles, marched down to Arcot with 70,000 horse and countless foot in February 1743. After restoring order at Arcot, the Nizam proceeded to Tiruchi and invested the fort held by the Marathas. From there, he sent the presents of an Arab horse and four jewelled ornaments to Dupleix, which were carried from the gates of Pondicherry in a grand procession consisting of the Governor, Deputy Governor, Councillors, native leaders, sixty palankins, several horses, elephants, soldiers and sepoys, with drums and pipes, and nautch girls. On 1 September 1743 the Maratha general Morari Rao agreed to evacuate the fort, and the Nizam occupied it after a siege of six or seven months, and hoisted the flag of the Emperor of Delhi.

Nizam-ul-mulk appointed one of his generals, Koja Abdullah Khan as the Nawab of the Carnatic. A little later, when Koja visited Golconda, he was assassinated by his enemies, and Anwaruddin Khan of the house of Walajah was named Nawab of Arcot.

Anwaruddin too desired to maintain cordial relations with both the English and French, but his reign coincided with the outbreak of hostilities in Europe between them, resulting eventually in the Carnatic Wars here.

At accession, the Nawab was around 80 years of age. Two years hence, he paid a visit to Dupleix. Arriving on 10 September 1745, he stayed for one more day at Pondicherry, receiving a regal reception. The host and guest exchanged costly presents (I : 277-80). Anwaruddin's elder son was Mahfuz Khan, and his younger and illegitimate son Muhammad Ali Khan (II : 381-82). Mahfuz Khan too visited Pondicherry on February 10, 1746, and was well received, and several presents were made to him.

The First Carnatic War

In 1745-46, the English seized French ships on the seas, and hampered movement of grain to Pondicherry. Dupleix made preparations for an attack on Fort St. George and Fort St. David, and addressed a letter in March 1746 to Anwaruddin stating (diplomatically) that the French wished to avoid fighting the English out of respect for the Nawab; that the English had encamped in the Nawab's territory ... "We cannot remain passive. Should any encounter take place within your territories, you must not blame us. We write to you beforehand..." (I:336). La Bourdonnais fired his first salvo against Fort St. George in August. Anwaruddin protested against this French attack on Padshh-bandar (Chennai), to which Dupleix replied that "our ships of war will be guided only by the instructions given by our King and will not listen to counsels of others", and sent him 150 oranges (II : 285, 291). On September 21, Chennapatnam was captured by the French. Dupleix despatched a letter to Nizam-ul-mulk detailing the actions of the English which necessitated the declaration of the war on them by the French King. In that letter, he explained

that besides seizing French ships, a Manila-bound ship bearing the name and flag of Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi too was taken by the English, and that therefore the King of France, being the Emperor's most faithful friend, had resolved to take the city of Chennai belonging to the English. "We are all carrying out the royal mandate, and you should help us in whatever way you can". A copy of this letter was sent to the Nawab of the Carnatic (II : 291-92).

Ananda Ranga Pillai did not fail to notice, even before the First Carnatic War that the Nawab's authority, once very vast, was dwindling, and that he had grown dependent on Europeans (II:340).

•Mahfuz Khan Put to flight

Anwaruddin warned Dupleix that he would march his armies to wrest Madras from the French the latter replied that "the French had always been a warlike race and it is impossible to subdue them ... If you should act without due caution, we are determined to give you proof of the power of our valour" (III : 45). Dupleix despatched parties to the villages around Pondicherry with orders to tear down the Nawab's flags in retaliation to Mahfuz Khan's hostile actions (III : 55).

A French force of 500 men under Paradis routed Mahfuz Khan who sought to obstruct its march by land towards Chennai, and pillaged Mylapore (III : 61, 95-96). Mahfuz fled without even taking his upper garment with him, and wrote to his father a detailed letter (III : 99).

Mahfuz Khan asked, "If the French and English were at war on the seas, why should the former have captured Chennai which is on

land?" The English cleverly played Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali against the French, by promising support to them. Believing the English, the two Muslim princes prepared to attack Pondicherry, and marched from Senji to Devanampatnam. Yet, out of fear, they made a detour of three leagues to the westwards, skirting Tiruvadi and Panruti. Their men were afraid of a sudden attack by the French soldiers moving about the country as far as Villupuram. They hardly slept during nights, and constantly moved from one tent to another (III : 173, 229-30).

The English at Fort St. David offered to pay for the camp expenses of the Muslim princes at Koodalur (III : 230), but cheated by not paying them. The Muslims lost heavily (III : 290). Nawab Anwaruddin therefore wrote repeatedly to his sons that the whole country was ruined, owing to the failure of rain; "there was no sign of taxed being collected; the demands of the Nizam for money were pressing; and large arrears were outstanding against us" (III : 244); and bade them to come to some terms, break up their camp and return to Arcot. When the diarist conveyed the news to the Governor, he ordered the former to send 200 mangoes to the Nawab.

Though Mahfuz Khan desired war, to avenge his Mylapore defeat, Dupleix tried his best to pacify and send away the Muslim troops from the vicinity of Pondicherry, as they pillaged and set fire to the villages of the French around Pondicherry (III : 300-15). The Marathas too solicited monetary help from Dupleix, promising to send 1,000 horse to crush the Muslim forces (III:127).

In the meanwhile, Dupleix tried for the release of Chanda Sahib. Chanda Sahib's household at Pondicherry had one Maratha accountant by name Rajo Pandit. He was asked by Dupleix to prepare drafts of letters to be sent to the Maratha leaders, Fattah Singh, Rahoji Bhonsla, Sripati Rao and Saū Bhaji Rao, for the liberation of Chanda Sahib (III : 118). In that letter, Dupleix told the Maratha leaders that "since the removal of the Navait family from the Subah and the accession of Anwaruddin Khan, not only has the country been ruined, but owing to this unjust war with the French, the Subah has lost an annual profit of two lakhs of pagodas which were made through trading in the towns on the sea-board, and many people have lost their means of livelihood" (III : 140).

Simultaneously, Dupleix also tried his best to pacify and send away the Muslim troops from the vicinity of Pondicherry (III : 300-15). "As requested by Anwar Khan (the youngest son of Anwaruddin, camping near Koodalur with Muhammad Ali Khan and Mahfuz Khan) I bought a clock from M. de Bausset, for a hundred pagodas, and forwarded it to him by his man Desanji, "writes the diarist (III : 219).

Anwaruddin was quiet ready for peace, and expected a few lakhs of rupees as presents from the French. His bargain came down from 20 lakhs to at least 1 lakh. Dupleix would give only 40,000 and that too only in gift articles (III : 345). Dupleix, after a settlement had been reached, sent mirrors, clocks, guns, pistols, rolls of brocade, English and French broad-cloths and velvet, flasks of rose-water, balm cordial and Imperial water, carpets, wax candles, glass candle-shades, telescopes, gold and silver galloons manufactured at Ispahan and France,

knives with handles inlaid with gold, scissors, gold hookah stoppers, musket, calf-elephant, etc. to Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan (II:332; 343). Mahfuz and Muhammad Ali set fire to their camp and left (III:363). On 27 February 1747, the treaty signed with Mahfuz Khan was celebrated at Pondicherry and Chennai by the French, with bon-fires, illuminations, fireworks etc. (III :365). Ranga Pillai informs us, "There was an agreement with the French; towards the demand of the Nawab for indemnity on account of expenses of the war, they would pay him Rs. 12,000. Out of this amount, a bill of exchange for Rs. 2,000 on a certain person at Arcot was given to him some time ago. Of the balance of Rs. 10,000, he received Rs. 400 in cash, and obtained a bill of exchange from Bukkanji Kasi Das of this place on one Haji Husain at Arcot for the remaining Rs. 9,600" (III:395).

Further, Anwaruddin Khan demanded in December 1747 that Dupleix "pay the rent due for Chennai for the last two years, together with the charges of my writers there. Also send some spectacles for seeing both at a distance and near at hand" for the Nizam. Dupleix asked Pillai to get the spectacles from Cornet, and write that only a year and three months' rent was due, from September 21, 1746, that one year's rent would be paid now, and that the second year's rent would be paid in nine month's time (IV : 262). The annual rent was Rs. 1,200 pagodas to the Nawab, in addition on 35 pagodas for his Qanungo, and some more for his other writers and servants (IV : 339). We hear that Mahfuz Khan obtained military supplies like cannon, powder and lead from the French (V:213).

The Diary has a gap of one month, from July 29 to September 3, 1749, so we do not have details of the battle of Ambur, in which Anwaruddin was killed by the French and Chanda Sahib. While Mahfuz Khan was taken prisoner, Muhammad Ali escaped to Tiruchi. Mahfuz was released shortly, and from then on he threw his weight behind the English (VI: 241-42, 399, 409-10, 428 etc.).

After Anwaruddin, the English recognised Muhammad Ali Khan as the Nawab, while the French preferred Chanda Sahib who was still in Maratha custody. Chanda Sahib's family lived in Pondicherry where Dupleix provided all they required for their daughter's marriage in December 1747 (IV : 290-94), and even negotiated with the Marathas for his release.

Chanda Sahib, though released by the Marathas in 1745 itself, unfortunately got entangled on the way in a war between the Rajas of Bednur and Chitaldrug, and was made prisoner again, and returned to Tamilnadu only in 1749 (H. Dodwell). At once, Dupleix sent 2,000 French sepoys under d' Auteuil and Law to help him Capture Arcot (VI:155 ff). The French captured several Muslim nobles for ransom, and plundered the villages. Muzaffar Jung, the son of the Nizam also arrived to aid Chanda Sahib (VI:133-34, 139, 155 ff). After taking possession of Arcot, Chanda Sahib, with Muzaffar Jung, visited Pondicherry, and personally related to Madame Dupleix his travails in the Maratha and Mysore countries. "So by your help, I have won Arcot, and my life is yours", he said (VI:185-86). While the French supported the cause of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung, the English threw their weight behind Muhammad Ali, and Nasir Jung (VI:290).

Chanda Sahib stayed at Pondicherry between 25 September and 28 October 1749, when the Bahur pargana with its 36 villages, and the Villianallur pargana with its 45 villages – 81 villages in all, were received as jaghir by the French. Chidambaram and Poonamallee too were mortgaged by him to the French from November 1, 1749 (VI:149, 283). He then left for Tiruchi.

Fall of Arcot to the English

Muhammad Ali, on the other hand, mortgaged Tiruchi fort and country to the English in return for a loan, while Salabat Jung issued a parwana conferring them on the French (VIII:35-36). As Muhammad Ali held the fort of Tiruchi, Chanda Sahib invested him. Dupleix managed to win over Morari Rao to the side of Chanda Sahib, but he later joined Muhammad Ali and the English on getting better offers (VIII:40-41). To draw out Chanda Sahib's and his troops from Tiruchi, the young Robert Clive led a small force from Madras to Arcot. When he took the town on 14th September, 1751, five lakhs of rupees fell into his hands (VIII:51-52).

Dupleix informed the Chief Dubash a few days afterwards that Chanda Sahib had turned all his poligars into enemies, and the troubles were growing. "So we must assign him a jaghir and tell him to ear and live in peace. If he gives any sign of mischief, he shall be seized and sent by ship to Mecca" (VIII:77).

Fall of Chanda Sahib

Chanda Sahib and his troops at Tiruchi, in May 1752, suffered for want of food and money, and retreated to the island of Srirangam.

There, he, along with Law and other French officers, and their troops at Srirangam temple, were surrounded by Muhammad Ali Khan, the Mysoreans, the English and Morari Rao, so that no provision could reach them. So in despair he agreed to pay a certain sum to Manoji Appa of Thanjavur and Morari Rao, to be escorted beyond Thanjavur and then sent to Karaikal. Disguised as a faqir, he set out, escorted by Morari Rao. But Muhammad Ali Khan's people discovered him and declared that they would take him to the fort of Tiruchirappali, but his captors took him to Manoji Appa's tent (VIII:111-12), where a day or two later, in June 1752, his head was struck off when he saying his prayers one morning. His head, with the body, was carried on a camel for all to see to Muhammad Ali in the fort of Tiruchi" (VIII: 113-14).

Subsequent Developments

The fall of Chanda Sahib was a fatal blow to the prestige of Dupleix and the French, who in despair recongised next the unpopular and incompetent Murtaza Ali as Nawab, and even granted him the title of Zulfikar Jung when he visited Pondicherry. The French could not take Arcot, and soon Dupleix himself was recalled, and his successor General Godeheu, in accordance with the commission given him, abjectly concluded a truce of 18 months in January 1755 with the English, promising to disown all territorial and other concessions and privileges the French had been possessing⁴. Whereas the English troops under Col. Heron, even during the truce, marched out from Tiruchi and occupied both Madurai and Tirunelveli, claiming that they belonged to Muhammad Ali. The

French Government at Paris had no more resources or will to fight the English in the Carnatic. With the result, Arcot continued to remain under the English, who went on conquering the entire Tamilnadu "on behalf of Nawab Muhammad Ali" whom they kept as their virtual prisoner at Madras, until his death in 1795.

Lally, who was sent to Pondicherry to fight the last Carnatic War, in 1757, promised to raise Raza Khan, son of Chanda Sahib, to the Nawabi, but he too could not take Arcot and install him. He surrendered Pondicherry to Col. Eyre Coote on January 16, 1761. And the English became the master Arcot, and the whole of Arcot country, that is Tamilnadu. Coote, so systematically demolished the Pondicherry Fort, the French Governor's mansion and office buildings, and churches, that the French documents perished, putting us at the mercy of English documents for the events of the period. And the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai is the only other non-English source 5.

Some General Information

Pondicherry, chennapatnam and Arcot were the three major political and economic centres of the Tamil country in the 18th century. There was brisk traffic in men and goods between Pondicherry and Arcot, and the nearby Lalapet. Letters were carried by camelmens and messengers. The two routes between the two towns lay through Senji, Vandavasi, Tindivanam, Perumukkal, or Senji and Villupuram. The famous merchants and bankers of those days, such as Sungu Seshachala Chetty, Kaviral Venkatesa Chetty, Ananda Ranga Pillai and Kasi Das Bukkanji,

had their offices and godowns at both these places. The French purchased wheat, horse and other commodities at Arcot. There were French physicians like St. Hilaire and Jacob (and also Gordon, an Englishman) at the Arcot. The more well-known Francis Pereira – known to the natives as the Roman Hakkim, served as physician and French envoy to Chanda Sahib and often flitted between Pondicherry and Tiruchirapalli carrying messenges and presents. The Nawabs often wrote to the French Governor for spectacles and medicines. But the importance of both Pondicherry and Arcot drew to a closes with final triumph of the English Company in 1761.

Reference

1. For more on this, refer to R. Alalasundaram, "The Colonial World of Ananda Ranga Pillai, 1736-61", Pondicherry-8, 1998.
2. G.B. Malleson, "History of the French in India from 1674 up to 1761", rep. Delhi, Renaissance Publishing House, 1984, 74-75.
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4. Malleson, Ibid., 441-46.
5. C.S. Srinivasachari has very ably tapped the famous Diary for his excellent work, "Ananda Ranga Pillai, The Pepys' of French India". Originally serialised in 1927-38 in Vols. VI to XVII of the Journal of Indian History, University of Madras. It was then published in book form in 1940. Reprint: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1991.

LEADERSHIP CONCEPTS IN VEDARANYAM SALT SATYAGRAHA AND RESULTANT ACTIVITIES IN TAMILNADU

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Management Studies as a social science deals with leadership- concepts. History is replete with such aspects. Throughout the course of History, in all events, it can be seen that a person with abilities of a leader leads and motivates others to attain the desired goals. Leaders like Raja Rammohan Roy Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and C. Rajagopalachari are the leaders who led the people and guided the destinies of people.

Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha holds a unique place in the History of Tamilnadu since it was organised on the lines of Dandi March. The Satyagraha that was carried on all over the coastal areas of India was a turning point in the History of India's Freedom struggle. C. Rajagoapala chari, popularly known as Rajaji led the Congress Vounteers to Vedaranyam to break the Salt Laws.

It was a unique movement that, initiatives were taken to oppose the British for its oppressive administration in imposing vexatious and unwanted tax on Salt, which was a common consumption by people. It was also an innovative struggle because Gandhi wanted the complete co-operation of the masses in India. Not all people co-operate in those days of British savagery and brutal force in suppressing the rise of the Indians. British repression was merciless. So Gandhi, as a leader, innovator and a strategist took up the cause of taxation policy. So people's co-operation, Gandhi thought, would be certain. Gandhi was right. Since he understood the power and strength of

the British. At the same time, he knew the weakness of the masses also since the British punishment on their enemies were ruthless. The SWOT analysis done in business deals with the aspects, strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat in any business endeavour. Gandhiji was resource constrained in respect of his military or financial resources. He needed only a cause that would unite people, the rich and the poor. He needed a public demonstration of defiance. He did not want a defiance that would involve any technological requirements. Salt was the simple tool for him.

In this struggle Gandhi unified all castes and economic groups. Salt is God's gift. Salt water and Indian Sun could do the trick. The Dandi March and the Volunteers on the beach attracted numerous people. This was in the same way followed by Rajaji to protest against the levy of Salt Tax. The British learnt for the second time, the first being the Non-Co-operation Movement, not to underestimate the power of common symbols, the Tea in Boston and Salt in Dandi.

Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha was a resultant activity of Dandi March, and an inspiration drawn from Gandhi. Similarly, when Rajaji was arrested in the struggle the mantle was taken over by his deputies, K. Santhanam, and Sardar Vedaratnam Pillai. A true leader inspires his followers. The leaders build the team, develop individuals and strive hard to complete the task and this is accomplished by setting up objectives and clear cut goals.

Various Leadership Concepts and Styles Manifest in Salt Satyagraha

There are various styles of leadership, autocratic, authoritative, democratic, etc. Leadership is a spirit compounded of personality and vision and it is about coping with the change. Also, leadership is the practice of fulfilling the leaders' motives by influencing followers through sharing the purpose, process and it proceeds in an established relationship. Rajaji had the vision and the purpose and had the ability to inspire and influence people and to implement his ideas. He had the skill to put forth efficiently his ideas before people and make them his staunch followers. The essence of leadership is followership and there is no leadership with out followership.

In the Satyagraha, Rajaji followed the Democratic or Participative style of leadership. That is to say, that as a democratic leader, he practised a leadership by consultation. His authority was de-centralised. Decisions were arrived at after consultation with his followers in Thurchirapalli Meeting. The subordinates or his followers were encouraged to exhibit their potentials and assume greater challenging responsibilities. This participative leadership attaches much importance to both work and people. In fact, no Leader can perform effectively over an extended period of time with out some degree of followers' participation.

Autocratic Style of the British and Antagonistic activities of the Indians

Unlike the Democratic or Participative style of leadership practised by Rajaji and other leaders of Tamilnadu, the British followed the Autocratic, or Directive style in which the Autocratic leader centralises power and deci-

sion making. He exercises complete control over the subordinates. He holds over the head of the subordinates the threat of penalties and punishment. The British, by threat of punishment kept the Indians at bay with frustration and low morale. The British followed Autocratic leadership theory and their actions provoked partitionism among the Indians. Their actions kindled the spirit of freedom which acted as a catalyst.

Trait Theory

This is another theory which has a modest correlation with leaders of Vedaranyam Satyagraha. This theory suggests that leaders differ from followers with respect to a small number of key traits. On the basis of their potentials and traits the success or the failure of the leader can be predicted. Rajaji fully exhibited his steadfastness, determination in achieving the objective and perseverance in tackling the masses for the freedom struggle.

The Traits of a Good Leader

The leaders should possess intelligence higher than that of his followers. He must have social maturity. Rajaji was never crushed by defeat nor overelated by victory. He truly possessed the high Frustration tolerance. Further inner motivation achievement drive too helped him to rally the peoples' strength. His human relations also helped him in his mission against the alien rule. He knew fully well that to accomplish his task, people have to be induced to participate. This he performed very well and success followed.

The Path Goal Theory of Leadership

This theory was enunciated by Rober. J. House. Leadership effectiveness in different situations is studied and the success of the

leaders' is predicted accordingly. The leader smoothen the path to work goals and provides rewards for achieving them. As far as the Salt Satyagraha was concerned, Rajaji laid the path, made it good for people to tread in and the reward was Indian Independence. This was the set goal.

Rajaji electrified and galvanised the followers. A leader is one who influences and controls the actions of others. Also, his ventures inspire people in succeeding years. The Quit India Movement of 1942, in Tamilnadu posed a great threat to the Administrators. Violence was unleashed and it could not be controlled by any amount of force. This resultant event gave a jolt to the British Rule which began to crumble soon.

Conclusion

Of all the leadership styles only a few leadership styles alone lead to success, and desired goals. Autocratic and Dictatorship type of leadership styles even though appear to be successful in the initial stage due to the factors like ignorance, lack of vision and mission of the people, and poverty it fails in the long run. Thus, Rajaji's leadership emerged successful due to position leadership qualities like adapting the Democratic or, participative or consultative methods and also by adapting Path Goal Theory.

Rajaji's leadership in the Salt Satyagraha Movement in Tamilnadu is a striking example of the potentials of leadership. He could muster the strength of people by his personal calibre and determined activities. The qualities of leadership he possessed, attracted the masses who in course of time made as-

saults on the imperialists and finally resulted in the extinction of the British Empire in India. Thus, leadership plays a vital role in all the events in History of Tamilnadu, India and the World.

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Erode District : An Introduction

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Erode the head quarters of Periyar District, Tamil Nadu India, is located north east of Coimbatore District, situated in between $11^{\circ}.2$ and $11^{\circ}.27$ North $77^{\circ}.22$ and $77^{\circ}.55$ east, with an area of 598 sq.m.¹. It consists of a gently undulating plain sloping east and southeast towards the cauvery river except for a slight ridge the peaks of which are chennimalai, Arachalur and Ezhumathur. There are also small isolated hills.²

The name Erode which means in Tamil as wet-skull, is supposed to have derived from the skull of Brahma found in one of the hands of Ardra kapaleswarer, the Prime diety of the siva Temple. Another version is that ERODE is situated in between Two Odais (Streams) Perumpallam Odai and Periya Agaraharam Odai- hence named as Erodai the word then turned as ERODE.³

ERODE District which till recently formed part of the composite Coimbatore District has its history inter twined with that of Coimbatore. ERODE District formed a part of the ancient KONGU country known as KONGU NADU⁴ In ancient times it was a well knit geographical unit of Coimbatore, Erode Salem and part of Madurai and Trichy District. The term kongu means honey pollen of the flowering and pragrances⁵.

On the basis of the topographical and geographical nature this Kongu Nadu is termed as seven Karai Nadu or Nine Karai Nadu and touched the southern boundary Palani hills, North-Talai hills and Athiyaman country East-Kulithalai West-Velliongiri hills-Chera Chola country. The famous ancient trade centre Kudumanal is also located in the Kongu country.⁶ Its history goes back to Sangam Age and this region was occupied by nomades, vagabounds and various tribes. The tribe Kosaras made Kosampathur as their head-quarters and in course of time it was so believed that it became Coimbatore.⁷ Later these tribes were overpowered by the Rashtrakutas from whom this region fell into the hands of the Cholas who ruled supreme during the time of Raja Raja Chola. On the decline of the Cholas, the Kongu Nadu came to the Occupied by the Chalukyas and later by the Pandiyas and Hoysolas. Due to the internal trouble in the pondiya Kingdom, the Khaljis from Delhi interfered and this area fell into the hands of MADURAI Sultanate. The region was later wrested by Vijayanagar ruler. For a few years the entire area was under the control of Vijayanagar Rayas and later under Independent control of MADURAI NAYAKS. As a result of internal conflict between Muthu Veerappa Nayak and Tirumalai Nayak the Kongu region fell into the hands of the Mysore rulers. Early in the 17th century the Jesuit Father established a station here. From Mysore rulers Hyder Ali took over the region. Following the

expedition of General medous of 1790 its fell in to the hands of the British. But it was soon abandoned on Tippu Sultan's advance. As soon as the peace was signed in 1792 the people returned and within a year Erode had 400 houses and a population of over 2000. But after the fall of Tippusultan in 1799 the Kongu region came to be ceded to the British East India company to the Udaiyars of Mysore who was restored to power by the British. It was garrisoned by the company at first, but the troops were withdrawn in 1807 and 1877 the old fort was levelled as a famine relief work. It continued to be under the control of the British from them till 1947.⁸

ERODE was a well built town and it was upgraded as a Municipality in 1871⁹. There are two old Temples one dedicated to Lord Siva and the other to Lord Vishnu.

The new District came into being in 1979 as a result of the bifurcation of the Coimbatore District consequent In the G.O.Ms. No. 1917 Revenue dated 31st August 1979¹⁰.

This new District is called after the great social reformer and Philan - thropist E.V. Ramasamy Naikar. In order to commemorate the carving out of the new District in the name of "Periyar", the central Government issued new postage / stamp carrying the portrait of Periyar.

Following the comunal riots in Tamil Nadu the Government of Tamil Nadu have decided to remove the names of the leaders both political and communal from the names of the districts. (G.O.Ms.No. 768 Revenue dated 8.8.96). The district is now called Erode.

Erode District lies in the extreme North of Tamil Nadu. In the North it is bounded mostly by the state of Karnataka, Palar River also flows in its Northern boundry. To the east lie Salem and Karur. Madurai District is its immediate neighbour to the south and in the west it has Coimbatore and the Nilgiris as its boundaries. This district is essentially a land locked area having no sea coast of its own.

The total population of the District according to the 1991 census is 2,320,263-male 1,185,256, Female 1,135,007 of which SC and ST constitute 398, 123 and 19194 respectively.¹¹

The main language spoken in the District is Tamil, However Kanada, Malayalam, Telugu and Urdu are also spoken by the people in certain pockets. Religionwise the population of the district as per 1991 census is ¹².

Hindus :

Male	-	1,129,485
Female	-	1,080,268

Muslims :

Male	-	33,732
Female	-	32,436

Christians :

Male	-	21,352
Female	-	21,701

Jains :

Male	-	377
Female	-	336

SIKHS :

Male	-	29
Female	-	20

Buddhist :

Male	-	18
Female	-	11

Other religion and persuasions male 31
Female 21 Religion not stated.

Male	-	232
Female	-	214

The district at present is comprised of 7 taluks and 20 community development Blocks. It has 19 Towns and 503 Villages 479 inhabited villages and 24 uninhabited villages. ¹³

The soil of the district is mostly red-sand and gravel with moderate amount of red loam and occasional black loam tracts. Vast stretches of the up land region are mostly in lands under Kalingarayan Channal and in beds of Tanks in Erode Taluk and to some lesser extent in Valleys in Perundurai and Dharapuram Taluk. Soils of Erode Bhavani, Dharapuram and Perundurai taluks are chiefly gravelly, stony and sandy of the red variety. Soils of Gopichettipalayam and Sathya mangalam are mostly of the red sandy variety. ¹⁴

Main Rivers in the district are Bhavani, Cauvery, Amaravathi and Noyyal. Apart from these main rivers there are a few uncertain. Jungle streams which also contribute towards better irrigation and drainage in a small way. River Palar in the North and upper River in the South are significant. Palar River forms the boundry between Periyar District and Karnataka States in the North. The river together with Bhavani Sagar main canal provide proper drainage and assure firly sufficient facilities for irrigation in the district.

A study of the water sources of the district becomes incomplete without an analysis of the Bhavani Sagar and the Kaalingarayan canal.

Bhavani-Sagar : The Bhavani Sagar Dam is the biggest ear dam in South India. It was built in between 1948 and 1955 at the cost of Rs.10.5 Cr. The length and height of the dam is 27,300 feet. and 204 feet respectively. Catchment area of the water is 777 sq.k.m. The length of the main canal is 200 k.m. It irrigates lands to an extent of about 2,10,000 acres on two harvest. ¹⁵

Kaalingarayan canal : The vast area under turmeric cultivation in Erode district is mainly due to the Kaalingaryan canal. This canal is dierted from the Bhavani River at Bhavani. It was sunk in 1277 AD by the fore sighted statesman and Philanthropist Kaalingarayan¹⁶. It flows to 90.02 K.M. benefitting 21,143 acres of lands through 786 sluices and ends at noyyal river. It starts at 574 feet MSL and ends 412 msl.¹⁷ Due to such a topographical condition and reduced speed of the flow of water, it has a lot of curves and bends in its course.

It long historical background - Othukuli Kaalingaraya Gounder after making a verbal quarral with his in laws on the occasion of his daughter's matrimonial alliance, he dreamt a dream of divine vision to dig a canal along the beaten track of a serpent. When he woke up he saw a huge serpent moved before him, he followed it and at last it stopped at Kodumudi. At Bhavani after crossing the Bhavani river he built the dam and through this he constructed the serpentine canal. Even to-day the paddy variety which is grown through the water of Kaalingarayan canal is called "Kaalingarayan Nellu".

The builders of this channel Kaalingarayan was born in 13th century AD at Kanagapuram near Vellode Perundurai Taluk, Erode district. His father was Nanjayan. The original name of Kaalingarayan was Illingayan who worked in the army of Veera Pandiya, the ruler of Kongu country. It was he who gave the title "Kaalingarayan"- the highest award for the civilian for his meritorious services. The title Kaalingarayan was instituted by Kulothunga cholan in commemoration of his conquest of the Kaalinga.

Kaalingarayan took 12 long years to complete the dam and canal¹⁸. Even today at the dam site in Bhavani one can see the statue of Kaalingarayan, and a serpent. Later he and his family members emigrated from their area to Anaimalai slope which was given to him by the rulers of Vijayanagar. They shifted out of the sentiment that they should not be a beneficiary of their own charity¹⁹.

The Rain fall in the district through South West monsoon (June-September) is 300-450 mm. and north east monsoon (December-February) is 700-900mm²⁰. The main sources of irrigation are the channels and wells. Canals irrigate about 91,750 hectares and wells irrigate about 79,844 hectares. Area irrigated by tanks and spring channels is negligible²¹.

	Canal	Tanks	Wells	Others
Tamil Nadu	9,29,506 (32.78%)	9,08,426 (32.04%)	9,50,290 (33.52%)	47,032 (1.66%)
Erode District	94,336 (59.26%)	1,352 (0.85%)	63,236 (39.74%)	249 (0.15%)

Sources : Basic resources Atlas of Tamil Nadu
Table No.116

In the field of Agriculture Erode district is in no way backward to rest of the districts in Tamil Nadu. It has close association and link with Coimbatore district, which has the advantage of the premier agricultural institution. viz. the Agricultural University and research institute. It has helped the ryots to keep abreast of developments in agricultural methods and improved strains of seeds. The publicity and development activities launched by the Agricultural Institutions in Coimbatore penetrated for and wide in Erode district. Food crops amount to 67.5% of the total cropped area in the district. Paddy accounts for 86,939 hectares, next to paddy is cholam (maize) and Ragi-19,666 hectares, 13,694 hectares respectively. Among condiments and spices turmeric and chillies are significant²². Turneri extends to over 9,722 hectares while chillies is 2,499 hectares. Among non-food crops, Oil, seeds constitute the major item. A total of 62,305 hectares is under Oil seed cultivation and of these ground nuts account to 39,426 hectares while gingely accounts for 20,268 hectares. The other non-food crops raised here are cotton in 13,852 hectares, sugarcane in 22,118 hectares and Tobacco in 6,167 hectares²³.

Animal Husbandry :

This district is rich in its natural cattle wealth. There are four major breeds of the cattle, especially the bulls - the Kangayam breed, the Bergur breed, the Kollegal variety and Alan bodies. Kangayam cows are reared in large numbers. Due to their rich milk yield Erode occupy a unique place in the field of dairy development in the state. The Tamil Nadu milk producers federation has a milk collection centre and processing plant at Erode from where

pasturished milk is transported in canes to different parts of the state. As regards poultry development is concerned there are 3 poultry extension centres in the district. They are at Chengampalli, Palayakuli Palayam and Bhavani Sagar²⁴.

This district cannot boast of great mineral wealth. However, it has a few varied items of significance feldsper of fine quality is found in abundance in Erode taluk. Mica also occurs in Vairavamangalam near Bhavani. In a few places in Bhavani and in a few tracts in Perundurai, asbestos is found to occur. Most significant of all deposits is the availability of rich iron ore in Doddon combai forest in Gopichettipalayam²⁵.

In the field of industry in olden days this district is noted for hand-loom weaving, carpet manufacturing, cart manufacturing, oil pressing, and brass vessal manufacturing. Through these industries flourished well in early days, the advent of modern times changed the fate of some of these well established ancient industries²⁶. Even today Erode is famous for the Handloom industry. Cotton sarees, bed-spreads, towels, furnishing fabrics, etc. Two other important centres are Bhavani and Jambai. It is reported that more than one lakh looms are functioning in Erode district. There are 132 co-operatives covering 33,485 looms²⁷. The cotton textile industry in Coimbatore and handloom industry in Erode district have encouraged the growth of various ancillary indstries to meet the needs of the textile mills²⁸.

There are a number of leather tanneries in Erode. The large quantities of leather from different parts of India-even from Assam and

Gujart-are brought here for tanning and later are exported to foreign countries²⁹.

The major items of export from the Erode District are handloom products, dairy products, raw cotton, etc. A large number of lorries (more than 17,000 lorries) are engaged in transporting various items into and from the district³⁰.

Erode district has a well developed network of transport and communication systems. Being one of the prominent trading centres in the state, it is well connected with all modern means of transoport and communication except for air services. Direct access by roads and rails from State capital and other district head quarters is available. Erode is an important Railway Junction on the west coastline. All passenger trains from Chennai to the West coast halt here. The nearest airport is at Coimbatore, which is only a couple of hours by road.

In the educational field, Erode district occupies a unique place. There are a number of well established schools and colleges preparing students for the usual undergraduate and post graduate dgree courses in various subjects. Apart from these arts and science colleges there are a number of polytechnic and other institutions which provide technical education. The State Transport Corporation runs the Institution of Road and transport technology in Erode and a medical college at Perundurai³¹. According to 1991 census the total literates (excluding the age group 0-6) is 11,16,896 persons-males-6,93,866, Female is 4,23,030³².

Some important tourist sports in the district are Dhimbam Bannari, Sathyamangalam, Bhavanisagar, Bhavani, Peruhdurai, Chennimalai and Bargur³³.

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ETHNIC STRUGGLE AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION IN SRI LANKA

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In 1936, the Sinhalese setup the 'Pan-Sinhala' ministries in Sri Lanka ignoring the rights of minorities to share in the power structure of the country. Since then, the Sinhalese have used their majority and power in acts of oppressing and oppressing the minority Tamils in Sri Lanka in contravention to all provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Violation of Human Rights By Sri Lankan Government

True, Sri Lanka showed its utter disregard for minority rights, when it setup the Pan-Sinhalese ministries in 1936. All minorities were excluded from sharing power in the government. Even after this show of naked racism, Britain gave independence to Sri Lanka in 1948 without trying to solve the problem and handed over all powers to the Sinhala majority¹. Every Prime Minister who came to power contributed his share to the suppression of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka in total violation of all Canons of Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

S.SENANAYAKE

D.S. Senanayake was the first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1948-'52. As he was already Minister of Agriculture in the state council in 1936, under the British rule, he started the state-aided Sinhala colonization of Tamil lands. I now clearly 4000 Sq.km. out of a total of 6000 Sq.km. of Tamil lands have been taken by Sinhalese in the Eastern Provinces². S.J.V.

Chelvanayagam speaking on Sinhala colonisation of Tamil lands in 1947, had foretold, these colonisations would lead to rivers of blood. Exactly, the same thing has happened in Sri Lanka in the racial riots of 1956, 1958, 1977, 1983 and 1987. The Sinhala colonisation of Tamil lands was a crime against Tamils traditional rights.

In 1948, D.S. Senanayake took away the citizenship rights of 10 lakh Tamils of Indian origin³. These labourers were brought to Sri Lanka by the British from Tamil Nadu from 1823 onwards. For generations, these labourers had created a paradise in the form of tea plantations on the hills of Sri Lanka. Tea had accounted for 60% of Sri Lanka's foreign exchange. Still D.S.Senanayake did not hesitate to perpetrate this crime against humanity. The civil rights of Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka were taken away and they became political orphans in Sri Lanka. Thus he sowed seeds of discord among the natives of Sri Lanka.

DUDLEY SENANAYAKE

D.S.Senanayake's son Dudley Senanayake had succeeded his father as Prime Minister. He also had followed his father's footsteps and implemented his projects of Sinhala colonisation of Tamil lands and also worked for the disenfranchisement of Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka.

SIR JOHN KOTELAWALA

Kotalawala was a nephew of D.S. Senanayake. He succeeded Dudley Senanayake in 1954. He was a happy go lucky army man and allowed D.S. Senanayake's projects to go through without much interference.

S.W.R.D. BANDARANAYAKE

To defeat the Senanayake, Bandaranayake appealed to Sinhala Buddhist sentiments. He promised to make 'Sinhala only' the official language in twenty four hours. In 1956, he became Prime Minister in landslide victory. He introduced the 'Sinhala only' Act and made Sinhala the official language⁴. Tamil language rights were thrown off. Tamils protested through Satyagrahas. The Sinhalese retaliated with racial riots in 1956 and 1958. Hundreds of Tamils were killed. Tamil women were raped. Tamil property worth crores were looted, burnt and destroyed⁵. No miscreants were apprehended, brought to justice or punished. Tamils right to life, limb and property were ignored.

SRIMAVO BANDARANAYAKE

Srimavo, who was the wife of S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake, succeeded her husband as Prime Minister in 1960. She acted with greater vengeance by imposing 'Sinhala only'⁶. Tamils resigned their jobs in thousands. Tamils who were with good education left the island and found jobs overseas. Tamils right to work and livelihood was thus plundered.

DUDLEY SENANAYAKE

Dudley Senanayake had won the general elections in 1965. With the help of Tamils and became Prime Minister in 1965. So he did not do harm to Tamils.

SRIMAVO BANDARANAYAKE

With the help of the Leftists, Srimavo had won the 1970 general elections and became Prime Minister, a second time. She introduced in 1972 the system called a 'Standardisation' in education for entry into higher education. By this policy, admission into University courses was done on the basis of numerical strength of the ethnic population. Tamils had to score more marks than the Sinhalese to enter the University. Merit was overlooked, benefiting the Sinhalese⁷. The right to education of Tamil youth too was thus taken away. The frustrated Tamil Youths were forced to take to violent politics and later armed struggle to win over their rights.

Srimavo promulgated the Republican Constitution in 1972, and Buddhism was made state favoured religion. Hinduism, Christianity and Islam were relegated to the secondary position. The religious rights of the Tamil minorities there became the casualty.

In the Independence Constitution of Lord Soulbury, clause 29 was included to safeguard the minority rights. In the Republican Constitution this clause was taken away⁸. So the minorities were exposed to this kind of humiliating harassments without any provision for redress.

J.R. JAYAWARDENA

In the 1977 general election, Jeyawardena became Prime Minister. Within a month of his victory, he let loose the dogs of racial riots islandwide on Tamils. Thousands of Tamils were killed, hundreds of Tamil women were raped. Billions worth of Tamil property was looted, burnt and destroyed⁹. Tamils lived

in fear for their life and limb. Again no Sinhalese was arrested, convicted or punished for these crimes of arson, loot and genocide.

In 1979, Jayawardena promulgated the Prevention of Terrorism Act, based on Whites South African model. He arrested Tamil Youths, detained, tortured and killed them without trial. Many detained people were buried without inquest. Professor Virginia Leary made a study of the Prevention of Terrorism Act 1979 and its application on behalf of International Jurists Association and expressed strong condemnation of the acts of Sri Lanka¹⁰. Tamil Youth resorted to violence as a result of these atrocities committed by the Sri Lanka police and army under the provisions of this Inhuman Act.

In 1981, Jayawardena, again let loose the racial riots on Tamils in the estates of hilly Sri Lanka. The Tamils of Indian origin had to rush to North and East for protection. Here too, hundreds were killed, women were gang raped and properties were stolen and burnt. All provisions of human rights were flouted without immunity.

In 1983, Jayawardena, unleashed the most violent racial riots on Tamils in Sinhalese areas. Fifty three Tamil detainees in Welikade prison were done to death in the cells. Athulathmudali a minister said, after the murders "Now the Sinhalese spirit is appeased"¹¹. When Jayawardena was requested to save the Tamils, he said, "I did not care about the Tamils"¹². Many places in Northern Sri Lanka were stained with Tamil blood. The acts of Jayawardena Government were worst than slavery, a civilised man could not imagine.

It must be mentioned here that in 1981, the Sri Lankan army burnt down the Jaffna library housing precious manuscripts and books in the presence of ministers, Cyril Mathews and Gamini Dissanayake. The Sinhalese were not content with killing the Tamils but they wanted to wipe out their literature, culture and heritage too. All memories indeed of a race!

Jayawardena had sent his nephew Major Ranathunga to Jaffna to do anything he wanted; he suppressed the Tamils. The first thing the Major did was to kill Inbam and Selvam. Such was the government sponsored terror in Jaffna that human rights were of no concern or importance.

In 1987, he brought the Indian Peace Keeping Force to Sri Lanka. The IPKF came to protect the Tamils but they were turned enemies of the Tamils. They too were guilty of crime and atrocities against Tamils committed in contravention of all international norms on peace keeping.

In 1988, Premadasa, became the Prime Minister and then President. He joined with the LTTE and gave arms to them to fight the IPKF. This was a good opportunity to come to a settlement with the Tamils. A hundred days detailed programme to settle the Tamil problem was agreed to from 15.5.1991 to 25.8.1991. But no settlement was arrived at. Premadasa did not subject the Tamils to any new pressures, but was not prepared to grant the request of the Tamils, due to heavy anti-Tamil pressure.

In 1994, Chandrika Kumarathunga became the President. She took an oath over her husband Kumarathunga to solve the Tamil problem immediately and peacefully. She established 'a hot line' to Prabhakaran but yet she was dilly-dallying with no signs of action. Prabhakaran attacked the Sri Lanka navy. Chandrika, advised by her uncle Ratwatte, Minister of Defence started a full scale war on the Tamils by land, sea and air. Jaffna was razed to the grounds¹³. The Sri Lanka army occupied Jaffna. Tamils took refuge in the Vanni area and full scale war had started there and still continues.

Disease and death, hunger and starvation are of the people's situation in Jaffna. Now Chandrika is carrying on a war of attrition by killing 10-12 Tamils every day. To hood winck the world she and her 'Man-Friday' Kathirkamar are talking about the peace package. The Western World is encouraging Chandrika by providing funds and arms worth billions every year.

ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations has been kept well informed of Human Rights violations in Sri Lanka. Signature campaigns for the protection of Tamils are undertaken and the lists were submitted to the UN Human Rights Commission.

Ms. Karen Parker, an Attorney specialising in Human Rights and Humanitarian (armed conflict) Law, California had studied the Sri Lankan over a period of twenty years. She says:

"the widespread pattern of Human Right violation in Sri Lanka have been regularly

raised at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission especially since 1983 anti-Tamil Massacres in Colombo. Both bodies have passed resolutions and issued special statements on the Human Rights violations and the need for just resolution of the conflict. A variety of Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups of the Commission have investigated the situation in Sri Lanka and attested to grass violations, including widespread arbitrary detention (particularly of Tamil Youth), rape and other indignities suffered by Tamil women young and old¹⁴.

CONCLUSION

Still the Sri Lankan Government continues its genocidal attacks on the Tamils in total disregard of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thus the foregoing discussion on the human right situation vis-à-vis, the Tamils in Sri Lanka reveals one clear fact that there is a systematic and deliberate discrimination practiced against the Tamils on the basis of race, religion and language in every field including education. Repeated appeals made to the U.N. Commissions against these violations, have not invited the impartial response to alleviate this injustice. Kosovo and East Timur invite U.N. intervention but not Jaffna! When just demands are ignored, man takes to arms. For, in desperate situation men act desperately!¹⁵.

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The Question of Eelam and Tamil Nadu Politics

Changing Trends in Ethno-Politics

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The present work attempts to analyse the question of Eelam in the context of Tamilnadu politics from 1956 to 1999.

The history of Sri Lanka was profoundly influenced by India, particularly by Tamilnadu, its southern state. The forefathers of the Tamils - the largest minority of the island-migrated from Tamil nadu. Due to close proximity, the Tamils in India continued to maintain regular contact with the Tamils in Sri Lanka from the early times¹. Such contacts naturally influenced the course, of the history of the Island in various stages.

After the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, various political developments aggravated the feelings of the Sri Lanka Tamils that they were treated as second class citizens by the dominant Sinhala majority². The government sponsored colonisation of Sinhalese in the traditional home land of the Tamils created tension³. Contrary to the understanding between the Tamil- Sinhala leaders at the time of independence Sinhalese language was given importance. When the Tamils in Sri Lanka opposed the language bill they were attacked by the Sinhalese mob. In Tamil nadu the D.M.K.'s attempt towards its consolidation in the state coincided with the language struggle of Sri Lankan Tamils. While the D.M.K. was fighting against the imposition of Hindi and the northern dominance⁴, the Tamils in Sri Lanka

fought against the imposition of Sinhala as the only official language. Hence, the fervent Tamil nationalistic ideals of D.M.K. had its appeal to the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The language riots in Sri Lanka had its repercussions in Tamilnadu. Protest demonstrations were organised by the D.M.K. party which demanded the Indian Government to evince interest⁵. The D.M.K. condemned the state and central government for their disregard for the problems affecting the Sri Lankan Tamils. It stressed the necessity of South Indians governing South instead of North Indians. In retaliation, K. Rajaram, President of the Congress party in Tamilnadu accused the emergence of Tamil nationalism in Tamilnadu as a factor for the Sinhala-Tamil animosity in Sri Lanka.

The D.M.K. which was emerging as the vociferous opposition in the late 1950's strongly expressed its views on the Sri Lankan Tamils problem. D.M.K. projected itself as the custodian of the entire Tamil race living in the other parts of the world⁷. Its concerns were especially strong in the cases of neighbouring countries like Burma and Sri Lanka which have sizable section of Tamil population maintaining links with the people of Tamilnadu. In the Tamilnadu legislative assembly the D.M.K. leaders even talked about the necessity of forming a separate 'Dravidanad' to solve the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. In the

Parliament the D.M.K.'s tone was moderate while discussing the Sri Lankan Tamils problem. This trend was noticeable atleast up to the demise of Nehru in 1964.

From raising the issue in the Assembly and at the public meetings, the D.M.K. moved to the next phase in which it directly confronted the Sri Lankan government. On several occasions it protested in front of the Sri Lankan High Commission office in Madras and urged the Sri Lankan Government to solve the Tamils problem. Though the other political parties in Tamilnadu also urged the government of India for the meaningful settlement of the ethnic problem, the intensity of their representation was not as powerful as that of the D.M.K. The Congress, being the ruling party at the Centre and Madras state, restrained itself from voicing any serious concern in this matter. The domineering personality of Nehru, and his strict adherence to the principles of foreign policy might have played an important role in shaping the attitude of Congress party in the state.

When the D.M.K. formed the government in 1967, the Sri Lankan Tamil leaders who identified their language struggle with the Hindi agitation of D.M.K. earlier⁸, were jubilant. Such a jubilation naturally worried the Sri Lankan government. It was feared that:

The D.M.K. party would lead a secession from India and federal party would lead a secession from Ceylon, and the two would then join to form a united Tamil nation and state⁹.

While discussing the nature of the link between Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka, *Suthantiran*, a Tamil daily in Sri Lanka observed that :

No one can cut off the link between Tamilnadu and Eelam after Annadurai and D.M.K. helped for the growth of same thinking, ideals and principles among the Tamils of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka. Any attempt to cut off the link would only. Increase the attachment between the two¹⁰.

If we analyse the strategy of D.M.K. in the Sri Lankan Tamils problem we can find that how the party linked their autonomy demand with the struggle of the Tamils in Sri Lanka¹¹, to pressurise the centre for more powers to the state. But as a ruling party, the D.M.K. did not enthusiastically support the regional autonomy demand of the Federal Party in Sri Lanka. When S.J. Chelvanayagam visited Tamilnadu in 1972 to seek the support of Tamil Nadu for their regional autonomy demand, the D.M.K. leaders made it clear that it was an internal matter of Sri Lanka¹². During the period three Sri Lankan Tamil youths, belonging to the extremist Tamil group were arrested by the Tamilnadu police and later handed over to the Sri Lankan government also¹³. It is observed that the stand of D.M.K. on the Sri Lankan ethnic question after it became the ruling party showed some moderation and restraint in comparison to its earlier stand.

However, when the D.M.K. was replaced by the A.I.A.D.M.K., as the ruling party, the D.M.K. once again supported the Sri Lankan Tamils cause with vigour. Even the D.M.K. men went to Sri Lanka to canvass for the success of T.U.L.F. candidates. After cancelling their visas, the Sri Lankan government reported the matter to the government of India. The period after 1976 witnessed the crystallisation of the Sri Lankan Tamil demand for a separate Eelam state. It was due to the continued neglect of their

reasonable demand for devolution of powers, and parity of status for Tamil language. For the Eelam demand, there was no clear cut response from the political parties of Tamil Nadu at the initial stage. Only when the Tamils were subjected to repeated violence at the hands of the Sinhala majority in 1977, 1981 and 1983 the Eelam demand gained popularity and support from the parties of Tamil Nadu.

The Congress and the A.L.A.D.M.K. being the ruling parties of the centre and state respectively had not supported the Eelam demand. They favoured a negotiated political settlement for the ethnic question without affecting the unity of Sri Lanka. When the Eelam demand was raised by A. Amirthalingam, T.U.L.F. leader, in the 5th International Tamil Research Conference at Madurai in 1981, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran strongly objected to it¹⁴. However, when the Tamils were subjected to untold miseries, the ruling A.I.A.D.M.K. relaxed its stand and indirectly helped the Tamil militants¹⁵. Otherwise due to the competitive nature of the state politics, the opposition parties might have termed the ruling party as anti-Tamil. The Congress leaders charged that the Eelam demand was utilized by the separatist elements in the state to achieve their goal.¹⁶ The Marxist Communist party also opposed the Eelam demand and favoured a negotiated settlement within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.¹⁷

Among the opposition, the D.M.K., Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress and the Republic Party of India strongly supported the Eelam demand.¹⁸ The D.M.K. strongly criticised the ruling A.I.A.D.M.K. and the Congress for their stand in the Eelam question. The D.M.K. created

Tamil Eelam Supporters Organisation (TESO) with other like minded political parties and organisations to support the cause of Eelam. Though the parties maintained different approaches to the Eelam question, they nevertheless demanded uniformly that the Sri Lankan Tamil rights should be restored at the earliest.

The A.I.A.D.M.K. government maintained a cautious approach in the Sri Lankan ethnic question, whenever it touched the central government. While requesting the centre to pressurise the Sri Lankan government of India. It never found fault with the central government.

The July 1983 violence in Sri Lanka got a wide publicity in the Tamil Nadu press. During the course of the violence, the leaders of the political parties in Tamil Nadu tried to project their party as a champion of the Sri Lankan Tamils cause and magnified the failure of other parties in this regard.¹⁹ It is relevant to recall the speech of M.A. Hameed, Foreign Affairs Minister of Sri Lanka, in the U.N.O. on which he charged the Tamil Nadu political gain.²⁰

Before an meaningful settlement of the problem, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated and Rajiv Gandhi assumed the office of the Prime Minister. After four years of protracted negotiations with the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil militant groups, Rajiv Gandhi tried to solve the ethnic problem with the support of Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran, since he maintained a cordial relations with the major Tamil militant group L.T.T.E.²¹ Like other political parties like D.M.K. he also funded the LTTE. His good office was used by the Centre to persuade V. Prabhakaran to accept the terms of

the July 1987 Accord. But soon after the engagement of I.P.K.F. in Sri Lanka hostility broke out between the LTTE and I.P.K.F.. Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi was unhappy about the I.P.K.F. operations and refused to receive the forces when it returned to India.

The tragic assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by the L.T.T.E. suicide squad changed the scenario in Tamilnadu. The public and the leaders of the political party were taken aback by the gruesome assassination. The general election results following the assassination indicated the changing trend in the ethno-politics of Tamilnadu. It reminded the political parties, sensing the grave nature of the new development, slowly disassociated themselves from the ethnic question. They accused the leaders of other political parties as supporters of L.T.T.E.. Even the fall of I.K. Gujral's government was attributed to the findings of the enquiry Commission on the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. However some political leaders like Vaiko and Nedumaran still supported the Eelam demand. M.D.M.K., Pattalimakkal Katchi and D.K. were some parties and organisations sympathetic to the Sri Lankan Tamil cause. Though the Sri Lankan government under Mrs. Chandrika Kumarathunga is trying to destroy the military might of L.T.T.E., the response of political parties in Tamilnadu was lukewarm in nature.

It is seen from the foregoing evaluation that D.M.K. had forcefully expressed the grievance of the Sri Lankan Tamils when it was in opposition. When it became a ruling party it mellowed down and followed the directions of the Central government. Again when it became the opposition party it started its vociferous attack on the centre's apathy. Excepting on certain

occasions the D.M.K. was consistent in projecting its image as the vanguard of Tamil nationalism. The D.M.K. faced many trials and tribulations due to its active role in the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis. The A.I.A.D.M.K. government though cautiously approached this issue had left the impression that it worked in favour of the Sri Lankan Tamils during the time of crisis. The ethnic conflict reached its zenith during the A.I.A.D.M.K. period. In general both D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K. compete with each other to keep their image as the guardian of Tamils. The Eelam demand had been politicised by different political parties with different methods during different periods. However, a clear trend emerges in the political system that the ethnic political parties played their roles consistently to strengthen their bases in Tamil polity. Centre-state relationship also played a key role in shaping the attitude of the regional political parties on the ethnic issue.

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Sixty-Nine Percentage of Reservation in Tamilnadu

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Reservation has been made as a Constitutional provision specially enshrined to remove the age-old disabilities of the downtrodden sections of the society and to ensure socio-economic and political justice and equality of opportunities through preferential treatment, which includes sharing of opportunities in the educational institutions, in the public services and in the legislative bodies.¹ In the Indian Constitution, there is no criteria governing the reservation scheme and also no provision for fixing the reservation limit. Therefore, the policy easily underwent political manipulations.²

Tamilnadu is a vast state, in which heterogeneous people live with different social bearing.³ The policy of reservation has been totally a social issue. Both the State and the Central Governments have equal responsibility in solving this social problem.⁴ One such problem was the sanctioning of 69% reservation to the socially weaker sections in Tamilnadu. An attempt has been made in this paper to highlight the use of the Constitutional provisions to reserve 69 p.c. for safeguarding the socially and educationally backward castes in Tamilnadu.

In 1963, the Supreme Court declared the verdict in a case from Karnataka State that reservation of seats should not exceed 50 percentage.⁵ In 1976, in the case of Thomas Vs the State of Kerala, the Supreme Court permitted the State Government to reserve more than 50

percentage of seats for the weaker sections of the society.⁶ By 1990, in Tamilnadu, 69 p.c. of seats were reserved for the unprivileged sections - 30 p.c. for the BCs, 20 p.c. for the MBCs and denotified communities,⁷ 18 p.c. for the SCs⁸ and 1 p.c. for the STs.⁹

When the Government of Tamilnadu raised the level of quota in February 1980 for BCs including the Most Backward and the denotified communities to 50 p.c.,¹⁰ a kind of dissatisfaction prevailed among certain sections of the society in Tamilnadu. Marthandam Pillai, a high caste non-Brahmin from Tirunelveli filed a case against the revision of reservation system. In connection with this case, the Supreme Court asked the State Government to appoint a Commission to investigate into the conditions of the BCs. Accordingly, the second Tamilnadu Backward Classes Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of the retired I.A.S. Officer, J.A. Ambasankar. After studying the Commission's opinion again 50 p.c. was confirmed for the Backward Classes¹¹

As against the Supreme Court's ceiling of 50% the Government of Tamilnadu adopted 69% of reservation. Mr. Vijayan, an individual filed a case in the High Court of Madras, against the reservation policy of the Government of Tamilnadu. He also condemned the practice of 69% reservation which he believed that it would spoil the quality of life in Tamilnadu.¹²

The former Supreme Court Judge V.R. Krishna Iyer criticized the verdict of the Supreme Court on the ground that the population of BCs, SCs/STs differed from one state to another. For instance, in the North Eastern States, 75% of the population are STs. Hence, the reservation policy would be determined by each state according to the proportion of the various population. He stated that constitutional amendments should be brought to remove this difficulty.¹³

Meanwhile, the Mandal Commission recommendations were implemented by the V.P. Singh's Government on 13 August, 1990. SCs/STs constituted 22.5% of the country's population. Accordingly, reservation of 22.5% has been made for them in all services and public sector undertakings under the Central Government. The population of the OBCs constituted 52 p.c. of the total population of India. Accordingly, 52 p.c. of all posts under the Central Government opportunities, should be reserved for them. But this provision may go against the verdicts in a number of Supreme Court judgements, wherein it has been held that the total quantum of reservation under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution should not exceed 50 p.c. In view of this legal constraint, the Commission was obliged to recommend a reservation of 27% only OBCs even though their population is almost twice this figure. In addition to that, it remarked that states which have already introduced reservation for OBCs exceeding 27% would remain unaffected by its recommendations.¹⁴

The Tamilnadu State Legislative Assembly under the then A.I.A.D.M.K government passed a resolution unanimously on

30 September, 1991, urging the Central Government of India to adopt the policy of 50% reservation for the BCs instead of 27% and this should be applied not only in the employment opportunities in all Central Government offices and Public Sector undertakings, but also for admission in all Central Government Educational Institutions. The Chief Minister forwarded this resolution to P.V. Narasimha Rao, the then Prime Minister of India for appropriate action.¹⁵

With reference to the cases filed in the Supreme Court, a Commission was appointed by the Constitutional Bench to enquire about the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations and its effect. According to its findings, on 16 November, 1992, the Supreme Court declared that the quota should not exceed 50 p.c. D.K.* led a deputation to Delhi to emphasize the importance of 69 p.c. and to get the assent of the Central Government.¹⁶

At the beginning of the academic year 1993-'94, while the admissions were going on in the professional and other educational institutions, a case was filed in the Court of Madras to stop the 69 p.c reservation scheme and to implement the 50 p.c. reservation scheme. Subsequently, this case was appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court passed an interim order that admissions should be made on the basis of 50 p.c. reservation scheme only.¹⁷ Immediately, an urgent cabinet meeting was called for by the then Chief Minister of Tamilnadu on 7 January, 1993 and resolved to file a review petition in the Supreme Court. As it was not taken for discussion, a clarification petition was filed in the Supreme Court on 23 April, 1993. There was no reply from the Supreme Court to Government of Tamilnadu.¹⁸ However, on 27 July,

1993, the Madras High Court ruled that 69 p.c reservation could be followed in Tamilnadu for the academic year 1993-'95. The High Court also pointed out that reservation was "a very sensitive, highly explosive and extremely delicate issue". The High Court order was challenged in the apex court on 22 August, 1993 by voice [consumer care] council. A Special Leave Petition was filed by the Government of Tamilnadu in the Supreme Court on 28 August, 1993 that the Supreme Court verdict would be followed for the academic year 1994-'95.¹⁹ Leading advocates Kapil Sibal and Mr. Soli Sorabjee have been appointed to attend the case filed by the Government of Tamilnadu in the Supreme Court. This was further challenged by filing a contempt petition on the basis of 69% reservation, which had already been adopted for the admission to the professional colleges in Tamilnadu.²⁰

Consequently, an All Party meeting was convened on 26 November, 1993, by the then Chief Minister to discuss the order issued by the Supreme Court on the reservation scheme followed in Tamilnadu. Delegates of 44 parties including the Congress (I), D.M.K., C.P.I., C.P.I., (M) and P.M.K. promised their support and co-operation to the efforts undertaken by the Chief Minister and the Government of Tamilnadu on the issue.²¹

Under the Indian Constitution the State

* Justice party was renamed as Dravida Kazhagam in 1944. It emerged as a political party but in 1949, when D.M.K. came into existence, it lost its political colour. In course of a time, it became a pressure group. Regarding the reservation issue, particularly 69% of reservation, D.K. played a major role for its achievement.

Governments empower certain rights to promote or protect the rights of the people. To achieve social justice, provisions like Articles 15(4), 16(4), 38(1)(2) and 46 are made in the constitution.²² Hence, the judiciary alone cannot exclusively decide the problem.

Under Article 31C,* if any law of acquisition was made with the object of giving effect to any of the Directives, the reasonableness of such a law cannot be questioned under Articles 14 or 19.²³

The representatives of the people can only look after their needs. So, this was not the task of this Supreme Court. This is clearly evident from Article 15(4) of the Constitution. Being the responsibility of the Government, fixation of reservation to certain categories also rested with the Government and not with the Supreme Court. This main task of the Supreme Court is to protect the Constitutional laws of the Government. As already remarked by the Supreme Court Judge V.R. Krishna Iyer, the State Government has the knowledge of the proportion of different communities in the total population and empower to increase or reduce the fixation of quotas.²⁴ Above all, the Mandal Commission also recommended more than 50 p.c. reservation.

A resolution was adopted at the end of the all party meeting to stress the need of the Central Government either to adopt the required measures or amend the Constitution or pass a State legislation under Article 31(c) for safeguarding the present 69 p.c. reservation for BCs, MBCs, SCs and STs. the resolution stated that the parties while respecting the Supreme

Court's order in the issue, it should be the responsibility of the State Government to protect the social, educational and economic progress of the unprivileged sections of the society. The State Government considered the adoption of a law with the acceptance of all political parties under Art.31(c) to maintain the existing level of reservation scheme.²⁵ Accordingly, based on the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, a new Bill was passed on 31 December, 1993 and was sent to get the assent of the President on 19 January, 1994²⁶

Admission in the Engineering Colleges were completed on the basis of 69% during the academic year 1993-'94, when the Supreme Court declared its interim order. As the admission to the Medical Colleges were delayed, the admission was made according to the Supreme Court order. However, the remaining 19% of seats were kept for the eligible qualified candidates after getting the assent of the President.²⁷

By the Supreme Court verdict 69% reservation was reduced to 50%. As per this verdict, 30% reservation for BCs was reduced to 18.4%, 20% quota for MBCs was reduced to 12.6%. Reacting to this sharply, M.Karunanidhi, the leader of the D.M.K. party, in his public address at Cuddalur on 31 March,

1994, remarked that he was even ready to go to prison against the order of the Supreme Court if he was the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu.

K. Veeramani, the General Secretary of D.K. during his speech remarked that the people of Tamilnadu, members of D.K. and other political parties of Tamilnadu to be ready to stand on the side of A.I.A.D.M.K. the then ruling party to proceed in its work towards continuation of 69 p.c. reservation and make the Supreme Court verdict of 50 p.c. quota reversed.

In the conference they decided to burn a copy of the verdict of the Supreme Court, particularly prepared by Justice Jeevan Reddy, a high caste man of Andhra Pradesh and Justice Paripuranam Iyengar, a Brahmin of Kerala. They further decided to send the ashes to them. If the Government of Tamilnadu was firm in its action, all of them were ready to stand on the side of the Government²⁸

As it was a burning issue during the days of admissions to schools and colleges for the academic year 1994-'95, the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu sent a letter for the earliest assent of the Bill by the President. All the A.I.A.D.M.K. party leaders and M.Ps met the Prime Minister on 14 June 1994, for the earlier assent of the Tamilnadu Assembly's Bill on reservation. Again a hartal was organized on 17 June, 1994 by all the political parties of Tamilnadu to remind the responsibility of the Central Government on the reservation issue. A delegation consisting of all party members was also sent to meet the Prime Minister on 25 June 1994 and pleaded for the earlier assent of the President to the Reservation Bill.³⁰ Finally,

* It was inserted by the 25th Amendment Act, 1971. It protected the laws which were giving effect to the Directives in Article 39(b)-(c) from unconstitutionally on the ground of contravention of Articles 14, 19 and 31. By the 42nd Amendment Act, 1976, this protection has been extended to legislation for implementation of any of the Directives enumerated in Part IV.

the bill got the assent of the President to the Reservation Bill.³⁰ Finally, the Bill got the assent of the President on 19 July 1994.³¹ It became Tamilnadu State Act 45 of 1994.³² In response to the victory of the reservation Bill, all party leaders conveyed their happiness to the victory of the reservation Bill, all party leaders conveyed their happiness to the people of Tamilnadu.³³ Again Tamilnadu Government requested the Prime Minister of India to insert this Act in the IX schedule of the Indian Constitution, under the provision of Article 31(b).³⁴ Subsequently, it was inserted in the IX schedule of the Constitution by the 76th Amendment Act 1994 which was passed by the Parliament.³⁵

Judicial restraints were imposed not only on the recruitments, but on the educational institutions also. The impact of these restraints would be seen in the subsequent political and legal battles. After achieving 69 percentage of reservation in Tamilnadu, the people and the political parties are strongly fighting for achieving the same in the Central Government opportunities.

The implementation of reservation for the last few decades has certainly resulted in better structural social change in the Tamil Society. However, experiences reveal that the benefits did not reach to the grass root level of the society but it has been enjoyed only by the higher among the lower sections. Despite this, there is an argument that this kind of reservation will lead to poor quality of society. This cannot be accepted as a general condition, for reservation aims for social justice. In fact, the sixty nine percentage of reservation to the weaker sections is highly reasonable and its continuance for some more time is the need of the hour.

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Evolution of Irrigation Policy and Development of Irrigation in India 1800 - 1950

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At the outset I express my sincere thanks to the Executive Committee and the General Body of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for having elected me President of the Socio-Economic History Section of the Sixth Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress. I consider it a great honour bestowed on me and I take this opportunity to assure you that I shall work for the growth of this six year old Tamil Nadu History Congress. Though Tamil Nadu History Congress is comparatively young, it has played a very useful role by providing an excellent forum for many young and budding historians to interact with senior and more experienced scholars and thereby enrich their knowledge.

The division of social and economic history of any region is quite arbitrary like the periodization of history. The walls between these aspects of history are so thin that one hardly realizes where social history enters into the area of economic history and vice-versa. However, it would be worth-while to understand the ingredients of these two aspects of history.¹

History, according to the Greeks, meant an enquiry. The social historian makes enquiry into the past from the social point of view. He enquires about the life of the people in a particular period and region, their religious, cultural, economic, political pursuits etc. Professor G.M. Trevelyan defined social history as 'the history of a people with the politics left out'. Social history however does not mean everything that hap-

pens in society, but it is an attempt at understanding the life of men in the past, in its setting of societies and institutions.

The economic historian also conducts an enquiry into the past to understand certain economic problems, situations and institutions of the people of a region in a given period. It is presumed that the economic historian has some basic knowledge of economics for full understanding of economic life of the people under review. Economic change is the first great theme of the economic historian. Economic changes are comparatively faster and more visible than social changes. The studies in economic history should be closely connected with the economic policies of the government which influence the economic life of the society. This is particularly true of the economic history of the colonial period of Indian history. Economic history includes a study of the state of agriculture, irrigation, industry, commerce and transport along with the problems of currency, credit and taxation.

Socio-economic history of a region should begin with the study of village communities. The socio-economic history, particularly of the village communities, received a marginal treatment in the earlier studies of Indian history which were dominated by its political or administrative aspects. However, it is gratifying to note that younger generation of historians are focusing their attention on the socio-economic as-

pects of regional history. This may be, perhaps, due to the establishment of several regional universities after independence where prominence is given to the in-depth studies of regional or local history, and the easy access to the State and National Archives and organisation of seminars and national and regional history conferences by academic organisations like the Tamil Nadu History Congress.

In my Address today, I intend to deal with 'the Evolution of Irrigation Policy and Development of Irrigation in India (1800-1950)'. The studies relating to the economic history of India have always been in the centre of attention of scholars and researchers in India and abroad. Among the various subjects, the Development of Irrigation in India, though an important aspect of economic history, has not received the much needed attention among the scholars. In the past decades a few scholars like Dr. V. Venkayya (1904) Dr. A. Appadurai (1936), S.Y. Krishnaswamy (1941), Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshidār (1945), Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (1955), Dr.C. Minakshi (1938), Prof. T.V. Mahalingam (1936,51), Burton Stein (1960, 61), David Ludden (1978, 79), T.M. Srinivasan (1968), Michael Loren Howard (1979) and C. Ramachandran (1980) have made studies on some aspects of Irrigation development. A comprehensive study is yet to be attempted.

Water is one of the most important basic resources of Nature. Water development conduces to the welfare of mankind and any delay in this development means so much of unnecessary loss of potential wealth in the form of water.² Socio-economic development processes are closely related to the water resource because of the diverse range of interactions between water and human activities. Human his-

tory contains a continuing series of water management activities intended to upgrade the quality of life through enhancement of water's positive functions and control of its negative functions. Some historians believe that the emergence of civilization was associated with organised efforts to control water supplies necessary for irrigation. Water management activities, particularly irrigation, played a central role in the development of the earliest known civilizations in the valleys of the Tigris and Eupharates, Nile, Indus and Yellow Rivers. In view of the unequal distribution of rainfall over the years, it is necessary to have a well-regulated system of irrigation. In any country the major use of water is in the field of agriculture i.e. for irrigation.³

Irrigation has always been a decisive factor affecting millions of farmers of this country whose economic character is predominantly agricultural. Thus the mainstay of the Indian economy being agriculture, a proper system of irrigation is very essential to ensure its success.

Importance of Irrigation Development

Irrigation Development has been of great importance to India from several points of view :

1. In the first place, this is the best way to prevent famines which have occurred at varying intervals of time over several centuries. It is said that in ancient India famines were few and if in any year there was famine, the Government used to take prompt relief measures. But from the Middle Ages famines have occurred frequently. In the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak and during the rule of Akbar, Shahjehan and Aurangzeb, there occurred severe famines and the government took proper relief measures on all those

occasions. During the rule of the East India Company there occurred in India sixteen major famines affecting some parts of the country or other. After 1857 upto the end of the century, ten widespread severe famines and several years of drought have been reported. In the present century also several famines have occurred. All the great famines have taken a big toll of human lives, besides causing misery and ill-health to lakhs of people. For all these famines lack of water for carrying on normal cultivation was chiefly responsible, and poverty of the masses added to the trouble. Irrigational development is the best remedy to the famine problem.⁴

2. Decades of past experience gave rise to the popular saying that Indian agriculture has been a gamble in rains. Mere dependence on uncertain, inadequate and ill-distributed rains has created scarcity of agricultural products in many years. To end the uncertainty of water from rainfall permanent irrigation works on an adequate scale accompanied by commercial farming are necessary.

3. Irrigation is a sine qua non for converting subsistence farming to commercial farming. Transforming traditional agriculture into modern agriculture has been the aim of planning. For this, irrigational development is most essential. It has been estimated that compared to the yield of crops in lands without irrigation the yield on irrigated lands will be more than two times.

4. Irrigation facilities enable the farmers to grow two or three crops in a year and that helps to maximise agricultural output.

5. Wherever there is good irrigation, it is possible to use chemical manures, hybrid seeds

and other processes of scientific farming. This not only increases yield per hectare and total output, but also improves the quality of the output.

6. Irrigation helps to grow cash crops/commercial crops like sugarcane, cotton, tobacco and indigo which are of great value to the national economy.

7. As irrigation helps to increase the output of both food products and agricultural raw materials, dependence on imports for these products diminishes and may even completely be stopped. This will save the foreign exchange of the country.

8. Irrigational facilities which are generally the result of government's expenditure and efforts bring some revenue to the government through irrigational cess or water rate or betterment levy.

9. Irrigational development enhances the value of landed assets for the owners of the land and increases the income of the farmers and thereby helps to raise their standard of living.

10. As river valley projects are of a multipurpose character, they provide irrigational facilities, facilities for power and navigation, and water supply. These are of value to industries, household lighting and water transport and water supply to both rural and urban areas.

11. Developing social forestry through planting of trees on either side of the canals enables having more trees.

12. Irrigation projects simultaneously act as flood control measures and thereby mitigate the havoc wrought by floods in certain parts of the country.

13. Irrigation projects are generally labour intensive works. These help creation of employment opportunities. This is very important especially in the context of the almost chronic problem of unemployment in the country.

On the whole, the development of irrigation helps the economically backward rural parts to become economically advanced which in turn indirectly benefits the urban sector of the economy also. On account of all the above facts, the development of irrigation must be regarded as an important aspect of the overall development of the country.⁵

Irrigation - A Governmental Duty

There are many historical evidences to show that the provision of facilities for irrigation and drinking water in India has been the recognised duty of the government from very ancient times. In the days of the Mahabharatha, it is stated that Narada Maharshi once came to the Emperor Yudhistara and questioned him thus:

"Are the farmers sturdy and prosperous? Are their dams full of water and big enough and distributed in different parts of the kingdom and does agriculture depend on rain only?"

There are references to canals, wells, dams and reservoirs in the Rig Veda, Yajur Veda and Atharva Veda. The Harappa and Mohan-jodaro excavations have revealed that in the ancient Indus civilization there existed large irrigation works. The earliest India law giver, Manu in his book, Manu Smriti, has stated that, "A king who wishes to conquer his enemy should first of all destroy dams in his territory". And Kautilya the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya also stated in his 'Arthashastra' that "when on war the

tracts of land of the enemy should be flooded with water by breaking the lakes, dams and embankments." Megasthenese, the Greek Ambassador, who visited the court of Chandragupta Maurya has also praised irrigational facilities which helped agriculture to prosper,⁶

Ancient Irrigation Works

The masonry dam constructed in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya (300 B.C.) and the lake formed behind the dam known as Lake Sudarshana are stated to be works of very high engineering skill as these served irrigational purposes for over 400 years without any repairs.⁷

The Arthashastra lays down as one of the duties of a King irrigational development by constructing reservoirs and providing assistance to private individuals in the form of suitable sites and necessary material to construct irrigation works. It is emphasised that such services by private individuals would not be charged until private individuals realised profits worth twice the initial expenditure incurred.

The maintenance of a water work was given great importance and the tampering with or the damaging it was severely punishable. At one point, the treatise even mentions that the offender who broke the dam of a tank full of water would be drowned in that very tank.

In the south, perennial irrigation may have begun with the construction of the Grand Anicut across the river Cauvery by the early Chola ruler Karikala Chola in the first century A.D. to provide for irrigation from the Cauvery river. The Viranam tank of South Arcot, a fresh-water lake in the state, over 10 miles long and 3.5 miles in width, was constructed by Rajendra Chola (A.D.

1012-1044). Wherever the topography and terrain permitted, it was an old practice in the region to impound the water in tanks or reservoirs by throwing across an earthen dam with a surplus weir, where necessary, to take off excess water, and a sluice at a suitable level to irrigate the lands below.⁸

Recent research has revealed the fact that Tamil Nadu had enjoyed a right to Cauvery waters from time immemorial. In the 12th century and 17th century A.D. flow of Cauvery water into Tamil Nadu was obstructed and the obstructions were removed by the armed forces of the kingdoms of Tamil Nadu.

When Rajaraja II was ruling the Chola Kingdom from 1146 to 1163 AD, King Narasimhan I, the then ruler of Mysore put up artificial hillocks on the Cauvery bed and diverted the flow of the river, as a result, irrigation channels in the Chola kingdom dried up and there was threat of famine. Raja Raja led an army into the territory of Karnataka, shattered the artificial hillocks and brought Cauvery water to Tamil Nadu. He also constructed new channels, called 'Pudukaverikal'. To meet the cost of the expedition, a new tax, 'Kavirikkarai viniyokam' was levied. This historical fact is mentioned in 'Thankkayaga-p-parani' and 'Rajarajan-Ula'.

A similar situation arose in the 17th century when Chikkadevaraya was ruling Mysore. At that time the Naik Queen Rani Mangammal of Madurai, the Maratha King Sakasi of Tanjore, despite their other differences saw to it that Cauvery waters flowed freely into Tamil Nadu.⁹

State support for irrigational development continued during the medieval period when significant technological developments took

place in both canal and lift irrigation. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak and Firoz Tughlak brought in the Central Asian experience of canal construction to India. Later, the Mughal emperor, Babur, refined the araghatta to the modern Persian wheel. In medieval India, rapid advances also took place in the construction of inundation canals. Water was blocked by constructing bunds across streams. This raised the water level and canals were constructed to take water to the fields. These bunds were built by both the state and private sources. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak (1320-1325) is credited to be the first ruler who encouraged digging canals. However it was Firoz Tughlak (1351-1388) who is considered to be the greatest canal builder before the nineteenth century.

Shahjehan's reign was marked by the construction of some canals for irrigation.

The noted historian of Medieval India, Irfan Habib, points out that in the early Sultanate period, particularly in the first half of the fourteenth century, state credit in the form of *taqavi* (credit) was being offered to the peasants. This policy was soon institutionalised and became a routine administrative practice till the end of the Mughal empire and was even in force under the British administration.

Irrigation is stated to be one of the major reasons for the growth and expansion of the Vijayanagar empire in South India in the fifteenth century. Irrigation works brought in new areas under cultivation, which in turn led to an increase in revenue collection. Paes, a Portuguese traveller, referred to the construction of a tank by King Krishnaraja. Another Portuguese traveller by name Nuniz, mentioned a dam built across the river Tungabhadra.

The State actively patronised the construction of tanks and reservoirs. For example the Maday lake, stated to be about 10 to 15 miles long, was created by the Vijayanagar emperors during the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Shivaji too encouraged the people to construct new dams or renovate old ones. Since the mid-eighteenth century, the peshwa rulers of Maharashtra encouraged the construction of dams and canals.

The rulers of the Deccan promoted the construction and repair of tanks, dams and canals for agricultural development as well as for the royal gardens. The construction of dams and tanks for irrigation was more popular here than wells due to the soil condition. However, it should also be noted that in the beginning of the nineteenth century only 3 to 7 percent of the cultivated land was irrigated in most parts of South India. Only in Tanjore was the irrigated land as much as 50 percent. This figure gives a general idea of the potential of irrigation in South India. Though dry cultivation was widespread, artificial irrigation existed to reduce the risk of crop failure. Storing rain water with dams and in tanks was the main method of irrigation and the construction of such works was considered to bring religious merit. It may be noted that but for exceptional cases, most of the canal irrigation prior to the arrival of the British was of a diversionary nature. Temporary blockages along a portion of the width of the river, helped divert water to the canals for irrigation. After the irrigation season, these stoppages were removed. At other places, canals were cut along the river keeping in mind the river curves and contours:

Thus it may be seen that powerful and stable empires paid attention to irrigational development. The Mauryan, Khajji, Tughlak and

Mughal periods are the ones in which greater emphasis was laid on irrigational development. However, as historical works exploring the relationship of the State and irrigation in the Pre-British period are scarce, any understanding of irrigation and society during that time is bound to be tentative. But it is evident that a mature irrigation science existed in India before the advent of the British colonisers. The indigenous science of irrigation was linked with the requirements of agricultural development, choice of crops, culture and suitability to a certain ecological area. The local knowledge was stored in the culture of the region. The growth of the traditional knowledge was based on local experience and was handed down from generation to generation. The traditional irrigation and agricultural science was soon to be questioned by the British, who, in the course of two centuries, were to change the irrigation map of India. This they did by following the method of uniformity in irrigation through its codification and scientific studies in specialised institutions. While British engineers learned from traditional irrigation science, they created a system in which a dialogue with the rich local knowledge was not developed. Irrigation science, as developed through a continuous interaction between man, nature and technology was to be replaced by 'civil engineering' which designed a technology after taking into account considerations of revenue collection and bureaucratic control.¹⁰

The East India Company which became a territorial power on the eastern coast by 1802 considered land revenue as a very important source. It soon realised that the collection of land revenue could be improved only by extension of irrigation and agricultural development. Harnessing the river waters by dam construction as a planned and systematic activity for the development of river basins gained importance in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹¹

The Maramath department

The custom of 'Kudimaramath' was in existence in South India. According to the Madras Manual of Administration, this term means construction of Labour for petty repairs to Irrigation works. The Maramath department, was practically in charge of the great majority of public works of all kinds and a very important department of the government in the early British period. The English Collectors assumed charge of irrigation works along with that of collection of revenue. As the maintenance of the works in good condition was essential to the security of revenue large sums were spent on that account. Engineering officers were appointed afterwards under the title of 'Superintendents of Tank Repairs' to aid the Collectors. In the year 1819 the territories of the East India Company in the Madras Presidency were divided into three divisions each under the charge of a Civil Engineer with a suitable establishment and the whole was placed under the control of an English Officer at the Presidency level called the Inspector General of Civil Estimates. In 1825 the Inspector General of Civil Estimates came under the control of Board of Revenue but had the power to record his views for the informations of the government if they differed from those of the Board. In 1836 the post of Inspector General of Civil Estimates was re-designated as Public Works Chief Engineer. In the same year the whole Presidency was rearranged into 8 Maramath divisions each under a Civil Engineer working under the Public Works Chief Engineer.¹²

Setting up of Public Works Department, 1858

In 1850, the importance of the systematic management and execution of public works throughout the Madras Presidency had attracted

the attention of the Court of Directors in England and under their orders; a public works Commission was appointed in the following year. The Commission gave in 1852 a full account of the existing system of public works administration and reviewed at length the working of the Maramath Department of the Board of Revenue, the Trunk Road Department of the Military Board. They pointed out the neglected state of public works in the country except, in a few favoured districts, dwelt on the inadequacy of the annual grants allotted for public works and on the inadequate establishments appointed to look after them and brought to notice the benefits derived from the systematic and judicious expenditure of public money in the promotion of the public works. The Commission established the fact that the Board of Revenue was no longer able to deal with the business of the Maramath Department, owing to the great and progressive increase in the works of the departments and largely increased proportions of its establishment. They brought to light many abuses in the execution of works and commented on the inefficiency of the executive establishment. Instead of having three separate establishments for the management of different classes of public works, the commission recommended the establishment of one department for the management of all public works, Civil or Military. Based on the recommendations and on the advice of the Home Government of India, the Madras Public Works Department was first formed in 1858. This establishment supervised the public works of the whole Presidency, which was divided into 87 Executive Range.¹³

However with the demands of civil engineering increasing progressively, the public works department was divided into two branches in 1866 viz., the Civil Works Branch including irrigation, roads etc. and a Military Works Branch.

By 1895, however, the Military Works Branch grew to such a size that it was organised into a separate Military Works Department so that the P.W.D. became purely Civilian in nature. Even so, most of the top engineers of the P.W.D. continued to be drawn from the military engineers cadre. Gradually, however, the military engineers were replaced by civil engineers, as the latter grew in number and gained the requisite experience.

Private Enterprise

When great irrigation and navigation schemes, traversing the length and breadth of the country were under consideration pressure was brought to bear upon the Government of India to entrust further exploitation of irrigation potential of the country to private enterprise, under what was known as the 'guarantee' system, as in the case of railways in India at that time. Under this system, the Government of India guaranteed a return of 5 per cent on the capital outlay. The Government of the day felt itself unable to finance large irrigation schemes which required considerable initial capital outlay from its revenues. The principle of financing productive irrigation projects from loans raised in the market, for the purpose, had not yet been introduced. It was therefore, decided in 1858, though quite reluctantly, to let private enterprise step in to promote the expansion of irrigation in the country, under the 'guarantee' system.¹⁴

Private Enterprise-a Failure

In response to this move two companies were formed i) the East India Irrigation and Canal Company and ii) The Madras Irrigation Company. The former Company was floated in 1858 to exploit the coastal plains of Orissa and the

adjoining area, but it actually went into operation only in 1863. The Madras Irrigation Company was formed in 1863 and it started its works in the Madras area. But as the irrigational canal projects taken up by these companies proved to be a failure, they were closed down. The miserable failures of private enterprise to execute irrigation projects taught the administration Valuable lessons, which led to some important Policy decision.¹⁵

The Year 1866

In 1866, important and radical changes were made in the principles and the policy governing the execution and financing of irrigation projects as a direct result of the poor performance of the private companies. The salient points of this policy decision were:

1. Irrigation Projects would, in future, be constructed by the State through its own agency.
2. Irrigation projects would be financed from public loans raised specifically for the purpose and
3. Political boundaries would not be allowed to come in the way, when the best possible utilisation of water of a river for irrigation purposes was being considered. It was stated that only those projects should be entertained by the Government of India which are the best that can be devised irrespective of the territorial boundaries of British and 'Princely' states, in the benefits of which the native states should be allowed to participate on like terms with our own subjects'. These decisions gave a great fillip to construction programmes all over India.

As a result of the acceptance by the Secretary of state for India, of the principle of financing productive works by loans raised in the open market a number of projects were taken in hand.

Productivity Test for Irrigation Projects

In order to safeguard the loan capital raised for the execution of irrigation projects, the Parliament of England appointed a Select Committee to suggest specific measures for the purpose. As a result of the recommendations of the Select Committee on Indian public works, the Parliament in 1879, decided that the results of irrigation works India should be tested by their financial returns. In other words, an irrigation project should be able to earn sufficient revenue so as to pay a certain minimum return, after deducting all working expenses, on the sum at charge by the tenth year of its completion. This criterion has come to be known as the 'Productivity Test' for a major project.

The percentage adopted for the above test was generally based on the prevailing rate of interest and usually was slightly in excess of it. Generally, the rate was kept near about 4 per cent. It may be added that the productivity Test was applied continuously every year. The main point to note is that 'Productivity Test' allowed a period of 10 years after the completion of a project to reach the stage of productivity.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that one of the most important issues connected with planning was the raising of capital resources. Every effort was, therefore, made to augment them and it was considered equitable to levy betterment contribution on areas benefited by irrigation project. 'Betterment levy' was a new concept then and therefore it was felt that it would take some time and a good deal of educative effort would be needed before the irrigator was persuaded to accept it as a fair and necessary burden.¹⁶

The Indian Irrigation Commission

The beginning of the present century was marked by an important event in the history of irrigation in India, namely, the appointment of the Indian Irrigation Commission under the presidentship of Colin Scott Moncrieff. The Commission toured throughout the country and, in 1903, presented a report which in addition to recommending definite lines of policy regarding the selection, financing and maintenance of irrigation works, dealt in detail with practically every scheme under consideration at that time. As a direct result of the Commission's recommendations, a large number of new works were undertaken. One of the functions of the Indian Irrigation Commission was to report on the desirability of the extension of irrigation as a means of protection against famine. This function was enunciated in the Government Resolution convening the Commission. "As regards new works, the main question is not whether they will be likely to prove directly remunerative, but whether the net financial burden which they may impose on the State in the form of charges for interest and maintenance will be too high a price to pay for the protection against famine. It is from this point of view that the Commission should consider proposals for the extension of irrigation in districts in which cultivation is very insecure and precarious".

This was a very important principle of policy and although in pursuance of this principle the Commission recommended a number of protective projects some of which were undertaken, nevertheless, due to World War 1 and consequent paucity of funds, the emphasis remained on the remunerativeness or productiveness of irrigation projects, rather than the security they could afford to insecure and precarious areas.¹⁷

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

Before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921 irrigation works were virtually under the control of the Central Government. No major irrigation works could be undertaken without the sanction of the Secretary of State for India who was naturally advised by the Governor General on the necessity of such projects. After 1921, the Provincial Governments were authorised to raise loans for financing irrigation projects themselves on their own credit. The rate of interest charged against a project was the actual rate of interest at which the specific loan was raised, which varied from 3 per cent to as much as 6 per cent. Actually, however, a figure of about 4 per cent came to be generally accepted as the minimum annual yield from an irrigation project for it to be considered as 'productive'. It may, however, be mentioned that although the provincial Governments were authorised to raise loans on their own credit after 1921, no irrigation projects costing more than Rs.50 lakh could be undertaken without the administrative approval of the Secretary of State for India upto 1 April 1937, when 'Provincial Autonomy' was introduced in India.

Government of India Act of 1935

The Government of India Act (1935) made a radical change in the administration of irrigation projects. The Act brought 'irrigation' within the jurisdiction and control of the local Provincial Governments, subject to certain contingencies. According to the Act irrigation was to assume a federal character only when there were any inter-state disputes. Thus the all-India perspective of irrigation projects was lost for the time being at least.

Central Board of Irrigation and Power

Even prior to 1935, there was not much coordination between the various Provinces* in matters relating to irrigation and in the research work carried out at different irrigation research centres. Therefore in 1927, the Government of India, in consultation with the Provincial Governments, set up the Central Board of Irrigation as a co-ordinating body. The Board consisted of the Consulting Engineer to the Government of India and the Chief Engineers (Irrigation) of the various provinces. In the same year, the British Government sent to India a Royal Commission on Agriculture which toured the country for about six months and submitted a report early in 1928. As a result of one of their recommendations a Central Bureau of Information for Irrigation was formed for the collection and dissemination of technical information from all sources, both Indian and foreign, so as to be of value to irrigation engineers in the country and it was attached to the Central Board of Irrigation.

In 1945, mainly on the advice of the Central Board of Irrigation, the Government of India constituted the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission in order to make the fullest and most economical use of waterways in the country. Later, in 1949, the membership of the Central Board of Irrigation was enlarged to include Chief Engineers of Electricity also, from the States and the Centre and its name was changed to Central Board of Irrigation and Power. On similar grounds, the Central waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission was re-organised as Central Water and Power Commission. With the setting-up of the above mentioned bodies and of the planning Commission in March 1950, the all India perspective of irrigation works was largely restored.¹⁸

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's contribution to the development of water resources

All developmental activities to proceed in a systematic and organised manner need a proper policy guideline. The seeds for an All-India Policy on Water were sown in 1942-44 by late Dr. Bhimrao Ramaji Ambedkar, who is well known as the main architect of India's Constitution. To assist in the implementation and development of water resources, the administrative and technical bodies, viz., the Central Waterways, the Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board (now known as the Central Electricity Authority), were created by him. The concept of a river valley authority or corporation for the integrated development of the rivers in the regions was adopted at that time. The concept of the multipurpose development of a river valley basin was introduced by him for the first time in India. Certain important present-day valley projects particularly in the Damodar, Sone and Mahanadi river basins were initiated

by him. He was responsible for introducing Article 262, in the Constitution relating to adjudication of disputes relating to waters of inter state rivers or river valleys.

Hence, most of the elements we find to-day in India's National Water Policy were all introduced or conceived as far back as 1942, and the credit goes to the late Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who, as the labour Member from 1942-1946, brought all the relevant concepts to the forefront. The Planning outlined by him and his team, led to some basic developments which laid the foundations of India's water policy.¹⁹

On the eve of Indian independence in 1947, out of 116.8 million hectares of net area sown in British India, 28.2 million hectares enjoyed the facility of irrigation. But the partition of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan, more than half of the total water which was channelled for irrigation through canals went to Pakistan's share. The following Table shows the net area sown and net area irrigated in India and Pakistan.²⁰

Table - 1
Irrigation on the eve of partition (1944-47)²¹

Country	Net area Sown	Net Area Irrigated	Percentage to Net area Irrigated	Sources of Irrigation					
				Canal Government	Canal Private	Total	Wells	Tanks	Others
India	98.5	19.4 (100.0)	(19.7)	6.3 (32.5)	1.9 (9.8)	8.2 (42.3)	5.3 (27.3)	3.3 (17.0)	2.6 (13.4)
Pakistan	18.3	8.8 (100.0)	(48.1)	6.8 (77.2)	0.2 (2.3)	7.0 (79.5)	1.3 (14.8)	-	0.5 (5.7)
Undivided India	116.8	28.2	(24.1)	13.1 (46.5)	2.1 (7.4)	15.2 (53.9)	6.6 (23.4)	3.3 (11.7)	3.1 (11.0)
(Figures in Brackets indicates percentage total area irrigated)									

However, the irrigated land of the Native States which joined the Indian Union added to the total irrigated land in India and so, on the eve of planning in 1950-51, India had a land area of 22.8 million hectares under irrigation.²²

Water a National Property

The evolution of Irrigation Policy over the past 150 years is a unique illustration of change with continuity. This vast country has had many irrigation problems, their nature has varied from region to region and their effects have been different for different social and economic groups within the population. The element of continuity in India's development policy has centered around the objectives of development considering water a national property. It is therefore suggested that a national policy should be evolved through :

- (i) legislation making water a national property;
- (ii) Implementation of inter-state projects should be cleared by River Water Tribunal immediately;
- (iii) raising of Bhumi senas (work brigade) consisting of two to ten lakh workers in each state to take up irrigation works;
- (iv) vigorous implementation of land reforms; and
- (v) strengthening the meteorological and hydrological studies to make effective use of water resources.

To ensure optimum utilisation, water has to be recognised as a national resource and there should be a bold national policy for sharing of waters for irrigation. If our present laws are inadequate for this purpose, necessary amendments ought to be effected as early as possible

to remedy this situation. It is also necessary to bridge the gap among the states with regard to the availability of basic resources like water and power. The task is as urgent as the national endeavour to remove poverty and social disparities. It is only when the states help one another by sharing their surplus that real national integration may be achieved.

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Factors Responsible for the Growth of Brahmadēyas in the Tamil Country - An Epigraphical Study

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The growth of the brahmadēyas system coincided with the Pallava - Pāndya period (C. 600- 800 A.D.). It was in this period that brahmadēyas were established on a stronger and sounder basis to withstand anykind of emergency. The patronage of the Pallavas and Pāndya had further added stability and strength to the growth of the system. However, this is not an isolated event. This took place with the expansion of the political power, extension of temple and educational activities and the grant of many brahmadēyas.

In fact, there is an extreme dearth of source materials to study the position of brahmadēyas in the Pāndya country after the fall of the Kalabhras and before the accession of Jatila Parāntaka Nedunjadayan in 768 A.D. ¹ However, it may be inferred that the system was revived and royal patronage extended to its growth only after the accession of Jatila Paeāntaka Nedunjadayan. This is derived from the study of Vēlvikkudi Copper-Plates², Pūlākūruchi³, Ānamalai⁴ and Thirupparan kunram⁵ inscriptions. It was with this Pāndya king that the brahmadēya made strides of progress and grew to very great heights, probably because of the great influence exerted by

Māran Kāri and Sāatten Ganapathi, two very powerful brahman officials (Uttaramaniri and Sēnāpati respectively) of the Vaidyakula of Karavandapuram (Tirunvelveli region). This is evident from the grant of a gift of a rich agrahāra in the neighbourhood of Ānamalai hills, six miles to the east of Madurai, to the brahmans evidently in the Visnu (Silāgraham , Karrali) temple built by Māran Kāri alias Madhurakavi in 770 A.D.⁶. This is perhaps the beginning of the growth of the system under the Pāndya patronage. This chapter, therefore, attempts to examine the growth of the system up to the formation of the sabha, a symbol of brahman organisation. It is learnt that the brahmadēya system during this period had a spontaneous growth. This spontaneity was further enhanced by the understanding and identification between the kings and the brahmans. As lovers of tradition and as those who had attained brahmanhood, the Pallavas became great patrons of the brahmans and their traditional organisation of caste. In the opening line of the Nedungarayu plates of prince Visnugōpa it is stated that the Pallavas attained brahmanhood while they were Ksatriyas⁷. This would suggest that they were elevated to this position by their deeds perhaps in favour of the brahmans. The kasākudi plates show⁸ how Mahēndravarman II adhered rigorously to the Varnāśramadharam . They had also been

great patrons and admirers of brahmans. Paramesvaravarman, for instance was an adorer of brahmans. In addition, inscriptions such as the Pullur copper-plate make mention of the gifts given to Bāppa Bhattarākar⁹, the great brahman. The Chendatūrchura and Udayēndiram Copper-Plates also refer to the profound eacomiūms heaped upon Bāppa Bhattarākar.

During this Pallava-Pāndya period, the bhakti cult, a mass movement, gained ground. This led to the composition of innumerable bhakti hymns and the āgama sastras¹⁰ and the simultaneous proliferation of temples¹¹. It is known that the bhakti hymnists initiated a unique form of worship, without the brahmanical rituals. When the brahmanic hold in the religious matters slipped away from their control and jurisdiction, they took up the āgama prescriptions and dharmic rules to control the construction of temples, the making and installation of the icon and their worship¹². This, they did, with the strong support of the Pallava kings, who were very much pleased to style themselves as agamapriya¹³ (lover of āgama s) and Rajasimha may be cited as an example for this. Thus even in the bhakti movement they made themselves indispensable and turned themselves as preceptores (āchāriyas) and temple priests (archakas). In the post Kelaḥra period hundreds of thousand of temples were built and the āgamic form of pūjas were conducted in them. Āgamic worship needed the services of priests

and preceptors to perform pūjas in the sanctum. To perform such functions what required was knowledge not only in the tantras but also in the Vēdic chant¹⁴. The brahmans alone had possessed such a knowledge, and this gave them a prime position in society.

As staunch Hindus, the Pallavas attached much importance to religious sentiments, rites and rituals. To attain the feet of God (brahmanhood), they performed various kinds of sacrifice such as Hiranyagarbha, Tulābāra, Bahusuvāna and Gōsahasra. For instance, Sivaskandavarman is said to have performed Agnistōma, Asvamēdha, Vajapēya forms of sacrifices¹⁵. Other Pallava king who had not performed a Sōmayāga¹⁷. To perform these sacrifices the kings needed the services of learned brahmans. Their services in turn were recognised by the grant of large number of brahmadēyas and they were settled in these new pastures with unassailable rights.

Held high in the social and ritual hierarchy, the brahmans had manifold and multifarious functions and responsibilities such as a complicated form of rites and rituals and other related services to perform in the temples. The brahmans took up to perform these services not only to satisfy the kings but also to attract the public. As priests (archakas)¹⁸ and preceptors (mantrāchāriyas)¹⁹, cooks and accountants, they had much say in the temple affairs. In Short, the daily service in a temple required the services of a priest to perform the worship inside the sanctum. It also necessitated the assistance of one or two persons²⁰, mostly brahmans. In

this capacity the names of Ānandasivāchāriya and Pullasarman are mentioned in the Kūram Copper-plate²¹.

They also elevated their social status and increased their privileges by talking high sounding titles of fame. The priests and preceptors of Siva temple were called variously as Sivāchāriyas, Sivabrāhmanas and Gurukkal. An inscription of Nadivarman III refer to those who performed worship inside the garbhagraha of a Siva temple as Sivabrāhmanas²². However, those priests who performed worship in the Vishnu temples were called Bhattas²³. In many temples, more than one archaka, probably up to five, were appointed under the Pallavas. For instance, the Muktesvara temple had three brahman priests, namely Bhattasivan, Dharmakannar and Āndadasivan to perform worship in the temple. In fact, they held their office by hereditary right²⁴. Similarly, the Siva temple at Kilpulam had two priests, namely, Kūlisivan and his brother Madhusudana Sivan²⁵. These hereditary rights to perform ritual functions and the consequent grant of lands in recognition of their services strengthened the tradition of brahmadēyas.

The duties of the priests also included bathing and decoration of the deities with flowers, preparation of the prescribed offerings (neivēdyam) and recitation of mantras during worship. They received gifts in kind, such as ghee and oil for perpetual lamps, fruits and coconuts and other offerings to deities. Apart from

these regular services, they rarely undertook to supervise the temple servants²⁶. According to the Kūram plates even the temple repairs were entrusted to them²⁷. These also provided ample scope for using their services and settling them in brahmadēyas. Thus the increase of temple construction and expansion of temple services led to the steady growth of the brahmadēya system.

Education was another fertile area which needed the service of brahmins and, as a result, they kept it as their private property for the years to come. They were the highly educated section of the then society. As such, they rendered meritorious service to the two upper castes through the institution of ghatikās²⁸. Under the Pallavas and the Pandyas such educational institutions attracted students of higher learning from all over India. The Kānchi ghatika, for instance, comprised of learned brahmins²⁹. The object of establishing a ghatika was to promote the study of Sāmavēda. They devoted themselves to the critical study of the sacred lores. The devoted themselves to the critical study of the sacred lores. The Kasakudi plates³⁰ record that Narasimhavaraman gave away his wealth to dēvas and brahmins for religious and educational purposes. He made the ghatika to be fully benefited by the brahmins who had studied the four Vēdas³¹.

Since the kings required the services of these brahmins for their own military and dhārmic education, and since the brahmins kept this private property as their hereditary right, no wonder, education added to their prestige, power and influence in society. In recognition of

their meritorious service to the State, the kings settled them in some of the most fertile regions of their kingdoms.

Further, their legitimatizing power also enhanced the power and prestige of the brahmins. The accession of a king to the throne has to be legitimatized by the brahmins, on whom rested the legitimatizing power. A royal heir ascended the throne only when the brahman priest or purohita conducted the anointment ceremony. The coronation festival was conducted by the head *purōhita* in the presence of all other subordinate kings, officials, subordinates, members of the royal family and brahmins³². The brahmins could alone delineate what is *dharma* and *adharma*. They fixed the suspicious and insuspicious hours³³. They conducted the expiation ceremonies by feeding brahmins³⁴, constructing temples³⁵, installing in them perpetual lamps³⁶, giving generous donations to the temples, and keeping the priestly class in good humour³⁷. Generally, as a matter of fact, the kings and the brahmins jointly undertook to dispense with the royal authority and connived at keeping the public in permanent and perpetual subordination and darkness. The kind of brahman influence in the socio-religious affairs of the State appears to have become a potent factor from the days of the Pallavas. For, it was during the Pallava period that brahmanism made its systematic penetration into Tamilnadu, though it was there already³⁸.

The kings and even the people considered the brahmins sincere and loyal servants of the State. Therefore, they were pleased to employ them as officials of courts and government departments. They employed them as

Vāyilkēpār and *Tirumandira ōlaināyagar* and also as village accountants³⁹. It is viewed that the class of officials called *Ānatti*⁴⁰, who executed the land gifts and endowments, must have included a few brahman officers, who obtained the title of *Brahmādhirāja*. Brahmins also served as court poets and *prāsasti* writers of inscriptions and copperplates. Sometimes they supervised or oversaw the execution of these records. *Trivikrama*, who composed the *prasasti* of *Kasakudi* copper-plates of *Nadivarman Pallavamalla*⁴¹, *Nayāsa*, who wrote the *prāsasti* of the *Bāhūr* copper-plates⁴², and *Manodhira* alias *Mahesvara*, who composed the text of *Vēllūrpālayam* Copper-plates of *Nadivarman III*⁴³ were all brahmins.

Thus it goes without saying that the *Pallavas* and the *Pāndya* patronised the custodians of brahmanic Hinduism in the south. They sought the advice and benefactions of the priestly class, who, in turn, received the benefactions of the ruling class. The *Pallavas* and the *Pāndya* took pride in granting villages and other kinds of largesse to the brahmins as rewards for their multifarious activities as priests, purohits, advisers, poets and composers. As a matter of fact, these village grants formed the nuclei of the *brahmadēyas* system. This kind of liberal royal donations helped the growth and systematization of *brahmadēyas* in early medieval Tamilnadu.

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18. The priests who perform the worship inside the sanctum are called archakas. (SII., vol. vi.No.288).
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Agricultural Labour in Medieval Tamilnadu: A Brief Study

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In this paper an attempt is made in a brief compass to study the position of agricultural labour in the medieval Tamil Country i.e., 7th to 14th century A.D. Agriculture being the backbone of the Indian economy from the earliest times to the present, the Tamils bestowed maximum attention upon agriculture. Labour being the fulcrum of agriculture, the Tamils employed serfs to undertake large scale agricultural production. The saint-poet Tiruvalluvar has long back highlighted the importance of agriculture thus:

உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வார் மற்றெல்லாம்
தொழுதுண்டு பின் செல்பவர்

"They alone live who live by agriculture;
all other lead a cringing dependent life".

Agriculture in the medieval Tamil Country:

Throughout the medieval period under review, land and its produce constituted the most important source of wealth and, by far, the largest part of the population was engaged in cultivating the soil regularly. Whatever occupation the other people might have been engaged in, they all had to depend on the farmer for sustenance², even the ascetics were helpless, if the peasants did not till the land.³

Agriculture, though laborious, was considered an excellent form of occupation even from

the Sangam Age, because it sustained the life of the people. The early Tamils, noted for their literary glory, showed greater fascination for ploughing.⁴

Agriculture was treated as a venerable profession. It was generally known as *velanmai*⁵, the peasant was known as *velalan*⁶ and the peasantry called *velankudi*⁷. Since the peasantry worked on different kinds of fields, called *kalam* they were also known as *kalamar*⁸. Their involvement in *Ulavu* (ploughing) got them the name *Ulavar*⁹. Those who were engaged in the occupation with subordinate cultivation rights were particularly known as *kil karamai udaya kudigal*¹⁰. The trained tillers, known as *Tonda Ulavar*¹¹ were engaged as paid servants.

Among the agriculturists, there were two classes, one the landed employers (*uluvithunbar*) and, the other, the labourers who earned their living by doing work on land (*uluvor*). To the landed class belonged the non-cultivating institutions like the temples and the mathas and the individual landed magnates (*nilakkilar*)¹². The dominant agricultural community in the Tamil Country in the Chola imperial age known as the *velialas* formed themselves into a corporation called *citrameli* (meaning ploughshare) and its members were called *citrameli periyannattar*. They were also known as *bhumiputtirar* and

nattumakkal having ownership rights (*kaniyatchi*)¹³. To the labouring class belonged the hired labourers who were paid wages and the farm servants (*pannaial*) who were in the nature of serfs¹⁴. Some of them were tied down to the soil, and could not be evicted. They were called *kudineenga adimai*.

The hired labourers were taken in for work during the seasons of transplantation and harvest and were paid daily wages either in kind or cash or both. Besides the hired labourers, there were also slave labourers whose service was utilized by land lords. They were called "agrestic slaves" meaning slaves attached to land¹⁵. The pulaiyar, parayar, pallar, cerumar etc., the modern Scheduled Castes, were traditional agricultural workers having the status of agrestic slaves or serfs in medieval Tamil society. Contemporary inscriptions point to the fact that there were slaves attached to the land which they cultivated¹⁶. They were sold along with the land¹⁷. An inscription of A.D.1196 says that expenses were to be met out of the land, as well as from the labour of the slaves attached to the land¹⁸. Sometimes they were called *Ulapparaiyar*¹⁹.

Agricultural population:

The landed class of medieval Tamilnadu comprised land lords or rich peasants, small land owners and landless agriculturists (tenants), *pannaiyals* (farm servants), *padaiyals* (wage labourers) and free agricultural labour (*vertti*). The Brahmins had much of the land chiefly cultivated by the slaves of inferior castes called *panchum Bundum*²⁰. The *Panchum Bundum* were by far the most hardy and laborious people of the coun-

try, but the greater part of them were slaves. The *Panchum Bundum* consisted of four slave castes - the *paraias*, the *pallas*, *pulaiyas* and the *totti*.

Position of landless labourers:

Traditionally, landless labourers occupied the lowest rung of the ladder in the rural society. A major portion of agricultural labourers consisted of lower castes²¹. In general, the agricultural labourers led a hand-to-mouth life. But among the farm labourers, the bonded labourer was paid much less than the free labourer. The free labourer got some quantity of paddy as his daily wage²². While the free labourer was free to take advantage of new earning opportunities, the bonded labour remained condemned to the low wage given by his master. The debt of the bonded labourer and his family members also passed from generation to generation. Even a child or a teenager could become bonded. These labourers served the master's household from morning to night, and they had to be always at the beck and call of the master²³.

The land lords oppression of the agricultural labourer:

The land lords most of whom were *vellalas*, segregated oppressed agricultural labourers for obvious economic reasons. The wanted cheap labour for cultivating their lands, which was available only from the low classes. So *paraias*, *pallas*, *chakkilias* were living in segregated village settlements and were treated as outcastes. The masters sold and bought agricultural slaves like any other commodities. They also formed part of the dowry given to their newly married daughters²⁴.

Financial Administration of Mysore Kingdom under Tipu Sultan.

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Tipu Sultan occupied the throne in December, 1782. He planned for a benevolent administration from the beginning and proceeded on a grand scale. His Government had several departments to promote the welfare of the people. There were departments for education, religious endowments, postal service and even for prohibition. Though the prohibition policy was one of the reasons for the decrease in the revenue of the state he took considerable steps such as confiscation of endowments, fines and court payments etc. in order to compensate the decreases. He himself wrote to the French General Lally in Seringapatam thus, "You must allow no more than a single shop to be opened in your camp for the vending of spirituous liquors; and ever that you must place a guard, for the purpose of preventing the sale of spirits to any but the Europeans belonging to you; it being a rule in our victorious army that no shop of this kind shall be permitted to be established in it"¹. This prohibition policy was gradually extended over the State and this was confirmed by the revenue regulation of 1788².

At the early period of his reign Tipu Sultan had to continue his struggle against the British. There was wastage of enormous resources of the country. Tipu himself expressed painfully that he wasted crores of money and sacrificed several lakhs of his own men³. The royal account shows that the pay of the troops alone came to Rs.55 lakhs per year. There were other expenses during the war preparations. He advanced money

for the French troops. When the French Government offered the money back Tipu refused to receive it because he needed their friendship and support in his struggle against the British. So he had to find our resources to meet his expenses in various departments. He had to suffer from lack of finance due to various other factors. Because of war efforts the efficiency of the revenue administration was reduced. The shrinking area of the territories resulted in the reduced income of the State but the expenditure did not show a relative shrinkage⁴. It was reported that from the commencing day of his administration the revenues of the kingdom were diminished greatly. It was because of his deviated financial policy from his illustrious father Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur. He introduced prohibition and forbade the sale of arrack and opium throughout the kingdom which also resulted in a considerable loss to the State.

During the reign of Tipu Sultan the year 1792 to 1799 were marked by various reforms and reorganisations particularly in the military and commercial departments. In 1792 the annual income was only 118 ½ lakhs of rupees (in 1788). So Tipu raised the land revenue and this enhanced the assessment⁵. A Government monopoly was made on the tobacco trade. But this enhancement did not apply to all lands. The total revenue from the revision was estimated at 80 lakhs of rupees.

The revenue regulations indicate that the government took great interest in the promotion

of irrigation works. The land revenue was the most important source of income and it was estimated to be about 70% of the annual receipts. So the Government undertook large constructions of irrigation canals. These works were regularly inspected by all the three revenue officers of the region namely Amildars, Mutsaddy and Hircars.

The aim of maintaining the irrigation works was to the advantage of revenue and to the increase of produce. Tipu Sultan's revenue regulations clearly indicate that great care was taken to foster irrigation works, and it may, therefore, be assumed that the State must have spent a large amount of money on this kind of works.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF TIPU SULTAN

Tipu Sultan directed all his attention to the increase of the revenue of the State and equally to the prosperity of his kingdom. His revenue administration was vigorous and efficient⁹. His revenue regulations and instructions to all his subordinate officials show his efficiency in the financial administration of the State. In 1791 a British officer reported that the well-regulated vigorous Government of Hyder Ali had become under his son Tipu Sultan more systematic¹⁰. Mysore under Tipu Sultan experienced very simple and despotic monarchy in the world in which every department, civil and military possessed the regularity and system.

Tipu established separate administration for the cities and towns. In the towns yielding a revenue of 5,000 pagodas or more were placed under the charge of an Simildar who was assisted by a Serishtadar, an Amin and a Muzumdar¹¹. Important cities and capital city, Seringapatam, were placed under the charge of a separate administration departments¹². They

were, the military, revenue, commerce, marine, treasury, and ordnance. (garrisons and fortifications)¹³. The finance Minister of Tipu Sultan was Mir Sadik Later on Purniah was appointed in his place.

Tipu Sultan personally controlled the revenue administration. He directed even the most minute details of the department. A contemporary writer says that in his (Tipu Sultan's) government he was strict and indefatigable indicating the most minute details to the officials. The cases of malpractices and indifference in the collection of revenue were reported to the Sultan immediately and orders were emanating from him for future action¹⁴. The Amil or the taluk officer (Tahsildar) was asked to submit the revenue and expenditure of the taluks for inspection¹⁵.

Tipu Sultan pursued the revenue records of the officials with utmost care and efficiency. He kept awake very late at night to inspect the revenue records. Several of his letters to Amildars were timed at midnight. Thus he sacrificed even his personal comforts and showed utmost devotion to his duties.

His code of revenue regulations was remarkable and it possessed the quality of an international standard. In fact he followed the policy of his illustrious father Hyder Ali. But he himself formulated many codes at the time of his accession to the throne in which he had increased not only the number but also the powers of his subordinate revenue officials¹⁷. Tipu Sultan himself wrote thus, "I framed various ordinances (Hukumnamahs) and numerous other things, all in the very best manner and comprehending institutes, civil and fiscal general as well as particular rules for war and peace and regulations for the Government of the people at large"¹⁸.

The kingdom was divided into small units for an efficient financial administration. The main divisions were Mouza (village), Simpt (Hobli), and Aumil (taluk). The Mouza was placed under the charge of the Patel or headman of the village. The taluk was placed under the Amildar. The Amildar was guided strictly by the Government regulations. He was directed to see that no loss of income should occur to the revenue collection. A minute survey of the land was made and the revenue of the State increased by the expulsion of Polygars and resumption of inam lands. In many districts the increase in revenue was the result which naturally followed tranquility and vigorous administration of several years¹⁹.

The revenue officials were not allowed to carry on private trade or business because they would neglect their official duties or oppress the people. Tipu Sultan encouraged the revenue officials by granting $\frac{1}{2}$ fanam of every pagoda collected on the revenue account. There were revenue police (revenue peons) to assist the revenue officials. The ryots were protected against official oppression. In every village a register was maintained showing rent of each field, its extent and other details. The officials were to send reports frequently about the condition of crops and the state of agriculture in general. They were instructed to make a detailed inspection of their areas in the month of Zilhuji. Generally the annual accounts were scrutinised in the month of Ramzan. The land revenue payments were allowed to be made in three installments. Even arrears could be paid in installments. The Amildars were asked to send the collected revenue immediately to the State Treasury.

Private trade on the precious metals was forbidden. The state department of commerce was established to deal in gold and other pre-

cious metals. When there was malpractice or delay in the revenue collection Tipu Sultan ordered speedy recovery and immediate punishment of the culprits²⁰. He would not give time gap because of the officials might continue to commit the same mistake. Under extraordinary circumstances the horsemen were despatched to collect the revenue²¹. Such immediate measures prevented the maladministrations and perfect discipline was thus established. Even the British officials reported that Tipu's revenue administration was better and his people were happier than those in many of the contemporary States. A British Military officer wrote thus, "We will now consider Tipu not as a general or a Statesman, but as the guardian of his people. When a person finds it well. Cultivated populous with industrious inhabitants, cities newly formed, commerce extending, towns increasing and everything flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people²².

REVENUE OFFICIALS AND THEIR DUTIES

The kingdom was divided into taluks or parganas. These taluks were different in size and population and also in revenue income. For an efficient revenue administration the country was further divided into Assofies which formed the basis of revenue administration²³. The slogan of the revenue administration was "to promote the interest of the Sircar, prosperity of the taluk and increase the revenue income". The revenue officials of the district were one or two Asops, two Sheristadars, two writers (clerks), forty peons, one Shroff, one Mashal, one Persian Sheristadar and some clerks to keep the account in Persian. Each taluk had the following establishment, One Amildar, one Serishtadar, three clerks, one

LAST PHASE OF TIPU'S RULE

As the Mysore was unfortunately the cockpit of Southern India, Tipu Sultan had to meet the excessive military expenditure. There was a loss of revenue and gradual decline in the collection of annual dues. Many factors were attributed to the loss. Some of them were, frequent wars and rebellions, exaction of over fines and presents by the revenue officials, interference with freedom of trade, over assessments, collection of Kists earlier than due, the levy of unduly high Kists etc. In fact during the last phase of his rule vigilance, efficiency and honesty were absent in the administration. It clearly shows that Tipu's rule began to decay. The revenue officials were mainly responsible for this. They plundered all the taluks and their discretion giving half the Asofs which they retained the other half for their private use³⁹. Bribes and mal-administration crept into the revenue administration after 1796. Col. Read reports thus, "The highest rental is paid by the cultivators of the soil to the Patels and Curnams who were village servants. The pay a part to that to the Amildar and Serishtadars on the public account giving them part in bribes to receive fabricated accounts of their rents and permit their withholding the rest, these do the same bribing the Asofs used to bribe the Diwans"⁴⁰. Col. Munro also wrote that the ryots in Kanara under Tipu Sultan received a nominal remission of 20% of their assessment but the remitted amount was paid in 1796 as a bribe to the revenue officers⁴¹.

In fact, after 1796, Tipu's attention was diverted to his politics and military reorganisation and his preoccupations in the war preparations had no doubt hindered him from closely watching the course of the revenue administration. When he was reported with spe-

cific cases he could not effectively punish the culprits. But with all these defects Tipu Sultan's Mysore was better and happier when compared to many of his neighbouring kingdoms.

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Tax System in the Ramnad Country during 17th and 18th Centuries -- A study based on Copper Plates.

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The Ramnad country situated in the South – Eastern part of Tamil Country was under the aegis of the Setupati Kings in the 17th and 18th centuries. The contemporary sources, the copper plates of the Setupati kings, reveal a good number of tax terms. This paper is an attempt to study the nature of taxes that were in vogue in the country.

The sources mention many tax terms which makes one surmise that all communities were brought under the taxation system. Taxes were levied on land, agricultural products, sale of goods and on professions. The taxes on land do not seem to be many in number. More than fifty items of miscellaneous character were in vogue. Very peculiar kind of taxes were levied.

The tax terms punjavari, Ulavu vari, Kodikal vari, Thottavari, Kadukai vari are relevant to the revenue from land¹. Regarding the quantum of land tax, it has been pointed out that for ages the farmer was allowed to retain only one half for himself while the other half was appropriated to the Government. Such taxes were collected for gardens and groves too². Among the taxes on agricultural products a mention can be made of taxes on palm – products, (panai vari) and on tobacco (pugailai vari)³.

Tax known as Sornathayam⁴ was levied on fish, fruit trees and sale of straws (vaikol) which was to be paid in cash. Watchmen of the region were given small portion of the yield during the harvest season, known as kavalSuvantiram.

Manai vari and koorai vari⁵ were taxes on property. Those who possess property were paid Sothukanakku vari⁶.

The people of Ramnad who usually stored their grains in the common granary were to pay Kalanjiya vari⁷. Thirugai vari was levied on grinding machines. Niranikkam vari was collected for the leaves and flowers.

Next to Agriculture textile industry is the most flourishing profession of the people of Ramnad. Pattunoolkarar, kaikolar, valluvan, Paraiaas and Muslims engaged in weaving. Paramakudi alone had 60 looms of Muslims out of total 600 available⁸. During the period of Muthukumara Vijaya Regunatha Sethupati (1742) who was known as Tulukkaratu Tarikkadamai Neekkiva setipati. Muslims were exempted from taxation. A record of Thirumalai setupati (1659) referred to as making contribution of one panam for every loom by the low castes (parayas⁹).

As Ramnad country was not conducive for agriculture people engaged in different professions were required to pay a conventional tax which may be called as professional tax. An interesting feature of this item was that it was the tax levied on various instruments used by the different professionals. This tax is suggestive of the fact that the Sethupati rulers were conscious of their Royalty attained through Divine right. During the Vijayanagar period, Barbers and tailors were taxed on scissors and in case of prostitute it was on their mirrors. Similarly in

the Ramnad country taxes were levied on professionals such as potters (Tirukkai Ayam) on blocksmith (Kollan vari) on carpenter (Thathu vari) on drummers (parai vari and Thambatta vari) on writers (eluthanivari) on industries palapattadai vari¹⁰. Kathipettivari was levied on barbers. It appears that no professional Communitates was spared from taxation.

Among the taxes on professions, the terms Kosalai vari¹¹ Nanmattuvari, githaram, eruthuvari, Surappikathpasuvari, pedivari, Idaikudivari¹², were the kind of taxes paid by the Idayars Surappika-dapasu vari is suggestive of the fact that the Idayars paid punity tax for not rearing the cattle which failed in yield.

While recording the voluntary contributions of the various sections of the community the copper plate of Thirumalai Setupati stipulates that toddy drawers (Shanars) should appropriate a certain measure of jaggery (Karuppatti) annually and if they manufacture toddy or arrack they should pay ¼ panam per single pot. In addition panankadamai, Kalavaillam, punchaivari, and shanarvari were paid by the Shanars¹³.

The tax called chekkuvvari indicate the existence of oil machines which were managed by vaniar. They supplied oil for perpetual lamps and abisheka in the temples. During the period of the Cholas this kind of contributions were paid by Sankarapadiars.

During the period of kilavan Sethupati people had to pay different kinds of dues on different occasions. Dues were to be paid when the new boat was pressed into service and also when festivals like Saraswathi pooja and pongal were celebrated by the people. Cess on marriage was also known¹⁵. These taxes complied

people to pay tax (Kallarai vari) Idangai and Valangai vari were levied in this region.

A record of 1655 indicates that excise duties were levied on all goods (of measuring, counting and weighable nature) These excise duties were known as Alluthirvai¹⁶ and Aranmanai Tirvai, Duties were levied on imports and exports. In the Harbour (One marakal oil per 100 marakals. One padi ghee per 100 marakals. 1 ¾ per 100 countable items and 1 ¼ per 100 marakal goods) were collected¹⁷. Uppalavari was levied on families involved in salt manufacturing. Pearl fisherman had to surrender 10 pearls per boat. The fisherman had to surrender first fish to the king. Two panams were collected per boat while in harbour.

Interestingly enough Kanikkai vari¹⁸ was the tax paid by the people to the state. The income from which was set apart for the personal expenses of the king. In turn the kings also used to pay Kanikai vari either as land or jewels to the temples while as summing power.

Another interesting item of tax is Magamai which was paid by the people. Magamaifund was utilised for public works such as construction of tanks.

Maharnonbukidal vari¹⁹ was the cess levied on the male goats offered by the people for sacrifice in the occasion of Dasara festival. So also a cess was paid on sale of male goats during the occasion of Mahanavami²⁰ festival. In fact in Ramnad country non-vegetarian food were consumed during the festival occasion due to the people indifference to Vegetarianism. In addition majority people who belongs to Marava Community were warlike and consumed liquor and mutton on all occasions.

All taxes put together were known by the term Palavari. There was the practise of setting apart the income from all taxes of a village to the religious institutions to which was endowed. The tax officers Amildar, Sambirithi and Thandalkar collected the dues and paid to the state treasury.

In Ramnad Country all sections of the society were brought under the tax system, but Brahmins and Maravas had exempted because their only proffessionis war. Only one exemption is Maravas were exemption is Orunattumaravas who are serving in military got lands²¹. So they paid paddy as taxes to the state. Marava leaders received sthalam kaval²² and Desakaval²³ fees for their kaval duties.

It is heartening to note that the pilgrims were exempted from taxation. Setupatis are pious kings. In Ramnad Country pilgrims tax was collected only on two occasions. On one occasion the Portuguese levied 'Thalaivari' to the pilgrims proceeding to Rameswaram. On knowing this, the Setupatis chased them out²⁴.

On another occasion Vijaya Regunatha Setupati alias Thandatever got furiated by the news of the levy of unauthorised tax on pilgrims by his son-in-law. The ruler was no hesitation in putting him to death in spite of repeated appeals by his two daughters. The widows burnt themselves in the funeral pyre of their husbands. This memory is still preserved in the two choultries Akkamadam and Thanka chimadam built over their ashes on the road between Pamban and Rameshwaram²⁵.

Though the people paid different kinds of taxes, the cases of tax evasion or public outcry are unnoticed in Ramnad Country.

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Introduction of Labour Friendly Measures by the British Raj in the late 19th Century Tamilnadu - a Historical Perspective

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The purpose of this paper is to trace the genesis of the revolutionary consciousness among the elites in India and England which ultimately led to the ameliorative legislation for the socially and economically depressed classes by the British government in India. The economic divide between the land-owning and landless categories was justified and accepted by the fatalistic streak in the world view of the Tamil Society. In other words, this world view sanctified by the sastric injunctions through caste hierarchy prevented the servile castes from even contemplating on liberating themselves from their landless and status deprived position in Tamil Society. Therefore, help had to come from outside the sastric sanctified system and this paper attempts to trace the origin and impact of such outside help on the development of the revolutionary consciousness among the depressed classes.

From early medieval times Tamil Society became well organised into land-owning and landless sections. Under different systems of land tenure such as *Vellanvagai*, *Brahmadeya*, *Devadana* and *Jivitham* the land-owning sections gradually swelled in number till the time when colonial authorities took over the administration of Tamil Nadu 1801 A.D. In this scheme of economic order all the land-owners belonged to the higher layers in the caste hierarchy. Lower castes were landless and naturally reduced to the level of slaves.

To the colonial rulers the socio-economic order with which they came into contact looked quite

unjust. But they did not venture to change that because they feared that any change in the existing system might end up in chaos, resulting in revenue loss to them. They could not afford to lose revenue for the simple reason that they were in a very bad position financially due to the costly wars fought in India throughout the second half of the 18th century. Being revenue hungry the colonial rulers chose to perpetuate the same system which seemed advantageous to them.

But Humanitarians, Utilitarians and Evangelists, who advocated a liberal philosophy of state intervention to usher in social justice to the masses became very active in England ever since the turn of the 19th century. Liberals in England made abolition of slavery their most important programme. They made use of every forum to achieve their ends.

In India administrators like Bentinck, Baber, Cotton and C.M. Lushington were enthusiastic supporters of the humanitarian philosophies. As administrators working in the Madras Presidency they were aware of all problems relating to agricultural slavery. Revenue constraints however compelled them to allow the unjust social order to persist.

But a debate on the moral as well legal justification for the continuation of slavery could not be postponed for long. In 1819 a judge on circuit reported to the Madras government that sale of slaves by revenue defaulters was vogue in

Malabar¹. The Board of Revenue immediately sent orders to all district Collectors to send detailed reports on all matters connected with slavery. Without exception all the Collectors confirmed the existence of slavery in areas under their jurisdiction. But no one suggested immediate abolition of the institution of slavery². Slaves according to their reports were better off than the plantation slaves of America. However, impartial observers like Bunchanan and Abbe Dubois had a different story to tell. About the general condition of the slaves what Abbe Dubois says can be completely relied upon. Slaves according to him, "live in hopeless poverty and the greater number lacks sufficient means to procure even coarsest clothing. They go about almost naked. They live from hand to mouth for the whole year round"³.

The Board of Revenue suggested certain measures by which it was hoped that slavery could be abolished gradually. The Court of Directors also advised the Madras government that, "you will be extremely cautious in making any regulation for defining the relation of master and slave"⁴. District Collectors in the meantime were taking all steps in restoring run away slaves to their respective masters enabling them to carry on agricultural operations without any hitch⁵.

In England Humanitarians viewed the extinction of slavery in the British Empire as a matter of top priority. They mounted pressure on the British government to abolish slavery throughout the Empire at the earliest. Thanks to their efforts Slavery was abolished everywhere except in India in 1833. The Charter Act of 1833 however had a provision requiring the Governors General in Council to take into consideration the means of extinguishing slavery as soon as such extinction shall be practi-

cable and safe⁶. Colonial interests demanded that slavery should persist in India. But the British government in India had to bow before the relentless efforts of the humanitarians. As a result the Governors General of India reluctantly gave his assent to the Slavery Abolition Act of 1843.

This Act according to Hjejele 'had little to offer the slave population'⁷. Making advantage of the loopholes in the Act slave-owners brought back majority of the emancipated men under the fold of bonded slavery. Accordingly the erstwhile slaves worked under their masters either as *padiyals* or as *pannaiyals*. This new arrangement did not alter their servile status even a bit. Government reports speak about the condition of the freed men in glorious terms. But in reality majority of them "for a considerable part of the year could not take a full meal at all with the meager income they received" as attested to by Mr. Brandt the sub Collector of Tirunelveli district⁸. Rev. William Goudie a missionary who worked among the parayas of Chengalput district in an article entitled 'The pariah and the land published in the Harvest Field in 1894 stated that "labour is so miserably underpaid that the first law of life in paracherri is that for every mouth that eats there must be two hands earning. From the child of four upwards they must all be bread-winners or they cannot be bread eaters"⁹.

The condition of emigrant labourers who went to overseas colonies as indentured labourers due to the interaction of 'push' and 'pull' factors was also the same. This indentured labour system is described by no less a person than Hugh Tinker as a new system of slavery. The Plantation workers had to work in inhospitable regions where plantations were located. They were recklessly exploited by planters as well as the *kanganies*. How-

ever, plantation workers could earn more money than the bonded men in India. With the money at their disposal a few could become petty land owners. Becoming owners of land was not easy for them because all sorts of obstacles were placed before them by high caste land owner whenever they wanted to buy waste lands. Government's policy on allotment of waste lands was also landlord biased. Oddie observed that *mirasidars* "made all attempts to prevent the pariahs to acquire and cultivate land in their own name. Every efforts was taken to keep the pariah landless"¹⁰.

There was however, a perceptible change in the attitude of missionaries and government towards the landless labourers at the cost of the 19th century. For a long time since Robert De Nobili established his Mission at Madurai, the Catholic Church in India was following a policy of accommodating caste in the church. Missionaries were according to Goudi "seem to have argued that if only the Brahmin citadel could be captured all the rest would fall to them by natural process. Let us win the intellectual and spiritual hierarchy and with the rest our task will be easy"¹¹. In their attempt to convert the higher layer of society to Christianity they neglected the plight of the downtrodden who for reasons of social oppression had been joining the Christian fold in large numbers unsolicited. When missionaries found it impossible to attract the spiritual hierarchy they were "compelled by force of circumstance rather than led by any deliberate design to turn to the pariah"¹². Once they were determined to pull out the untouchables from the gutter, they were earnest in their activities.

Protestant Missionaries in Chengleput district came forward to find out ways and means to improve the living conditions of the oppressed.

Rev. Andrew for instance made a through enquiry about the condition of the pariahs in Chengleput district. He submitted a memorandum to the government in 1889, urging them to introduce amelioratory measures. When he found the government unresponsive to his pleas, he went to England and highlighted the problems of the depressed classes with the support of some influential members of the British parliament like Samuel Smith, the liberal member from Flintshire.

In the meantime a liberal minded official by name Tremenhoe the then Collector of Chengleput district prepared a note on the pariahs of Chengleput in Oct 1881. It was presented to the government for immediate attention. He lamented that pariahs remained horribly poor and they were practically "untaught uncared for and unpitied"¹³. He pleaded with the government that priority should be given to the depressed classes in the purchase of waste lands. He further recommended that the government should enact suitable laws for the protection of tenants under *pattadars* and also urged the government to give unquestionable ownership rights over their homes.

In this changed atmosphere disabilities of the depressed classes received more public attention. *The Hindu* dated 3rd June 1891 stated that "the condition of these castes is truly miserable.... the Hindu religion has done nothing for them except to prescribe the most abject slavery as the lot for which alone they are fit"¹⁴. Native newspapers were vociferously supporting the cause of these down trodden sections. *Arya Jana Paripalani* in its issue dated 1st Feb 1892 supported Chengleput district Board's decision to open three local fund schools for the benefit of the downtrodden¹⁵. *Vikata Dutan* of Dec 17, 1892 after praising

Tremenheere for convincing the government. that "misrasidars look upon the pariah as an animal fit only for menial work and take care that he does not own land", suggested "that the government should spare no pains to reform the Acts relating to the acquisition of land, allow the paiahs to acquire waste lands and make special arrangements to educate the pariahs"¹⁶. **Shamsul Akhbaar** dated Feb 1, 1892 in its editorial condemned the Brahmins and Sudras for oppressing the Pariahs and found fault with the government which "does not adopt any effectual measures to remedy the above evil"¹⁷.

While the humanitarian movement in England provided the intellectual base for the liberation of the servile class in Tamil Nadu, the British bureaucracy in India was inspired by this movement to initiate legislative measures for the same. It is interesting to note that the combined efforts of the elite in England and the elite in Indian bureaucracy found echoes in the Indian press also. This was largely responsible for the creation of public opinion against the age old suppression of the servile classes in India. Soon this growing public opinion inspired the servile classes themselves to protest against their repression by their social superiors.

Journals like '**The Parayan**' highlighted the plight of the depressed classes. In 1891 the depressed classes founded the **Dravida Maha Jana Sabha**. With an organization to back them leaders like Pandit Iyothee Thoss and Erattamali Srinivasan intensified their campaign for social legislation. In its first conference held at Ooty on 1st Dec, 1891, the Dravida Maha Jana Sabha passed several resolutions demanding Civil rights and educational concessions. It was further requested

that government should establish schools for the depressed classes in every village and assign **poromboke** lands to the depressed classes wherever land was available¹⁸.

In spite of all these pressures the Government was still not in a mood to bring any legislation to improve the condition of the downtrodden. However, G.O.No.:1010 & 1010 A issued by the Department of Revenue made provision for allotment of lands available in govt. hands out of areas which had been freed from preferential rights by purchase at sales for arrears of revenue. The G.O. further stated that house sites would be made available to the depressed classes. Though the G.O. provided for allotment of waste lands to the **panchamas** in 1892 itself no follow up action was taken. Only in 1902 waste lands were assigned to them through out the presidency. The G.O. empowered the Collectors to allot waste lands to the **panchamas**.

The significance of this very limited initiative of the British government lies in the fact that in our traditional polity disturbing the existing order of social arrangement cannot even be contemplated even it for the noble purpose of ameliorating the servile condition of the depressed classes.

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cause they feared that any change in the existing system might end up in chaos, resulting in revenue loss to them. They could not afford to lose revenue for the simple reason that they were in a very bad position financially due to the costly wars fought in India throughout the second half of the 18th century. Being revenue hungry the colonial rulers chose to perpetuate the same system which seemed advantageous to them.

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In India administrators like Bentinck, Baber, Cotton and C.M. Lushinton were enthusiastic supporters of the humanitarian philosophy. As administrators working in the Madras Presidency they were aware of all problems relating to agricultural slavery. Revenue constraints however compelled them to allow the unjust social order to persist.

But a debate on the moral as well as legal justification for the continuation of slavery could not be postponed for long. In 1819 a judge on circuit reported to the Madras government that sale of slaves by revenue defaulters was vogue in Malabar.

1. The Board of Revenue immediately sent orders to all District Collectors to send detailed reports on all matters connected with slavery. Without exception all the Collectors confirmed the existence of slavery in areas under their jurisdiction. But no one suggested immediate abolition of the institution of slavery. 2. Slaves according to their reports were better off than the plantation slaves of America.

However, impartial observers like Bunchanan and Abbe Dubois had a different story to tell. About the general condition of the slaves what Abbe Dubois says can be completely relied upon. Slaves according to him, "live in hopeless poverty and the greater number lacks sufficient means to procure even coarsest clothing. They go about almost naked. They live from hand to mouth for the whole year round".

3. The Board of Revenue suggested certain measures by which it was hoped that slavery could be abolished gradually. The Court of Directors also advised the Madras government that, "you will be extremely cautious in making any regulation for defining the relation of master and slave". 4. District Collectors in the meantime were taking all steps in restoring run away slaves to their respective masters enabling them to carry on agricultural operations without any hitch.

5. In England Humanitarians viewed the extinction of slavery in the British Empire as a matter of top priority. They mounted pressure on the British government to abolish slavery throughout the Empire at the earliest. Thanks to their efforts Slavery was abolished everywhere except in India in 1833. The Charter Act of 1833 however had a provision requiring the Governors General in council to take into consideration the means of extinguishing slavery as soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe⁶. Colonial interests demanded that slavery should persist in India. But the British government in India had to bow before the relentless efforts of the humanitarians. As a result the Governors General of India reluctantly gave his assent to the Slavery Abolition Act of 1843.

This Act according to Hjejele 'had little to offer the slave population 7. Making advantage of

the loopholes in the act slave-owners brought back majority of the emancipated men under the fold of bonded slavery. Accordingly the erstwhile slaves worked under their masters either as padiyals or as pannaiyals. This new arrangement did not alter their servile status even a bit. Government reports speak about the condition of the freed men in glorious terms. But in reality majority of them "for a considerable part of the year could not take a full meal at all with the meager income they received" as attested to by Mr. Brandt the sub Collector of Tirunelveli District. 8. Rev. William Goudie a missionary who worked among the parayas of Chengalput district in an article entitled "The pariaha and the land published in the Harvest Field in 1894 stated that "labour is so miserably underpaid that the first law of life in paracherri is that for every mouth that eats there must be two hands earning. From the child of four upwards they must all be bread-winners or they cannot be bread eaters".

The condition of emigrant labourers who went to overseas colonies as indentured labourers due to the interaction of 'push' and 'pull' factors was also the same. This indentured labour system is described by no less a person than Hugh Tinker as anew system of slavery. The Plantation workers had to work in inhospitable regions where plantations were located. They were wrecklessly exploited by planters as well as the kanganies. However, plantation workers could earn more money than the bonded men in India. With the money at their disposal a few could become petty land-owners. Becoming owners of land was not easy for them because all sorts of obstacles were placed before them by high caste land-owners whenever they wanted to buy waste lands. Government's policy on allotment of waste lands was also landlord bi-

ased. Oddie observed that mirasidars "made all attempts to prevent the pariahs to acquire and cultivate land in their own name. Every efforts was taken to keep the pariah landless".

10. There was however, a perceptible change in the attitude of missionaries and government towards the landless labourers at the clost of the 19th century. For a long time since Robert De Nobili established his Mission at Madurai, the Catholic Church in India was following a policy of accommodating caste in the church. Missionaries were according to Goudi "seem to have argued that if only the Brahmin citadel could be captured all the rest would fall to them by natural process. Let us win the intellectual and spiritual hierarchy and with the rest our task will be easy." 11. In their attempt to convert the higher layer of society to Christianity they neglected the plight of the downtrodder who for reasons of social oppression had been joining the Christian fold in large numbers unsolicited. When missionaries found it impossible to attract the spiritual hierarchy they were "compleeled by force of circumstance rather than led by any deliberate design to turn to the pariah". 12 Once they were determined to pull out the untouchables from the gutter, they were earnest in their activities.

Protestant Missionaries in Chengleput district came forward to find out ways and means to improve the living conditions of the oppressed. Rev. Andrew for instance made a through enquiry about the condition of the pariahs in Chengleput district. He submitted a memorandum to the government in 1889, urging them to introduce amelioratory measures. When he found the government unresponsive to his pleas, he wen to England and highlighted the problems of the de-

pressed classes with the support of some influential members of the British parliament like Samuel Smith, the liberal member from Flintshire.

In the meantime a liberal minded official by name Tremenheere the then Collector of Chengleput district prepared a note on the pariahs of Chengleput in Oct 1881. It was presented to the government for immediate attention. He lamented that pariahs remained horribly poor and they were practically "untaught uncared for and unpitied" 13. He pleaded with the government that priority should be given to the depressed classes in the purchase of waste lands. He further recommended that the government should enact suitable laws for the protection of tenants under pattadars and also urged the government to give unquestionable ownership rights over their homes.

In this changed atmosphere disabilities of the depressed classes received more public attention. The Hindu dated 3rd June 1891 stated that "the condition of these castes is truly miserable.... the Hindu religion has done nothing for them except to prescribe the most abject slavery as the lot for which alone they are fit". 14. Native newspapers were vociferously supporting the cause of these down trodden sections. Arya Jana Paripalani in its issue dated 1st Feb 1892 supported Chengleput District Board's decision to open three local fund schools for the benefit of the down trodden. 15. Vikata Dutta of Dec 17, 1892 after praising Tremenheere for convincing the govt. that "misrasidars look upon the pariah as an animal fit only for menial work and take care that he does not own land; suggested "that the government should spare no pains to reform the Acts relating to the acquisition of land, allow the pariahs to acquire waste lands and make special arrangements to

educate the pariahs." 16. Shamsul Akhbaar dated Feb 1, 1892 in its editorial condemned the Brahmans and Sudras for oppressing the Pariahs and found fault with the government which "does not adopt any effectual measures to remedy the above evil".

17. While the humanitarian movement in England provided the intellectual base for the liberation of the servile class in Tamil Nadu, the British bureaucracy in India was inspired by this movement to initiate legislative measures for the same. It is interesting to note that the combined efforts of the elite in England and the elite in Indian bureaucracy found echoes in the Indian press also. This was largely responsible for the creation of public opinion against the age old suppression of the servile classes in India. Soon this growing public opinion inspired the servile classes themselves to protest against their repression by their social superiors.

Journals like 'The Parayan' highlighted the plight of the depressed classes. In 1891 the depressed classes founded the Dravida Maha Jana Sabha. With an organization to back them leaders like Pandit Iyothay Thoss and Erattamali Srinivasan intensified their campaign for social legislation. In its first conference held at Ooty on 1st Dec, 1891, the Dravida Maha Jana Sabha passed several resolutions demanding Civil rights and educational concessions. It was further requested that government should establish Schools for the depressed classes in every village and assign poramboke lands to the depressed classes whenever land was available.

18. In spite of all these pressures the Government was still not in a mood to bring any legis-

lation to improve the condition of the downtrodden. However, G.O.No.:1010 & 1010 A issued by the Department of Revenue made provision for allotment of lands available in govt. hands out of areas which had been freed from preferential rights by purchase at sales for arrears of revenue. The G.O. further stated that house sites would be made available to the depressed classes. Though the G.O. provided for allotment of waste lands to the panchamas in 1892 itself no follow up action was taken. Only in 1902 waste lands were assigned to them through out the presidency. The G.O. empowered the Collectors to allot waste lands to the panchamas.

The Significance of this very limited initiative of the British government lies in the fact that in our traditional polity disturbing the existing order of social arrangement cannot even be contemplated even if it for the noble purpose of ameliorating the servile condition of the depressed classes.

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The Public Health Service of The India Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Vellore District : 1895-1980 Ad

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The Present study attempts to analyse the Public Health Service of the Indian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Vellore District during the period from 1895 to 1980 AD.

Objectives;

1. To trace the historic background of the church.
2. To analyse the factors motivating the church to take up the public health service.
3. To evaluate the impact of the Public Health Service in the upliftment of the society.

The scope is restricted to the public health service so as to give a microscopic attention to some of the pioneering works carried out in the field which was by and large neglected in the district during the early period of the study.

The Historic Background;

The advent of Lutheranism in India was essentially due to the evangelistic impact of the Reformation in Europe. The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church earlier called the Danish Halle Mission or the Tranquebar Mission or the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission was the first

Protestant Church in India. It was founded on the shores of Tranquebar by Bartholomew Zeigenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau on 9th July 1706 AD¹. "No Indian Church history and no complete presentation of the world wide expansion of Christianity can leave this date unnamed"². says Arno Lehmann, a German church historian of modern times. It was followed by eight other Lutheran churches all over India³.

The Indian Evangelical Lutheran Church of this study was last born child of the missionary era. It was established by the missionaries of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod of USA. It had its beginning in the year 1895 AD at Krishnagiri, Dharmapuri District, South India. The founder of the church was a German Lutheran by name Karl Gurtav Theodore Naether⁴. The District Gazetteer referred to this church as the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

The pioneering missionaries launched their evangelical activities based on the instructions given by the board for foreign missions⁵. In the light of the instruction they started their first activities in Krishnagiri, Bargur, Ambur and Vaniyambadi. Since the area under operation was mainly dominated by the orthodox

communities, it proved to be a tough task for the church to meet the challenges. Despite the difficulties caused by such situation, the church succeeded in influencing the public by its preaching the Gospel and philanthropic activities.

The expansion of the church activity in the neighbouring Telugu and Kanerese regions was marked by the 'Diaspora' type of expansion⁶. This type of expansion enabled the church to reach the unexplored areas by the local members of the church. This threw ample opportunity to extend the welfare activity in the field of health service.

The unique feature of this church was in its departure from the traditional method of concentrating on social groups but focusing on an integrated development of the individuals in the area of its operation by its humanitarian services. Where the majority in the society were rigidly structured on the orthodox ground.

Factors Motivating the Church To Undertake The Public Health Service;

The early missionary experiences revealed beyond doubt that the area under operation was known for wide-spread human sufferings due to the lack of health care and basic facilities. Modern medical facility was totally non-existent at that time. If at all there existed any modern means, it would be in the form of medical relief that too extended only to the district head quarters in the Madras Presidency. From the District gazetteer, one could perceive that at the beginning of last century, there were only six medical centers in the entire district and were maintained by

municipalities and local boards. The medical center at Ranipet was the only center managed by the American Arcot Mission⁷.

Added to this, the educational and economic conditions of the people were far from satisfactory. According to the Census Report of 1901, only 6.1% were able to read and write in the district and the female literacy was hardly 0.6% and was the most backward region in the District⁸.

Under this circumstance the missionaries were firmly convinced that only by way of welfare activities they could effectively communicate the message of their conviction. They equipped themselves in the rudimentary knowledge of the First Aid and treated some of the common diseases, the people of the district were suffering from⁹. This brought the church still closer to the society in which it was working. The selfless and sacrificial service of the missionaries won the confidence of the people who lent their patient hearing to their teaching and preaching.

In this hour of trials and tribulations missionary Naether committed himself to the task of procuring medicines from distant dispensaries and distributing to those severely affected by the dreadful disease. It was unfortunate that no medicine was available while he himself was struggling by the effects of the plague and fell a victim in 1904¹⁰. Following the above incident several members of the church succumbed to the disease at the Vaniyambadi region. This was well noticed in the 'decreasing strength of the church membership'¹¹.

The above factors compelled the church authorities to realize the need for the regular medical care to the missionaries and to the public in general.

Missionaries Hahmann and Kuechle pleaded with the board for foreign missions to send qualified medical personnel to render medical assistance in the district. The earnest request of the missionaries was well received in the convention of the Missouri Synod in 1911 which resolved to send one qualified nurse to India with the understanding that the expenses of the nurse to be met with the outside resources¹².

Aims and objectives;

The aims of the church in the public health service were:

1. to provide the total health of the body, soul and mind of those who come for medical assistance.
2. to pacify the mind and soul of the relatives by the spiritual care and counselling and thereby to maintain a personal intimacy with the public.

Restoring the patients with the oneness with God, through Lord Jesus Christ, thereby bringing full harmony into the relationship of man to his creator, fellow men and to the whole creation was the main objective¹³.

Beginnings at bargur:

The public health service of the India Evangelical Lutheran Church was first begun

in 1913 under the auspices of the Ladies Aid Societies of USA. Louis Ellermann, a registered nurse from Evansville, Indiana, USA was commissioned as the first woman medical missionary of the church¹⁴. After a careful study and survey Ellermann opened a dispensary at Bargur, a town in the district of Dharmapuri, under the care of the local missionary Kellerbauer. With the available simple equipments she started a clinic for women and children with the motto: 'Heal and Help'¹⁵. In this task the church was always conscious about its religious conviction. This was clearly understood in the appointment of Bible women to assist the medical personnel in their public health service.

The novelty of her service was well expressed not only in rendering the health service at Bargur from the dispensary but also in extending the benefits of the modern medical facilities to the needful simple-folk in the remote villages where there was no easy access to reach. Not minding the means of transportation and the local situation, she made use of the local mode of transport and visited the distant villages for clinical assistance. But her zeal was not well received by the public. They reacted to her selfless service with awe, fear and suspicion. Without losing her commitment, she continued her service with pleasing manners and expertise in the field.

Evidences show that in the whole year 1913, she treated one thousand nine hundred and fifty patients and performed ten minor operations¹⁶.

people to continue the public health service in the years to come. In this respect the part played by the India Evangelical Lutheran Church in the district was no doubt pioneering, pivotal and timely towards the vision for a better living.

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Genesis of Islamiah College,Vaniyambadi.

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Man is a social being. Education alone gives this sociableness to man. This quality prompts them to come in union and establish associations for their common good. The bodies established by them stand as testimonies to their collective work and concerted effort. They bear the stamp of civilisation. each and every civilized society is moving towards this goal. A popular sanskrit maxim emphasises this idea as Kaliyuge Sange Sakthihi Which means association is strength in the modern world.

Muslims in India, as in Tamilnadu, had been always backward in educational matters. They lacked the spirit, dedication and proper direction. Besides, they lacked leadership to lead them light. However, awakening happened among them in the last century. This awakening made them take stock of the situation and react in the most positive way by founding associations.

In Tamilnadu, among Muslims, some efforts were taken in the last quarter of the 19th century to establish association for spreading Western education among Muslims. One such association was Anjuman-i-Islamiah. It seems to be the oldest organized body of the Muslims of Madras. It was established in 1876¹. Following this the Central Muhammadan Association, Madras, came into existence in 1887 with the objective of spreading education among

Muslims and to secure their due share in public service. The Muhammadan Literary Society of Madras and Salem Muhammadam Educational Association were established in 1896 in order to promote education among Muslims. In 1899 the Muslims of North Arcot established the Anjuman-i-Ahle-Islam with the objective of physical and intellectual advancement of its members². Although these associations functioned independently in different parts of the Presidency they had one common objective that the Muslims should be promoted in the field of education.

This kind of corporate activity among Muslims led to the establishment of Madrasa-i-Azam at Madras in 1849 by the Carnatic Nawab Gulam Mohammad Ghouse Khan to impart Western education to Muslim boys along with the traditional religious education. This institution produced educated youths to meet the challenges of the society. Those who came out of the portals of this pioneer institutions took active part in public life.

Muslims thenceforth understood the importance of united action. This consolidation was manifest in the presidency of Madras when the 15th Annual session of the All India Muhammadan Educational conference was held at Madras in 1901. This conference confirmed the then existing Madras Executive Committee of the Muhammadan Educational

Conference as the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India (MEASI)³ At this hour Moudu Mohammad Ibrahim of Vaniyambadi a leading personality took active part in the historical decisions taken in this conference⁴. This was a turning point in the history of Muslim education at Vaniyambadi.

Coming under the spell of modern education the educated Musalmans of Vaniyambadi swung into action. The then prominent persons of Vaniyambadi like Pallan Abdul Razaak, Latif Sahib, Malayalam Ameenuddin and Vavanghani Mohammed Ibrahim in their zeal to translate the message of this conference into action established the Vaniyambadi Muslim Educational Society (VMES) in 1903⁵. This society ventured into starting the Madrasa-i-Islamiah School on the 26th August 1903 with three pupils on the rolls⁶. This school inspite of the "orthodox opposition and unthinking conservatism" grew from strength to strength under the dedicate leadership of T. Hajee Badruddin, Malang Hayath Batcha and T. Aminuddin⁷. Their trials and tribulations did not go waste. In 1906 the school got the official recognition as "the best-equipped and best-endowed school in the Presidency"⁸.

It was fortunate in having followed Western curriculum, for the first time, in the entire Presidency of Madras. It was a great achievement indeed. The following statement adds:

At a time when there was not a single school in the whole of the South India managed and maintained by Muslims in accordance with their tradition and culture and imparting secular education, the Muslims of Vaniyambadi fired by

the inspiring lead given by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of blessed memory, the pioneer of Muslim education and renaissance in India, rose as torch-bearers of learning and found (sic) the school which attracted hundreds of young men from all over South India. Thus Vaniyambadi came to be called "The Aligarh of the South"⁹.

It was thus the Madrasa-i-Islamiah carved a niche for itself in the educational edifice of Muslim India. Its services to the society received great appreciation from great persons like Lord Pentland, the then Governor of Madras. While laying the foundation for the school hostel in 1915 he remarked that it was a "monument to the liberality and educational enthusiasm of Vaniyambadi Muslims"¹⁰.

Enthused by the success of their new venture the Vaniyambadians were prepared to host the Annual Meeting of the MEASI. In this connection A. Hameed Hasan Sait, Joint Secretary of the MEASI visited the VMES on 15th November 1914. The VMES in its executive committee meeting held on 23rd September 1915 resolved to hold the 5th Annual Session of the MEASI at Vaniyambadi. It was also resolved to invite Akbar Hydari, the then Home Secretary to the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad, on that occasion¹¹.

Consequently, the Annual Session of the MEASI was held on the 28th, 29th and 30th October 1916 at Vaniyambadi under the presidentship of Hydari. Various resolutions were passed in this conference regarding Muslim education. At the end of the proceedings Syed rose Masud, the then Director of Education, Hyderabad, proposed that the Madrasa -i - Islamiah, Vaniyambadi be raised to the status

of a college. In response to which Rs. 55,000/- was subscribed on the spot, of which Rs. 50,000/- was subscribed by the generous and philanthropic minded muslims of Vaniyambadi¹². This progress they could make amidst the scourges of World War I and pestering political turning points. Men of letters and the Press congratulated the efforts taken-up by the Vaniyambadi Muslims to start a college in their town. The Non-Brahmin news paper reported that "there is no precedent in India to the enthusiasm for English education which the Vaniyambadi merchants show. They subscribed lakhs of rupees and Lord Pentland was pleased and surprised"¹³.

This euphoria did not last long. The naming of the college became a matter of discard. One faction of the VMES wanted the college to be named as Usmania after the name of the then Nizam of Hyderabad. Another faction opposed it and wanted that it should be called in the present name - Islamiah. In fact, a handsome donation of Rs. 25,000/- and a monthly grant of Rs. 1000/- for a period of 5 years offered by the Nizam towards the college prompted the Pro Usmania faction to take such a decision¹⁴.

This factional feud continued over a period of two years. The division in the VMES stalled temporarily the opening of the college. In the meantime the government started the Government Muhammadan College, Madras, in 1918. However, the Vaniyambadians did not lose their heart and efforts were taken to start a college of their own. At last, it materialised in the name of Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi. On 21st July 1919 the Intermediate class under group (III) was opened with 5 students¹⁵. Khader Mohamed Nainar was appointed the first principal and

history lecturer of the college¹⁶. The college was not affiliated to the University then. But it was done only in 1921¹⁷. With this a new era dawned in the educational history of the Muslims of the Madras Presidency. It gave the distinction to the VMES as pioneer Muslim organization in the entire Presidency to start a college under private effort. This progress gave a new impetus to the Muslim education in the Southern part of India.

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STATUS OF WOMEN IN TAMIL NADU WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SISTER SUBBULAKSHMI

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It can be said that persons like sister Subbulakshmi and Mrs. Muthulakshmi were the streaks of lighting in the dark age of women's decadence¹. Both these women dedicated their lives for the cause of the emancipation of women. Both of them have made history in their own ways.

Subbulakshmi was born on July 30th 1886 as the first child to her parents, R.V. Subramania Iyer and Tmt. Vijayalakshmi at Mylapore in Madras city². Her father was a Civil Engineer and was employed in the Public Works Department of the Government of Madras Presidency. Later he was transferred to Andhra Pradesh. Due to Asthmatic problem, Subramania Iyer returned to Madras and later he joined as a Lecturer in the Government Agriculture College at Saidapet. When Lakshmi was three years old she joined in an elementary school. Her mother and her aunt Valambal would tell stories from the Hindu epics. The morals of these stories developed her understanding and personality gradually³. When she was nine year old, she won the first place in VIII class, in the entire Chengalput District.

An incident had left an indelible impression on Subbulakshmi. When she was nine years old, she attended her uncle's marriage in Tanjore along with her parents⁴.

When she was reading a book in the marriage hall, a group of young girls were teasing one Janaki, a young widow. Without knowing the meaning of the word, the girl approached her mother, made her wear one *thali* and comforted the girl. But the other girls again teased her by telling that she had no right to wear the *thali*. Without knowing the significance of the *thali*, young Subbulakshmi was watching this incident and she never knew that this would happen to her also one day⁵. At eleven years old, she was married, but within seven weeks unfortunately her young husband met with an accident in flood water and died at Mysore. Thus Lakshmi became a child widow⁶.

Contrary to the customs of those days, she learned musical instruments and she joined the Presidency Secondary and Training School at Egmore in Madras⁷. In the public examination, she stood third in the Madras Presidency and was awarded a silver medal. It was a matter of legitimate pride for the entire family.

In 1905 she appeared for the matriculation examination and stood first in all subjects⁸. There was a scandal that Subramania Iyer, her father, made her obtain first class by bribing the examiners. Later the scandal was proved baseless. Though she was growing day by day, the horrible plight of the

baby widow came to her mind often. She felt that there would be countless little girls like her all over India⁹.

Subbulakshmi's ambition was to become a school teacher. In the words of Tagore, "a good teacher is a lamp and unless the lamp is burning other lamps can't be lit". An Anglo-Indian lady by name Mrs. Carr, the Inspectress of Schools, encouraged Subbulakshmi by telling her that she would meet all expenses and sanctioned an allowance of 300 pounds per year to pursue her studies in England. But her parents refuse to send her abroad¹⁰. Subbulakshmi joined the Presentation Convent of George Town and had won two gold medals for her academic excellence in the faculty of Arts course.

The very fact of meeting a widow is considered to bring ill luck, true to the maxim that, "once a widow, always a widow". This attitude has thoroughly changed due to Subbulakshmi's earnest efforts¹².

When Subbulakshmi was studying in a convent, she came into contact with European nuns. She was struck by their selfless service and nobility of their deeds. She took a vow to help widows¹³. This, she thought, was possible by giving them modern education and training them to get job mainly as teachers. Her dream was fulfilled.

In 1908, Subbulakshmi joined the Presidency College for her degree course. In those days due to lack of transport, she had to travel by rickshaw. She wore white saree with bright coloured border and concealed herself with a black big umbrella. The people who were standing at the door steps used to criticise her¹⁷

. They used to pass sarcastic comments and giggle. But Subbulakshmi boldly faced all these criticisms. In 1911, she obtained her honours degree with distinction. she being the first south indian brahmin to take the university degree. Newspaper all over India flashed the success of the young Brahmin widow¹⁷.

After she obtained the degree, she passed the Licentiate of Teaching in 1912 and won the Griggs' medal. She received invitations for a teacher's post from other states. But she preferred to stay at Madras to continue her missionary work¹⁶.

Subbulakshmi started a school at pipal tree house at Egmore, where the first young widow joined. Christianna Lynch an Irish woman the inspectress of School's found out the inadequate educational opportunities for woman folk, particularly young widows and decided to do something about it.

After struggling for 3-1/2 years to get proper aid, Subbulakshmi raised a fund of Rs. 2,000/-. With this money she started the Adi Cottage. The prompt efforts of Lynch and her assistance paved the way for the future expansion of Widows Home. Subbulakshmi had been the guru, guide and guardian till her death to the inmates of widow's home.

The school which she started at Triplicane was the first Government Institution in the South, which taught drawing, painting and music. Subbulakshmi had to her credit nearly 17 institutions. The Sarada Vidayala stands as the monument of faith of the founder's tireless labour and unquenched enthusiasm in trying to realise her aims¹⁸.

She was known in South India as "sister". To the world, she was "Subbulakshmi Ammal", while, to her students and neighbours she was affectionately known as "Ponnakka".

There were lots of complaints against sister Subbulakshmi's method of admitting girl students. The Non Brahmin Movement was gaining momentum in the Madras Presidency. It was an anti-brahmin movement. Sister Subbulakshmi was charged with allegations that she was admitting only the Brahmin widows. She was asked to admit all students irrespective of castes by the British Government. New rules were framed and accordingly all the deserving and destitute women were admitted¹⁹.

Lady Willington, had great admiration for sister Subbulakshmi and rendered assistance to the widow's home, training and other educational institutions run by the sister. The sister's task was two-fold. On the one hand, she had to fight with the orthodox Hindu society and on the other, the alien British Government²⁰.

She combined in herself respect for traditional values with a modern outlook. Here is an instance to prove this. To commemorate sister's services to the society, the British Government offered her a unique status. The award was Kaiser-I Hind medal. She received this information from Lord Willington, the then-Governor of the Madras Presidency. In the year 1922, Prince of Wales Edward VIII, was given a reception in the Government House, Mount Road, (Now Rajaji Hall). It was customary that the Prince would shake hands with the invitees²¹. But sister broke this convention and she folded her hands and greeted him with a namasker. The Prince was happy to find her

adopting the Indian traditional method of greeting.

Sister Suubulakshmi had to face a lot of problems. While she was working for the upliftment of young widows in those day, the widows attending the marriage was considered a great sin. False allegations were levelled against Subbulakshmi for taking the young widows for the marriage. But later it was proved false. The house owners in Madras refused to give houses for rent. They considered that even looking at them would bring ill-omen. It was difficult for sister to accommodate the inmates due to paucity of funds and local problems²². Due to the meticulous care of sister Subulakshmi, her institutions began to grow like a banyan tree. We see all over India and abroad her disciples in all walks of life. There are teachers, doctors, lawyers and diplomats²³.

Subbulakshmi was careful that the word widow was not used among the intimates of the hostel. She did not compel anyone to follow strictly the rules and regulations of the home. For example, an intimate of the Home, by name Meenakshi, wanted to tonsure her head according to the customs which was widely prevalent. Subbulakshmi permitted her to tonsure. Janaki joined as a teacher at Mayavaram, a place noted for the orthodoxy, where she was held in high esteem by the public²⁴. Sister had great reverence for Shri Sarada Devi, Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, and Swamy Vivekananda; all her institutions were named after them. The Sarada Ladies Union, The Sarada Vidyalaya, The Sarada Training School, The Sarada Home, Kalanilayam, Vidya Mandhir, and Sarada Ladies' Club are the monuments which would speak the sister's glory²⁵.

Born with a tendency to give, to share, and to work with a co-operative spirit, sister could achieve so much in the early days of her activities which covered all aspects of women, particularly, their welfare, upliftment and emancipation.

No great person lives in vain. The history of the world is thus, the biography of great people. In spite of the best medical care, Subbulakshmi breathed her last at 3 A.M. on Saturday, the 20th December, 1969 during Vaikunda Ekadasi, a day that all Vaishnavites consider to be auspicious²⁶.

Subbulakshmi's service and sacrifice should inspire the future generations as she had left a rich legacy of her tireless work during her life time of dedicated service²⁷. As long as India lives, many of the magnificent services rendered by her to broken-hearted and depressed women will live.

"Lives of greatman all remind us
They make our life sublime
And departing, leave behind
Footprints on the sands of time".

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The crucial point about female infanticide among the Kallar is that apart from the burden of dowry, female infanticide is also related to a complex set of other factors, such as, the Kallar's claims to be warriors and gave a reputations of being a turbulent caste. Regarding cultural traits related to female infanticide among the Kallar, Krishnaswamy states. 'The Kallar community was notorious for its killing, ferocity, bravery and the like which point clearly to their unpleasant profession, that of robbing and slaying their neighbours'¹¹. But lately they have taken diverse professions, such as agriculture, watchman of cocoanut groves, business, illicit liquor distillation and so on. One has to keep in mind these cultural traits while explaining female infanticide.

If the female child is allowed to live in the womb, and is allowed the gift to be born, the chances of her seeing her first birthday are prettyslim. Female infanticide is high in all parts of India. In a survey conducted by DANIDA, in Tamil Nadu it has been established that the death of female infants for out numbered males¹².

Every year 12 million girls are born in India and roughly 3 million or 25% of them do not survive to see their fifteenth birthday. One million die in the first year itself. Acts of ommission and acts of 'Commission' account for the lower survival rates of females.

Female Foeticide: The treatment of the female foetus, female child, adult and older women is an important factor to assess any society. The manner in which a society handles the crucial matter of birth and death, sickness and health not only reflects, but reinforces the major institutions and values of that society.

A complex set of socio-cultural factors ensure a girl child's survival or hasten her extermination after birth. Female foeticide has added to the complexity of female infanticide. This practice is spreading to upwardly mobile and prosperous castes-those who have shared the fruits of 'development'. Female survival is endangered right from birth among certain communities, and 'culture' specific factors (such as status hypergamy) coupled with patrilineal descent have economic ramifications. The dowry has to be in consonance with the status of the groom's family, kill group and clan. A family buys 'status' through groom-price, where improved irrigation, education etc, have brought prosperity¹³. So far as bride price is concerned it is economic or social considerations or both determine this social practice. In the contemporary situations, the castes practising bride price and exchange marriage are now giving and taking dowry. Amniocentesis, along with small family norm, has aggravated the problem. The development process has heightened son preference and a "Culture against females".

Advance in science and technology has led to increase in the rate of literacy. The growing awareness about women's status has led to measure to protect women's rights. However the crucial issue of female foeticide after sex detection still plagues our country. Improvement in science, with the application of genetic law led to the growth of a new branch in biology called Eugenics. The idea was to improve the inborn characteristics of man. Medical Science have advanced to such an extent that various tests are performed to identify genetic abnormalities. After 3 months of conception can also reveal the sex of a new born baby. The privileged status of male and

the discriminatory treatment meted out to the females have led to a large scale detention of sex tests for the purpose of aborting female foetus and retaining male foetus.

The medical practitioners have found scientific advancement and technological innovation quite useful for quick money. Its misuse reportedly led to over 78,000 female foetus being aborted all over India between 1976 to 1983¹⁴. The Registrar General of India has admitted that 3.6 lakh female foetus were aborted in India in 1993, an estimate based on hospital births alone¹⁵. It is thought that those who continue to have female child may take advantage. But who is the sufferer? Undeniably, the mother. She exposes herself to grave dangers to her life as well as the baby. Besides adverse sociological and demographic implications it has adverse biological implications. Amniocentesis can damage the foetus and placenta resulting in spontaneous abortion and premature labour. Apart from this, medical experts do not rule out the possibility of hip dislocation and respiratory complications¹⁶.

The evil of female foeticide is increasing day by day to the unchecked commercial sectors in the form of nursing homes and installation of ultrasonography devices in various towns and localities. Thus it has become a profiteering trade for ultrasonographers and abortionists at the cost of fair sex.

The irony of the situation is people in general are against the misuse of the sophisticated technology, i.e., the ultrasound for the purpose of detecting the sex of the body

and subsequent abortion of the female foetus. The family planning campaign justifies its use for controlling the family planning explosion. Infact it was the pressure of the family planning schemes which forced the government to pass an act called the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971 (MTPA)¹⁷. However it was meant to be used in a restrictive manner. Moreover the reasons listed in MTPA lay down the period at which pregnancy can be terminated. When the pregnancy does not exceed 12 weeks the act allows a registered medical practitioner to terminate the pregnancy on the authorised grounds¹⁸. Further, it was also stated that in case of the minor or lunatic women, the abortion could be allowed only after seeking the guardians written consent. That means only in adverse situation law allowed termination of pregnancy.

It goes to prove that the idea was to discourage people for abortion but the trend of MTP cases present opposites. In 1980-81, a total of 3,85,749 MTPs were performed and in Tamil Nadu and Kerala it was 9.4%. These figures are from official records and there are lot more abortions which take place clandestine manner and go unreported both from the rural and urban areas¹⁹.

The declining sex ratio and the problem of female infanticide in Salem District of Tamil Nadu has come out with the finding that eight out of ten villages, surveyed had a sex ratio of less than 917 women per 1000 men²⁰.

It noticed two basic trends in the investigation of declining sex ratio 1. Reluctance on the part of informants to share information in female infanticide and the 2. Increasing

evidence of using scanning facilities in nearby towns and exercising option of foeticide either through induced abortion or by the traditional modes.

According to the report, in Salem there was unusually low sex ratio at birth and the high risk of death for females at the stage of infancy, resulting in a low childhood sex ratio. This is mainly due to infanticide and more recently to foeticide as the single most determinant of a declining sex ratio in Salem.

Sex ratio at infant death showed a very disturbing pattern with female death three times excess of male death. During 1992-93 after the implementation of the government Act banning of female infanticide this trend shows a 'slower pace'. there are two reasons 1. Was the tendency to underreport occurrence of female infanticide 2. And the increasing recourse to foeticide.

Tamil Nadu Government has several schemes aimed at saving girls - such as the Chief Ministers 15 point programme. In the families with more than two girls, for instance, if the mother gets herself sterilised she is given some incentives to start an income generating scheme and one of the girls is "Sponsored" to get educated. There are also schemes to invest money in the name of girls from such families so that they can get a substantial lumpsum when they reach 18 years. Although quite a few children have been covered by this scheme, the overall picture still looks dismal.

Utilisation of the organisational structures of existing programmes for women and children, such as the Chief Minister's 15

point programme, targeting maternal and child health, the Integrated Child Developments Service (ICDS), Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Project (TINP), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Community Based Convergent Services (CBCS) and other similar programmes aimed at improving the quality of life of the girl child. Statistics collected by the Indian Council of Child Welfare (ICCW) which is doing yeoman work in that area show that out of the 1194 female babies born during the second half of 1193, 156 were suspected to have been killed. They managed to prevent another 243 infanticides. The ICCW also has a cradle baby Scheme but only seven babies were left in the cradle during that period²¹.

The female infanticide is posing the biggest threat to fair sex. The new modes of infliction of cruelty on women, and to the extent of eradication of fair sex, itself needs the attention of the whole human community, especially the Human Rights Commission. The Commission should create an atmosphere for the passage of Central legislation banning the abuse of sex determination and sex pre selection test. The important things is to eliminate inequality and not fair sex,u

New insights on the issue of sex linked abortion of female fetuses have come from women volunteers, stating that the problem be dealt differently at various levels-through literature debates with doctors, print and electronic media, on public platforms, negotiations with government bodies, public meetings and organising programme, involving children and adults on following issues.

1. Scientists who support uncritically scientific advancement and technological innovations should realise that they are aiding and abetting the process of femicide. They are tampering with the natural demographic process which could lead to disastrous social consequences.
2. Techno-doc who promote non-reproductive technologies, easy money making on anti-women biases which reduce the Indian woman to be "Male child producing machine". They treat a healthy woman as a raw material, not as a human being, converting into pathological case. They violate the code of medical ethics by violating women's dignity and bodily integrity.
3. Advocates of population control whose target is to achievement of Net Reproduction Rate of 0 (NRRO) by supporting femicide and whose cynical logic is "Few Women-Lesser Procreation" have placed Indian women in the category of "endangered species"²².
4. Economics who apply "Law of demand and supply" and recommend that the reduction in the 'supply' of women will enhance their status and to review. Perhaps Anthropology and other evidences show that whenever any species experiences very high population growth, its behaviour departs from the normal and turns aberrant. In a region, in India, where the sex ratio is extremely adverse, are notorious for some of the most inhuman practices against women.
5. Sceptics who maintain that legislation against the abuse of scientific techniques for femicide, need to realize that social

action groups would get money minded doctors and laboratory owners punished.

6. Indian constitution states right to life as enshrined in the constitution, is the right to live with dignity. But how far is it true of Indian girl child. In India her birth is treated as calamity. The girl child's first right is the right to be born and not to be aborted purely because she is girl. The girl's second right is the right to remain alive after birth and not to be killed quickly in her first few hours or lulled slowly by neglect or indifference. The girl's third right is the right to life the right to grow up normally, naturally and freely..

Legislation have been passed to control offenses and to improve the women's position in India like government ban on female infanticide, government ban on sex selection test, MTPA etc. Legal measures alone will not bring about revolutionary changes in women's condition of existence. Legal measures merely supplement and complete the spirit and images of ideas of social revolutionists. Any campaign against sex selection test has to be launched first in the social front and then the legal measures could succeed in bring about desired change.

Any social change may not succeed unless it is backed up by organised campaign of people directed towards bringing about socio cultural revolution.

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The Law and the Indian Women

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It seems to be an irony of sorts or call it a strange coincidence that while the goddess of justice is blindfolded, the law itself is blind towards the goals and aspirations of Indian women.

"Indian womanhood in large number is still living behind feudal brases, such as cultural chains, familial fetters and are under legal, political, economic and social discrimination" says Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer.

The concept that *"Women is as much a human being as man and thus entitled to the same freedom, rights and responsibilities"* is yet to find universal acceptance inspite of the unequivocal assertion that *"Women have complete and equal rights with men in every respect"* by the International Bill of Human Rights.

Law is an important institution in most contemporary societies as it regulates controls and, in other ways, pervades almost every aspect of people's lives. It has a double significance for women. It may help in maintaining discrimination or it may modify or mitigate that discrimination.

The rapid industrialization and economic development programs in our country have brought about a significant social change in the traditional housewife role of women by taking up job by a large number of them in offices, workshops, plantations, mines, factories and other industrial establishments. The new role adopted by women as a result of social change has, however, created problems to them.

The Constitution of India solemnly enjoins in each citizen the obligation, *"to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women"* (Act 51-A Cc). It also guarantees certain rights for the protection and welfare of women. Article 14 ensures equality before law and equal protection of the law.

After more than 50 years of independence, Indian women still face a formidable amount of discrimination in public and private life. Hence women today have come to indicate their rights through law enforcement agencies. Their voice though feeble is being heard, but the vast majority of women in India are not aware of their rights because of illiteracy on oppressive social traditions.

The framers of our Indian Constitution realized the unequal social position of women and assumed that women get equal rights. By ensuring the equal principle, in the Constitution, the greatest honour was paid to women who were most neglected and subjugated section of the society before independence. The dreams and aspirations of women were given a means in the Constitution.

In order to achieve the fundamental principle of equality and status and position of Hindu women in family and social life is envisaged in the Constitution. The Legislative has been authorized to enact special protective laws in favour of women to undo the injustice done to them for ages.

The Constitution of India solemnly enjoins in each citizen the obligation, "*to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women*" (Act 51-A Cc). It also guarantees certain rights for the protection and welfare of women. Article 14 ensures equality before law and equal protection of the laws. Article 15 declares that "*The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on ground only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them*".

The Supreme Court of India has always been the champion in maintaining and elaborating the concept of "*equality of status*" - particularly when the discriminatory laws were made by the state against women. In the very first year of its working, a women - Champakam Dorairajan for claiming equality of status came before the Supreme Court and got the G.O. of the Madras Government declared unconditional and violative of Article 14 and Article 15.¹

Article 16 guarantees that no citizen shall be discriminated against for public employment on the ground of sex. This concept of equality does not prevent the state from passing special laws in favour of women. The landmark case in the history of women's right on this point is Air India V Nargish Meerza and others². The Air India employees service regulations, provided that and Air Hostess was to resign from her service

(a) upon attaining the age of 35 years or

(b) on marriage, if it takes place within 4 years of service or

(c) on first pregnancy whichever occurs earliest.

In 1981, the Supreme Court struck down these rules as an insult to Indian Womanhood.

The writ by Ms. Muthamma³, a senior member of Indian Foreign Service was a unique example of sex discrimination. The Indian Foreign Service Rules, 1961 provided that, "*A woman member of the service shall obtain the permission of the Government in writing before her marriage and a woman could be asked to resign on marriage*". The Supreme Court removed this rule as an insult to Indian Womanhood from Indian Foreign Service Rule.

Some labour legislations also provided for certain convenience peculiar to women. The Factories Act 1948⁴, The Employee's State Insurance Act 1948, The Plantation Labour Act 1951⁵, The Mines Act 1952⁶ and The Maternity Benefit Act 1961 amended in 1988 which are the premier social security legislations⁷. Section 66 of the Factories Act prohibit women from working in night shift between 7.00p.m. and 6.00a.m. The Mines Act, 1952 prohibits the employment of women in any part of the mine. The Indian Merchant Shipping Act prohibits recruitment of women except as nurses to take employment seagoing ships⁸. Section 18 of the Tamil Nadu Catering Establishments Act (1958) applicable to all hotels, restaurants and canteens prohibit women being employed between 9.00p.m. and 5.00a.m. Section 27 exempts employment of women and children in cotton pressing and in the case of employment specific measures have been laid down to safeguard them⁹. Section 48 says that all establishments employing more than 20 women in a non-powered industry or 10 women in a powered industry are compelled to provide child care facilities i.e. creches¹⁰.

With the purpose of giving sufficient benefits to women in employment during the period of maternity, the Maternity Benefit Act 1961 has been passed¹¹. Maternity benefits are,

(a) 6 weeks leave with full pay before the delivery

(b) 6 weeks leave with full pay after the delivery

If a woman wants, she can take the centre 12 weeks leave after her delivery¹².

In 1976, the Government has made a law called the Bonded Labour System (abolition) Act. This act was passed in order to eradicate the evils or forced labour men or women¹³. Though the act put certain checks and limitations on the land-owner but it is all in theory and in practice the provisions of the act are implemented in their true spirit. The workers are not still the tools in the hands of the landowners and they may be used as and when the land-owners wish¹⁴. In 1981, the Tamilnadu Government passed the Act of Tamilnadu Handloom Workers (Conditions of employment and miscellaneous provisions) Act.

Equal Remuneration Act:

Certain legislation have been passed for implementing the Directive Principles and the fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution which are significant importance to women. Among these legislations is the equal remuneration act 1976¹⁵. According to this act, the employer has to pay equal remuneration to men and women workers for the similar nature of work. Further it says that there shall be no discrimination, while recruiting men and women workers.

The Equal Remuneration Amendment Act, 1987 provides for no discrimination in any condition of service subsequent to recruitment such as promotion, training or transfer. In addition, provisions have been made for women

to have separate rest rooms and toilet facilities¹⁶.

In order to achieve the fundamental principle of equality of status and position of Hindu Women in family and social life as envisaged in the Constitution, the Government passed 4 enactments viz., The Hindu Marriage Maintenance Act, 1956 and The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956¹⁷. The Special Marriage Act was passed in 1954. It provides for a civil marriage without any religious significance. The position of women in their respective personal is as follows:

Hindu Marriage Act 1955:

According to this act, the husband and the wife are treated on par. For the first time, the right of divorce of womenfolk has been given before enactment of this act, polygamy and bigamy were prevalent in Hindu Society. This act abolished all these blind customs. The act provides that the second marriage is illegal, a criminal offence and punishable under Section 494 Indian Penal Code¹⁸. Thus this act introduced the concept of monogamy. This act also inserted the provisions of widow re-marriage. A valid Hindu marriage can only take place between two Hindus. The Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act, 1976 has been passed with a view to make further improvements upon the provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 and the Special Marriage Act, 1954.

Muslim Marriage :

According to Mohammedan Law, marriage is a contract between two parties of different sexes who agree to cohabit on certain terms. The ceremony of 'Ni Kaah' binds the two together¹⁹. The registration of Muslim marriage is not compulsory. A Muslim can have 4 wives at a

time. Divorce is an internal part of Muslim law, because of the provision for more than one wife. On divorcing his wife, a Muslim man has to pay maintenance only for the period of 3 months or a period of Iddat.

Christian Marriage :

In India, the Indian Christian Marriage Act manages the Christians. The marriage has to be registered. In a valid Christian marriage, one of the parties to the marriage has to be Christian.

Child Marriage :

Child marriages are another disturbing reality with which the society is infected. According to the Sarda Act of 1929 the minimum age of marriage for girls was 14 and it was amended in 1949 raising the age to 15. The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1978, raises the minimum age of marriage to 18 and now it is 21 years. In spite of these provisions, the law is, generally violated in many parts of India.

Divorce :

Section 13 of the Hindu Marriage Act deals with divorce. The Act states that adultery and cruelty are each significant ground for obtaining a divorce. Divorce may be obtained if either spouse has deserted the petitioner for a continuous period of not less than 2 years immediately preceding the petition. Petitions for divorce may not be filled in the first year of marriage unless the petitioner is suffering extreme hardship²⁰.

A Muslim man divorces his wife without going to court. A Muslim woman can get a divorce in the following ways :-

By delegated divorce :

This is called Talaq - e -tadweez. (The word 'Talaq' means to release the wife from the contract of marriage). The husband can delegate his wife the right of giving divorce. It can also be agreed that the wife will be entitled to divorce the husband on the happening of a particular event.

Divorce through the Court :

A Muslim wife can divorce her husband under the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939. The ground of which a Muslim woman can get divorce i.e. cruelty (both physical and mental), husband leading an infamous life, or husband forcing his wife to lead an immoral life, or husband unheard of for the last 4 years or husband sentenced to a term of imprisonment for a period of 7 years or more²¹.

Under Christian Law, there are different grounds for divorce for men and women. A wife has to prove the husband's adultery along with bigamy, cruelty, desertion or incest. This means that the wife has to tolerate her husband's cruelty or desertion if he is not guilty of adultery²².

Inheritance and Succession:

The Hindu Succession Act was passed in 1956, which has conferred extensive rights to women in the matter of acquiring and holding property. The daughter gets the same shares as the son from the property acquired by the father. Section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act brought about a drastic change in the nature of women's rights to property. The widow, the mother and daughter now not only inherit property along with the son but also take an equal share with him²³. The Hindu Succession Tamilnadu Amendment Bill

was passed in 1989. Section 29-A was inserted and it lies down that a daughter shall by birth become a co-partner like a son.

An analysis of the Indian Succession Act, 1925 reveals that a Christian woman enjoys greater privileges viz. a Christian widow is entitled to one-third of her husband's property. The other two-thirds is being divided equally between sons and daughters. Daughter has an equal right in father's property like a son.

Under the Mohammedan Law, women are given certain shares in the property depending upon the number of heirs that are left behind. Widows will get one-eighth share of her husband's property when there are children and one-fourth share when there are no children. A daughter takes a share of half when she has no brother. If she has a brother, she gets half of whatever shares the brother gets.

Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956:

The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 has invested the Hindu women with certain rights of adoption, which she has not enjoyed before²⁴. A Hindu woman or man can take in adoption either a girl or a boy provided a natural born daughter or son is not in existence at the time of adoption.

The concept of adoption is not recognized in Muslim and Christian law. Here a person can only be appointed as a guardian of minor. This child is not recognized as a natural born child and does not inherit from the guardian, unless under a will if the parties are Christian.

According to the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956, the court has the discretion to fix the amount of maintenance. The

amount varies from case to case and is calculated on the basis of the income and liabilities of the parties.

According to Muslim Law, she may be given the agreed amount of maintenance and ask for continued support, she is legally entitled to it only during the period of Iddat. This point was considered in Mohammed Ahmed Khan V Shah Bano Begum²⁵. In 1986, the Muslim women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act was passed. According to this act, husband's liability to pay maintenance only unto Iddat period and it has also been included making it optional on the choice of both the parties.

In Christian Law, it has been observed that, 'The wife is entitled to 25% to 30% of her husband's income calculated in the basis of his earnings in the 3 years immediately preceding the decree of divorce'²⁶.

Guardianship and Custody:

The father has always been recognized as the natural guardian of minor children, and only if the father was proved to be an unfit man, the mother was appointed as the guardian. This has been changed with the decision of the Supreme Court in 1991 in Gita Hariharan V Reserve Bank of India, whereby the mother is given equal status with the father, to be considered as legal guardian.

The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961:

Under this Act, both the giving and receiving of dowry is prohibited. Dowry is another social evil, which has its root very deep in the society. The present Dowry Prohibition Act is full of drawbacks. In order to make the law more effective, the Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Bill 1980, was moved by Parimala Dandavak. This

amendment finally came in the year 1984 as law.

Abolition:

Certain other types of social legislations are passed in order to protect the interest of women. The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act 1956. This act is intended to protect helpless women and girls from exploitation. Prostitution has been seriously viewed by the Tamilnadu Government and it passed an additional legislation i.e. any violation of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, has been brought within the preview of preventive detention, by a special enactment, namely, Tamilnadu Prevention of Dangerous Activities of Boot Leggers, Drug offenders, Goondas, Immoral Traffic Offenders and Slum Grabbers Act, 1982. The other acts i.e. The Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Act, 1956 was passed. In 1971, the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act was passed. It provides that a pregnancy may be terminated where the length of the pregnancy does not exceed 20 weeks and also 2 medical practitioners should give the certificate that it could involve a risk to the life of the pregnant woman or of grave injury to her physical or mental health. This enactment has been hailed as, 'A major landmark in India's social legislation', and a far-reaching measure assuring the women of India freedom from undesirable and unwanted pregnancies²⁷.

Family Courts Act 1984:

Dispute relating to family violence needs special approach and speedy settlement because of emotional aspect of the family affairs. Hence the Parliament has passed the Family Courts Act in 1984. The aim of the act being to promote conciliation and secure speedy settlement of

dispute relating to marriage and family affairs²⁸. In Tamilnadu, five family courts (3 in Madras, in Madurai and 1 in Coimbatore) have been established. It has jurisdiction in all areas of personal law. The special feature of these courts is that the role of the lawyer in advisory procedure is substituted by conciliation. Family Courts also enable speedier relief particularly in maintenance matters, which receive priority. All cases under the Special Marriage Act, Hindu and Muslim law came before the Family Court, while cases under the Indian Divorce Act can be filed either before the High Court or the Family Court.

The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986:

This act covers all visual forms of media, books, pamphlets, writings, films on objects but makes exception for any materials having religious significance or which have value as objects²⁶. Unfortunately, the responsibility for adjudging the indecency of any material is left entirely to the individual officer who has been authorized in the area.

The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987:

The new Sati (Prevention) Act, substitutes the various legislation that have been operative in different parts of the country with a central law that seeks not only to prevent and punish the Commission of the act itself, but also to make an offence any glorification of the act of Sati. This law has been passed after Roopanwar's Case.

The National Commission for Women Act, 1990:

In 1990, The National Commission for Women Act has been passed. According to this

act, the Central Government shall constitute a body to be known as the National Commission for Women to exercise the power conferred on and to perform the functions assigned to it. The National Commission for Women at the national level and State Commission for Women at the state level which has been set up to redress grievances of women have not been able to function effectively.

Safeguards against Crimes:

While legislations have been enacted in order to safeguard society from crimes, certain provisions have been specially made in the interest of women. In the Indian Penal Code, offences committed against women are penalized by a deterrent punishment. Selling a minor girl for the purpose of prostitution is made punishable under Section 372 of the Indian Penal Code.

There are many situations of violence against women, covered by different sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. Apart from violence that is not gender specific, such as murder, there are laws that refers to sexual violence inflicted upon women. The most extreme form of such violence is rape, which is covered under Section 376 of the Indian Penal Code.

It is a debatable point as to whether laws on prostitution should at all exist in the present social situation. Due to the economic and social structures predominant, it appears to be the only avenue for the survival of many unfortunate women.

Like the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code has also provided some provisions in favour of women. These protective provisions have been made in view of the special social and cultural background of women in India and keeping in view the constitutional protective

discrimination. The law provides that a woman may not be arrested or taken into custody without the presence of a policewoman. It is mandatory provision.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed in 1983. The 3 major acts, namely the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Evidence Act, have been suitably amended in order to protect women from being the victims of sexual assault, torture for dowry and dowry - deaths. But inspite of this, dowry problem not only continues but also has assumed alarming proportions.

One-third reservation for women in local body elections on the Panchayat Raj system has been introduced by the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. The hope in the 13th Lok Sabha atleast they will pass the 84th constitutional amendment (33% reservation for women in Parliament).

To conclude, one can say that women do not get equal pay for equal work, despite various labour laws. Despite equal voting rights, they are politically ineffective; the development process itself has often worsened their relative position and either pushes them out of economic mainstream where they previously had a place or prevented them from entering it. Constitutional guarantees in favour of women in India and laws enacted for their benefit and protection have not had much impact on women's lives.

Suggestions:

The Constitution of India enjoins equality of sexes but unfortunately Indian society is still harsh to women. In spite of discriminatory penal provisions for the protection of women and drastic amendments in the criminal laws, crimes against

women are on the increase.

The laws on maintenance need to be revamped. The present upper limit of Rs. 500 to be awarded as maintenance as per s125 of Criminal Procedure Code has to be raised to a reasonably realistic figure keeping in mind, the growing inflation and rising cost of living.

An effort should be made to have a Uniform Civil Code as envisaged in Article 44 of the Indian Constitution. Personal laws have to be removed from religion. As yet however there has been no concrete evidence of any official activity in framing a Common Civil Code. It may be argued that there are difficulties in bringing persons of different faith on a common platform but a beginning has to be made if equality of laws is to have any meaning.

Bigamy is an offence under Section 494 & 493 of the Indian Penal Code. At present, only the wife can prosecute the husband for the offence of bigamy. In most cases, the offending husband gets away scot-free for seldom are cases registered in courts by wife against this husband for bigamy. Criminal Procedure Code must have a provision wherein the second wife of a Hindu male must have right to provision wherein the second wife of a Hindu male must have right to prosecute her husband for the offence of bigamy. Further, the law insists that offence of bigamy will be committed only when the second marriage is strictly proved. Anything short of second marriage will not amount to a bigamous marriage and accused is liable to be acquitted because the act does not punish much marriage (Bhav Rao V State of Maharashtra)³⁰. Thus there is no remedy when a husband resorts to live in relationship with another woman. Most important of all is the need for a new act, which would make

it compulsory for every one who is getting married to register their marriage. Such a provision will facilitate the proof for bigamous marriages and the dupes shall not be able to hoodwink law anymore.

In the proposed amendments, in the Dowry Prohibition Act, they have to include that anticipatory bail should not be granted in dowry cases to meet the ends of justice.

The anomalies in various welfare legislations like Maternity Benefit Act and the ESI Act have resulted in disparities in benefit available to working women. Suitable amendments should be made to bring about parity between two acts.

The National Commission for Women should review the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act and the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act and other concerned laws. Government must provide free legal aid to dowry victims.

The fruits of progress are not reaching women. The religious practices, rituals and scriptures are still the forces, which continue to create women's existing secondary status in society.

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Women and Labour Rights

(A Contemporary Scenario in Tamil Nadu)

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Ever since the renaissance in Europe as well as in India, there has been greater realization on the part of social scientists and social reformers to accord proper status and granting of empowerment to women. Women's development is directly related with national development. India has one of the most forward looking constitutions and a large number of schemes and programs have been initiated for women's development. In recent years the policy maker's emphasis on providing equal opportunities to women by removing gender bias; empowering women and creating self-reliance among them.

Understanding the contemporary issues on the Indian economy, the policy makers and the economists suggest the usefulness of describing trends and relationship in labour force participation of women as a background for assessing the volume of employment, occupational structure and the impact of economic growth. In this connection, equality in employment and labour rights has long been recognized as an important element in the struggle for Women's human rights.

Participation of women in economic activities is a universal phenomenon. During 19th century, it was not a commonly accepted idea that women should go out to earn for the family, but because of increasing economic pressure and increase in the cost of living, such restrictions have gradually lessened. Programs

connected with women's development receives impetus with the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (1974), which focused on direct specific action for women to enable them to overcome their problems based on their involvement and participation in the process of development.

Although, women as workers have traditionally been regarded as dependent adjuncts of their male counterparts, the repaid influx of women into labour markets over the past three decades, has become a key factor in the growing independence of women socially, economically and legally. Despite the fact that women now constitute 30% of the global industrial force, legal hurdles and traditional barriers still hinder the vast majority of women in their efforts to achieve parity with men.

India has a total working population of 297 million. Of this, only 30 million belong to the organized sector. The remaining 267 million belong to the unorganized. Of the total employment of women, the organized sector forms only 3% whereas, for males it is 10% of the total employment. The unorganized sector provides employment to majority of women workers in India. They account for 89% of India's and 94% of world's informal sector workers.

The condition of women workers in unorganized sector are not very satisfactory. Ignorance, lack of skill, seasonal nature of

employment, lack of minimum facilities at the work place, ill-treatment and bondage are some commonalities among unorganized women workers. Besides all the labour legislations also does not apply to the informal sector where the vast majority of women work in developing countries. Hence this paper focuses its special attention on the role of women on the informal sector of the economy of Tamilnadu with a critical evaluation on the labour rights of women.

It is a fact that without economic liberation for women, no true development of women is possible. The emancipation of women can occur only when women are given equal economic opportunities as a part of an overall development programming. In the five years since the end of the United Nations decade for women, calls have intensified a radical overhauling in the way women's work is measured. In 1982, the International Labour Organization (ILO) elaborated an international standard definition according to which "the economically active population includes all persons of either sex who provide labour for the production of economic goods and services 2*.

In India as a result of this redefinition of economic activity, initial estimates of only 13% economically active women were revised upwards to 88% using the new ILO criteria 3*. However, the invisible work done by women world over is domestic work, which continues to go unrecognized, unpaid, undervalued & largely ignored by the law despite its crucial importance to society. It has been argued that if domestic work were to be quantified, it would contribute up to 40% of the Gross National Product (GNP) of industrialized societies 4*.

By analyzing the employment structure of Tamil Nadu economy it is understood that the primary sector absorbs a large portion of 64% of the labour force. Around 15% are engaged in the secondary sector while one in five workers is found in the tertiary sector 5*. In general, most of the women are engaged in unorganized sector. The unorganized sector includes agriculture, forestry, livestock, khadi and village industries, handlooms, handicrafts, sericulture, constructions and food industry, etc. It is however to be emphasized that woman in India have been associated with the tilling of the soil as long as we could remember and as far as we could trace in history, mostly in low paid jobs and as casual labourers.

Equality is the corner stone of every democratic society that aspires to social justice and human rights. In virtually all societies and spheres of activity women are subject to inequalities in law. This situation is both caused and exacerbated by the existence of discrimination in the family and in the workplace. However, Article 39 (d) of the Constitution proclaims equal pay for equal work for both men and women as a Directive Principles of State Policy that has to be read into the fundamental rights as a matter of interpretation. Article 14 of the Constitution enjoins the state not to deny any person equality before law.

Further, in order to protect the workers from health hazards the law has imposed additional statutory restrictions on employment of women workers. The following Acts: Employees State Insurance Act (1948), Factories Act (1948), Mines Act (1952), Plantation Labour Act (1951) prohibit the employment of women except between 6.00 a.m. and 7.00 p.m. Further these legislations direct to provide adequate and

suitable facilities for its workers for the use of male and female. Such facilities should be separate, adequately screened, conveniently accessible and be kept in a state of cleanliness 6*.

Another important labour legislation is the Maternity Benefit Act (1961, amended in 1988), which provides certain maternity benefits like leave with pay, free hospital facilities, cash payments for delivery expenses and also nursing breaks within working hours are available to the women employees 7*.

Besides a large part of the battle at the International level has been fought by the International Labour Organization (ILO). Article (11) builds upon and consolidates many of the rights claimed for women by ILO. This article states clearly that women shall enjoy the basic human right to work. It then sets out a comprehensive list of obligations of state parties in order to ensure that this right can be fully and effectively realized.

1. State parties must guarantee women the same employment rights and opportunities as men.

2. Women must have the right to equal remuneration and the states must guarantee women equal pay for equal work, as well as equal treatment for work of equal value and equal treatment in evaluation the quality of work.

3. Women must have the right to free choice in selecting a profession and must not be automatically channeled into traditional 'Women's Work'.

4. Women in the work place must be protected from discrimination based on marital status or maternity 8*.

While women have benefited from equal rights legislation, they have also become victims of economic exploitation. It is not just unpaid housework that is either undocumented or grossly undervalued, as recent UN statistics reveal:

1. On average, women around the world earn 20 to 40 per cent less than men for work of comparable value.

2. Women are a large part of the clerical, sales and services labour force but are largely excluded from manufacturing, transport and management 9*.

True equality in employment requires the implementation of measures to protect women from all forms of violence in the workplace. Instead of being treated as equal co-workers, women are often treated as sexual objects. In response to this wide spread problem, the committee on the Elimination of Discriminations against Women in recommendation no:1 was adopted at its 8th session, in 1989, called on the state parties to include in their reports to the committee information on the legislation against sexual harassment in the workplace 10*.

In 1992, the committee recommended that the state parties adopt effective legal measures, to protect against all kinds of violence including sexual assault and sexual harassment in the work place 11*. However, these legislation's lack effective implementation in practice.

Conclusion

From the aforesaid discussion, the following conclusions emerge. No doubt we find positive and effective contribution of the legislature in protecting the interest of women workers, through

legislative process. Thus the labour legislation not only prohibits employment of women in mines, ports, in certain dangerous occupations but also makes special provisions for working hours, health safety & social security. However, there is no labour legislation to regulate the working conditions of women labourer in small industries, unorganized sectors & domestic services.

Moreover, the present personal provisions in Labour legislations are also inadequate. Some of the protective labour legislations are examined which reveals the following (1948).

The workmen's compensation Act (1923), is a mechanism for providing relief to victims of work connected injuries. This Act also failed to provide the much needed relief to vast poverty stricken agricultural workers who could become victims of accidents arising out of and in the course of employment. Hence this Act should be modified not only to extend its coverage but also to suit the rural conditions & socio-economic needs of agricultural wage earners, more particularly women. There are considerable disparities in wages between men & women depending upon the region, between crops & the bargaining of labour fixation of statutory minimum wages by the govt. has tended to narrow down the gap between wages of men & women. But the National Commission on Labour noted the continuation of wages differential between men & women not only in agriculture but also in plantations.

Minimum Wages Act is not a success due to various discrepancies in its implementation e.g.: poverty & illiteracy of women agricultural labourers, the scattered nature of the agricultural forms, casual nature of employment etc. hampered the success of the Act in its true spirit.

Though the equal Remuneration Act (1976) provided various suitable provisions in favour of the women workers it is lacking in one aspect, (i.e.) no special provision for the payment of wages during the course of maternity which is boon for women workers is provided in it.

The Maternity Benefit Act (1961) though provides that a woman worker shall not be dismissed, discharged during the period of maternity leave, in practice women do not assert their rights for fear of losing the jobs. Further, this Act has an extremely limited application & rarely applied in agricultural sector. Therefore, the government should extend its provisions to the agriculture sectors as much as possible.

In Tamil Nadu, like other parts of India, the introduction of new technologies has undermined subsistence farming, displacing women from traditional economic activity and speeding up their exodus to urban areas and the industrial sector. Women's inclusion in the manufacturing sector results in a higher concentration of women in less skilled with lower wages and the threat of being displaced more easily than men.

In order to overcome the above problem, the following suggestions should be positively considered. Firstly, traditional behavioral patterns today are in a state of flux in Tamilnadu. Hence we have to emerge from the old system of rigid social stratification & become part of a new order in which social status is based on personal achievement. The need of the current scenario is the greater freedom of women and her assessment on personal merit.

The more important of the difficulties of women labour force are restricted mobility. Inadequate training & lack of skill generation. Hence, reputed voluntary organizations may be involved suitably in comparing the necessary skills of rural women to increase gainful employment to them with the necessary support from the government. Proper planning is expected to reduce competition between men and women and subsequently increase the economic participation of women.

Although women's tasks in household management differ from rural to urban areas, from region to region, their responsibilities in family care vis-a-vis men remains largely predominant. For this reason the equal sharing of household responsibilities with male partners is an improvement which will have immediate and widespread impact on the quality of women's lives.

Above all, the piece-meal protections provided under the different labour legislations have failed to protect the legitimate interests of the female workers. It is suggested that a comprehensive legislation providing protections to female workers employed in the different establishments should be enacted so that their legitimate rights are duly protected.

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HISTORY OF TAMIL MIGRANT LABOUR TO KERALA

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Migration of people from one region to another in search of better future is as old as human history. In primitive societies people moved continuously in search of arable land for cultivation, cattle rearing and to escape from suppression. The Holy Quran also gives many such instances in the case of Banu-Israel and even God had ordered the people to go in search of better livelihood after their prayers on His earth (16:14, 20:77-30, 62:10)¹. In the later part of the 19th century and in the early part of the 20th century, the imperialist expansion and colonisation by Britain, and Portugal produced the same trend.² In the 20th century, many Indians moved to Burma, Srilanka, Middle East, Malaysia, U.S.A., U.K. and Australia in search of green pastures.

Meaning of Migration

Migration is but leaving one's society permanently or atleast, temporarily accepting another more or less fully chosen social environment.³ If this movement is across the boundaries of nations, this is international migration. If it is within the boundaries of a nation then it is internal migration. Internal migration from rural to urban area was considered to be a sign of economic development like urbanisation, industrialisation and modernisation. The Tamil migration to Kerala falls under this category in recent period.

Tamil Migration to Kerala

Tamil migration to Kerala, as stated above, is an internal migration. But this is not a rural to urban migration. It is considered as a rural to rural migration. This is due largely to the migration of workers to west Asia from Kerala. Currently, the total stock of Indian migrants in West Asia is estimated 28 lakhs, of this the migrants from Kerala are estimated as more than 14 lakhs.⁴ This migration has resulted in reduction in supply of labourers and increase in the demand for certain categories of workers especially construction workers, masons, carpenters etc., in Kerala since 1970s. Secondly a good part of the remittances received from the Gulf was spent by the households for constructing new houses, buildings, repairing houses and improving land etc., resulting in steep increase in the demand for construction workers. Thirdly, lack of interest of young people especially educated to engage in manual work. This shortage of workers promoted the mobility of non-construction sectors resulting in the migration of Tamil workers to Kerala.⁵

Most of these Tamil migrants are engaged in the pre-modern rural sectors of Kerala. Compared to Tamil Nadu, Kerala is more modernised and urbanised. Hence to this extent the migration may be considered as a pre-modern to modern sector migration.

Trends in Tamil Migration

There are a good number of Tamil migrants in Kerala, especially in the districts of Trissur, Malappuram, Pathanamthitta, Cannore and Trivandrum because the intensity of external migration to the Gulf is higher in these areas.⁶ The manual labour markets in these districts of Kerala are flooded with unskilled Tamil migrant labourers for more than two decades. Nearly 80% of the total manual labour requirements in the sectors of public works like construction of roads, bridges, putting up telephone cable lines, pipelines for drinking water supply, construction, agriculture etc. are supplied by Tamil migrants in these districts. These migrants are staying in Kerala for a considerably long period, they also influence total consumption and demand for consumer goods in Kerala as well as in the Tamil Nadu economy. But whereas the official sources in Tamil Nadu are not only silent on their contribution to the State economy and also not saying any thing about the extent, the number, the origin and the features of these migrants. In this context, this paper deals with a few problems of Tamil migrant labour in Kerala which is of great importance from Socio-economic point of view.

Objective of the paper

This paper aims at highlighting various aspects of Tamil migrant labour of Kerala. It aims to find out the causes of the migration by exploring various push and pull factors leading to migration and its impact on labour market. For this purpose Malapuram District in North Kerala has been taken as study area.

Methodology

This study is based on primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected during the period of 28.09.99 to 16.10.99. Apart from this many research works of Calicut University and unpublished reports of the same were used widely. For analysing the labour market the census date for 1971, 1981, and 1991 and data from the DES and National Informatics centre, Malapuram are also used extensively.

Theories on Migration

So many theories and models have been given to analyse the causes of internal migration. One such theory by Bernard and Richardson says that regional income inequality is the cause of internal migration.⁷ Whereas Micheal Todaro, the eminent migration economist, in his model explains the following factors responsible for internal migration. They are:

1. Social factors including the desire of migrants to breakaway from traditional constraints of social organisation.
2. Physical factors including climatic and metereological disasters like flood and droughts.
3. Demographic factors including the reduction in mortality rates and the concomitant high rates of population growth.
4. Cultural factors including the security of urban "extended family" relationships and allurements of the "bright city lights".
5. Communication factors including improved transportation, urban-oriented traditional sys-

tems, and the modernising impact of the introduction of T.V. and the Cinema.⁸

Richard Black considers migration as beneficial to the rural sector on the following grounds.

- a. Migrants sell their land allowing others to enlarge them and to increased land and labour productivity.
- b. Migrants remit large amounts of money increasing the capital supply in agriculture.
- c. Migration is an important way to escape from poverty, suppression and frequent drought occurrences.⁹

Characteristic Feature of the malapuram District

The district of Malapuram is with an area of 3458 sq.km. and with a population of 30,96,330 in 1991.¹⁰ This district was formulated in June 16, 1969. It is divided into 6 taluks Ernad, Perinthalmanna, Ponnani, Tirur, Thirurangadi and Nilamboor. There are 14 development blocks, 98 panchayats, 5 municipalities and 134 villages in this district. This district is full of natural resources. Agriculturally this district is gifted with fertile soil thereby producing coconut, cardemon, cashewnut, peper and mango. Industrially this district is most backward. There are hardly a few coir based industries in Kuttipuram, Tavanoor, Tirur and Ponnani taluks.

A novel feature of his district economy is that of Gulf migration. According to a survey conducted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala 15 persons for every 1000 population in Malapuram District,

migrate remitting 61.9% to the Net Domestic Products of the district economy,¹¹ which is the highest in Kerala. The average share of Malapuram district in foreign remittance was Rs. 1345.60 crores in 1987-88 and which increased to Rs. 7427.17 crores in 1994-95.¹² This shows that there is an increase in the rate of growth of migrants from Malapuram District to the Gulf which ultimately reduces the work participation rate of the local people. The rate of decline is given in the following Table - 1.

Table 1

Domestic work participation rate from Malapuram District

Year	Work participation rate
1961	31.56
1971	27.08
1981	25.17
1991	25.00 1m 14

Source: Census of India 1991, series 9, Kerala, primary census Abstract p 44, census of India 1981, series 10, Kerala part II B, primary census Abstract, State/District Census Abstract, national Informatics Centre, Kerala.

Such an increase in labour outflow from this district has resulted in widespread changes in the labour market which led to the in-migration of Tamil labour to Malapuram, and also due to increased demand for manual labour in the field of construction and service sector.

Kinds of Tamil Migration

The Tamil migrants are from different parts of Tamil Nadu. Large number of these migrants are unskilled, poorly educated, young manual workers coming from suppressed classes and lower strata of Tamil Nadu. The migration is not a rural-urban migration or a migration from a pre-modern sector to modern industrial sector. It is a rural-rural migration or a regional migration. The main causes for Tamil migration are given below on weightage basis.¹³

1. Financial Crisis;
2. Job search;
3. Unemployment;
4. Better opportunity;
5. Low wage rate in their native place;
6. Social reasons;
7. Seasonal unemployment;
8. Other factors.

Analysis of Tamil migration

From a sample size of 100, the following interpretations are made. Out of the total sample of 100, 33% migrated to Malapuram to overcome financial crisis, for better employment prospects 20% have migrated and 3% said that they have come to Malapuram for social reasons; 15% of the sample conveyed that they have left their places in search of jobs. The majority of the migration took place from the following districts of Tamil Nadu. The districts are placed as per their share of labour to Malapuram district from Tamil Nadu.

Table - 2

District wise distribution of intensity of migration

District	% of Migrant
1. Trichy	31
2. Nagapattinam	22
3. Thanjavur	10
4. Dharmapuri	8
5. Vellore	6
6. Nilgiris	5
7. Thiruvannamali	4
8. Kadalore	3
9. Villupuram	2
10. Salem	2
11. Other	7
Total	100

Source: Primary data

Regarding age structure of the migrant, the age group of 30-35 constitutes the largest number. This group constitutes 24% of the migrants. The majority of the migrants is in the age group of 15 to 35 which accounts for 76% of the total migrants. The year of arrival of these migrants reveals that there is a correlation between out migration of the keralites to the Gulf and the immigration of Tamils to Malapuram. The migration from Malapuram to Gulf gathered momentum in the later half of 1970's. The Tamil migration in turn started in the first half of 1980's¹⁴ and increased thereafter continuously. In 1999 there are nearly 30,000 Tamil migrants in Malapuram district alone.¹⁵

Occupation wise trends in Tamil Migration

Thus Tamil migration to Malapuram can be considered as a response to the manual labour shortage in the rural sectors of Kerala caused by a large emigration of Keralites to the Gulf countries. These Tamil migrants are mostly from small and marginal farmer families owning less than 15 cents of land. This group alone constitutes 44% of the total Tamil migrants. The occupational pattern of these migrants in Kerala are as follows:

Table - 3

Occupation - wise distribution of Tamil Migrants

Type of work	% of Migrants
1. Cultivation	28
2. Agriculture	16
3. Construction	15
4. Public works	13
5. Trade/Hotel	9
6. Head load work	8
7. Driving	4
8. Unemployed	8
Total	100

Conclusion

Since the economic prosperity of Kerala especially Malapuram motivated the migration of Tamil labourers to Kerala, in recent times the level of migration has been affected due to substantial fall in trade, commerce and construction activities in Kerala. The change occurred in Gulf economies labour market since 1995, made most of the Keralites to return home. They were absorbed into the labour market easily. Due to the resistance from the trade unions the capital intensive techniques are not introduced in loading and unloading sector. But whereas in public projects like railway, national highway and construction of big buildings and flats capital intensive techniques are used. This may affect more number of Tamil migrants to Kerala in the long run.

At present the Tamil labour migration to Kerala has resulted in the reduction of unemployment problem in Tamil Nadu to certain level. But how far it is? This should be studied separately. The most important course of the migration is that it has provided a better standard of living to the Tamil labour migrants. There is an increased sense of consumerism among Tamil migrants.

Historical Growth of Cement Industries in Tamilnadu

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It has been observed that there has been a substantial contribution to the economy and overall development of a country, or State due to the growth of Cement Industries. Economic development of every nation calls for construction activity on an extensive scale. The Cement is one of every the vital infrastructural material required for any construction activity. Where the Cement production is high there is bound to be large scale constructional activities. There is no sector of economy where Cement is not used. Cement as a basic raw material is required not only for construction of building, dwelling houses, offices, factory sheds, theatres etc., Cement in the form of concrete is also used for heavy structures, sports complex like swimming pool playing courts etc. marriage halls, auditorium, and many more construction activities.

The demand for cement has been steadily increasing, as can be observed from the growth of per capita consumption of cement in our country.

Historical survey:

Cement though it may not have been known by that name, is an ancient building material. Evidence of its use is believed to have been found in the Indus Civilization of Mohenjo Daro¹. The Great Pyramids are held together by burnt Gypsum, the Egyptian pro-type of cement.

Aqueducts of carthage in Africa were also built with its aid. The Greeks are also known to have made extensive use of it, but is to the Romans, That the credit must go for having evolved concrete from Cement.

The word "Cement " is from latin verb means "to cut" and originally had reference to the stone cuttings used in lime mortar. While the Egyptians used impure gypsum plaster as mortar, slaked lime was used by the Greeks, and the Romans used by slightly mixing finely powdered volcanic material called 'pozzolanic'. In 1756 when John Smeaton was commissioned to re-build a light house of Cornwall, a lime pozzolana mortar was used as a recognised material for underwater construction. In 1796 James Parker in England patented a hard burned impure lime which was then referred as Roman Cement². In 1818 Canvas white, an American Engineer discovered a rock in Madison country, New York, that made natural hydraulic Cement with little processing. In 1824, a process for making Portland Cement was patented by one Mr. Joseph Aspdin in England. He made a Cement by mixing, grinding, burning and re-grinding limestone and clay. In 1871 one David O. Saylor established the first Cement plant in U.S. The Cement manufacturers later on developed their own formulas and by 1898 as many as 91 formulae for Cement manufacture were developed. In 1877 T.R. Crompton obtained a British patent on a rotary kiln process for

Cement manufacturing. Frderick Ransome obtained the British and U.S. patents in 1885 for his process of Portland Cement. In 1917 U.S. Bureau of Standards and ASTM established standard formulae for Cement.

Origin of cement industry in india:

In our Country the Portland Cement was first manufactured in 1904 near Madras by the South India Industrial Ltd., but this venture failed. Between 1912 and 1913 the Indian Cement Company was established in Porbandar³ (Gujarath) and by 1914 it delivered 1,000 tonnes of Cement. In next two years two more new factories one at Katni (MP) and other at Lakheri⁴ (Rajasthan) entered in the field. The First World War gave a fillip to these infant industries and by 1918 all the three factories together produced around 8500 tonnes of Cement annually. Between 1919 to 1924 six new factories were set up and the capacity of three old industries was increased. The combined installed capacity of all the units in 1924 was 5.59 lakhs tonnes but the utilisation of the plant capacity was only less than 50%.

But in the context of demand then prevailing, with the production outstripping the demand, the problem of disposal was aggravated by the prejudice with which indigeneous Cement was regarded. The unfortunate rate was that followed resulted the producers cutting down the price much below their production cost, resulting in loss and forcing some companies into liquidation. It was at this juncture the Government of India, interfered and referred the working of Cement Industry to the Tariff Board. The Board emphasised the urgent need for co-operation among all Cement manufacturing units, and as a result the Cement Manufacturers'

Association was born in 1915. In 1927 Concrete Association of India⁵ was established with twin objectives of educating the public on the uses of Cement and also popularising India Cement. In 1930 a Cement Marketing was formed mainly to promote and control the sale, distribution of Cement either by the wet process or the Dry process but few has also making under the semi-dry process.

Being a core sector industry, its development depends heavily on the policies on the Government and the encouragement shown for promotion of such vital industries. It is a capital intensive industry and a new one million tonne plant would cost between Rs. 180 to 200⁶ crores with its gestation period ranging from 2 to 3 years.

Present position of the industry:

India stands at 4th position in the world Cement production with around 90 million tonnes production annually. The industry has grown steadily under the various Five Year Plans and the average annual growth rate of the industry was around 10%. The production of Cement was 4.6 Mn tonnes during the I five year plan, raised to 10.97 during the end of II plan and achieved 19.42 and 30.13 mn tones during V and VI Plan period. Under the VII plan the achievement was 53.61 and 7622 under the VIII plan. During 97-98 the production touched all high of 83.15 and presently it has gone around 90 million tonnes.

There are around 116 Cement plants in our country with an installed capacity of 100 Mn.T and their production is around 80% of the plant capacity. These plants provide employment to more than 1.5 lakhs persons with an annual

turnover of 5,600 (Mn.US \$). In addition are around 300 mini Cement plants with an installed capacity of 9 million tonnes. The Cement industries are predominantly concentrated on western region and the southern region⁷ and their Cement production is 31.97 and 23.19 Mn.T respectively whereas the cement production by the eastern region only accounts to 5.84 mn.t. With the growing demand for Cement these industries are expected to show better results in the times to come.

Cement industries in Tamilnadu:

In Tamilnadu Cement Industries development has been quite impressive, and there are 8 large plants. With adequate availability of mineral resources these plants are doing well touching almost their full capacity production. The India Cement Co has three units one at Shankar Nagar (11 lakh t), one at Sankari Durg⁸ (6 lakh t) and the last at Dalvoi with 9 lakh tonnes capacity, producing "Sankar" brand Cement. Tamilnad Cement, a Public sector. Organisation with 4 lakh and 5 lakh capacity has two plants one at Alangulam and other at Arlyalur, produces Cement in the name of "Arasu". Madras Cement Co produces "RAMCO" brand Cement and has their plants at Ramaswamy Raja Nagar (11.64 lakh) Alathiyur (9 lakhs). The Associated Cement Co; has their plant at Madukkarai with 7.30 lakh capacity, and the Dalmia Cements and Chettinad Cements each produces annually around 7.0 lakhs tonnes.

Almost all the Cement manufacturers in Tamilnadu has established quality system standards in their production and manufacture various types of Cement as per the standard specifications of Bureau of Indian standards and Railway standards. Some of the plants have

also gone for total quality management and acquired the ISO 9000 accreditation, enabling them to export their products. The availability of raw material resources, the human resources, governmental support and the other industrial atmosphere are quite congenial in Tamilnadu, and so this industry has very good scope for expansion and further development.

The overall development in Tamilnadu is steadily increasing, more specifically in the housing sector, Industrial sector etc., and hence the Cement consumption has been quite high. Apart from the above, the growth of house builders, high achievement of Tamilnad housing boards, slum clearance boards housing schemes, promotion and construction of 'Samathuvapurams', construction of various roads, fly-overs, dams, reservoirs, construction of water canals, increased construction of religious shrines, marriage halls, auditoriums, cinema theatres, hospitals, expansion, construction of Air ports, sea ports, shipping jetty etc., are increasing considerably in our state and hence the demand for Cement is steadily increasing.

As per the study report group of the Planning Commission, which shows the projected demand of Cement in Tamilnadu as 2.31 Mn t during 1984-85 gone up to 4.15 during 94-95 and the projected demand⁹ for 99-2000 AD was 5.54 million tones as against the installed capacity of 7 million tonnes. Among the district level demand of Cement is concerned, Madras, Coimbatore, Madurai, Trichy, North Arcet, Salem, Ramana Districts records substantial demand potential.

Cement is one of the essential infrastructural raw materials and this strategic

material has an increasing demand which is estimated to be expending at 12.5% annually against the production growth of 10%, which is a clear indicator, that this Industry should be given all encouragement for its development. The yardstick by which a country's social and economic progress is gauged is the extent of utilisation of Cement and steel by its people. In our country, and Tamilnadu in particular there is vast scope for this industry as the per capita consumption of Cement is gradually increasing. India's present per capita consumption stands only a mere 40 kg as against 365 kg in Japan, 342 kg in UK and 365¹⁰ kg in US. The Cement Industry lacks funds for its expansion and modernisation. The Industry also faces other problems like power shortage, frequent interruption in power supply, lack of adequate transport facility, non-availability of railway wagons, shortage of coal, governmental regulations etc., which should be sorted out, for the real growth of these Cement industries in our rate.

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Muslims of North Arcot Trends Towards Secular Education

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The centres of Islamic learning established since 1867 in North Arcot were religious institutions and they cater to the spiritual needs of the Muslim community. Till the dawn of the twentieth century, the Ulema of the district carried on the tirade against secular education and the Muslim community was led into abysmal depth of degradation materially. While English education was spreading fast amongst other communities, particularly after the Educational Resolution of the Government of India, 1835, introduced by Lord William Bentinck, the Mullas and Maulvis did not allow the Muslim community to take up English education, as they feared that the evident object of the British Government was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity¹. At last, the educational backwardness of the Muslim community provoked the Government of India, in 1871, to evolve a policy for the encouragement of education among the Muslims.

In such circumstances, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan gave serious thought to the steps to be taken for the well-being of the Indian Muslims. He arrived at the conclusion that the progress of Muslims was not possible unless 'they were rehabilitated in the confidence of the British Government of India'². And the result was the birth of the Aligarh Movement. In launching the movement, Sir Syed aimed at effecting a reconciliation between the eastern and western cultures on the one hand, and

Muslim religion and reason on the other. It soon gave rise to modernist trends among the Muslims who were not prepared to shed their medievalism. Sir Syed argued that the first imperative need for the Muslims was studying Western sciences and keeping themselves abreast of the time³. Despite the severe opposition to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan by the orthodox Ulema, the influence of the Aligarh Movement soon permeated through large sections of the Muslims and set them on the path of transition and progress.

Sir Syed organised the Muhammadan (later Muslim) Educational conference. Branches were established in all the cities and towns to report on the educational needs of the community⁴. This conference used to meet annually at important cities in the country and carried the message of liberal education, far and wide.

The fifth session of the conference was held at Madras in 1901 and set in a brain-wave all over the South⁵. Like their brethren in other parts of the country, the Muslims of the Madras Presidency were also antagonistic towards the English education and therefore were far behind their Hindu fellow-men in public services. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk Mohsinuddowla from Aligarh inspired the conference with the saga of adventure which Sir Syed had brought into being in the North. The Hon'ble Justice Hunterford

Tudor Boddam who presided over the conference appealed to the Muslim community that self-help and self-reliance should be the watchword of the Musalman community if they are to regain the position they have lost⁶. The Madras 'Mail' in its issue dated 27th December 1901 commented that the conference inspired a new and vigorous spirit of self-reliance in the Muhammadans of South India⁷.

In response to the fervent appeals made to the Muslim community of South India in the conference, the Muslims organised themselves to serve the educational needs of the community. And in 1903, as a direct result of this awakening, came into existence Vaniyambadi Muhammadan Educational Society⁸, and subsequently, Madaras -e- Mazharul Uloom Society, Ambur in 1905⁹. Secular educational institutions were started by the Muslims in other places like Vellore, Pernambut, Gudiyattam and Tirupattur at the elementary level.

The North Arcot Muslim leaders influenced by the All India Muslim Educational Conference had to wage and win many battles against orthodox Ulemas opposed to the spread of English education among the Muslims. And by slow degrees many leading families of Vaniyambadi following the lead given by Hajee T. Badruddin Sahib, Malang Hayath Batcha Sahib and Hajee Ameenuddin Sahib came forward to contribute their mite towards the progress of secular education in the town¹⁰.

Similarly, the Muslims of Ambur realised the importance of secular education only when Sir Muhammad Habibullah of Vellore came to Ambur in 1905 to open the Mission School. Janab T. Abdullah, a tireless and selfless social

worker, laid the foundation of a Muslim school. He was supported by the local prominent Muslims who extended material and moral help. He visited Aligarh to study the scheme of education of Sir Syed and later founded the school (later renamed as) Madarasa-e-Mazharul Uloom at Ambur. It is open to all religions and communities and absolutely free from the taint of religious or racial bias. He was rightly called 'Sir Syed of Ambur'¹¹.

Vellore conference 1906:

The Muslim Educational Provincial Conference was convened at Vellore in July 1906 under the distinguished leadership and guidance of His Eminence Shamsul Ulema Al Haj Maulana Abdul Wahab Sahib, the founder of Baqiyyathus Salihath¹². It was a great turning point in the thinking and attitude of the Ulema of North Arcot towards English education. The conference convinced everybody that the influential Ulema were friends of progress, provided religious education was also imparted along with secular education. It was an epoch-making conference for it was the first occasion that the Maulvis of Vellore, who wielded the greatest influence on the Muslim masses and who were hitherto regarded as inimical to modernity, participated in the Conference. The lead taken by the venerated Maulana Abdul Wahab was welcomed by one and all, including the most eminent Ulema of Vaniyamabadi, Ambur, Pernambut and Melvisharam¹³.

The sessions of the Vellore Conference were attended by over 5,000 delegates from different parts of India¹⁴. The 'Indian Patriot' declared that the Conference was one of the most remarkable and unprecedented events in the

recent annals of Muslims in South India ¹⁵. The main focus of the Conference was to modernise the curriculum of Arabic institutions. The language text-books used in the schools and colleges, the teaching of Arabic at the Madras Presidency College, the Opening of Technical and Industrial Institutions and the Grants-in-Aid, were the topics which engaged the serious consideration of the Conference ¹⁶. The whole community rejoiced in the earnest solicitation of their orthodox leaders to make them fall in line with modernity and progress.

The immediate outcome of the Vellore Conference was that the Muslims of North Arcot realised the fact that unless they modernised their system of education, there was no hope of Muslims ever taking their place with other sister communities in their onward march along the road to progress. Religious education being of primary importance to the Muslims, a judicious commingling of religious and secular instruction was considered to be the right type of education that should be imparted. Mr. Justice Boddam in his message to the Vellore Conference had remarked that the Maulvis should take a leading part in the education of Muslims ¹⁷. Inspired by the Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and subsequently by the proceedings of the Educational Conferences, the Vaniyambadi Muslims rose as the torch-bearers of learning in North Arcot. They vied with one another in the 'Vaniyambadi Muslim Society' to develop Madara-e-Islamia into a full-fledged secondary school. The meritorious work done by the VME Society was appreciated by the Provincial Educational Conference held at Trichinopoly in March, 1909, and a resolution was passed to that effect. As a result, Vaniyambadi came to be called 'The Aligarh of the South' ¹⁸.

Vaniyambadi conference 1916:

The year 1916 was a great landmark in the history of Muslim education in North Arcot. The Muhammadan Educational conference of South India held its fifth session at Vaniyambadi in October, 1916¹⁹ and the great men of the Muslim Community from all over South India attended its sessions in large numbers. Notable among them were Sir Abdur Rahim, Sri Muhammad Habibullah, Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Muhammad Usman, besides Sir Ross Masood and Sir Ameen Jung from the north ²⁰. They evinced keen interest in the progress of 'Vaniyambadi Muhammadan Educational Society'. This Society resolved in the conference to establish a college to provide secular education to the youth of the community, besides catering to the educational needs of other sister communities. Donations amounting to Rs. 50,000/- were subscribed on the spot towards the College Fund. In the same year, Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, laid the foundation stone of Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi ²¹.

The Society appealed for financial help to the Nizam of Hyderabad, who was pleased to offer a non-recurring grant of Rs. 1,000/- a month for five years towards the construction and maintenance of the College. But the VME Society turned down the offer, as the Nizam insisted that the College be named 'Osmania College', whereas the society, wanted it to be named 'Islamiah College'. This decision at once provoked a big controversy among the Muslims of the region and many leaders shuddered at the prospects of raising a College without the aid of the Nizam of Hyderabad. But the merchant community of North Arcot, imbued with the lofty

and exemplary spirit of self-reliance and self-respect, battled against odds and demonstrated by deeds what potentialities they were capable of, without fear or favour from any quarter²². In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by the prominent men of the Society, the Government of India conferred the title of 'Khan Bahdur' on three of its trustees (1) Malang Hayath Batcha Sahib (2) Hajee Badruddin Sahib and (3) T. Ameenuddin Sahib²³. The dauntless spirit of these stalwarts of the society saved the educational institution from any crisis, notwithstanding the merciless tirade against them.

In July, 1919, Islamiah College came into existence with staff and students for Junior Intermediate Course. With the grant of affiliation, the College began to function formally from July, 1921. The first College Committee was formed on 19th July, 1920 with Maulvi Ziauddin Muhammad Sahib as President and Malang Ahmed Basha Sahib as Secretary²⁴.

The University Commission visited the College in November 1928 for inspection and issued its report in March 1930. The report of the Commission went against the continuance of a Second Grade College²⁵. In the light of the suggestions made by the Commission, the Management decided to raise Islamiah College to a First Grade College with required Laboratory and Library facilities and also separate buildings for the College. Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem Sahib of Melvishram, the prince among philanthropists, gave a donation of Rs. 50,000/- to help the Society in its endeavour to improve the College²⁶. The Muslim philanthropists of the town also came forward with their generous donations to the institution. As a result, new buildings were

constructed separately for the college in New Town, Vaniyambadi, and it was formally opened at its present abode by Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem Sahib. In August, 1934, the Vice-Chancellor Sir Arcot Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, visited the College and was very much impressed with the improvements made by the College in the light of the proposals of the University Commission Report of 1930. He dispelled the wrong impressions about the future of the College in the Syndicate.

In March 1946, the University Inspection Commission visited the College and was satisfied with the prospects for raising the college to the First Grade. The Syndicate of the University of Madras granted affiliation for the degree course in Commerce, Economics and Islamic History. Thus the College was placed on the map of the First Grade College of Tamil Nadu.

In 1954, the Vaniyambadi Muslim Educational Society celebrated its Golden Jubilee in which amidst the most representative gathering of over twenty thousand people assembled from all over the district of North Arcot, and three distinguished ministers also participated. Honourable Sri. Kamaraj Nadar, the Chief Minister of the then Government of Madras, while declaring open the Extension Building of Islamiah Elementary School, congratulated the Society for having generated a cordial spirit of Hindu-Muslim unity and for providing education from the first standard to the University degree level regardless of caste, creed or colour²⁷. Honourable Sri.T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry, Government of India, while laying the foundation stone of Islamiah College Hostel Buildings, appreciated the most generous support of the Muslim

mercantile community of North Arcot in the cause of educational advancement ²⁸.

Honourable Sri.C.Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education, Government of Madras, expressed all admiration for the Society for the right type of education and the proper sense of values in building up the character of the young²⁹.

The Vaniyambadi Muslim Educational Society established an Elementary School and Higher Secondary School for boys and a College for men. Then it turned its attention to start a girls' school in 1957, because there were only theological institutions for girls till then. It remained a middle school till 1968. It became a High School and later Higher Secondary School for girls in 1978. Thus the Muslims of Vaniyambadi, inspired by the Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed battled against the orthodox Ulema and established secular educational institutions to provide modern education to their community so that it could compete with other communities.

Ambur was another important Muslim centre which was at the threshold of its educational development at the dawn of the twentieth century. Like their brethren in other parts of the region, Ambur Muslims were at the outset averse to endangering their salvation by exposing themselves to the "Godless influence of English education". There were no regular schools imparting Western education in Ambur. Muslim children were sent only to makatib and madaris attached to the mosques. The curriculum of those institutions consisted of teaching the Quran and rudimentary level books in Persian and Urdu which sought to explain religion, culture, morals and manners.

The first step in the direction of setting up secular educational institutions in Ambur was taken up by Janab T. Abdullah Sahib, a tireless and self-less leader of Ambur Muslims. His initiative was supported by the leading Muslim merchants of the town who extended moral and material help. T. Abdullah Sahib visited Aligarh, closely observed the developments there and prepared a scheme for founding a Muslim school, open to all religions and communities and absolutely free from the taint of religious or racial bias ³⁰. Preference was, no doubt, given to the Muslim boys. His grand scheme materialised in 1905, when Sir Muhammad Habibullah of Vellore came to Ambur and opened the school which was named 'madraras-e-Mazharul Uloom' ³¹. T. Abdullah Sahib was then affectionately called by the Muslims of the towns as 'Sir Syed of Ambur' ³². His primary aim in founding the school was to create a centre with true Islamic atmosphere so that its *alumini* would be educated in western sciences and also Islamics, simultaneously.

Nonwithstanding the opposition to secular education by the Ulema of the town, the enlightened Muslim citizens of Ambur inspired by the deliberations of Vellore conference came forward to back the moves to establish centres of secular education. The elementary classes in Mazharul Uloom started functioning very effectively from 1906 under the managing committee called "Madarasa-e-Mazharul Uloom Committee" ³³. Arthur Mathew, the great educationist, had remarked in his report about the school that the infrastructure of the school was adequate and the standard of education was remarkably good ³⁴. Hence he recommended recognition of the school by the government for the purpose of grant. As the school continued

its progress without interruption, government recognition was granted. The first grant bill of the government for Rs. 376/- was encashed on 29th March, 1909³⁵.

The progress of the school was mainly due to the large donations collected from prominent Muslim merchants and philanthropists of North Arcot. Janab Peshimam Abdul Khader Sahib and Janab Minnur Abdul Rahman Sahib took leading part in it. In 1910, Janab Jalal Hajee Abdul Kareem Sahib was elected as the first Secretary and Janab Maligai Abdur Rahman Sahib the first president, and Meddekar Moulvi Muhammad Kasim Sahib the first Vice-President³⁶. The services rendered by these selfless savants and their successors were creditable and praiseworthy.

The year 1917 was a landmark in the history of Muslim education in Ambur, when the Managing Committee of Madaras-e-Mazharul Uloom was reconstituted into 'Muhammadan Educational Society' with clear aims and objects : (1) To encourage and improve the secular and religious education, specially for the Muslim youths of Ambur; (2) To undertake and perform all such acts as may tend to accomplish the above objects, and (3) To properly conduct and gradually raise the status of the school³⁷.

The educational society was registered on 4th April 1917 under the Societies Registration Act, 1860³⁸. In subsequent years, many imposing and elegant buildings were constructed with the contributions generously made by the well-wishers of the institution. The Headmaster Mr. Ramasamy Iyer and his assistants Janab Karim Khan Sagir, Janab Azizuddin Sahib Roohi and Sri. P.R. Rajagopala

Iyer happened to be the life and soul of the school³⁹.

It is worthy of note in this context that the financial burden of the Management was eased mainly by the generous contributions of the Muslim merchants of the district. Among them, Nawab C. Abdul Hakim Sahib of Melvisharam, a great champion of education, who made princely gifts for public causes and charities, more especially for the cause of education, and whose munificence has very few parallels, donated Rs. 35,000/- for the construction of a market⁴⁰ which became a good source of income to the school. Similarly, Janab Khayoum Sahib gave liberal material and moral support to tide over the financial difficulties. The visit of Honourable the Raja Sahib of Bobbili, the Chief Minister to the Government of Madras and Mr. Saunders, the Director of Public Instructions Madras during this period was a source of inspiration and encouragement to the Management.

In 1969, the Muslim Educational Society of Ambur started Mazharul Uloom College with Pre-University Course, which in 1971 was upgraded as a first grade College offering B.A. Economics and B.Sc. Maths⁴¹. This institution is useful to the students of all the communities of the town to get secular education at the Collegiate level. In short, the Society has been playing a commendable role in imparting secular education in the region for the past seventy five years.

Melvisharam is another Muslim centre of North Arcot, where there were no schools to impart secular education to their children on modern lines till the beginning of the twentieth

century. The need was strongly felt by the local Muslims and so in 1918, a band of young men of the locality established an Association called "The Majlis-e-Salahedarain" and started a primary school known as "Madaras-e-Islamiah"⁴². This school situated in a thatched building catered to the educational needs of all children of the town irrespective of caste or community. In 1926, it was raised to the status of middle school with State Government aid and recognition⁴³. The resources of "Majlis-e-Salahedarain" were too meager to maintain the institution. So the Melvisharam Muslim Educational Society was formed with Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem as President, Janab Vaverther Abdur Wahab Sahib as General Secretary, Janab s. Muhammad Safiullah Sahib and Janab Pattani Habibullah Sahib as Joint Secretaries, and Janab Packtheen Haji Batcha Sahib as Patron⁴⁴. The Society was registered on June 2, 1926 under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860⁴⁵. The Society took over the management of Madaras-e-Islamiah and changed its name as Islamiah High School. Janab Packtheen Hajee Batcha Sahib donated the site of the present Higher Secondary School and Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem Sahib met the entire cost of Rs. 40,000/- for the construction of the new building, which was formally declared open on September 21, 1930 by Honourable Sir Muhammed Usman Sahib, Member of Governor's Executive Council Madras⁴⁶. In 1927 the Middle School was raised to the status of a High School and for administrative convenience both the Primary School and High School were separated in 1930⁴⁷.

Later, C. Abdul Hakeem College was established in 1965⁴⁸, with Pre-University courses in Arts and Science due to the entire efforts of the Committee and timely help of the

then Vice-Chancellor Mr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. To begin with, the College was located in the premises of the Industrial Orphanage on the western outskirts of the town. Later it was shifted to the new and spacious buildings constructed on a site of about 80 acres of land adjoining the Madras-Bangalore Trunk Road at the eastern end of the town. The College offers B.A. History and Corporate Secretaryship, B.Sc. Mathematics, Zoology and Chemistry, B.Com., M.A. History and M.Sc. Mathematics courses⁴⁹. This institution has been rendering great service in the educational development of the Muslims of not only Melvisharam but also of the neighbouring towns of the district.

The trails blazed by the educational societies of these three most important Muslim towns have forced the Muslims living in other towns to emulate them. As a consequence, primary schools of secular education were established in Arcot, Wallajah, Pallikonda, Gudiyattam, Nariampet and Tirupattur. In Pernambut, a predominantly Muslim area, an educational society, on the lines of Vaniyambadi Muslim Educational Society, was established in 1945⁵⁰ which runs a Higher Secondary School for boys, and another school for girls, besides an elementary school. Marit Hajee Muhammad Ismail Sahib was the founder of the Educational Society and Janab N.M. Anwar Sahib, ex-M.P., was its President. The total strength of the Islamiah High School, Pernambut was just 98 in 1945 and today it has gone up to 1,082. From the beginning, the management granted free education to over 90% of the pupils at its own cost. Some of the villages whose Muslim population could not establish and maintain a school, approached the then District Board for Education to establish primary schools. At

present, there are more than 150 Urdu Primary Schools for boys and more than 100 schools for girls in the district.

The Vaniyambadi Muslim Educational Society, the Ambur Muslim Educational Society and Melvisharam Muslim Educational Society emerged as the most remarkable societies run by the Muslims of North Arcot imparting secular education from primary level to collegiate level, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. The youth of Muslim community have turned out as graduates in large numbers in Commerce, Science and Arts. Though their love for religion and culture remain unaffected, the learning of English and Western education had powerful impact on the thinking and outlook of the younger generation in the community. It is reflected in their life-style, dress, customs and rituals, and in their social behaviour.

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SOCIO ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE KURUMBARS IN TAMILNADU

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The kurumbars, a fierce race appear to become of the earlier to South india. Kurumbars have descended from Karnataka Dissensiom among themselves led them to choose a chief named *komandu Kurumba prabinu*, the first king of a dynasty known as that of the pallavas¹. They are the modern representatives of the ancient pallavas²

The country under their control was divided into 24 divisions of *kottams* in each of which a fort was built and territory extended upto the Eastern ghats. One of the chief forts was that of padaved in the polur taluk. Others were probably at Mahendravadi, Amburpet, Narayanavanam and Vallimalai, who were traders.

Little is known of these pallava kings. Their principal stronghold was at paraiur, near the Red Hills and Conjeevaram become their most important town³.

The Kongu Chola and Chalukiya chiefs succeeded in winning several victories over them and the final breakdown of the Kurumba sovereignty was effected by the Chola king Adondai about the eighth Century A.D.⁴.

In the Sangam Age, the Kurumbars were known to have inhabited, Tondai mandalam (the Country and Kancheepuram)

which was also known as Aruvanadu, The land of Aruvalars (Kurumbars)⁵.

There is the tradition preserved in General Colin Mechenzies Collection of manuscripts, that the Tondaimandalam Chakravarthy conquered a rude and uncivilized people known as Kurumbars and an Andondai Chola civilized them⁷.

Adondai the illegitimate son of Kulothunga raja of Tanjore also known as Tondaimandalam Chakravarthy attacked the, Pallava King inforce, and after fierce battle Adondai was forced to retreat to Sholingar. Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with the great slaughter. The Pallava King was taken prisoner and the break gates of the popular fort were carried to the temple of Tanjore. After this Success the petty Kurumba chiefs were easily subdued and they almost extirpated. They are now found upon the Mysore plature, where they are called Kurumbars and employ themselves in grazing cattle the weaving course woollen blankets⁸.

Mr. Gopalan in his book on the Pallavas assumes that the Chola King Karikala (or his general Tondaimandalam illanthiaian) got back the territory from the Andhra Satavahana's and that Tondaiman ilanthiraiyan

was his Viceroy. He says that according to the Mackenzie Manuscripts one of the achievements of Andondai Chola by whom probably we are to understand Tondaiman Illanthraiyan in the uprooting of the Kurumbar. It is possible that the Kurumbar now living in the state drifted gradually from Tondaimandalam to the South⁹

The Kurumbar are one of the earliest aboriginal tribes of South India¹⁰. It has been suggested that Kurumbar may be the remanunt of a widespread race. It has to be noted that Kurumbar of the plains, in some places erected dolmens even today. Kurumbar in Tamil has two meanings; one is 'mischief' and the other 'pethychiefs' were Kurum means small chief. The kurumbar were either mischief - makes or petty chiefs. So it may be presumed that the Kurumbar are the descendates of the Pallavan Kurumborai¹¹.

They were also present in the jungles of Salem during pre-historic times. They had exterminated the Kallans and Kurumbar of various tracts, for instance Varasingha Nadu (Varsha-Nad) the Kurumbar Nadu and Nadava-Kurunchi in the time of the Pandyas, had been rewarded for their services by grant of territory.

Finally they were driven back to the South of the river Kaveri by Kurumba prince of Alakapuri and Madurai and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the vijaya Nagar Rayer¹².

The present day Kurumbar speak Kanada and appear to have migrated from Karnataka they are pastoral people who reared

sheep and worshipped Verrappa. Among them are two groups, They are (urban) Kurumbar in this District belong to Salem only¹³.

They are still further divided into clause or "gampus" each having a headman or Guru called a gaudu who gives his name to the clan. and the clans are again sub-divided into gotras or sects and retain their totemic character to this day. There are nearly fifty of these sects. each sects bear the names of an animal, a tree, a plant or of some material objects, which the members of the that sect are prohibited from killing, eating cutting etc., The Arisana Koytharam is particularly worth of notice. Members of the some sect or gothrm cannot intermarry¹⁴.

The isolation of the Nilgiris is well known. These six or seven hundred square miles with a central altitude of 8,760 feet arise almost abruptly from the plains of Coimbatore. On the north and east they sloped down through wynad, Which is a part of a Nilgiris through in the Malabar District Karikal Kurumbar belonging to the Naga Tribes and some of the Kurumbar belonging to indiginous line of shepherded kings.

Wynad the area first explored by Englishmen only in 1819, until then, this favoured region was in the possession of the Toda, Bedega, Koda, Irula and Kurumba. The colonists being hard workers have increased in wealth. Their life however is intimately connected with the life of the Toda, Kota, kurumba and the dense jungle at the base of hills, and whose home and mode of living area of a less civilised nature¹⁹.

The Kurumbas are divided into three endogamous division viz., (1) ATTIKANKANA (2) UNNEKANKANA, (3) ANDE. In CANNARESE "atti" means "cotton" Unne "wollen", while Kankana is a thread tied round the wrist at the time of marriage and the first and second sub-divisions used cotton and wollen threads respectively at their marriages.

"Ande" is a small vessel used by them Ande Kurumbas for milking cow, the Andes are Lingyets and use the cotton and wollen threads mixed. All these divisions manufacture black cumplies (Blankets), but sub-section called Sunnata or Vasa (new) Kurumbas made only white blankets¹⁹.

Kurumbas are still found in the state, for example at Sellukudi and Aranipatti, they made rough cumplies and wollen blankets²⁰. In Dharmapuri and Hosur, there are two sub sects among the Kurumbas - Andi Kurumbas and Gaudage Kurumbas²¹.

URALIKURUMBARS:

The *uralikurumbas* are also called Vettu Kurumbas. They speak Malayalam. They are a chief artisan tribe of the Wyand Taluk, being skilled smiths, carpenters, bothers and blanket makers²²

MULLAKURUMBARS:

The *Mulla Kurumbas* differ very little in general appearance, dress, cusions etc., from the Kurunchi. They speak malayalam and are engaged in hunting²³.

CANARESE KURUMBARS:

Pal, Milk, -Corresponds to the halu

(milk) division of the Canerese Kurumba and they belonging to shepherded caste (24).

JEN KURUMBARS:

The Jen Kurumbars are a Kanarese-speaking tribe found only in the eastern half the Wyand Taluk. Their alternative name "Jen Kurumbars" in due to their important occupation of honey- Gathering. They live on ragi grown in jungle clearings and on edible jungle roots²⁵.

BETTA KURUMBAR:

The Petta Kurumbar area small active people. Capable of hard work. They are said to export woodmen. They are good mahouts and are useful in at Kiddah operations. The Betta Kurumba does not shave his head but brings it on the top of his head, in a knot. The Betta women wear the sari some what in the Coorg fashion²⁶. Traditions state that a very considerable sea-trade was carried on by them foreign countries, and this is confirmed by the discovery along the sea coast of a Pallava coins, together with those of ancient home and China²⁷. As it existed prior to European these tribes together furnished the ordinary elements that makeup Hindu society. The Kurumbar were the forest people. The relics of another culture seen in the dolments and cairns found all over the Nilgiris may indicate a previous state of a more widespread Kurumba occupation. The un popullarity of the Kurumba with the other tribes, the fear of his necromatic powers. Once powerful Kurumba and the animosity which has driven him to the hills. An annual tax of four areas used to be paid to the kurumba

by others²⁸. According to the collectors Report in G.O.No.1988, public (political), dated october 1937, Sholanayakkars were about 350 in members in the Nilgiri were living in the jungles and padalur firka of Indalur Taluk. They were mostly coolies in the estates and under Chetties Sholan Nayakkars are probably coolies in the estates and under Chetties Sholan Nayakkara are probably Jenkurumbar.

Those in Wyand work in the cofee, pepper and orange plantains, the estates are supported to near their habitation buy they are Inconciderable said to be their stable, food during the season when they are available. They are said to prefer then to cereals but the real reason seems to be that the rations at the estates are insufficient. they eat biosons flesh²⁹.

Of the Kurumbas living in the dense jungles at the base of the hills says "the various dry grains, chillies, Indian coin years, and some of the commonest vegetables are grown by Kurumbars in extremely small quantitives, but as a rule they can obtain from the village in the vacinity³⁰. When their distance, the family more, there during harvest time, inviting their friends to join, and reaping only so much as it requestive for their immediate wants the grain soreapead in broken into cakes. They never store the produces of thier harvest or preserve any for future occations , but eat while they can procure it, living in idleness and making merry while the supply lasts. Some times the community unites, and live on the produce of a single family. Moving in succession from one plake of cultivation to another, and when the whole of cultivated plots of extended, there is

no another resource, leave them but to full back on the produce of their fruit trees in the neioghbour hood, such as the jack and the plantain, with other wild fruits, or the community, scatters and family taking a different direction towards the jungles in search of honey, edible roots, and fruits. They are fond of chase and are expert in way laying and destroying animals, either by nooses, nets or crude constructions of stone gins. Thus they frequently live on the flesh of the Samber spotted deer, squirrel, wild cats, rats, anakes-etc.,. Some times they engage themselves as labours and are very expert in falling jungles and forests, cutting wood, squarling timber etc., but don't take other kinds of normal labour. Frequently, they are so hard pressed from want, that men take to the jungles, and women to the villages in the shape a small quantities, of cooked food or grain³¹.

The Kurumbars are shephered caste, they are cultivators, weavers, and stone-merons. Their languages is in to Gyprier. Each class has a headman, their class are again divided into several gotras or sects which are mostly tolemic in orgin. Their titles are usually Nayakkar, Gaude or Hergada³².

Kurumbars of hills of ancient Tondaimandalam are regarded as Brahmin aristocrets and by other as having lean warriors by profession. A caste or shephered weavers, and stone-masons in southern India, probably idential originally with the Kurumba or Kurumbas³³.

The Kurumbars are a pastoral people own large flocks of sheep and weave camplies

(blankets) and are found in the Sallukudi, Aranipatti and Mangudi. They are divided into several exogenous section called Vaguppus or groups of villages. Over every such group of villages there is a headman who is a both priest and judge, and presides over the Vaguppus tribal meeting and functions.

The patron diety of the Kurumbars is Veeralakshmi to whose temple at Sallakudi inam lands were granted by the Tondaiman ruler known as Bhoja Raja. They style themselves gaurdars or Nayakkars³⁴.

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Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation - A Study

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Maintenance of law and order, provision of defence forces, control of currency system have been regarded as the basic functions of a state. The advancement in knowledge and technology have made the government to go beyond these functions to retain the support of the people they governed¹. This article focusses on the provision of essential services for 'Civilized life' of the people through public enterprises in Free India, which resulted in reducing disparities in income and wealth, prevention of concentration of economic power and the creation of the values and attitudes of a free and equal society.

A historical review of the modern Industrial Sector in India reveals that prior to the First World War, the Government of India gave very little attention to Industries. Thus Industrial Policy of 1922 aimed at protecting the domestic Industries against foreign competition, but without success². With the advent of Independence, the government has made several Industrial policy statements from time to time. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 envisaged a greater role for the state in the economic development of the Country³.

Tamil Nadu is among the most industrialised state in India today. the traditional industries which dominated the economic scene prior to 1950 were cotton, textiles, sugar, cement and leather industries. But slowly these traditional industries lost their importance to industries like chemicals, fertilizers, machine and

machine tool, transport equipment etc. The Government support to industrial growth in Tamil Nadu has been provided in two forms. the first is the Public Sector investment made by Central and State Government. The second type of support given to private industry has been through providing amenities for private investment. Such steps have taken two forms. First, the provision of infrastructural facilities in specific locations in the form of sites, industrial water, electricity and so on. Apart from infrastructural support, the state and Central Government offer term loans at relatively low rates of interest through financial institutions such as IDBI, IFCI and ICICI. Th other promotional organisations in the other state are the Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation (TTDCO), States Industries Promotional Corporation of Tamil Nadu (SIPCOT) and the Tamil Nadu State Small Industries Development Corporation (SIDCO)

Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation

With a view to play more positive role in the development of large scale Industries, the Government of Madras set up the Madras State Industrial Development Corporation Limited in May 1965, with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 crores⁴.

Objectives

To begin with the main objects of the Corporation are

i. To promote, improve, establish and develop industries in Tamil Nadu; and ii. To plan, formulate and execute industrial projects in Public Sector. Later on the following objectives were added. iii. To promote industries in the Joint Sector by implementing projects as subsidiary companies where the Corporation will partly hold equity share capital⁷. iv. Financing by way of equity participation upto 11% for projects in the Associate Sector and 1% for projects in the Escorts Sector.

Management

TIDCO has a Board of Directors drawn from I.A.S. Cadre at the top level. The day-to-day administration of the Corporation is vested with the Chairman and Managing Director assisted by the Executive Director and General Manager in all administrative matters. Development, Finance, Personnel Administration and Secretariat are the administrative divisions of TIDCO. Secretary, Joint General Managers, Assistant General Managers, Managers, Deputy Managers, Superintendents and Assistants are the other Personnel of the Corporation.

The activities of the Corporation were largely confined to the setting up of a cement plant at Alangulam in Ramanathapuram district and a continuous Steel Casting Plant at Arakonam in North-Arcot district. Both are public sector projects. The cement project has a capacity of 1200 clinker a day at a capital investment of Rs. 677 lakhs. The steel plant with a capital outlay of Rs. 807.21 lakhs has a capacity to produce 50,000 tonnes of steel billets. The machinery for the factory was supplied by V/o. Machino Export, Moscow⁸.

The Tamil Nadu Cements at Alangulam Commenced Production in February 1970 and the Steel Casting Plant at Arakonam in July 1972. A pilot cement plant was established at Muduvathur near Trichy district. The main purpose of the plant was designing, research and experimentation rather than commercial production. It was transferred to TIDCO in June 1967 and was asked to evolve designs for mini cement plants.

The Production and Profit/Loss of Tamil Nadu Cements are shown below:-

year	Production in Tonnes	Profit/loss (in lakhs)
1971 - 72 -	3.06	+6.54
1973 - 74 -	2.80	- 4.82
1975 - 76 -	2.63	- 42.55
1976 - 77 -	3.38	+1.99
1977 - 78 -	3.19	- 64.11

The Production and Profit/Loss of Tamil Nadu Steels are shown below:-

year	Production in Tonnes	Profit/loss (in lakhs)
1973 - 74 -	17.79	+12.34
1976 - 77 -	28.94	- 7.28
1977 - 78 -	23.52	- 80.91

The shortfall in the production and the loss of these projects were due to severe powercut, short supply of coal and strike by workers etc¹⁰.

Tancem

Tamil Nadu Cements, originally a unit of TIDCO was made a separate entity from 1st April 1976. It continues to administer the cement plants at Alangulam and Ariyalur. The later plant was commissioned in August 1979. Later

on; An Asbestos cement sheet project (1981) and an Asbestos Pressure pipe project were brought under the banner of TANCEM. TamilNadu Industrial Explosives Limited, Tamil Nadu Chemical Products Limited, Tamil Nadu Steels Limited were the other Public Sector Projects under TIDCO¹¹.

Joint Sector

India stands totally committed to a policy of Mixed Economy as propounded by Nehru and other founding fathers under which both the Public Sector and Private Sector enterprises co-exist and function side by side. The Joint Sector envisaged state participation in industrial units with private entrepreneurs and the government policy relating to it was contained in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. The primary objective of the joint sector was to reduce the concentration of economic power in private hands¹².

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 classified Industries in India into three categories and defined the part, the state would play in each of them. The heavy, basic or strategic industries were made the exclusive responsibility of the State. The second category of Industries such as Machine tools, Fertilizers and Antibiotics would be progressively owned by the state. At the sametime, private enterprise would be expected to supplement the efforts of the state either on its own or with state participation. The third category was left to the initiative and enterprise of the private sector¹³.

The state government assumed an active role in industrialisation especially after mid 60's when Central Public Investment began to dry up. This has been largely in the form of

projects in the joint sector, when the government provides at least 26 percent of the capital base but leave the management of the company by and large in private hands¹⁴.

TIDCO, an agency of the state has consistently adopted a rational criteria in the choice of the projects for implementation in the joint sector.

1. the exploitation of raw materials and minerals in the state,
2. development of backward areas and
3. manufacture of export oriented products.

Projects like Soda Ash, Ammonium Chloride, Potassium Chlorate and Caustic Soda are the required raw-materials of Southern Petro - Chemical Industries Corporation, Marthi Crystal Salt Co. Ltd., which belong to the first category. The cigarette project in th backward district of Dharmapuri would give a filip to the agricultural economy of the district. The finished leather goods and the Electronics are the best examples of export projects¹⁵.

Since 1969, TIDCO has applied and obtained 20 letters of intent from the Government of India for various Joint industrial ventures. Of this, 8 projects in the joint Sector went into commercial production in 1975-76. They are Southern Petro Chemical Industries Corporation Limited, Tamil Nadu Chromates and Chemicals Limited, Pandian Chemicals Limited, Southern Borax Limited, Dynavision Limited, Asia Tobacco Company Litimited, Tamil Nadu Alkaline Batteries Limited and Marthi Crystal Salt Company Limited¹⁶.

Total No. of Projects sponsored by TIDCO in the Public Sector & Joint Sector

Year	Public Sector	Joint Sector	Total
1979 -	5	23	28
1982 -	6	29	35
1985 -	9	30	39
1988 -	10	37	47

The table indicates that the projects sponsored by TIDCO in the Joint Sector occupies a major share than the Public Sector.

Employment generated through various projects:

Year	Public Sector	Joint Sector
1979 -	3078	3415
1982 -	3631	5548
1985 -	3916	6314
1988 -	4589	8858

The table illustrates that the Joint Sector seems to possess a greater potential for generating employment than the Public Sector.

Profit & Loss of TIDCO¹⁷

Year	Profit / Loss in lakhs
1979-80	- 53.35
1982-83	+192.75
1984-85	+ 207.80
1988-90	- 29.94

Disinvestment

With the expanding activities of TIDCO, large amount of money is required for investment in its new projects. TIDCO has started disinvesting its shareholdings in the Public and Joint Sector companies with the objective of recycling these funds for generating further Industrial development. Tamil Nadu Chromates and Chemicals Limited (1988-89), Gangappa Paper Mills Limited, Madras Shoe Fabrik Limited, Kamar Chemicals and Industries Limited, Malladi

Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Limited and Pentasia Chemicals Limited were the companies disinvested by TIDCO¹⁸. TIDCO's decision to disinvest half of its equity holdings in Tamilnadu Industrial Explosives Limited, a Public Sector enterprise in recent year enabled the later to become a joint sector project¹⁹.

TIDCO's participation in investment had changed in recent years from Public Sector units to joint sector, associate sector and Escort Sector units. TIDCO's participation in the Associate Sector ranges from 2% to 11% of the equity capital and the private promoters are allowed to have more than 40% of the equity capital. TIDCO will have only one nominee in such a joint venture company's Board of Directors. In the Escort Sector, TIDCO contributes 1% of the equity and acts as a facilitator with no representation on the Board of the Joint Venture Company²⁰.

No. of projects and Employment generated through various projects by TIDCO²¹.

Year	Public	Joint	Associate	Escort	Employment
1992-93	10	42	9	0	23050
1993-94	10	39	16	1	26488
1994-95	4	31	33	3	31780
1995-96	2	30	36	4	26855

In future TIDCO proposes to establish petrochem Park at Ennore, Power Project in Private Sector at Jayamkondam (Perambalur district), Software Technology Park at Taramani, Chennai²².

Thus the agency function of TIDCO has prevented concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few. It has provide employment opportunities which relieved pressure on land and resulted in the distribution of wealth and income to a considerable extent. By and large, these measures of TIDCO have enabled the state to achieve a measure of industrial and technological self-reliance.

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN WESTERN MEDICAL EDUCATION : TAMILNADU

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The Social condition and position of women peculiar to India, made dedicated men think of Medical Education of women at a time when such education was at its initial stage in England. The Christian Missionaries started attending on Indian women at the time of delivery and thus helped to popularize Medical Education among women. Training of Midwives, Nurses and Women Doctors helped Indian women who had suffered total neglect in health matters save their lives from dreaded diseases. To a large extent, it was preventable and Western Medicine proved it.

In the initial stages patients had to be coaxed and persuaded to come to the hospital and the slightest setback would be enough to make them run. The death emptied the wards and an unsuccessful operation would lose all the ground that years had gained. The honour of sending out the first qualified Woman Doctor belongs to the United States of America and her name was Miss Clara Swain, M.D(Penn).

Miss.Fanny Butler,M.D., was the first qualified Medical woman from England to work in India. Mrs.Anandibai Joshi was the first Indian lady to study medicine at Madras.

Dr. Muthulaxmi Reddy was the first woman Medical Student, House Surgeon and the Medical Graduate of India. She worked against the evils affecting woman such as child

marriage, sati, infanticide etc., and promoted the cause of women's education and welfare.

The first organised work of teaching women in Western Medicine was taken up in Madras Presidency. The initiation of women in Madras was closely bound up with the history of Mrs. Scharlieb, a young English woman who came to India in 1866 with her husband – a barrister in Madras. She heard and saw the sufferings of Indian women, as the services of female doctors were not available to them and also those Indian women were hesitant to be treated by male doctors. In order to alleviate the sufferings of Indian women, Mrs. Scharlieb took one year's course in Midwifery at the Madras Maternity Hospital. But after having completed it, she felt that Midwifery Training was inadequate to meet all the needs of the women patients in India.

She then proposed a scheme to the then Governor, Lord Hobart and Dr. Balfour. Surgeon General for provision to caste and Goshia ladies to enter the Madras Medical College. Dr. Balfour made an attempt in 1874 now with the help of Dr. H.C. Furnell, the Principal of the Madras Medical College to seek permission for the female students to study in the Medical College. In the year 1875, the Government sanctioned the admission of candidates in the Madras Medical College. The entire credit for this goes to Dr. Balfour who's untiring and unflinching efforts converted a dream into a reality. In the winter

session of 1875, four students including Mrs. Scharlieb were admitted to the Madras Medical College in the 'Certificate Class'. The course of instruction for female students was limited to Pharmacy, Anatomy, Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Diseases of women and children. They were exempted from payment of fees.

Scholarships

Many scholarships were instituted for women students at Madras Medical College, so as to give them encouragement to join the Royal Profession in the 19th century. A lot of scepticism was expressed in the press that proved to be a total fallacy and the results belied their misconception. Finally, at the end of three years in the annual examination in 1877 – 1878, all the women students came out in flying colours and among the four students who secured a first class, three were female candidates. It is interesting to note that the women students were admitted to the Madras Medical College at a time, when no other Medical College in India had thrown open its door for admission of Women Students and when even in Great Britain the admission of Women Students into any of the Medical College was a very controversial subjects. In 1878, Mrs. Scharlieb returned to England and entered the London School of Medicine for Women. In the autumn of 1882, she passed the final examination for the degree of M.B.B.S., after some postgraduate work in Vienna she returned to Madras in 1883. Before doing so, she had an interview with Queen Victoria to whom she gave a plain account of the suffering of Indian women during illness and the barbarities inflicted on them by the native

Midwives. The Queen sent a kind message to the women of India and gave Mrs. Scharlieb her photograph, that she might take it to the house of the people to show them how much the Queen felt for them. Mrs. Scharlieb on her return to India started her Medical practice in Madras and soon had more patients than she could manage. She perceived that her work could never be wholly successful until she had a hospital. Funds were collected and a case and Gosha Hospital was instituted to be under the charge of Mrs. Scharlieb. In 1887, Mrs. Scharlieb's health gave way and she was obliged under Medical advice to leave India for good.

The work of Medical Missionaries

The Indian Women owe a great deal to Medical Missions in the field of Medical Education. Mission hospitals were started by Women with the highest British, American or other Western qualifications. The work of Foreign Missionary Women and Doctors in different parts of India helped Indian Women to avail of their services and also made it easy for Indian Women Doctors to qualify in Medicine and to set up private practice or to get attached to Women and Children Hospitals which started coming up gradually in different parts of the country ²¹.

Medical Missions in the Madras Presidency

The work of Medical Missions was very widespread in the Madras Presidency and some of the earliest hospitals were found here. Many Mission Hospitals catered for both men and women and many women had no objection to treatment by a male doctor ²².

The United Lutheran Church Mission had the honour of having the oldest Mission hospital for women and the largest one in the Presidency²³. The American Arcot Mission was responsible for the hospital at Vellore which was used for the Union Medical School²⁴.

The American Madurai Mission progressed as a great centre for Medical and Surgical Work²⁵. The London Missionary Society had a hospital at Erode and Madras was the site of one of the finest hospitals in the Province - The Christian Rainy Hospital of the United Free Church of Scotland²⁶.

The activities of the Mission Hospitals did not end with the ordinary ones of hospital and dispensary work but extended further in evolving a system of examinations and a standardized training. These Missionary Hospitals were the Pioneers in the Medical inspection of school children and they bound themselves together by the formation of an association called the Christian Medical Association.

The Christian Medical College, Vellore

The Missionary Medical Physicians incharge of hospitals felt the necessity of training Indian Women as Doctors to meet the increasing demand for Medical Aid for Women and Children.

For many years, the school at Ludhiana was the only one in India, where, girls were taught entirely by members of their own sex. But as the number of Medical students from South India seeking admission to Ludhiana became larger, the Missionary bodies there, began to feel that a Medical School on the lines of the school at Ludhiana was necessary for the South. The

School was opened in Vellore in 1918 mainly owing to the fact, that a very fine Medical and Surgical infrastructure was in existence under the leadership of Dr. Ida Scudder, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church of America²⁷. Dr. Ida Scudder was a grand daughter of the first American Medical Missionary in India who, after the founding of the Medical School became its First Principal²⁸.

The Countess of Dufferin's Fund

The beginning which had been made in the provision of Medical aid to Women hitherto, was only a droplet in the Ocean and the formation of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund in 1885 gave a tremendous impetus to public opinion and carried it forward.

Lady Dufferin's proposal to start a 'Fund' in the year 1885 for making Women Doctors, to open Women's Hospitals and wards and train Indian Women to follow their footsteps was met with a burst of applause and hardly a dissenting note²⁹.

This Fund owed its origin to Queen Victoria who will long be remembered in India as 'The great white Queen and Mother of Her people'³⁰. The credit of influencing the Queen to start the Fund obviously goes to Dr. Mary Scharleib, who during her personal interview with the former appraised Her of the suffering of the Indian Women during sickness³¹.

Dufferin Fund was neither political nor social but a purely humanitarian organization³². It served the people irrespective of their customs, habit religion or community. It did not support purdah - its relief was for all women who preferred the attendance of their own sex³³.

The Trained Nurses Association of India

To begin with there were no set rules and regulations, educational requirement and curriculum for the training of Nurses in different hospitals where such classes had been started. Each hospital gave its own certificate to the successful candidate lack of uniformity hindered the raising of the standard of education in Nursing⁵². The first attempt to organize the systematic training of Nurses and their public examinations was made by the Mission Hospitals in North India. The success of this venture led to the formation of the South India and Mid-India Board of Nursing Examiners. South India Board permitted the candidates to have the regional languages as medium of instruction and Mid-India Board, Hindi.

Nursing Councils

In order to provide statutory recognition to Nursing and Midwifery as specialized occupation and to protect these occupations from the misuse of quacks, as well as to raise the standard of Nursing, various State Government created Nursing Councils by enacting suitable legislation. The Madras Nurses and Midwives Act of 1926 was first Act in British India.

Post Graduation in Nursing

In the year 1944, the Christian Medical College at Vellore started degree course in Nursing for the students after passing S.S.L.C. Later, another degree course was started at Madras Medical College and at Government Hospital, Madras followed by many others. Social changes today have led to new needs of patients, their relatives and friends. The basis course not includes a greater content of sciences basic to

Nursing and principles of Nursing care, but further formal training, built on experience subsequent to the basic training is essential to equip the Nurse for fulfilling newer functions⁵³.

In Tamil Nadu Master's degree course in Nursing was instituted in the year 1968. The post basic Nursing courses included Nursing Administration, Nursing Tutor, Midwifery Tutor, Health Nursing, Ward Management, Public Health Nursing, Psychiatric Nursing, Paediatric Nursing, Medical and Surgical Nursing and Community Health Nursing.

Health Visitors

The concepts of Health Visitors is the direct outcome of the Child Welfare Movement in India, whose primary aim and work was to look after Maternity and Child welfare. It is totally a misconception to think that child welfare work merely relates to saving the lives of infants. It also includes providing them with good hygiene, health, prevent them from acquiring diseases and to make them grow hale and healthy. A Nurse or a Midwife initially undertook this works. However, it was felt that a separate class of workers must be trained for it, similar to that of the Health Visitors of England⁵⁴. In the process, the hospitals were considered to be totally unsuitable, since they provided the atmosphere of diseases and not of health. Hence it was decided to start a 'Health School', an institution exclusively to train Health Visitors. At this juncture, the earnest and enormous interest in the subject evinced by Lady Chelmsford, Wife of the then Viceroy and the Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition held at Delhi in 1920, proved a great stimulus to the Child Welfare Movement

⁵⁵

Lady Chelmsford made a fervent public appeal for the charitable fund in autumn 1919, which met with a tremendous response and which consequently led to founding of the Lady Chelmsford League for Maternity and Child Welfare Movement in India ⁵⁶.

A new scheme called the 'Baby Week Movement', the brain child of Lady Reading was, for the first time organized by the Chelmsford League and Red Cross Society jointly, which concluded by forming the 'National Baby Week Council' to which the Secretary of the League was also its Secretary ⁵⁷.

The Health Schools

The Lady Chelmsford League took keen interest in starting many Health Schools all over the country for Health Visitors besides Delhi, by giving grants to schools which might be created locally. Such schools were started at Lahore, Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, Poona, Bombay and Nagpur.

The Madras Health School

The Madras Maternity and Child Welfare Association and other voluntary bodies that bore part of the expense organized it. The period of training extended from nine to eighteen months and the medium of instruction was either English or Tamil. The students were given practical training at the Corporation Child Welfare Centres besides field training in rural and urban Health centres. The Provincial Nursing Council conducted the final examinations or Authorities appointed by the Local Government ⁵⁸.

It is now nearly one hundred and thirty six years since the first Medical Women landed

in India. Many difficulties were encountered and were over come by devotion and steady fastness beyond praise. These Pioneering Women are passing from among us and with them, the recollection of conditions and events which deserves a lasting place in the annals of the Women of India, as well as of Medical Women, generally will never be forgotten.

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Significance of the factory

Much difficulty was experienced in getting together a sufficient number of local weavers to work in the factory.¹⁰ Good wages and regular continuous employment were offered but the attendance was unsatisfactory. This was mainly because, the weavers prepared to work in their houses assisted by their women and children and showed great dislike to the discipline and regular hours incidental to factory life. Moreover, most of the weavers were in the hands of the master weavers and cloth merchants who viewed the system with suspicion and directed their influence against it. In Conjeevaram, a large weaving centre, also, with the consent of Board of Revenue, six fly shuttle looms were sent to popularise but this endeavour also failed.¹¹ Nevertheless, by dint of patience, improvements were effected and in a few years the financial results showed a progressive improvement and indicated that, if properly managed, a handloom factory might be a success. Thus the factory aroused considerable interest and was the direct cause of numerous small private factories being started. Subsequently, investigations showed that most of these factories failed sooner or later because of the lack of technical knowledge on the part of the management, because of the inability of the Directors to work harmoniously together and because of the dislike of the weavers themselves towards the discipline and control. But, all these factories helped to popularise the fly-shuttle looms.¹²

Diversification of the Factory

The factory then turned its attention to the improvement of the preparatory process in order to diminish the cost of preliminary works

such as winding, warping and sizing. A complete plant of warping and sizing machinery was secured from England in 1907. The machinery, however, proved to be unsatisfactory and had to be finally scrapped. As sizing which constituted the most important of these processes, could not be replaced by any indigenous device which would be operated by hand, it had to be given up all together and attention was turned to the introduction of hand driven warping mills of the type used in European countries to replace the second preparatory processes viz., the peg or stick method of warping.¹³ But only negative results were obtained in the Salem factory. Yet the Salem factory did one thing. That is, it popularised the fly shuttle loom. A weaving competition was arranged at Madras in 1908 as well as the work turned out by the Salem factory showed that the fly-shuttle was cheaper than the ordinary loom and that the fly-shuttle gave a greater out turn, its out turn relative to country loom being nearly double in the case of coarse counts, more than 50 per cent greater with medium counts and rather less than 25 per cent greater with finer counts ranging from 80s to 150s.¹⁴

Closure of the Factory

Meanwhile the Salem factory was worked on a commercial scale. Besides Cotton goods, silk cloths were manufactured. Chatterton was appointed as the Director of Industries in 1908.¹⁵ Now he was planning to establish five more weaving factories like that of Salem Factory. But, the British Manufacturers instigated the Secretary of State for India to stop the encouragement showed by the Madras Government in developing the handloom industry lest their

own manufacture would affect in future. So, Lord Morely, the Secretary of State of India, condemned the policy of attempting to create industries by the Madras Government and in his despatch No.50, Revenue, dated 29 July 1910, directed the government to close the Salem Weaving Factory. Consequently, the Salem Factory was closed in 1910.¹⁶ Thus it was at the time when the fly shuttle looms began to get momentum among the weavers, the British Government ordered the Madras Government to close the Salem Weaving Factory.

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Professional Poisoners in Tamil Nadu - A study

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A class of crime not unknown to early India has sprung up in recent years with added venom. Professional poisoners who practice their diabolical calling of drugging or poisoning travellers and then robbing them, have been known to exist in India for ages past, and still do exist, though to a much lesser degree. The poisoning of cartmen for the sake of the cart and bullocks and the railway travellers for their money and materials is a crime of recent growth. This class of poisoning has been committed by both Hindus and Muhammandans. However, they have no organisation; they are seemingly afraid of imparting the secret to any accomplice. They invariably go about singly and carry on their demoniacal pursuits. In very exceptional cases two or even three have been known to have been associated together for the purpose.

The prevalence of this form of crime is not so marked as it was about the middle of the nineteenth century. The original habitat of the phansigars or Fansigars a section of Thugs, is some what obscure. They hailed from Arabia, Persia and drifted to India in the wake of the tide of Muhammedan conquest. At any rate their appearance in Southern India is regarded as not of very great antiquity or on authoritative information.² Travellers in South India are sometimes decoyed through the allurements of women. The method as well as that of administering intoxicating and poisonous mixtures to travellers are all closed secrets. Those who rob near to their own abodes have no fixed habitation: but continually roam about with their families from place

to place.³

It is a practice more in consonance with the habits and customs of the Muhammedans than with those of the Hindus. The gangs, atleast in the Southern parts of India, consist chiefly of Muthammedans and similar practices seem to have prevailed in Hindustan in the time of Shan Jehan and Aurangazeb. But it is probably much anterior to the reigns of these monarchs and has continued to the present day. It is quite clear that the system had its origin in some bands of robbers, who had become Mussalamans and infested the road about Delhi about three centuries ago. They seem to have come from the North west.⁴

The professional poisoners used to adopt various roles in the prosecution of their nefarious calling. There is the respectably dressed poisoner who wears the sacred thread and calls himself a Brahmin or a Vaishya, in order to override caste objections where food is concerned. The respectable looking poisoner who, is times accompanied by his family, real or protended to disarm suspicion, hires a cart, drugs the driver and makes off with the belonging, the cart and bullocks, which we will attempt to sell at the nearest village. There is the priestly poisoner, disguised as a gosa in or a bairagi, who is accompanied by accomplices in the role of chelas. The devout poisoner, a processed devotees of the God Venkateswara who entices his dupes to distant places by fair promises of acquiring loans from Venkataramana's funds. There is the trav-

eller of good address posing as a fellow traveller. There is the gay top who consorts with dancing girls and prostitutes. There is the Brahmin cook who frequent the railways and offers cakes, sweetmeats, prasad and sharbat or the hookha to his fellow passengers.

These professional poisoners generally in the guise of Fakirs, Gosains and Bairagis, use to halt on the way side either in small chatrams or under spreading banyan trees which afforded to travellers welcome protection and shelter from the intense midday heat. The unsuspecting travellers approached them to rest for a while and accept the hospitality offered, generally in the shape of bread or chappatties, hookha, pan and bettle or water, all of which had previously been adulterated with a mixture of dhatura powder. Stupor or even complete insensibility would severally supervene.

The despoiling of the victims would then commence and should this operation be interrupted by the arrival of other travellers, they took care either to conceal their victims altogether or make them lie under cover of sheets in some convenient place as if to appear asleep. In some cases in order to avoid detection, the victim was concealed under the loongi or apron of a young woman.

The poisoner selects his victim from the poorer class of traveller or pilgrims, upon whose credulity he readily and successfully imposes, entering into a lively conversation and extending hospitality the better to accomplish his diabolical act. After robbing his victim he leaves from there. Even military sepoy or subedars serving in the regiments stationed in Northern India while on their way to their native places on long leave or retirement have been similarly treated and

robbed of their savings. Owing to the increasing prevalence of complaints of the mysterious disappearance of man who had left their regiments for home, the military Officer commanding the Forces, major-General st. Legar, issued general orders from his headquarters at Caumpore. Accordingly the commanding officers of Native Corps cautioned their men when they proceed on leave of absence that they should no leave the sarais at a very early hour in the morning, and they should not receive pan, tobacco, sweetmeat etc. from such persons or smoke their hookahs, particularly if offered to them in solitary spots on the road and lastly to avail themselves of the protection of sowars (horsemen) when opportunity offers or travel as much as possible with large bodies of people.

During Lord Hastings times the operations of the Pindaris or (dacoits) gave considerable trouble and necessitated the introduction of special repressive measures. The number of reported poisoning cases between 1864 and 1869 was 122. There existed a body of Thug poisoners spread over the whole of India. The poisoners from very distant parts of India, who had never met before and whose language differed, could recognise each other by signs known only to the initiated and they also used a slang language of their own. There is a large number of people of different castes associated for this particular purpose, and under leaders, male and female of different ranks who direct their movements.

The poisoners have used dhatura (ஊமத்தூத) in every case the sole object being to secure the possession of the victim's property. There are three varieties of the dhatura plant one of which grows in profusion almost all over India. Dhatura Fastuosa, (purple flowered) Dhatura Allia (white flowered) Dhatura Ferox of which purple

flowered species is comparatively common. The white variety of datura is found growing luxuriantly beside nearly every peasant's hut. The white flowered is seen in Bengal, Chinglepet, Madras and on the dung hill of every village, in waste places and by the road side. It makes its appearance soon after the monsoons, and thrives with great vigour pushing forth its large conspicuous white, tubular corolla and giving beauty to localities otherwise defaced by refuse and neglect.⁶

The *Datura Ferox* is found on the Malabar Coast (Dr.W. Palmer).

Datura preparations comprised of Datura seeds, powdered datura seeds, powdered datura prepared for admixture with food, dose half a tola, distilled essence of datura used with tobacco, sugar, attah etc, dose ten drops in a chillum or a quarter teaspoonful in a meal of attah. Attah drugged with datura flour, Datura has also commercial value and is used extensively in adulterating country liquors.

Datura according to Mr.G.W.Gayer of the Central provinces police, is probably the only easily procurable narcotic that acts quickly, has no smell and particularly no taste, but it has further advantages for the criminal, for it very seldom causes the victim to vomit, and people, when recovering from the effects of datura poisoning, suffer acutely from delirium and have often been driven from villages in the belief that they were madmen when they try to seek help. Therefore in datura poisoning cases it is very difficult to ascertain what has actually happened for several days. The police have to complete a large portion of their work before the poisoned person is able to relate the facts coherently. There are three stages of symptoms in the cases of datura poisoning.⁷

The procedure followed by the professional poisoners used are of making friends with travellers by the railway and of depriving the victims of their cash and other property after they become insensible under the influence of datura poison. The professional railway thieves may be divided into seven classes. They are the Bhamptas of the Deccan, Ina Koravas alias Alaagaris of Southern India, the Bharwars of Gonda and Lallatpur, the Mullahs of Muttra, the Bhairajas of Bhattu Turakas of India, the Takku Woddars or Guntichoris of Southern India, and the railway pick pocked of India.⁸

There were frequent railway robbery between 1900 and 1914. The railway police informed a highway robbery of his majesty mail near Udamalpet, Coimbatore district on the 14th of Jan. 04 1904.⁹

Again another mail robbery took place from Kottur to Kudligi (in the Bellary Dist) on the 18th Dec. 1904. The robbers have been arrested with the stolen property.¹⁰

The criminal tribes played a major role as professional poisoners on the railways. On the 8th June 1914 the koravas robbed his majesty's mail near Orattur, South Arcot Dist. The Police arrested them and gave punishment.¹¹

The Donga Dasaris (Tribe) women, boys and girls are experts in stealing articles at the waiting rooms and booking offices of Railway Stations. The quickness with which they pass on articles to adult members is marvellous. They are seldom caught red handed.¹²

The railways are the most lucrative fields of work for the Alaguries and each gang has its particular beat. They seldom encroach on the hunting ground of others of their fraternity.

The women usually dress well, sometimes like Brahmans. A small lancet shaped knife is invariably found with them. It is concealed in the mouth and used to rip open carpet bags and to cut strings of Jewels worn by women and children. For the same purpose they also carry pieces of broken glass in the Vadi Sanchi or small bag worn at the waist. Starting in a gang of 4 or 5 accompanied by women and boys they occupy separate compartments. Some disguised as traders, others as wandering minstrels and the women as eminently respectable travellers occupy the compartments reserved for their sex.

They adopt the art of entertaining their fellow travellers, they soon learn for what purpose they are journeying and when in suspecting traveller falls asleep, his jewels and valuables are taken. The Alagiri leaves the train at the next station and the gang unites at a place previously agreed upon, where the loot is divided share and share alive with two portions for the successful thief.

Night trains are usually selected and they are always to be found in special trains running for the convenience of pilgrims and others attending festivals where women are always decked out in jewels.

Crime is not committed by Alagiries in places where they happen to be known by the local police. Their language is principally Telugu, but they also speak Tamil and Cannada. Honour among thieves are apparently their maximum and the family of an unfortunate who has gone to jail is provided by the rest of the community.¹³

The Erakorava are essentially pick pock-

ets and thieves wandering over the country. They use the railway as a means of locomotion.¹⁴

A case of dhatura is reported in North Arcot. The accused was acquitted by the Sessions Court which declined to accept the evidence tendered as to the identity of the accused.¹⁵

In the beginning of 1909 one Balak Dass, said to be a resident of Madras was arrested in connection with a case in which two pilgrims were drugged on the sacred hill of Subramanya Swami in Tirutani. The police of Tirutani successfully investigated the case, and the accused was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment by the sessions Judge of Chittor.¹⁶ In the course of the investigation of the above case it was proved that the accused in the disguise of a bairagi had met in a railway station between Chingleput and Mayavaram, a pilgrim named Darianand, about 20 years old, a native of Kandala, Ghaziapur district. The pseudo - bairagi gave him some bread adulterated with powdered dhatura and subsequently robbed him of cash amounting of Rs. 41. The case was registered as No. 33 of 1907 by the Railway Police of Mayavaram. Two cases which occurred and are reported in the supplement to the Madras Police Gazette of the 7th Jan. 1911.¹⁷

Bengal was noted for the manufacture of dhatura powder in these years. Recently, a three member gang from West Bengal said to have been involved in looting passengers in moving trains after allegedly drugging them, was arrested by the Government Railway Police in Chennai. They were all young and were from Calcutta. They were nabbed at the Moore market complex building by a Special Squad of the

Government Railway Police and Rs.44,000/- Cash, 2.5 sovereign gold chain, a Walkman set were seized besides a plastic bottle containing sleeping pills and cream biscuit laced with sedatives. A majority of crimes had taken place in the Chennai bound Mumbai Mail and Howrah Mail in Andhra Pradesh Railway Police Jurisdiction. Fifty percent of the crimes had taken place in the reserved compartments. The railway police, based on the description given by the victims, prepared computerised pictures of the criminals and co-ordinating with the Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra Police to ban the gang members.¹⁸

Despite claims by the police that it had nabbed those allegedly involved in robbing train passengers after drugging them and 'Biscuit bandits' struck again on Circar Express. The Biscuit bandits otherwise called the professional poisoners exists in India through the ages.

History repeats itself in the sphere of professional poisoners who always indulge in looting the passengers in the train. Besides the practice is continuing like the old Wine in the new bottle.

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An Anthropological Study of Marriage in a South Indian Industrialized Town- Ambur, Vellore District

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... This paper gives a brief insight into my current Ph.D. research on marriage in the context of industrialization. As I am working in a team project which has selected to study Vellore district, Tamil Nadu, I have been conducting my fieldwork in Ambur, one of the industrialized medium-size towns of this area. There, since the 80s, shoe factories have been offering new opportunities of work to a great number of women. Their large recruitment has initiated new stakes linked to the role and position of women in the society's traditional organization.

I have observed factories as new places of sociabilities for women and shoe factory women workers, as a whole, work in group. First, I will draw up a portrait of this new category of employees. Then, I will focus on the way wages have modified women roles and positions, and how their social, family lives and surroundings may have been affected. The question which then arises is how women's work which brings new social organization and somehow some kind of emancipation, interacts with marriage, as a traditional institution which reproduces family and caste frameworks.

The town

In this area, leather activities with traditional processes of hides transformation have been present for more than one century (Dupuis,

1960). The sector has been and still remains mainly held by Muslim owners who belong to the Labbai community. In the 70s and 80s, many changes occurred with the help of Indian government. Tanneries have been industrialized and later on, shoe factories, which mostly produce for an international market, have been opened. Whereas tannery workers are still mainly Muslims or scheduled caste people, the factories working population is more heterogeneous. Shoe factories give more qualified or skilled jobs than tanneries, and the status of the leather there is different, being not the final product but the material to make quality goods. Then, workers, staff and executives from various social backgrounds have been attracted by factories even though they would have been reluctant to work in tanneries. Today, leather field, as the core activity of the town, involves at least one member of most families: they are employees in tanneries, in shoe factories, or chemical companies, they may also be owners of workshops, leather traders, etc.

Ambur's population is more than one lakh today. One of its peculiarities is that it comprises almost of an equal number of Muslims, who mainly speak Urdu language, and Hindus, who are divided into two groups, Telugu and Tamil speakers. The Muslim group is Labbai in majority, whereas the main castes of the Hindus are

family, acquaintances and neighbourhood network, they already know someone within the company. Commensality rules are not always followed and women staff as well as workers share their eating place as well as their food.

In the families this heterogeneity is feared. When they are used to control their daughter's social relations, in the factory they are in contact with many unknown persons, from different castes and religions. People who would have never met somewhere else, are put together in factories. From these relations some friendship may be born which give new regards towards other communities. By them, they learn new patterns and behaviours.

Factory work supposes the woman outside her home, seen by foreigners, mixing with different kinds of people in interactions uncontrollable by families. The daily confrontation of unmarried or married women in a man's environment goes against current social rules, especially among Muslims who have to follow the purdah system and wear the burqa. Gender intermingling questions the strict sexual division of the society. The daily situation of interaction at work reduces the social distance between the two sexes, sometimes to the transgression of social rules current in other places.

Factories are then perceived as a dangerous environment for fidelity and chastity of married or unmarried women. But the possible emergence of "love stories", which could affect the endogamy rules, are not so frequent. Some of them are not directly linked to the factory place itself but can be the result of the outings of women when going to work. Even though factories are

the biggest women employers in the town, and then the largest field of gender interactions, it should not hide that such love stories happen in all working places. But this fear doesn't prevent today's women from searching for a job in shoe factories. The attraction of a financial enhancement overtakes the disadvantages faced in a factory.

From the factory to marriage

Factories introduce new forms of sociabilities where current rules and hierarchies are determined by the rational production's activity. These are different when no opposed to the ones outside. Age, religion, caste and sex are not the major criterion for distinctions and hierarchies. Then, in such context, rules and behaviours taught in other social places like families or schools, lose their appearance of universality.

Factory employees circulate between two universes of socialisation, family and working place, which may be contradictory. When coming back home, they return to their position and role of mother, wife, daughter-in-law, submissive to traditional social rules according to their religious, caste and social belongings. Outside the factories they may appear bolder than other women. They will negotiate more easily both in finding a new job and in purchasing goods in shops.

At the time of marriage, this change in behaviours may also interact. Marriage is the time when institutions in which the individual's social status has been built, and his submission to this order by applying alliances rules (fam-

ily, caste) assert their consistency. Usually, the girls are not informed when parents are searching for a bridegroom. They may even learn they will be married at the day of their engagement function or when future in-laws come to examine her. Before their marriage, they may have learned more about it than if they had stayed home. In factories, they meet married women, who with discussions may be freer than in families and neighbourhood. They know an environment different from the one they were accustomed. They have also sometimes free time, and can use a part of their wage for entertainment. When joining the in-laws family after marriage, they have to submit to their rules and behaviours. For some of the girls it will mean to lose a part of this independence they could benefit when working. They may try to postpone this event to avoid new duties. In some cases, their economic status gives them the power to express their opinion, especially when the family depends on their income, and some will use it about their marriage. Some of them may get new attitudes after their exchanges with men at work. They become more critical towards them and about marriage, which is no more seen as an ineluctable step on which they can't pass their opinion. When earning, they also don't see it as the necessity to survive and think also about the constraints that it brings. On the opposite, some other women wish to marry and stop a job that they find difficult, especially a majority of Muslim women. Among the women not allowed to keep their job after marriage, some feel boring to stay at home and miss a social place. Staff and office women who get a higher salary usually prefer to keep their activity after marriage. It may be the idea to stay separated from

their in laws houses..

In the town, the shoe factory working women constitute a major new social and economic category, which transcends caste and religious belonging. It introduces a new distinction between the families who don't send their women to the factories, and the ones who send them. When women of one category of the population join the "shoe factories working women" category, it brings to them a social promotion, in comparison to their former activities.

Some other women assert their social or intellectual status differences with these "factory women" from whom they distinguish themselves. They are housewives for one part, and working women in professional jobs (teaching or medical fields) for another part.

For this research, I observe marriage in relation to these two social universes organized with distinct rules. Whereas, I mainly focus my study on factory working women; I have also been interested to meet middle class families for comparison.

Inside as well as outside the factory, industrial work introduces new ways of social distinction and hierarchisation. Caste hierarchies and religious differences lose their dominant position in aid to new hierarchies which come from the work division, and in which new internal sociabilities take place.

This perspective questions on one side, how marriage is submitted to the classes distinction's emergence which takes place in the former hierarchies based on caste and religion belongings, and on another side, how workers

emancipation may modify the traditional organization of marriage.

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Civil Disabilities of the Depressed Classes Under the Justice Party's Rule - 1920 - 1937 A.D.

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The aim and object of this paper is to throw light on the deprivation of Depressed Classes from their rights and their deliverance from their social degradation. The untouchable castes of Tamilnadu were degraded and despised in the Tamil society from the very beginning.

After the Aryanisation of Tamilnadu and the introduction of Varna System on the already existing classes, the Tamil society was divided into four varnas. Those who could not be identified with any one of the four varnas were called Avarnas and degraded as untouchable and enslaved by super castes¹. Thenceforth, the untouchables were never raised to their original position in the society. Their claims for freedom went unnoticed and unrecognised by high caste Hindus.

During the course of time the caste Hindus imposed on them all sorts of social disabilities such as untouchability, unapproachability, unseeability and unheardability, etc. Their fundamental freedom of movement was also denied, for all these imposed disabilities the religious sanctions were manipulated by the caste Hindus and they passed through the ages. They said, the birth of an untouchable was due to the Karma of the previous Jenma and so he was born as an untouchable. Therefore, he was called Jenma Chandala² (Untouchable by birth).

The term 'Depressed Classes' was in practice between 1915 and 1935. In the Census Report of 1921 it was recorded that there were

approximately over six million of Depressed Classes people among the Hindus. Their population was 15.5 percent of the Madras Presidency³. The Oxford English Dictionary describes that the Depressed classes in India were the persons of the lowest castes i.e. Untouchables⁴.

The important Depressed classes in the Madras Presidency were Adi-Dravidas, Pallas, chakkilias, Cherumans, Holeyas, Madifas, Malas and Valluvar. The Depressed classes had no civil rights. The children of the Depressed classes were denied the privilege of education. They were prevented from using public highways and not permitted to wear certain item of cloths, jewels and chapels. They were denied to take water from public well or tanks, enter tea shops and temples. As a result of the Karma theory and system of Aryan Phenomenon and the occupational taboos of Dravidian notion, the untouchables in Tamilnadu were put in a lot of untold miseries and well limit civil disabilities. Only after the arrival of British and the Christian Missionaries their clutches were removed by means of social legislation and conversions.

During the Justice Party Government the rights and liberties of Depressed classes and Backward classes were constitutionalised. Their communal representation in Government services were legalised by passing Communal G.O.'s. A separate department called Labour Welfare Department was created and the Justice Party

had rendered yeoman service to the Depressed Classes⁶.

There were countless instances which showed how these unfortunate people were prevented from enjoying facilities as they were treated as sub-human beings and segregated from the rest of the Hindu society. The notable among them is, the incident of a Magistrate in Kodaikonal court imposing a fine of one rupee on an Adi-Dravida boy for singing a song on untouchability in the Public Road, was reported in the vernacular daily 'Dravidan',⁷ and the matter was also raised in the Madras Legislative Council in 1921⁸. From this, it is inferred that the Depressed classes were denied even the right of using Public roads. Naydis and Pulaiyar in Kerala were not permitted to go to the public markets. This was brought to the attention of the Legislative Council by R. Veeraiyyan on 8th February, 1926⁹.

Kerala was the worst place where the caste system and untouchability was openly visible in the whole of Madras Presidency. In Kalpathi Agraharam not even the Police Constables or Police Officers belonging to Depressed classes were not allowed even though they were on bandobust duty in connection with the Kalpathi festival¹⁰. Thus the civil right was denied even to a Government servant on duty¹¹. Such instrumental for the passing of a resolution demanding the right to use public roads, at the Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha Conference, held at Pennathur in Chidambaram taluk, South Arcot District on 27th March 1921. In spite of a standing order (G.O.Ms.No.37, Public (Misc.), 9th January, 1925) the Depressed classes were denied the right of walking in public roads.

R. Veeraiyyan on 8th February 1926, stated in the council that in spite of another G.O. passed with the efforts of a R. Srinivasan stating that the caste Hindus should not prevent the Depressed classes from using the public pathways even through 'Agraharams'¹². (residential places of Brahmins).

It was alleged by R. Veeraiyyan in the Legislative Council that the Depressed Classes were prevented from using the Nellothchera tank in Calicut by Caste Hindus, though the tank was cleaned and desilted by the Calicut Municipal Council from its funds¹³.

It was brought to the notice of the Legislative Council by R. Veeraiyyan that while giving evidence in the Vedikapalayam Village Court, in Pollachi Taluk, Coimbatore District, the members of the Depressed Classes were made to stand outside the premises under the blazing sun and in rain¹⁴. In 1927, during elections to local bodies in Walajapet, North Arcot District, the voters belonging to the Depressed Classes were made to stand in a separate queue, under the scorching sun by the officers conducting the elections.

Another pathetic example of the treatment meted out to the Depressed Classes was cited by V.I. Munuswami Pillai in the Legislative Council. It was stated that patients belonging to the Depressed Classes were given separate wards in the outhouses of the Women's and Children's Hospital in Calicut¹⁵.

It is to be noted that even in jails convicts belonging to the Depressed Classes were segregated. The practice of operating separate mess for the Depressed Class convicts in the

District Civil Jail of Madurai was alleged in the Legislative Council¹⁶. Rule No. 464 of the Jail Manual insisted that the Depressed class convicts in the Jails should discharge all the menial jobs, such as carrying night soil and urine of the caste Hindu convicts. This rule was highly objected to by the First Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha Conference held at Ootacamund, Nilgris under the Chairmanship of Pandi. C. Ayodhi Dasar and demanded the Government that this rule should be immediately repealed¹⁷.

In Chidambaram and Villupuram towns, the Depressed classes were denied access to public tanks and wells. This was brought to the notice of the labour Welfare Department Minister in the Council by S. Satyamurthy Iyer. A dead body of an Adi-Dravida in Eilamanoor Village, Villapuram taluk was prevented by the caste Hindus on the order the Health inspector to be carried to the customary burial ground by passing through the public path leading to the burial ground¹⁸.

Thus, the numerous inhuman treatments of the Depressed Classes by the Caste Hindus stood testimony to the pathetic condition of the Depressed Classes.

In March 1930, the Kallars (Most Backward class) of Ezhuvankottai Village of Ramnad District held a conference, at which it was decided to impose eight prohibitions on the behaviour and general appearance of the Depressed Classes. The prohibition thus imposed were absolutely inhuman. Members of the Depressed Classes who refused to observe these prohibitions were brutally assaulted and fines were imposed. The cattle of the Depressed Classes were forcefully taken away. Kallars

openly plundered the cheris. (the residential place of Depressed Classes) and assaulted the inhabitants. Huts and granaries of the Depressed were set on fire. Even the Thalīs (mangala sutra) of women were forcefully snatched away from their necks. To add severity to the whole problem, eleven more prohibitions were added in 1931¹⁹.

Atrocities continued unabated. The rules framed by Kallar Sangam for the observance of the Depressed Classes were the significance of the reign of terror²⁰. During the festivals of Kallar, women of the Depressed Classes were asked to sing nakedly. When it was reported, the District Magistrate and the police did not care of their complaints. The Ramnad branch of Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha presented a memorandum to Government in January 1931. Till August, 1931 Government had not taken any action on the memorandum. A resolution moved by M. Devadasan, a Depressed Class member of the Council, was taken for discussion on 30th January, 1931. He asked for the appointment of an Impartial Committee to probe the matter²¹.

Swami A.S. Sahajananda a famous saint of Nandanar Maths, Chidambaram and a member of the Congress Party was of the view that because of the inaction of the Justice Party Government such atrocities were multiplying and spreading throughout the presidency²². Swami Venkatachalam chetti stated that the Justice Party Government had failed to discharge its fundamental duty of protecting the interest and safety of the Depressed Class people²³.

M.T.C. Srinivasa Ayyangar was of the opinion that lack of vigilance on the part of police and District Magistrate was the cause for

the acts of atrocities²⁴. N. Sivaraj, a Depressed Class leader, and a member of the Council, attacked both the Justice Party Government and the Congress Party for their crocodile tears on the miseries of the Depressed Classes. He hated their lip services with deep rooted hatred against the Depressed Classes²⁵.

Abdul Hameed Khan, V.T. Arasu and many other members of the Council said that Justice Party Government was responsible for the Continuance of the atrocities for a period of over eight months. J.A. Davis, a member of the Council asked the Government to institute a searching enquiry by an independent body of people. The debate on the resolution came to an end and the Council recommended to the Government to form an Enquiry Committee²⁶. Sixty votes were polled in favour of the resolution and twenty two votes against it. Hence, the resolution of M. Devadasan was declared and carried.

Even after the adoption of this resolution Government did not take any step to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. Hence another resolution was tabled in 1932. At the instance of the Home Minister V.I. Munuswamy Pillai, Daniel Thomas and N. Devadasan toured the areas and submitted a forty page report to Government, the receipt of which was not even acknowledged by the Government. Mohamed Usman Sahib Bahadur, the Home Minister, refused to appoint an Enquiry Committee stating that the cause of trouble was the arrival of a party of American Missionaries and their work of evangelism. Therefore, no enquiry was conducted²⁷.

Some of the Justice Party members out of ignorance said that the Depressed Class

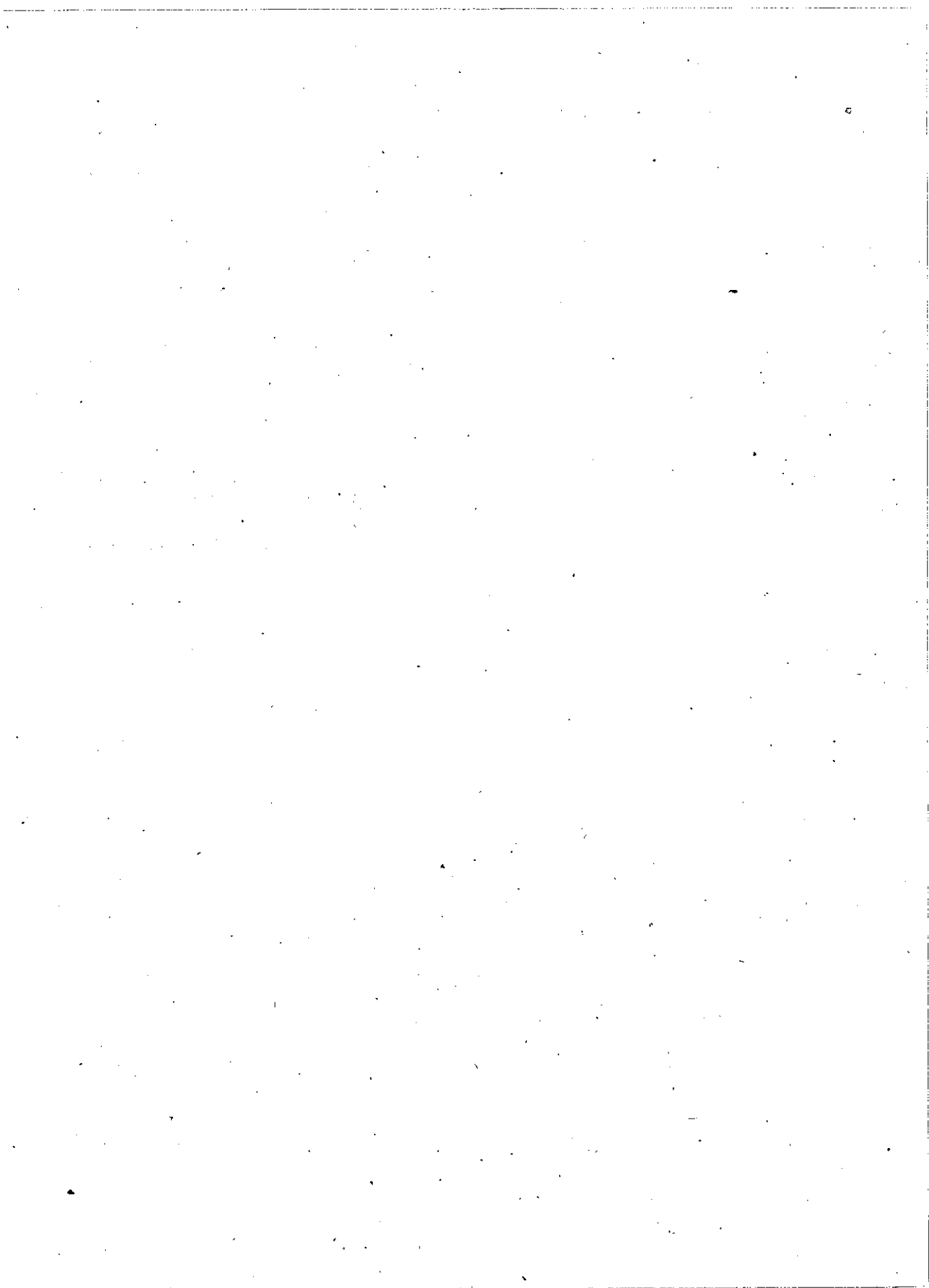
people and the Kallars were the same communities but actually they were separate groups or castes. The Christian Missionaries were present throughout the Presidency but it did not cause such widespread arson, looting, burning and killings else where except in Ramnad District. Therefore, the Depressed Class leaders said, it was due to the inaction of the Justice Party Government and so they had done more injustice than justice to the Depressed Classes.

Thus, the age old atrocities on the Depressed Classes had been continued even after the popular Government formed by the Indian Ministries. Since, the Government was ruled by the Backward Classes they were not much interested in the protection of the Depressed Classes.

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ART & CULTURAL HISTORY

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Professor S. RAJU

கலை-பண்பாட்டு வரலாறு தலைமையுரை

செ. இராகு

பேராசிரியர், கல்வெட்டு தொல்லியல் துறை, தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக் கழகம்
தஞ்சாவூர் - 613 005

பேரன்புகெழுமிய தலைவர் அவர்களே! தமிழக வரலாற்றுப் பேரவையின் ஆறாவது ஆய்வு மாநாட்டின் தொடக்கவிழா நிகழ்ச்சியில் கலந்து கொண்டு சிறப்பிக்கும் பெருமக்களே! பேராசிரியர்களே! ஆய்வாளர்களே! மாணவர்களே! எல்லோருக்கும் முதற்கண் என் பணிவான வணக்கங்களைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

இம்மாநாட்டின் கலை-பண்பாட்டு வரலாற்று ஆய்வுப் பிரிவின் தலைமையுரையை ஆற்ற எனக்கு அரிய வாய்ப்பளித்த தமிழ் வரலாற்றுப் பேரவையின் தலைவர், செயற்குழுவினர், உறுப்பினர்கள் ஆகியோருக்கு என் மனமார்ந்த நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

இசுலாம் எங்கள் வழி; இன்பத்தமிழ் எங்கள் மொழி என்ற சிறந்தநோக்கோடு தமிழைக் காத்து வளர்ப்பதிலும், தமிழன்னைக்குப் புதிய அணிகலன்களாகப் படைப்பிலக்கியங்களை உருவாக்குவதிலும், மேலாய்வுகள் நிகழ்த்துவதிலும், சமூக சேவைகள் செய்வதிலும், நாட்டுப் பற்றிலும், சிறந்த கல்வியை அளிப்பதிலும், மாணவர் நலன் பேணுவதிலும் தலைசிறந்து விளங்கும்

வாணியம்பாடி இசுலாமியப் கல்லூரி நிருவாகிகள் முதல்வர் உள்ளிட்ட பேராசிரியர்கள் ஆகியோர் இம்மாநாட்டிற்கு மிகச் சிறப்பான ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்துள்ளனர். அவர்கள் அனைவருக்கும் நன்றி.

இம்மாநாட்டின் பொதுத் தலைவராக விளங்குபவர் எங்கள் தமிழ்ப் பேராசிரியர் முனைவர். எ. சுப்பராயலு அவர்கள். இந்தியக் கல்வெட்டு - தொல்லியல் ஆய்வின் சிறந்த முன்னோடியாகவும்; வரலாற்றுப் பேரரசாணாகவும் விளங்கும் முனைவர் எ.சுப்பராயலு அவர்களுடன் பணியாற்றும் எனக்க ஒரு பிரிவுத் தலைமையுரையாற்ற வாய்ப்பளித்துள்ளீர்கள். இது எங்கள் தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்திற்கும், எங்கள் தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்திற்கும், எங்கள் துறைக்கும் பெருமை சேர்க்கும் நிகழ்ச்சியாகும்.

நாம் கூடியுள்ள வாணியம்பாடி ஒரு வணிக நகரமாகும். வாணிகம் என்பது பழந்தமிழ்ச்சொல் யான் ஓர் வாணிகப் பரிசிலன் அல்லேன் என்று புறநானூற்றிலும் வாணிகம் செய்வார்க்கு வாணிகம் என்று திருக்குறளிலும் பயின்றுவரும் சொல். தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்

களும் இச்சொல்லைக் கையாண்டுள்ளனர். இச்சொல் வணிகம் என்றும் வழங்குவதுண்டு.

தேவாரத்தில் வாணிகம்-வாணியம் என்றே குறிக்கப்படுகிறது. சிறுகாலை நாமுறும் வாணியம் என்பது தேவாரத் தொடர்.

பாடி என்ற சொல் நகரம், சேரி, முல்லை நிலத்தார், நாடு என்ற பொருள்களைக் குறிக்கும் ஒரு சொல். எனவே வாணியம்பாடி என்ற சொல் வாணிக நகரம் என்று பொருள்படும். பாடிகாவல் என்னும் கல்வெட்டுத் தொடர் ஊர்க்காவலையும், ஊர்க்காவலுக்காக வாங்கும் வரியையும் குறிக்கும்.

பாடி என்பதற்குப் படை, சேனை என்ற பொருளும் உண்டு. பாடிவீடு என்பது படை இருக்கை.

பழந்தமிழத்தில் திசையாயிரத்து ஐநூற்றுவர், ஆயிரவர், நானாதேசிகள், மணிக்கிராமத்தார், அஞ்சுவண்ணத்தார் போன்ற பல வணிகக் குழுக்கள் இருந்தன. அவர்களில் சிலர் தங்களுக்கென்று பாதுகாப்புக்காகப் படையைவைத்துக் கொண்டிருந்தனர். அப்படைப் பிரிவில் அத்திகோசத்தார் என்ற யானைப் படையினரும் ஒருவர். எனவே வாணிகர் படை இருந்த படமாகவும் வாணியம்பாடி இருந்திருக்கலாம்.

இவ்வட்டாரப் பண்டைய நடுகற்களில் வாணகோப்பாடி என்ற பகுதி குறிக்கப்படுகிறது. வாணியம்பாடியின் பழைய வடிவம் வாணகோப்பாடி என்றும் கருதலாம்.

மேற்கண்ட பழந்தமிழக வாணிகர்கள் வாணிகத்தோடு மட்டும் நில்லாது சிறந்த கலைத்தூதர்களாகவும், பண்பாட்டின் காவலர்களாகவும் திகழ்ந்துள்ளனர். இவர்கள் கட்டிய கோயில்களும், பாதுகாத்த கோயில்களும், வெட்டிய குளங்களும், அளித்த கொடைகளும் பற்பல என்பதைக் கல்வெட்டுக்களும் செப்பேடுகளும் கூறுகின்றன. தமிழகத்தில் மட்டுமில்லாது இலங்கையிலும், கிழக்காசிய நாடுகளிலும் அவை பரவலாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன.

எகிப்து நாட்டில் அகழ்வாராய்ச்சியில் கிடைத்த கண்ணன், சாத்தன், கொற்றப்பூமான் போன்ற தொடர்கள் தமிழர்-ரோம் வணிகத் தொடர்பைக் காட்டுகிறது.

1999 ஆம் ஆண்டாகிய இந்த ஆண்டை மத நல்லிணக்கம்-சமூக ஒருமைப்பாட்டிற்கு உரிய ஆண்டாக அரசு அறிவித்துள்ளது. மனிதகுலப் பண்பாட்டிற்கு, நாகரிகத்திற்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டாக விளங்கும் இவ்விரு கொள்கைகளுக்கும் உரிய மன்னர்களில் ஒருவராக விளங்கியவர் மாவீரர் திப்பு சுல்தான். மக்கள் நலம் நாடும் ஒரு மன்னர்

வருகின்றனர். தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக்கழகச் சிற்பத் துறையினர் திருமுறைகளோடும், திவ்யப் பிரபந்தத்தோடும் தொடர்பு படுத்திச் சிற்ப ஆய்வு செய்து வருகின்றனர். மேனாட்டு இதழ்களில் அவர்கள் ஆய்வுகள் வெளிவந்துள்ளன.

கலைச் செல்வங்களுக்குத் தங்களை அர்ப்பணம் செய்து அவைகளைப் புரந்தந்து காப்பாற்றிய பெருமை கல்வெட்டுக்களுக்கும், செப்போடுகளுக்கும் உண்டு. அவைகள் முழுமையாக வெளியாகுமானால் கலைகளின் சிறப்பும், நம் பண்பாட்டுப் பெருமையும் நன்கு வெளிப்படும்.

1887 முதல் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் படி எடுக்கப்பட்டாலும் 1909 வரை படி எடுக்கப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டுக்களே மூல பாடத்துடன் வெளிவந்துள்ளன. இடையில் 1905, 1908 ஆண்டுக்குரிய கல்வெட்டுக்களும், 1906 ஆம் ஆண்டின் பாதிக்கல்வெட்டுக்களும் வெளி வரவில்லை.

தமிழக அரசு தொல்லியல்துறை சில மாவட்டங்களையும் சில வட்டங்களையும் தேர்ந்தெடுத்துக் கல்வெட்டுக்களை வெளியிடத் தொடங்கியது. அவை நல்லபணி. ஆனால் அவ்வெளியீடுகளிலும் தேக்கம் ஏற்பட்டுள்ளதைக் காணுகிறோம்.

பல்கலைக் கழகங்களும்,

கல்லூரிகளும், வரலாற்றுத் துறையினரும், தமிழகத் தொல்லியல்துறையும் மைய அரசின் தொல்லியல்துறைக் கல்வெட்டுப் பிரிவில் மைசூரில் உள்ள கல்வெட்டுப் படிக்களைப் பெற்று அவற்றை வெளியிட முன்வரவேண்டும். தமிழக இந்து சமய அறநிலையத்துறை சார்ந்த கோயில்களில்தான் பெரும்பான்மையான கல்வெட்டுக்கள் உள்ளன. ஆனால் இந்துசமய அறநிலையத் துறையில் கல்வெட்டாய்வாளர்கள் இல்லாமை ஒரு பெருங்குறையே.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் தான் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் அதிகம். படி எடுத்த பல்லாயிரக் கணக்கான கல்வெட்டுக்கள் வெளியிடப் பெறாமல் உள்ளன. பல்லாயிரக் கணக்கான கல்வெட்டுக்கள் படி எடுக்கப் பெறாமல் உள்ளன.

பாண்டிச்சேரி மாநிலக் கல்வெட்டுகள் 545 தொகுக்கப்பட்டு அவை விலைவில் பாண்டிச்சேரி இந்திய வியல் கழகத்தில் வெளியிடப்பட உள்ளன.

செப்பேடுகளின் நிலையோ இன்னும் மோசமாக உள்ளது. முதல் மூன்று தென்னிந்தியக் கல்வெட்டுத் தொகுதிகளில் சில செப்பேடுகள் வெளிவந்தன. பின்னர் வந்த கல்வெட்டுத் தொகுதிகளில் செப்பேடுகளே பதிப்பிக்கப் பெறுவதில்லை.

பல்லவர் செப்பேடு முப்பது, பாண்டியர் செப்பேடு பத்து ஆகியவை களைத் தமிழ் வரலாற்றுக் கழகம் முன்பு வெளியிட்டது. அவற்றை உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் மறுபதிப்புச் செய்து வருகிறது. தமிழ் வரலாற்றுக் கழகம் வெளியிட்டுள்ளது முற்காலப் பாண்டியர் செப்பேடுகளே. பிற்காலப் பாண்டியர் செப்பேடுகள் இன்னும் தொகுக்கப் பெறவில்லை. வரலாற்று முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த சோழர் செப்பேடுகள் 25 இருப்பினும் அவை ஒரே தொகுதியாக வெளிவராதது பெருங்குறையே. தமிழக வரலாற்றுச் சான்றுகளை விளக்கும் அச்செப்பேடுகளில் பல தமிழ்வடிவில் இன்னும் வரவில்லை என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

மராட்டியர், சேதுபதிகள், அறந்தாங்கி - புதுக்கோட்டைத் தொண்டைமான்கள், சிவகங்கை மன்னர் செப்பேடுகள் ஆகியவை தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் கல்வெட்டியல் துறையில் தொகுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

தஞ்சை மாவட்டத்தில் திருவாவடு துறை [72], திருப்பனந்தான் [24], தருமபுரம் [12], மடங்களில் 108 செப்பேடுகள் உள்ளன. அண்மையில் திருப்பனந்தான் காசிமடத்துச் செப்பேடுகள் பதிப்பிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

சென்னை எழும்பூர் அரசு அருங்காட்சியகத்தில் பலநூறு செப்பேடு

கள் உள்ளன. பெரும்பாலும் அவற்றின் படிகள் மைய அரசின் கல்வெட்டுத் துறையில் உள்ளன. தமிழக அரசு தொல்பொருள்துறை அருங்காட்சியகங்களிலும், சில கோயில்களிலும் பல செப்பேடுகள் உள்ளன. அவைகள் விரைவில் வெளிவர வேண்டும்.

பலசெப்பேடுகளிலும், சில கல்வெட்டுக்களிலும் மிக அருமையான வரைகோட்டு ஓவியங்கள் உள்ளன. அவற்றைத் தொகுத்து ஆய்வு செய்ய வேண்டும்.

தமிழகக் கலை, பண்பாட்டுச் சின்னங்கள் பல் கடல் கடந்து வெளி நாடுகளிலும் உள்ளன. சங்க காலம் முதற்கொண்டு பல்லவர், சோழர் காலம் வரை கிழக்காசிய நாடுகளோடு தமிழகம் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு கொண்டுள்ளது. கழகத்து ஆக்கம் பற்றிப் பட்டினப்பாலை கூறுகிறது. ஆனால் அங்கு கள ஆய்வுகள் விரிவாக நடத்தப் பெறவில்லை.

அங்கு அலையெனப்பாயும் மண்ணின் மைந்தர் [பூமிபுத்திரர்] எழுச்சியினாலும், சீனர்களின் ஆதிக்கத் தாலும் தமிழகத் தொடர்பான கலைச் சின்னங்களும், பண்பாட்டுத் தாக்கமும் பற்றி ஆய்வு செய்ய வாய்ப்பில்லாமல் இருந்தது.

இப்பெரும் குறையை நீக்கும் பொருட்டு நோக்கியோ பல்கலைக்கழகப்

பேராசிரியர் நொபொரு கராவியா அவர்கள் தலைமையில் அமைக்கப்பட்ட இந்திய-சப்பானிய ஆய்வாளர் குழு 1991 டிசம்பர் முதல் 1995 மார்ச் முடிய நான்கு பருவங்களில் வியட்நாம், லாவோஸ், மலேசியா, தாய்லாந்து, சுமத்ரா, இந்தோனேஷியா, கம்போடியா ஆகிய பகுதிகளில் செய்த கள ஆய்வில் பல புதிய தகவல்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

1891-92 ஆம் ஆண்டு உல்ட்சு முயன்று, 1932இல் கே.ஏ. நீலகண்ட சாஸ்திரியார் ஓரளவு படித்த சுமத்ரா தமிழ் வணிகக்குழுக் கல்வெட்டை இக்குழு முழுமையாகத் தந்துள்ளது.

அகழ்வாராய்ச்சிச் சின்னங்களையும், மடங்களையும், கோயில்களையும், அருங்காட்சியகங்களையும் நேரில் கண்டு, இக்குழு ஆய்வு செய்துள்ளது. சங்ககாலச் சோழர் காசு தாய்லாந்து நாட்டில் கிளாங்தோம் என்ற துறைமுக நகரில் நடத்திய அகழாய்வில் கிடைத்துள்ளதைக் கண்டறிந்துள்ளனர்.

பெரும்பதன் கல் என்று பழந்தமிழில் எழுதப்பட்ட பட்டைக்கல் ஒன்று அங்கு கிடைத்துள்ளது. அது தமிழ்ப் பொற்கொல்லர் அல்லது பொன் வாணிகர் பயன்படுத்திய கல்லாக இருக்கலாம்.

சுமத்ராவில் இருக்கும் வாரோசு நகருக்கு மாதங்கரி வல்லவத் தேசி

உய்யக்கொண்ட பட்டினம் என்று பெயர் இருந்தமையையும், அங்குள்ள வேளாபுரம் என்ற பகுதியில் திசையாயிரத்து ஐநூற்றுவர் என்ற வணிகக் குழுவினர் கூடிய செய்தியையும் ஒரு கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகிறது. தமிழக வணிகர்கள் அங்கு கோயில் அமைத்துக் குளமும் வெட்டிய செய்தியைக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் கூறுகின்றன. இலங்கையிலும் தமிழ் வணிகக்குழு பற்றிய செய்திகளை அக்குழு ஆய்ந்து வருகிறது. அக்குழுவில் முனைவர் எ. சுப்பராயலு, முனைவர் ப. சண்முகம், முனைவர் கே.வி. ரமேஷ், முனைவர் கே.வி. ராமன் ஆகியோர் உள்ளனர்.

வட்டார ஆய்வுகள் பெருக வேண்டும். குக்கிராமங்கள் தோறும் சரியான ஆய்வுகள் நிகழ்த்தப் பெற வேண்டும். சில ஊர்களுக்குத் தனி வரலாற்று நூல்கள் வெளிவந்துள்ளன. எல்லா ஊர்களுக்கும் வரலாறு வெளிவர வேண்டும். நாகபட்டினம் வரலாறு 400 பக்கங்களில் வெளிவந்துள்ளது. நூலகக் குழுவினர் சரியான வரலாறு புரியாமல் நூல் தலைப்பே தவறு என்று பொது நூலகத்திற்கு வாங்கக் கூடாது என்று கூறிவிட்டனர்.

பள்ளிகள் தோறும், கல்லூரிகள் தோறும் வட்டார அருங்காட்சியகங்கள் நிறுவப்படவேண்டும். கலைச் செல்வங்கள் பாதுகாக்கப்பெற வேண்டும்.

1997 இல் சுதந்திரப்

பொன்விழாவைக் கொண்டாடினோம். விளம்பரம் செய்த அளவுக்குப் பல வட்டாரங்களில், சிற்றூர்களில், நகரங்களில் வெளிச்சத்துக்குவராத பல சுதந்திரப் போராட்ட வீரர்களின் உண்மை வரலாற்றை நாம் தொகுக்கவில்லை.

அரசுத் துறையும், பெரிய நிறுவனங்களும் சிறந்த விளையாட்டு வீரர்களைத் தத்தெடுத்துக் கொண்டு வாய்ப்பளிப்பதைப் போல கலைஞர்களையும் கலை ஆர்வலர்களையும் தத்தெடுத்துக் கொள்ள வேண்டும். அந்நிறுவனங்கள் தம் வட்டாரக் கலை, பண்பாட்டு வரலாற்றுக்கு ஆதாரமான நூல்கள் வெளியிடலாம்.

மைய, மாநில அரசின் தொல்லியல் துறையும், சென்னைப் பல்கலைக் கழகமும், தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக் கழகக் கல்வெட்டு தொல்லியல் துறையும் பல இடங்களில் அகழ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் செய்துள்ளன.

அந்த அகழ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் மூலம் சங்க இலக்கியச் செய்திகள் பல உண்மை என நிரூபிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. பெருங்கற்கடைச் சின்னங்களிலும், பண்டைய மக்கள் வாழிடங்களிலும் செய்யப்பட்ட அகழ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் மூலம் கிடைக்கும் பாணை ஓடுகளிலும், அதே காலத்தைச் சேர்ந்த குகைச் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலும் சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் மட்டுமே பயின்று

வரக்வடிய பல சொற்கள் கிடைத்துள்ளன. நெடுஞ்செழியன் பெயர் மாங்குளம் பழந்தமிழ்க் கல்வெட்டில் காணப் படுகிறது. புகழார்க் கல்வெட்டில் பதிற்றுப் பத்தில் கடைசி மூன்று பத்துக்களில் குறிக்கப்பெறும் மூன்று அரசர்கள் அதே வரிசையில் குறிக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளனர்.

மூத்த அமணன் யாற்றூர்ச்
செங்காயபன் உறை

செல்லிரும்பொறை மகன்
பெருங்கடுங்கோ மகன்

இளங்கடுங்கோ இளங்கோ ஆக
அறுத்த கல்

என்று பொருள்படும் கல்வெட்டுகள் அங்கு பொறிக்கப் பட்டுள்ளன. கொடுமணல் அகழ்வாய்வில் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான பழந்தமிழ்ச் சொற்கள் பாணை ஓடுகளில் கீறி எழுதப் பட்டுள்ளமை கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

அகழ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் போதுமான அளவு நடைபெறவில்லை. போதுமான நிதியும் ஒதுக்கப்படுவதில்லை. எண்ணற்ற கலை-பண்பாட்டுச் சின்னங்கள் பூமிக்குள் புதைந்து கிடக்கின்றன. பழந் தமிழ் நாட்டின் விலைமதிக்க முடியாத செல்வங்களை வெளிக்கொணர இயலாத ஏழைகளாக நாம் உள்ளோம்.

அண்மைக்காலத்தில் கருர்
அமராவதியாற்றங் கரையிலும் வேறு சில

இடங்களிலும் முத்திரைகளும், மோதிரங்களும், காசுகளும் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. மாக்கோதை, மாக்கோக்கோதை, கொல்லிப்பொறை, கொல்லிரும்பொறை, குட்டுவன்கோதை, மலையமான், பெருவழுதி, தித்தன், சேந்தன் பெயர் பொறிக்கப்பட்ட சங்ககாலக் காசுகள் சங்க இலக்கியத்தின் இருப்பையும், சிறப்பையும், காலத்தையும் அறிந்து கொள்ள மிகச் சிறந்த சான்றாக உள்ளன. தினமலர் ஆசிரியர் இரா. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி, தஞ்சை அளக்குடி சீதாராமன் போன்றோர் வெளிப்படுத்திய சங்க காலச் செய்திகள் பல. பாறை ஓவியங்கள் பல கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. முனைவர் இராக பவுன்துரை சிலவற்றைத் தொகுத்துள்ளார். பாடங்களுடன் அவை முழுமையாக வெளிவர வேண்டும்.

வரலாற்று ஆவணங்களை அழியவிடாமல் தேடித் தொகுக்க வேண்டும். தஞ்சை தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக் கழகத்தில் செங்கல்பட்டிலிருந்தும், சில கோயில்களிலிருந்தும் கொண்டுவரப்பட்ட ஓலை ஆவணங்கள் பல உள்ளன. சென்னை, கடலூர், திருச்சி, கோவை, இராமநாதபுரம் ஆகிய ஊர்களிலிருந்து கொண்டுவரப்பட்ட மோடி ஆவணங்கள் உள்ளன. அவற்றுள் ஆங்கிலம், தமிழ் ஆவணங்களும் கலந்துள்ளன. அவற்றை ஆய்வு செய்யப் போதுமான ஆய்வாளர்களும் இல்லை. போதுமான நிதி ஆதாரங்களும் இல்லை.

வரலாற்று ஆவணங்கள் பல ஓலைகளிலும் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளன. அவற்றைப் பெரும்பாலோர் கவனிப்பதில்லை. தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக்கழகக் கல்வெட்டியல் துறை பலவற்றைத் தொகுத்துள்ளது. திருச்சி மாவட்ட ஓலை ஆவணங்கள், கொங்கு ஆவணங்கள் சில வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ளன.

தமிழகத் தொல்லியல் கழகத்தின் ஆவணம் இதழும் திருச்சி கல்லைக் கோவன் அவர்களுடைய வரலாறு இதழும் பல ஆவணங்களை வெளியிடுகின்றன. சென்னை ஆவணக் காப்பகம் வெளியிட்ட ஆவண அமுதம் இதழ் நின்றதுவிட்டது. தமிழக அரசு தொல்லியல் துறை வெளியிடும் கல்வெட்டு இதழ் முறையாகப் பெரிதாக வரவேண்டும். கொடுமுடி சண்முகம் அவர்கள் வெளியிட்ட தேனோலை மிக நல்ல பணிகள் செய்தது. அந்த இதழ் மீண்டும் வெளிவர ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டும்.

வெளியீடுகள் பல வெளிவர வேண்டும் கூடுமான வரை பிழையின்றி வரவேண்டும். அண்மைக் காலத்தில் அரசு சார்பில் வெளிவந்த நூல்களில் கருத்துப் பிழைகளும், எழுத்துப் பிழைகளும் மலிந்துள்ளன. பாதிப்பு நெறிமுறைகளும் சரியாகப் பயன்படுத்தப்படுவதில்லை.

கலை-பண்பாடு ஆய்வுப் போக்கு களுடன் பல தேவையான அளவு தரம் உடையதாக இல்லை.

நாம் எல்லோரும் முனைந்து கலை-பண்பாட்டு ஆய்வு வளர்ச்சிக்காக முழு மனதுடன் பாடுபட வேண்டும். நன்றி, வணக்கம்.

Yakshi Cult in the Tamil Country

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A highly interesting and remarkably characteristic feature of the Jaina creed in Tamilland is the prevalence of Yakshi worship from the early times and on an almost universal scale. The Yakshis constitute a class of deified beings and are the female attendants of that particular Tirthankara. The sculptural treatments of Yakshis (or Yaksinis) display images of benign female sexuality and rampant fertility ¹.

Yakshi or Yakshini, strictly speaking, occupies a subordinate and secondary position in the Jaina Pantheon; and whatever sense of veneration is entertained in respect of her is due mainly on account of her association with the Jina whose guardian angel she is conceived to be. So, according to the theological and iconographical standards, she cannot claim a place of independence or the privilege of individual adoration in the hierarchy of Jaina divinities.

Origin of the Yakshi Cult in the Tamil Land

The origin may be traced to as early a period as the second century A.D. from an allusion to it in the *Silappadikaram*. The divinity is mentioned as the 'Flower-eyed Iyakki' and an independent shrine was allotted to her ². The age of *Silappadikaram* is as early as the second century A.D. and thus pushes back the earliest evidence of the Yakshi cult in South India which appears to be earlier than the evidence of epigraphy and iconography.

Jainism had to compete with the Saivite and Vaishnavite creeds in the Tamil Country. Jainism is handicapped with the absence of female counterparts as in the Hindu Pantheon. Hence Yaksa/ Yakshi worship which is a Bhakti cult arose to prominence ³.

A closer study of the subject discloses the unmistakable fact of how many of the Brahmanic divinities were silently assimilated into the Jaina Pantheon. Undoubtedly, there was a need for it. Ideas of auspiciousness, prosperity, wealth, kingly splendour and so on found a direct outlet in the sculptor's art in the images of Ganesa, Sri Kubera, Indra. The long-standing traditions and well established images of these gods in Brahmanism directly appealed to the Jainas ⁴.

Prominence and Independent status of Yakshis.

The introduction of Yakshi, Yaksa, etc. in Jaina iconography as attendant deities slowly paved the way for the preponderance of worship of these deities as against the worship of the main Tirthankaras.

There is a volume of iconographical and epigraphical evidence to show that here, in the Tamil Country, the Yakshini was allotted an independent status and raised to a superior position which was almost equal to that of the Jina. In some instances the worship of Yakshini appears to have superseded and overshadowed even that of Jina himself.

Prominence of the Yakshi was indicated, in the first instance, by depicting her on the right side of the Jina. The Yakshis were depicted with gorgeous decorations and appeared as imposing as the Jinas. The propitious as well as the aweinspiring aspects of the Yakshi were exhibited by placing her in the accompaniment of graceful attributes such as fruit, children etc. on the one hand and dreadful attributes like the weapons of war, lion etc. on the other. In some cases she was consecrated in separate niches and shrines.

For example, in Anandamangalam, the Yakshni Ambika lies to the proper right of the main deity Neminatha, decorated with head-dress, ornaments on the neck and hand garment on the lower part of the body. She is standing on a seated lion, having her right leg bent at the knee, the right hand turned towards the waist and holding a bunch of mangoes and a child.⁵ The left hand is placed on the head of a child whose feet are planted on the hindmost part of the animal. Two dwarfs are standing near her to the proper right. Behind the bended right arm of this female figure is a tree. In the upper space to the right of the tree is a fly whisk.

- An inscription at panchapandavarmalai (N.Arcot District) states that a person named Narānan caused to be incised the image of Ponniyakkaiyar along with the preceptor Naganandi.⁶ Pon means 'gold;' and *Iyakki* is the Tamil form of the word Yakshi. Ponniyakkaiyar or Golden Yakshi is Siddhayika, the characteristic attendant deity of Mahavira. The more familiar attributes of her two hands are the *Varadamudra* (blessing pose) and the book.⁷

A striking feature here is that the image of the Jina figures nowhere in the picture. The

prominence that was being given to the worship of Yakshi in preference to that of Jina is on account of her easier appeal and accessibility to the popular mind. This is the earliest remarkable instance of the prevalence of the Yakshi cult in South India, afforded by the joint evidence of epigraphy and iconography.

The Yakshi Varasundari had a separate shrine as shown by a record of the 10th century at Chitral in Kanyakumari district.⁸ In Cholavandipuram (S. Arcot District) Padmavati Yakshi occupies the independent and central position.⁹ In Anaimalai, Siddhayika, the Yakshini of Mahavira is given prominence as is easily seen from her elevated position along with the Jinas of the series.¹⁰ Again Siddhayika occupies a prominent position on par with the Jinas as noticed in Settippodave in Madurai.¹¹

Also the inscriptions at Panchapandavarmalai, Tirumalai, Aivarmalai and Tirucharanattumalai contain references to the Yakshis as independent deities and to the provision made for their worship and offerings.¹²

Religious tolerance

The Pallava king Nandivarman is known to have cut out of a rock on the hill of Panchapandavarmalai near Arcot, an image of a Jaina Yakshi.¹³ During the reign of Pallava king Kampavarman, one Mandavi built a temple for Yakshbhattari (Yakshi) at Kilsattamangalam in North Arcot.¹⁴ Adiyaman Vidukadalagiya Perumal had repaired a Yakshi image which was formerly set up by Elini of Vanji.¹⁵ Another Tirumalai inscription records that one Arishtanemiacharya caused the image of a Yakshi to be made.¹⁶

The fact that Rajamalla II, the Western Ganga king, founded a Jaina shrine with Yakshi is recorded in one inscription of Vallimalai (Gudiyattam).¹⁷

A Perumandur, (South Arcot) inscription of Kulottunga III (1192 A.D) records that Rajaraja Sambhuvaraya alias Kanara Suryan built a shrine and installed Yakshi Mangaiyar Nayaki Varasundari.¹⁸ Another Perumandur inscription records that 2000 kuli of land was granted to the Yakshi Mangai Nayaki.¹⁹

A Tirunarungondai inscription of Rajadhiraja I registers a gift of 6 kasu by Adi Bhattarakan Pushpasena with the concurrence of Kolliur Udayan for burning a twilight lamp in front of the Yakshi in the Melirpalli (the temple on the hill)²⁰.

An inscription of Ayyampalayam (Aivarmalai) of the reign of Varaguna II in 870 A.D. reveals the worship of Yakshis by a renewal of it²¹. But at present there is only a Ganesa temple and popular belief connects it with the Panchapandavas (Aivar). Land grants to Yakshis are also noticed in an inscription of Tirukoilur²². Muvendalurdevar of Jayangonda solakkulamangala-nadu made the image of a Yakshi at Sembuttur in Pudukkottai²³.

A Chittamur inscription records that shrines of Saraswati, Padmavati and Jvalamalini were constructed by Gunamalaiammal with the permission of the Pontiff of the Chittamurmatha. She also granted one kani of land for offerings to these five images of deities²⁴.

Another Tirumarungondai inscription of Rajarajadeva III in the year 1226 A.D. registers the grant of 3 ma of land by Kalliyurodayan

for burning a twilight lamp in front of the Yakshi image in the Melpalli of the Narpattennayiraperumpalli²⁵.

Conversion

With the ascendancy of other creeds, the influence of Jainism declined. During the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., Jainism had to encounter formidable opposition in its career in the Tamil Country²⁶. Its opponents were the champions of the Saivite and Vaishnavite faiths of the brahmanical religion.

The ascenancy of the advocates of the brahmanical faith have subsequently converted Anaimalai into a sacred resort of other deities, though this place has still preserved antiquities of the Jaina creed, which are sufficiently conspicuous and attractive²⁷. In Kalugumalai, the idols and shrines of the Brahmanical persuasion are known by the general name Vettuvan kovil.

The natural cave on the top of the Tirucharanattumalai has been subsequently transformed into a temple by suitable constructions. This shrine popularly known as the temple of Bhagavati is in the possession of Brahmanical followers. The deity is identical with the Yakshini Ambika.

The transition from a place sacred to the Jains to a Hindu place took place sometimes in the 13th century. In adverse conditions, Jaina influence in the region started waning and instead of falling into disuse, the place of worship passed on to the Hindu followers.

Thus apart from being worshipped prominently, the Yakshis helped in identification of the Jinas themselves. In some case one is left in the dark as to the identification of the Jina

represented in the absence of distinguishing Lanchanas. The Yakshis with their familiar attributes hands, objects in hands, vehicle helps in the identification as each Tirthankara has a definite Yakshini.

Another notable feature of the Yakshis of Tamilnadu is the Jvalamalini found at Ponnur. Jvalamalini is the Yakshini of Chandraprabha, the 8th Tirthankara and is associated with tantric religion²⁸. The originator of the Jvalamalini cult of the goddess of fire is Helacharya.

Another unique feature is that the Padmavati devi of the Jains has manifold forms as many as fourteen. They are Raktapadmavati, Saivagamokta Padmavati, Hamsa-Padmavati, Sarasvati Padmavati, Savari Padmavati, Kamesvari Padmavati, Bhairavi Padmavati, Tripur Padmavati, Nitya Padmavati, Mahamohini Padmavati, Putrakara Padmavati, Kajjalavatara Padmavati, Ghatavatara Padmavati and Dipavatara Padmavati. For this reason of having so many goddesses the Jains have been derided as 'Antah Saktah bahir Jainah - Jainas outside, but really Saktas in their hearts.

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கல்வெட்டு:

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| 1) பூநீ | 8) டி நிரைகொள்ள |
| 2) இரணசிங்க | 9) பின்புசென்று |
| 3) த்துவராபதிவேணார் | 10) எறிந்துபட்டா |
| 4) படை | 11) ன் |
| 5) நாயக்கன்கா | 12) பன்னிவே |
| 6) ரிசாத்தன் | 13) னாசாரிகன்சி |
| 7) உடும்பகு | 14) ய் |

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முனைவர். வெ. வேதாசலம்

[கல்வெட்டாய்வாளர், தமிழகத்தொல்லியல்துறை, மதுரை]

சிவகங்கை மாவட்டத்தில் திருப்பத்தூரி லிருந்து கொட்டாம்பட்டி செல்லும் வழியில் கொட்டாம்பட்டிக்கு அருகில் அமைந்த சிறிய கிராமம் சொக்கலிங்கபுரம். இவ்வூரின் கீழ்த் திசையில் சோழீசுவரர் கோயில் என்ற சிறிய சிவன்கோயில் உள்ளது. கி.பி. பதிமூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டில் எடுக்கப்பட்ட இக்கோயிலில் இதுவரை வெளியிடப் பெறாத பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் காலத்துக் கல்வெட்டுகள் உள்ளன. இக்கல் வெட்டுக்களில் இவ்வூரின் பழம்பெயர் மேல்மலையூர் என்றும் இக்கோயில் அழகிய செழீசுவரமுடைய நாயனார் கோயில் என்றும் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றன. இது சுரநாடு என்ற நாட்டுப்பிரிவில் இருந்துள்ளது.

கோயிலின் அமைப்பு

கிழக்குநோக்கிய நிலையில் பெரிய திருச்சுற்றுச்சுவருக்குள் அது காட்சியளிக்கிறது. சோழீசுவரர் சன்னதியைச் சுற்றி விநாயகர், முருகன், பைரவர், சூரியன், சந்திரன் ஆகியோர்க் கென்று தனிச்சிற்றாலயங்கள் அமைந்துள்ளன. அம்மன்கோயில் சுவாமி கோவிலுக்கு வடபுறம் கிழக்கு நோக்கிக் காணப்படுகிறது. சுவாமிகோயிலின் கருவறையையும் அர்த்த மண்டபத்

தினையும் சிறிய அந்தராளம் பிரிக்கின்றது. அந்தராளத்தின் சுவர்களைக் கோஷ்ட பஞ்சரங்கள் அணிசெய்கின்றன. மகாமண்டபம் பிற்காலத்தில் முற்றிலுமாகத் திருத்திக் கட்டப் பட்டுள்ளது. கருவறை அர்த்தமண்டபச் சுவர்களின் முறையே மூன்று மற்றும் இரண்டு தெய்வ வருவங்கள் இல்லாத தேவகோட்டங்கள் உள்ளன.

இக்கோயில் விமானம் சிறியதாக ஆறு அங்கங்களை உடைய ஏகதளமாய் விளங்குகிறது. அதிட்டானம் பாகபந்த மாய் உபானம், ஜகதி, முப்படை குமுதம், கண்டம், பட்டி, சுவர்க்கண்டம் மற்றும் வரி ஆகியவற்றைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. அபிசேக நீர் வெளியேறும் பிரணாளம் பாண்டியர் கோயில்களில் வழக்கமாகக் காணப்படும் சிம்மமுகத்துடன் வடபுறமுள்ள அதிட்டானப் பகுதியில் காணப்படுகிறது. விமானத்தின் சுவர்ப்பகுதி கர்ணம், பத்தி ஆகியவற்றால் பிரிக்கப் படாமல் எளிமையாக அரைத்தூண்களுடன் காட்சி தருகிறது. சுவர்ப்பகுதியிலுள்ள தேவகோட்டங்களின் மேல்பகுதி கபோதபந்தம் கொண்ட சாலையாக உள்ளது. சுவர்களின் நடுவிலும் ஓரங்களிலும் காணப்படும் அரைத்தூண்கள் பிற்காலப் பாண்டியர் பாணியில் பிரம்மகண்ட வகையைச்

சார்ந்ததாகத் திகழ்கின்றன. அரைத் தூண்களில் காணப்படும் போதிகை அருப்புக்கோட்டை, சாத்தூர், பத்தமடை போன்ற இடங்களில் காணப்படும் 'T' வடிவ அமைப்புடையதாக உள்ளது.

விமானத்தின் கூரை பத்மவரிகொண்ட எழுதகம், கபோதம், கூடு, யானிவரி ஆகியவற்றைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. கபோதத்தின் ஒவ்வொரு மூலையிலும் பூதகணத்திற்குப் பதிலாக படமெடுத்த பாம்பின் தலை காட்டப் பட்டுள்ளது. மணிவடிவில் அமைந்த கபோதத்தின் ஒவ்வொரு புறத்திலும் நான்கு கூடுகள் உள்ளன. கூடுகளின் தலைப்பகுதி கொடியலங் காரத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ளன. கபோதத்தின் மூலைகளில் கொடிச்சுருக்குகள் அணி செய்கின்றன. கபோதத்திற்கு மேலுள்ள யானிவரியில் கற்பனைவடிவ விலங்கு களும் ஆங்காங்கே காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. யானிவரியின் நான்கு மூலைகளிலும் வாயைப்பிளந்து கொண்டிருக்கும் மகரவாய்கட்டுகள் உள்ளன. நாகரமாய் விளங்கும் விமானத்தின் கழுத்து மற்றும் சிகரத்திற்கு மேலே கலசம் திகழ்கிறது. இக்கோயிலின் மேற்பகுதிமட்டும் சுதையால் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. சிகரத்தின் நான்கு புறங்களிலும் சிம்மமுகங்கொண்ட சுகநாசிகள் காட்சிதருகின்றன. சிகரத்திற்குக் கீழேயுள்ள கீரிவ கோட்டங்களில் கிழக்கு, தெற்கு, மேற்கு, வடக்கு ஆகிய திசைகளில் முறையே இந்திரன், யோகதட்சிணாமூர்த்தி, திருமால் பிரம்மா ஆகியோரது உருவங்கள் உள்ளன. கீரிவபீடத்தின் நான்கு

மூலைகளிலும் நந்தியின் உருவங்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இக்கோயில் கி.பி. பதின்மூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டின் பிற்பகுதியில் கட்டப்பட்ட இரண்டாம் பாண்டியப் பேரரசு காலத்துக் கட்டடக் கலைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாய்த் திகழ்கிறது. கி.பி. பதின்மூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டின் பிற்பகுதியில் முதல் மாறவர்மன் குலசேகரபாண்டியன் [கி.பி. 1268 - 1311] காலத்தில் இக்கோயிலில் பொறிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் கல்வெட்டுகளும் உறுதிசெய்கின்றன.

பொதுவாக பாண்டியநாட்டிலுள்ள கட்டடக் கோயில்கள் சுற்றாலயங்கள் சூழ்ந்த கருவறை, அர்த்தமண்டபம், மகாமண்டபம், ஆகியவற்றைக் கொண்ட விமானக் கோயில்களாக விளங்குகின்றன. இவற்றின் விமானம் ஆறு அங்கங்களுடன்கோயில் இலக்கண மரபுடன் விளங்குகிறது. ஆனால் இவற்றின் வடிவத்திலும் அலங்காரப் புனைவுகளிலும் செய்யப்பட்ட மாற்றங்கள் மட்டுமே இவற்றின் தனித்தன்மையை சுட்டுகின்றனவையாய் இருக்கின்றன. எடுத்துக்காட்டாக கருவறை, அர்த்தமண்டபத்திலுள்ள தேவ கோட்டங்கள் தெய்வவுருவங்கள் ஏதுமின்றிக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. இவற்றிலும் சோழநாட்டுக் கோயில்களின் தாக்கத்தினால் அருப்புக்கோட்டை போன்ற இடங்களில் கோயில் கட்டிமுடித்துச் சிறிது காலத்திற்குப் பின்னர் வெறுமையாய் இருந்த தெய்வவுருவங்கள் செய்து வைக்கப் பட்டுள்ளன. சொக்கலிங்கபுரம் சிவன்

கோயில் பாண்டியநாட்டின் வட எல்லையில் சோழநாட்டினை ஒட்டியமைந்திருந்தாலும் தேவகோட்டங்களில் தெய்வவுருவங்கள் வைக்கப்படாத பழைய பாண்டிய மரபைப் பின்பற்றிச் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. இது போன்ற கோயில்கள் சொக்கலிங்க புரத்திற்குத் தெற்கேயும் மதுரைக்கு வடக்கேயும் உள்ள தர்க்காகுடி, திருச்சுனை, மருதூர், பனங்காடி, ஆமூர் போன்ற பல இடங்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. இவற்றின் விமான உறுப்புகளிலும் கருவறை, அந்தராளம், அர்த்தமண்டபச் சுவர்களிலும் உள்ள அரைத்தூண்கள், தேவகோட்டங்கள், ஆகியவற்றில் அலங்காரப் புனைவுகள் சிற்பிகளின் எண்ணப் போக்கிற்கு ஏற்ப மாறுபட்டு விமானக் கோயிலின் அடிப்படை இலக்கண அமைப்பை மீறிச் செய்ய முடியாத நிலையிலேயே இருக்கின்றன.

கல்வெட்டுகள்

சோழசுவரர் கோயிலின் கருவறை அர்த்தமண்டபத்திலுமாக முதல் மாறவர்மன் எம் மண்டபமும் கொண்டருளிய குலசேகரபாண்டியன் [கி. பி. 1268 - 1311] காலத்துக் கல்வெட்டுகள் ஏழு காணப்படுகின்றன. இவற்றில் இரண்டு கல்வெட்டுகள் பிற்காலத் திருப் பணியின்போது சிதைவுற்று முழுமையற்ற நிலையிலுள்ளன. எஞ்சியுள்ள ஐந்து கல்வெட்டுகளில் இரண்டு, இம் மன்னனின் ஐந்தாம் ஆட்சியாண்டிற்கும், இரண்டு, முப்பத்தெட்டாம் ஆட்சி

யாண்டிற்கும், ஒன்று பதினொன்றாம் ஆட்சியாண்டிற்கும் உரியவையாகும். இக்கல்வெட்டுகள் இக்கோயில் வழிபாட்டிற்குரிய செலவினங்களுக்காகவும் இவ்வூரின் பகுதியில் இருந்த மடம் ஒன்றிற்காகவும் அளிக்கப்பட்ட மடப்புற இறையிலி பற்றிக் கூறுகின்றன. தற்போது இக்கோயில் சோழசுவரர்கோயில் என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டாலும் கல்வெட்டுகளில் இது “அழகியசெழீசுவரம்” என்றே குறிப்பிடப்படுகிறது. சோழனின் ஆதிக்கம் பாண்டிய நாட்டில் நிலவியபோது இக்கோயில் சோழனின் பெயரால் அழகியசோழசுவரம் என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும். பின்பு பாண்டியநாட்டில் பாண்டியர்கள் எழுச்சியுற்று ஆட்சிசெய்தபோது செழியன் என்ற அவர்களது பட்டப்பெயரால் இது அழகிய சோழசுவரம் என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டும் எனத் தோன்றுகிறது.

முதல்மாறவர்மன் குலசேகரன் தனது ஐந்தாம் ஆட்சியாண்டில் [கி. பி. 1273] பாண்டியநாட்டின் தென்பகுதியில் இருந்த அன்னியூரில் [வன்னியூர்] தங்கியிருந்தபோது இக்கோயில் தானம் தொடர்பான ஆணை ஒன்றினை வழங்கியுள்ளதை கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று தெரிவிக்கிறது. மேற்கூறிய அதிட்டானத்திலுள்ள இக்கல்வெட்டே அழகிய செழீசுவரமுடையார் கோவில் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் பழமையானதாக இருக்க வேண்டும். இக்கோயில் இறைவனுக்குத் திருப்படிமாற்று உள்ளிட்ட செலவினங்களுக்காக சுரநாட்டு மேல்மலையூரில்

வஞ்சிக்குளம் துறையூர்குளம் ஆகிய வற்றின் நான்கெல்லைகளிலும் இருந்த நிலங்கள் அரசனின் உழவாய் வந்த உரிமையை நீக்கி[நம் உழவுத் தவிர்த்து] காராண்மையாட்சியும் சிலவரிகள் உட்பட்ட தேவதான இறையிலியாய் அரசனால் அளிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. குலசேகரனின் மற்றொரு ஐந்தாவது ஆட்சியாண்டு கல்வெட்டு மேன்மலையூர் குளத்தின் வடக்குக் கோடியில் இருந்த சைவமடம் ஒன்றின் துறவியான திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கேட்டுக் கொண்டமைக்கு இணங்க இக் கோயிலுக்கு நந்தவனத்திற்கென்று திருநந்தவன புறமாக நிலமளித்ததைக் கூறுகிறது. இக்கல்வெட்டே இத்துறவி இருந்த மடத்தின் துறவிகளுக்கு உணவு உள்ளிட்ட செலவினங்களுக்காக மடப்புற இறையிலி அளித்ததைக் கூறுகிறது.

குலசேகரனின் பதினொன்றாவது ஆட்சி யாண்டிக் கல்வெட்டு [கி.பி. 1279] மேன்மலை ஊரவையார் செய்த முக்கிய முடிவு ஒன்றினைத் தெரிவிக்கிறது: தற்போது சொக்கலிங்க புரமாக விளங்கி வரும் மேன்மலையூர் பிற்காலப்பாண்டியர் காலத்தில் வேளாண்சமூக நிலவுடமை யாளர்கள் அடங்கிய ஊரவையின்[ஊரார்] கீழ் இருந்தது. இவ்வூரில் இருந்த நிலங்களின் வரிகள் இவர்களால் வசூலிக்கப்பட்டு ஊர்கள் ஒன்றுசேர்ந்த வேளாண்சமூக நாட்டவையின்[நாட்டார்] மூலம் அரசனுக்குச் செலுத்தி வரப்பட்டன. இந்நிலையில் மேன்மலையூரில் புரவேரி பகுதியில் வரிகள் செலுத்தாத இருந்த சில நிலங்களை

ஊரவையார் அழகி செழீசுவர முடையார்க்குத் தானமாக தேவதான இறையிலியாக விற்றுக் கொடுத்தனர். ஊரில் வரி செலுத்தாத வர்கள் பாண்டிய அரசுக்கும் நாட்டவைக்கும் ஊரவைக்கும் எதிரானவர்கள் என்று கருதி இக் காரியத்தை மேன்மலை ஊரார் செய்து முடித்தனர். கல்வெட்டில் வரி செலுத்தாதவர் இராசத்துரோகம் நாட்டுத்துரோகம், ஊர்த்துரோகம் என்ற மூன்று துரோகங்களைச் செய்தவர்கள் என்று அறிவிக்கப்பட்டனர். [ஈழத்தரையார்க்கு இசைய கடமை குமை செய்யாத படியாலும் ராசத்துரோகம் செய்கையாலும் நாட்டுத்துரோகமும் ஊர்த்துரோகமும் செய்து இவன் மேப் போகையில் இப்புரபேரிக்கு யக வதுக்கு கடமைக்க இன்னாயனார்க்குக் காராங்கிழமையாக புரவேரிக்கும் ஏம்பலுக்கம் பெருநான்கெல்கையாவது] பாண்டிய நாட்டில் வேளாண்சமூக ஊர்களின் வரிகள் அவர்களின் பிரதிநிதிகளாய் விளங்கிய நாட்டார் நாட்டின் மூலமாகவே அரசுக்கு அளிக்கப்பட்டு வந்தது என்பதை இக்கல்வெட்டு தெளிவுபடுத்துகிறது.

குலசேகரப்பாண்டியனின் முப்பத்தெட்டாவது [கி.பி. 1306] ஆட்சியாண்டு கல்வெட்டுகள் இரண்டு இப்பகுதியில் இருந்த மதுரையைச் சார்ந்த சைவ மடத்தலைவர்க்கு மடப்புற இறையிலியாக அகத்தியன் குளத்தை விற்றுக் கொடுத்ததைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. இதனை திருக்காய்குடி, சூழும்அரசர்காண்டன், அறுநூற்று வணேரி, வீரஞ்ஞாமணி மற்றும் மேன்மலை

ஊரவையினர் உள்ளிட்ட ஐந்து ஊரவை யினர்கள் இணைந்து செய்துள்ளனர். இவர்கள் செய்த முடிவின்படி மேன்மலை ஊரார்க்கு அகத்தியன் குளத்திலிருந்து மடபாதிவினியோகமாக இருந்துவந்த ஒரு அச்சு[காசு] ஊருக்குச் சேரவேண்டிய வரிக்கணக்கிலிருந்து கழித்து மடப்புற இறையிலியாக்கப் பட்டது. ஆனால் மற்ற நான்கு ஊர்களுக்கும் இவ்வச்சினைச் செலுத்தி வரவேண்டும் என்று முடிவு செய்யப்பட்டது. இச்செய்தி மேன்மலை ஊரார் செய்த முடிவாகவும், ஐந்து ஊரார் செய்த முடிவாகவும் இரண்டு கல்வெட்டுக் களாகத் தனித்தனியே அழகியசோழீசுவரர் கோயில் அர்த்தமண்டபத் தென் புறச்சுவரில் பொறிக்கப் பட்டுள்ளன. இரண்டாவது கல்வெட்டில் ஐந்து ஊரவையைச் சார்ந்த இருபத்து மூன்று ஊரவை உறுப்பினர்கள் கையொப்பம் இட்டுள்ளனர்.

இக்கோயிலின் தென் புறப்பகுதியில் அதிட்டானத்திலுள்ள ஆட்சியாண்டு சிதைவுற்ற துண்டிக் கல்வெட்டுகள் இக்கோயில் அம்மனுக்கு (திருக்காமகோட்டமுடையாநாச்சியார்) இறையிலியாக நிலக்கொடை அளித்ததைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. தற்போது அகிலாண்டேசுவரி என்று அழைக்கப்படும் இக்கோயில் அம்மன், கல்வெட்டுகளில் சுந்தரநாச்சியார் என்று குறிப்பிடப்பட்கின்றார். சோழீசுவரர் கோயிலில் கி.பி. 13ஆம் நூற்றாண்டி லேயே அம்மனுக்குத் தனியாக கோயில் உருவானதை இக் கல்வெட்டு காட்டுகிறது. ஆனால் தற்போதுள்ள

அம்மன்கோயில் பிற காலத்தில் முற்றிலுமாகப் புதுப்பித்துக் கட்டப் பட்டுள்ளது. இக்கல்வெட்டில் இப் பகுதியின் நாடாள்வானாக விளங்கிய துவராபதிவேளான் குறிப்பிடப் படுகின்றான். சோழீசுவரர் கோயிலின் திருச்சுற்றில் காணப்படும் விநாயகர் கோயிலின் முன்மண்டபம் இப்பகுதியில் பத்தொன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் வாழ்ந்த பிச்சனம்பலம் மற்றும் அவனது மனைவியின் முயற்சியால் கட்டப் பட்டிருப்பதை அங்குள்ள கல்வெட்டு தெரிவிக்கிறது. இவர்களது உருவச் சிலைகள் இம்மண்டபத்துத் தூணில் காணப்படுகின்றன.

இக்கட்டுரை இட ஆய்வுப் படையில் இயற்றப்பட்டது.

Vattakottai - a historical monument and a tourist spot

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An attempt is made in this paper to unravel the glories of the hidden history about Vattakottai, a historic fort in Kanyakumari district. The Tamil term Vattakottai means circular fort. It is situated at a distance of six Kilometres north-east of Kanyakumari and sixteen Kilometres south east of Nagercoil. It is lying in 77°34'77" east longitude and 8°7'22" north latitude¹. The whole fort is covered in three acres and fifty four cents of land including the surrounding walls².

Vattakottai fort was mainly built for the defence of the Coast of Kanyakumari the depredations of pirates and merry buccanars³. This fort was a defence plan, planned by De Lannoy⁴ a captain of the Dutch Regiment during the time of Maharaja Marthanda Varma (1729-1758), the great ruler of Travancore⁵. Ramayyan⁶, the Chief Minister of Travancore also took efforts to build this fort⁷. It was built in 1757 A.D.⁸.

Fort means a building or group of buildings specially erected or strengthened for military defence. It is a wealth to a ruler when he attacks his foes. The Saint-poet Tiruvalluvar highlights the importance of the fort to the best ruler. He says "He who possesses these things, an army, a people, wealth, ministers, friends and a fortress is a lion among kings"⁹.

Fort is necessary for offensive and defensive purposes. It should be very near to a

hill or forest and there must be a free flow of water. It should possess the chief characteristic of features of height, weight, breadth and difficulty in access to the enemies¹⁰. Fortification is the military art of strengthening oneself against invasions. It is one of the mankind's oldest arts, undoubtedly first used "for protection against predatory animals"¹¹. It is done "to obtain greatest advantage from one's own strength and weapons and also to prevent the enemy from using his resources"¹².

There are two kinds of fortifications called permanent and field fortification. The former is "erected in times of peace as protection against sudden attack"¹³. The field fortification is constructed hastily at the time of war or an attack is imminent¹⁴. Sea coast fortification is made against naval attack and some times for defence from the land and it falls under permanent fortification¹⁵.

The forts of European powers in India are of considerable importance. Despite they came with trading purpose, in course of time they desired for political power. First they established factories, then erected forts and finally formed their settlements. Travancore had expe-

rienced European visits and their attempts for establishments ¹⁶. These considerations resulted in the erection of Vattakottai fort.

Vattakottai, the historic granite fort rises in majestic grandeur at the brink of the Ocean, the bay of Bengal ¹⁷. It is believed that this fort was built in during the later part of the eighteenth century. However, the epigraphical remains inside the fort creates the suspicion that it might have been originally built by the Pandyas. There are four buildings and a cellar inside the fort. All these contain the figure of fish which was the symbol of the Pandyas ¹⁸. Although it reveals the Pandyan hegemony in this area, another view was also there about the fish figure. It is believed that Maharaja Marthanda Varma utilized the experts from the Pandya country to construct this fort and they left these marks here as a token of respect to their ruler ¹⁹.

Fort of Vattakottai is built upon a small patch of calcareous Sand Stone full of marine shells ²⁰. Rebles of large size have been used in its construction. In certain portions burnt bricks have been used ²¹. The height of the entrance hall is twenty two feet. The Travancore State emblem is engraved at the entrance. This mighty arch stands majestically at the entrance to welcome the visitors ²².

The walls of the strong and irregular fort are massive. Each wall is running to 270 feet long. The front wall has a width of twenty nine feet and the rear wall is six feet wide. The width of each corner is eighteen feet ²³. There are four bastions at each corner facing the vulnerable points. One of which considerably runs out into the Sea is most strongly built ²⁴.

The bastions in the west and south are triangular in shape. The one at the north is square and the one facing the Sea is rectangular ²⁵. The north square was used as parade ground. It is 200 feet length and 120 feet width. There are twenty steps to reach the parade ground. The soldiers could see the enemy ships which crossed this area ²⁶. Inside the fort there is a revetment wall of about six feet height and two feet thick. It is a wall running all around the fort. The total height of wall from ground level to top of the parapet varies from twenty five feet to twenty eight feet ²⁷.

There are four buildings and a cellar inside the fort, which were in former days used as store houses ²⁸. These structures which measure five feet into nine feet are built of brick and mortar. the roofs consist of granite girdar stones paved with brick and chunam ²⁹. There is a stone platform also found for lifting the war weapons from the bottom to top during the time of war ³⁰.

It is believed that an underground passage existed between Padmanabhapuram Palace and Vattakottai fort ³¹. There is a pond and a well inside the fort. the pond is square in shape. It stretches an area of 6,400 feet ³². Now the pond and well are silted up. The sea front at Vattakottai is charming and majestic. the shore is lovely and rapturous with the unending music of the waves over the rock.

Vattakottai is also a fine picnic spot. Here, the Sea is calm and suitable for bath ³³. It is an outstanding monument which reminds the days of yore when Travancore was in the throes of war. It has been a great relic of the past, imposing architectural landmark and a solemn witness to the marital achievements of Medieval Travancore ³⁴.

The country was practically safe after the fortification of Vattakottai. The British powers invaded and bombed all the fortified line except Vattakottai ³⁵.

Vattakottai is at present maintained by the Archaeological Department of India. It has been declared to be of national importance under the Ancient Monument and Archaeological sites and Remains Act of 1958 ³⁶. Some preservation works have been done in the fort. The maintenance works keep the fort in a good condition.

Vattakottai is a good tourist spot. the Tamilnadu Government has planned to make huts and to establish boating facilities from here to Vivekananda Rock Memorial in Kanyakumari to enhance its charming ³⁷. It is also proposed by the State Government of Tamilnadu to declare it as one of the tourist beach centres in Tamilnadu ³⁸. It is thrilling to enjoy the quite charms of Vattakottai in the evening, when the heat no longer reflects off the mounting sands on the beach, "the cool-ozone bearing night breeze hisses across the feathery palm leaves into the interior and the tides splash against the rocks throwing up Silver Spray" ³⁹. In the annals of the history of Travancore the strategic role of Vattakottai has been commandable. Generally, the Vattakottai fort has made deeper impact on the life and culture of people. Now it stands as a good beach resort and an ideal picnic spot.

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சொஸைட்டியில் 213 க்கும் மேற்பட்ட உறுப்பினர்களும் 126 க்கும் மேற்பட்ட ஆயுள் உறுப்பினர்களும் அங்கம் வகிக்கின்றனர்.⁵

முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்ற நூலகம் மத்திய, மாநில அரசுகளின் அங்கீகாரம் பெற்றது ஆகும்.¹ மேலும் 100-க்கும் மேற்பட்ட பத்திரிக்கைகளை கொண்ட சிறந்த படிப்பகமும் முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்றத்தில் இயங்கி வருகிறது.

மன்றத்தின் முக்கிய செயல்பாடுகள்:

மன்றத்தின் முக்கிய செயல்பாடுகளில் ஒன்று ஆண்டுதோறும் மிலாதுந்நபி விழா² நடத்துவதாகும். நபிகள் நாயகம் அவர்களின் வாழ்வையும், வாக்கையும் மாத்திரமின்றி அவர்கள் மனித சமுதாயத்திற்கு வகுத்தனிக்க நல்லொழுக்கம் மினிர்ந்திடும் நன்னெறி தவழ்ந்திடும் வாழ்வியல் பொருளியல், சமூக இயல், அருளியல் முதலான அனைத்து அறப் பண்புகளையும் மக்களுக்கு விளக்கிக் காட்டி நேர் வழிப்படுத்தும் பொது நிகழ்ச்சிகளையும் ஏற்பாடு செய்து சிறந்த பேச்சாளர்களை அழைத்து வருடந்தோறும் உரையாற்றச் செய்து வருகிறது.

இம்மன்றத்தின் வருவாயில் பெருந் தொகையை ஏழை எளிய மாணவ மாணவிகளுக்கு இனவேறுபாடின்றி³ தகுதியின் அடிப்படையில் கல்வி உதவித் தொகையாக [SCHOLARSHIP] 1934 - ஆம் ஆண்டிலிருந்து வழங்கப்பட்டு வருவது இம்மன்றத்தின்மற்றொரு சிறப்பு

அம்சமாகும்.

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி மாநகரு வருகைதரும் சிறப்புக்கு பெரியார்களுக்கு வரவேற்பளிக்கும் கண்ணியப்படுத்துவதிலும் இம்மன்ற முனைப்பு காட்டி வந்துள்ளது.

1924 முதல் 1950 வரை முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்றம் ஆற்றிய முக்கிய செயல்பாடுகள்:

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியை கல்வி மையமாக்க வேண்டு கோள்:

சேலம், தஞ்சாவூர், கோயம்புத்த மதுரை, திருநெல்வேலி, மற்ற இராமநாதபுரம் முதலான திருச்சியி சுற்று வட்டத்தில் - அமைந்துள்ள மாவட்டங்களைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களின் வசதிக்காக முஹம்மதிய ஆரம்ப மற்ற உயர்நிலைப் பயிற்சிப் பள்ளிகளை திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியில் துவக்க அரசிட வேண்டுகோள் விடுக்கப்பட்டது ஏனெனில் திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி ஒரு கல்வி மையமாகவும், சென்னையை விடும்மாவட்டங்களுக்கு அருகிலேயே இருக்கிறது.

பாதிக்கட்டணம் சலுகைகள்:

ஏழை எளிய முஸ்லீம் மாணவர்களுக்கு அதுவரை இருந்து வந்த பாதிக்கட்டணச் சலுகை வழங்களில் அது திணித்த கட்டுப்பாடுகள் ஏற்கனவே பொருளாதார நிலையில் பித்தங்கியுள்ள முஸ்லீம்களைத் தளவடையவும், பாதிக்கவும் செய்வனவாகு முழுக்கட்டணம் என்ற அரசு

கட்டுப்பாடுகளை விலக்கிக் கொள்ள வேண்டுமென மன்றம், பலமுறை அரசை நிர்ப்பந்தித்தது.²

மாவட்ட கல்விச் சபையில் பிரதிநிதித்துவம்:

மாவட்ட கல்விச் சபையில் மன்ற அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு பிரதிநிதித்துவம் பெறப்பட்டது.³

அனைத்திந்திய கல்வி மாநாடு:

சென்னையில் 1927-ல் நடைபெற்ற அனைத்திந்திய முஸ்லீம் கல்வி மாநாட்டில் மன்றம் முக்கிய பங்கேற்று பல முக்கியத் தீர்மானங்களை முன்மொழிந்தது.

அரபி மத்ரஸா திறப்பு:

09.03.1930 அன்று மன்றத்தின் சார்பில் அரபி மத்ரஸா ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டது.

எஸ்.எஸ்.எல்.சி. வாரியத்திற்கு வேண்டுகோள்:

மற்ற மொழிகளுக்கு இருப்பது போல் உருது மொழிக்கும் விரிவான பாடத்திட்டம் உருவாக்குமாறு எஸ்.எஸ்.எல்.சி. வாரியத்தை மன்றம் கேட்டு கொண்டது.

தென்னிந்திய ரயில்வேயில் முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு வேலை ஒதுக்கீடு:

தென்னிந்திய ரயில்வேயின் பல்வேறு பதவிகளில் அரசு ஆணைப்படி, இடஒதுக்கீட்டின் அடிப்படையில்

முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு முறையான பதவி வாய்ப்பு அளிக்கப்படவில்லை என்று மன்றம் பல முறை அரசை அணுகி கேட்டு கொண்டது.¹

அரசினர் இஸ்லாமியர் உயர்நிலைப்பள்ளிக்கு கட்டிடம்:

தாலுக்கா வாரியம் கலைக்கப் பட்டதை அடுத்து மதுரை ரோட்டிலிருந்த தாலுக்கா வாரியக் கட்டிடத்தை இஸ்லாமிய உயர்நிலைப் பள்ளிக்கு அளிக்கமாறு அரசைக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.²

முஸ்லீம் வக்ஃப் சட்டத்தின் மொழி பெயர்ப்பு:

செயின்ட் ஜார்ஜ் கோட்டையில் ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ள முஸ்லீம்கள் எளிதில் புரிந்து கொள்ளும் வகையில் அந்தந்த மாவட்ட மொழிகளில் மொழி பெயர்த்து மாவட்ட கெஜட்டுகளில் வெளியிடுமாறு அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.

பாராட்டுவிழா:

புதுக்கோட்டை சமஸ் தானத்திற்குத் துணை நிர்வாகியாக நியமிக்கப்பட்ட கான்பஹதூர் பி. கலிபுல்லா சாஹிப் அவர்களுக்கு 30.11.1940 ஆம் ஆண்டு பாராட்டுவிழா எடுக்கப்பட்டது.¹

பொதுத்தொண்டு:

1945 ஆம் ஆண்டு சுவான்காரத் தெருவில் தீ விபத்து ஏற்பட்ட போது

முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள் உடனடியாக களத்தில் இறங்கி, பாதிக்கப்பட்டவர்களுக்கு புதிய கூரை வீடுகள் கட்டித்தர ஆவன செய்தனர். பொது மக்களிடமிருந்து நிதி திரட்டி பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு கொடுத்தனர்.

1950 க்குப் பிறகு மன்றத்தின் முக்கியச் செயல்பாடுகள்:

ஜமால் முகம்மது கல்லூரிக்கு நிதியுதவி:

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி ஜமால் முகம்மது கல்லூரிக்கு முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்றம் ரூ. 1000 /- [ஆயிரம் ரூபாய்] அளித்து கல்லூரியின் உடனடி நிதித்தேவையை சமாளிக்க உதவியது.

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியில் அரபிக்கல்லூரி:

முஸ்லீம்களின் கல்வி, கலாச்சாரம் மற்றும் பாரம்பரியத்தின் சேந்திரமாகத் திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி திகழ்வதால் அரபிக்கல்லூரி ஒன்றை துவக்குமாறு மேன்மை தாங்கிய ஆற்காடு இளவரசர் அறக்கட்டளையை, மன்றம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.¹

புத்தகத்திற்கு தடை விதிக்கக்கோருதல்:

முஹம்மது நபி அவர்களின் உருவப்படம் என்ற பெயரில் ஒரு புகைப்படத்தைப் பிரசுரித்து முஸ்லீம்களின் மன உணர்வுகளைப் புண்படுத்தும் கோவை தமிழ் வாசகம் என்ற தமிழ்ப்புத்தகத்தை தடை செய்யுமாறு சென்னை அரசு கல்வித்துறையை மன்றம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.

ரமளான் மாதத்திற்கு சஹர் சங்கு ஒலித்தல்:

ரமளான் மாதத்தில் தினமும் விடியற்காலை 3.00 மணிக்குச் சங்கு ஒலிக்கச் செய்யுமாறு திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி நகர மன்றத்தை, மன்றம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது. நகர மன்ற தற்போதும் நடைமுறைப்படுத்தி வருகிறது.

மொழிவாரி சிறுபான்மை ஆணையரிடம் மனு:

27.03.1961

அன்று

திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி நகருக்கு வருகை தந்த மொழிவாரி சிறுபான்மை ஆணையரை நகரத்தின் உருது பேசும் சிறுபான்மை மக்கள் சார்பில் ஒரு குழு சந்தித்து மனு அளிக்கப்பட்டது.

நபிகள்நாயகம் பிறந்தநாளை விடுமுறை நாளாக அறிவித்தல்:

நபிகள்நாயகம் அவர்களின் பிறந்த நன்னாளை [மிலாது நபி] மற்ற அரசு விடுமுறையைப்போல் விடுமுறை நாளாக அறிவிக்குமாறு மன்றம், இந்திய அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.¹

முஸ்லீம் பண்டிகை நாட்களில் பள்ளிக்கு விடுமுறை:

முஸ்லீம் பண்டிகை நாட்களில் அனைத்துக் கல்விக்கூடங்களும் விடுமுறை விடும் வண்ணம் மாநிலத்திலுள்ள அனைத்து கல்வி நிறுவனங்களுக்கும் அறிவுறுத்துமாறு பொதுக்கல்வி இயக்குநரை மன்றம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.²

பாக்கிஸ்தான் படை யெடுப்புக்குக் கண்டனம்:

நம் நாட்டின் மீது பாக்கிஸ்தான் படை யெடுத்ததை மன்றம் வன்மையாகக் கண்டித்தது. தேசிய பாதுகாப்பு நிதிக்கு வாரிவழங்குமாறு பொதுமக்களுக்கு வேண்டுகோள்விடுத்து, தனது பங்காக இம்மன்றம் ரூ.101/- போர் நிதியாக வழங்கியது.

திருமண மண்டபம் கட்டுதல்:

திருமணங்கள் மற்றும் பொதுக் கூட்டங்கள் நடத்துவதற்குப் பொருத்தமான இடம் இல்லாமலிருப்பது நகர முஸ்லீம்களுக்குப் பெருத்த சிரமங்களும் சவுகரியக்குறைவுகளும் ஏற்படுவதாக உள்ளதால் திருமண மண்டபம் ஒன்று கட்டித்தருமாறு மேன்மைத்தங்கிய ஆற்காடு இளவரசர் அறக்கட்டளையை இம்மன்றம் கேட்டுக்கொண்டது.

நூலகங்களில் முஸ்லீம் சமுதாய நூல்கள்:

அனைத்து நூலகங்களிலும் முஸ்லீம் களின் கலாச்சார, சமுதாயம் சம்மந்தப்பட்ட நூல்களைப் பெருமளவில் இடம் பெறச் செய்யுமாறு தமிழக நூலகங்களின் நிர்வாகப் பொறுப்பாளர்களை மன்றம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.

முஸ்லீம் சமுதாயத்தைப் பின் தங்கிய வகுப்பாக அறிவிக்கக்கோருதல்:

முஸ்லீம் சமுதாயம் முழுவதையும் ஒட்டுமொத்தமாகப் பின்தங்கிய வகுப்பாக அறிவிக்க வேண்டுமென தமிழக அரசை மன்றம் கேட்டுச் கொண்டது.

புயல்வெள்ள நிவாரண உதவி:

1977-ல் புயல் வெள்ளத்தால் பாதிக்கப் பட்ட மக்களின் நிவாரணத் திற்காக மாவட்ட ஆட்சித் தலைவரிடம் ரூ. 250 /- வழங்கப்பட்டது.

தீப்பிடித்து எரிந்த வீட்டாருக்கு உதவி:

ஹஸ்ரத் தப்லே ஆலம் பாதுஷா தர்காவைச் சுற்றி உள்ள வீடுகள் சுமார் 320 தீப்பிடித்து எரிந்துவிட்டன. பாதிக்கப் பட்டவர்களின் குடும்பங்களுக்கு அவர்களின் நஷ்டத்திற்கு ஏற்ப குடும்பம் ஒன்றுக்கு இரண்டு அலுமினிய தட்டு வீதம் கொடுப்பதற்கு ஓராயிரம் ரூபாய் செலவிடப் பட்டது.

முஸ்லீம் பெண்கள் பாதுகாப்புச் சட்டம்:

இஸ்லாமிய ஷரீஅத்தின் அடிப் படையில் முஸ்லீம் பெண்கள் பாதுகாப்புச் சட்டம் நாடாளுமன்றத்தில் கொண்டு வந்து நிறைவேற்றி சிறுபான்மைச் சமுதாயமான முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு நியாயம் வழங்குவதில் முன்னின்ற பிரதமர் ராஜீவ் காந்தி அவர்களுக்கு நன்றி தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

சல்மான் ருஷ்டியின் அவதூறு நூல்:

சல்மான் ருஷ்டி என்பவர் இஸ்லாத்தைப் பற்றியும் இறுதித் தூதர் நபிகள் நாயகம் அவர்களைப் பற்றியும் தர்க்குறைவாகவும், அவதூறாகவும், இழிவாகவும் எழுதி வெளியிட்டுள்ள நூலை மன்றம் கண்டனம் தெரிவித்து, அதனை இந்தியாவில் தடை செய்யப்பட்டதற்கு மன்றம் இந்திய அரசாங்கத்திற்கு நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்தது.

1992-93 சிறுபான்மைக்கல்வி கூடங்கள் சம்மந்தமான புதியச் சட்டம் வாபஸ் பெற:

சிறுபான்மை வகுப்பினரின் கல்விக் கூடங் களுக்குக்கான சிறப்பு உரிமைகளை மாற்றி அவர்களின் கல்வி வளர்ச்சிக்கும், கல்விப்பணிகளுக்கும் குந்தகமும், இடையூறுகளும் ஏற்படுத்தும் வண்ணம் நிறைவேற்றப்பட்ட புதிய கல்விச் சட்டத்தை உடனே திரும்பப் பெற வேண்டுமென தமிழக அரசை வற்புறுத்தி மன்றம் ஒரு தீர்மானத்தின் மூலம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.

முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்றம் புதிய கட்டிடத்திறப்பு விழா:

மன்றத்தின்பெருமுயற்சியில் ஒரு மிகச்சிறந்த புதிய கட்டிடம் கட்டி புனித ரமளான் பிறை 5 [5.2.95] அன்று மன்றத்தலைவர் ஜனாப் எஸ். அப்துல்காப்பர்ராபி சாஹிப் தலைமையிலும் கவிஞர் கா. சையது ஜாஃபர்

பொதுச்செயலாளர் ஏ. முஹம்மத் ஜலாலுதீன் அக்பர் பி.ஏ.பி.எல். நிதிச்செயலாளர் முன்னிலையில் சிறப்பாக நடைபெற்றது. முஸ்லீம் இலக்கிய மன்றம் புதிய கட்டிடத்தின் தரைதளம் மற்றும் முதல் தளம் கடைகளின் சார்பாக மாதம் ரூ. 8600/- வருவாய் கிடைக்க இறைவனின் நிறைவருளால் வகை செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது.

முஸ்லீம்களுக்குப் பிரதிநிதித்துவம்:

இந்திய முஸ்லீம்கள் அனைவருக்கும் கல்வி மற்றும் வேலைவாய்ப்புகளில் குறைந்தபட்சம் 15 சதவீதம் இடஒதுக்கீடு வழங்கப்படவேண்டுமென மாநில, மத்திய அரசுகளை மன்றம் கேட்டுக் கொண்டது.

முடிவுரை:

மன்ற நிர்வாகம் நூலகம், படிப்பகம், ஆகியவற்றை பராமரிப்பதோடு ஏழை மாணவ - மாணவியருக்கு படிப்புக்கான உதவிகள் செய்தும் பல்வேறு கருத்தரங்குகள் நடத்தியும் வெள்ளம், புயல், தீ விபத்துகளில் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு நிவாரணம் வழங்கியும், கல்வி நிலையங்களின் வளர்ச்சிக்கு உறுதுணையாக பணியாற்றியும் இது போன்ற பல்வேறுபணிகளை தொடர்ந்து செய்து நகரபொதுமக்களின் பாராட்டுதல்களைப் பெற்று வருகிறது.

அடிக்குறிப்பு

1. டாக்டர் இக்பால் சுலைமான்
2. சர்-சையது இப்ராஹீம்
3. இத்தலைவர்கள் இம்மன்றத்திற்கு வருகை புரிந்ததற்கு ஆதாரமாக அப்பொழுது எடுக்கப்பட்ட புகைப்படங்கள் உள்ளன.
4. ஒவ்வொரு ஆண்டும் நடத்தப்பட்டு வந்த மன்றத்தின் நிர்வாக சபைத் தேர்தலை. மூன்றாண்டுக்கு ஒரு முறை நடத்துவது என்று 1975 ஆம் ஆண்டு சட்ட திருத்தம் செய்யப்பட்டது.
5. முஸ்லிம் இலக்கிய மன்றத்தின் 80 ஆம் ஆண்டு சிறப்பு மலரின்படி.
6. பதிவு எண். 2 1937-38
7. நபிகள் நாயகம் அவர்களின் பிறந்த நாள் விழா.

8. மன்றத்தின் நிதியில் இருந்து வழங்கு வதற்கு ஆதாரமாக அவர்களிடம் கையெழுத்து பெறுகிறார்கள்.
9. 1924 ஆம் வருட மன்றத்தில் இதீர்மானம் நிறைவேற்றப்பட்டு அரசுக்கு இக்கோரிக்கையை முன் வைத்தது.
10. 1924 ஆம் வருடத்தில் மன்றம் இதீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்த அரசின் கவனத்திற்கு அனுப்பியது.
11. 1926 ஆம் ஆண்டு.
12. 1932 ஆம் ஆண்டு முக்கியச் செயல்பாடு.
13. இப்பொழுது இங்கு இப்பள்ளி சிறப்பாக செயல்பட்டு வருகிறது என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.
14. 50 ஆம் ஆண்டு வெள்ளி விழா மலர் மூலமாக.

Feminist Elements in Indian Iconography

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Tirumeyyam is an important centre of art and architecture in Pudukottai. It is situated on way to Madurai. There are two cave temples for Siva and Visnu, which belong to the seventh century A.D. The sthala was extold by the Alvars. It was a famous centre of worship through the ages as we find inscriptional evidences from the Pallava period to the later Pandya and Vijayanagar period. The temple complex had developed over a period of time a number of structural additions of chapels for avarana devatas mandapas and feminine goddesses. The present paper takes into account the "Feminist Elements in Indian Iconography" of Tirumeyyam for the study of an iconographic programme.

One of the Tirumeyyam temples is dedicated to Visnu in his reclining pose. The lords of both the cave temples of Tirumeyyam include feminine goddesses. Taking the medium of work into consideration, it may be added that the iconography of Tirumeyyam includes representations in stone, bronze, stucco and wooden imagery is modern but reflect the Vijayanagara style of art.

The Venuvaneshvari shrine complex which constitutes the inner cloister of the Satyagrisvara temple provides for a few sculptural representations. At the façade level of the cave on either side of the massive pillars there are two davarapalikas. These are later medieval additions. Posted as the guardians of the cave temple, both are life size and caturbhuja. The image of the left side holds the naga and trisula in parahastas. The front right hand is resting on

a gada which is placed on earth. The front right hand is in tarjanimudra attitude. The image is profusely decorated with necklaces, Kankanas, Keyuras and anklets. The left dvarapalika is also same type, holds trisula and gada and has one of the hands in Vismaya attitude.

The Venuvaneshvari shrine at the entrance to its mandapa is guarded by dvarapalikas. Both are standing bhanga images. They are dvibhuja and have their hands rested on a gada on the side of the davarā. The other hands show tarjanimudra. They wear elaborate ornaments, including Karandamakutas, patrakundalas and a long loin cloth, Venuvaneshvari, the mother Goddess, occupying the principal cella, is a Samapada Sthanaka image.

The image stands upon a bhadrapitha. The number of hands are four and the para-hastas hold flowers.

The purva hastas show abhaya and varada mudras. In front of the davarapalikas there are two images of lamp bearers. Both are standing and hold lamps in their hands. They are called pavaivilaku in Tamil. On the left side of the Venuvaneshvari shrine the bronzes of the temple are housed.

A special note regarding the Satyamurti group of images is essential because in cave temples usually, especially Tamilnadu round sculptures are not to be found from Mamallapuram in the north to Villignan (near Trivandrum, Kerala)².

Epigraphical Notices of Lakshmi in Tamil Country

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Temples of Tamil Nadu are a class by themselves and the inscriptions in them are rich in historical material. They throw light on the history of the temple administration, structural developments, rituals, cults, their patrons and the donors and so on. The practice of inscribing on the walls of temples started in the 7th century in Tamil Nadu under the Pallavas and the Pandyas. Ever since there is a steady increase in inscriptions in stone and metal. The Copper plate grants of the Pallava, Pandya, Chola and Vijayanagara times have come down to us throwing a valuable light on the religious history of Tamilnadu.

The temples as religious establishments received donations frequently; part of which was to be spent on repair and maintenance of the shrine and establishment of works of public utility. Grants were an extremely important means to ensure the propagation and maintenance of Vaishnava culture. Land donations were made to ensure uninterrupted income for the perform divine blessings. The Vaishnava grants generally open with verses praising Visnu or Lakshmi starting with "Sri". Some of the inscriptions supply interesting information about the caste of the donor.

These inscriptions are either engraved on copper plates or chiselled on the walls of the temples. Among these inscriptions there are two distinct literary genres peculiar to Indian epigraphy. These are *prasastis* and *meykirtis*. The first one was written to a large extent in

Sanskrit and to a smaller extent in Tamil, the second was written only in Tamil. They are inter-related and have more common form. *Prasastis* are found all over South Asia whereas *meykirtis* are found only in Tamilnadu. There are bilingual inscriptions in Tamil and Sanskrit issued in Tamilnadu from about 7th century A.D. for example Velupalayam copper plate.

The *prasasti* generally begins with an invocation to a particular deity or an auspicious word or symbol. The *meykirti* begins with an auspicious phrase which varies from one ruler to another. In other words, the *meykirtis* bear a distinct stamp by having a particular phrase belonging to a particular ruler. In this way it is always possible to identify the ruler eulogized in the *meykirti* at once from the opening phrase itself i.e., the *meykirtis* of Raja Raja I always being with "

திருமகள் போலப் பெருநிலச் செல்வியுந் தனக் கெயு
ரிமை பூண்டமை¹ திரு மன்னிவளர இரு நிலை
மடந்தையும் பொர் செய்பாவையும் (சி)ர்தனி
செல்வியும் தன் பெருந்தேவியராக்²

That of Rajendra II "திருமகள் மருவிய செங்கோல்
வேந்தன்"

That of Vikrama Chola "பூமாது புணர்"

That of Kulotunga Chola I "புகழ் மாதா விளங்க
ஜயமாதா விரும்ப நிலமகள் நிலவ மலர் மகள் புணர்"³

Kulotunga Chola III "திருமகளும் செயமகளும்
சிறந்து வாழ"

The symbol of Lakshmi is introduced into the seals of the copper plate grants belonging to Visnukundin⁴ Ganga and Pallava dynasties.

The Velurpalayam copper plate was issued by Nandivaram III. They are five in number and consist of eight written sides. The outer face of the first and the last being completely blank. The breadth of each plate is about 3½. The ring measures 7" x 6 ¼". The seal bears a bull and an ornamental lamp-stand on either side below this, engraved in one row, eight symbols of which a goddess-Lakshmi flanked by two lamps stand occupies the centre. Another symbol which is recognisable is the Svastika. The remaining four are indistinct. Above this are two chauris mounted on handles and a parasol between them. The object of the plate was the gift of the village Tirukkattupalli to a temple of Siva built by yajnabhata in the sixth year of the reign of King Nandivaram III⁵.

The most remarkable description of Lakshmi is found in the Kasakudi copper plate inscription of Nandivarman II which in every detail corresponds to the Lakshmi panel of the Varahamandapa of Mahabalipuram. In verse five of the grant, Lakshmi is described as being seated on a lotus and carrying lotuses in her two hands which themselves resemble lotuses and bathed by elephants pouring water from Golden pitchers.

Padma Padmasina padmojivala pani
padmayugatra(la) Vah.

Pritya Pasyutu Karina(karini) kara dhrtā
kanakaghatasusnana⁶.

At Tirukannamangai temple, there is a slab depicting Gajalakshmi, bathed by elephants below that a drum, plough and sword are carved. The inscription below that is cemented and not in a position to decipher them⁷. But the inscription proves the worship of Lakshmi among the Chitrammeli nattar, a group of traders.

The Pattattamangalam plates of the sixty first year of Nandivarman⁸ contain the invocatory verse of the following picturesque description "Let the body of the husband of Sri, which is resplendent with a hundred marakata like arms, lying on the ocean, resembling a collection of clouds, lustrous with interspersed lightning and setting in the waters of the ocean to imbibe (its) water, grant you welfare.

Lakshmi is called Puskara devata in another Pallava inscription from the Kailasnatha temple in Kanchi. Here Rangapataka, the queen of Narasimhavisnu (Rajasimha) is said to have humbled the pride of the goddess Pushkaradevata by her beauty.

Anbil plates of Sundara Cola¹⁰ describes the goddess of wealth as beautiful as that of learning. Even the splendour of the feet of Narayana is doubled by their contact with the hands of Lakshmi whose abode is the lotus.

We get reference as in inscriptions in literature also to Lakshmi residing in the chest of kings of her own wish¹¹ and in the Tiruvalangadu copper plate record of Rajendra Cola I (1018 A.D), Ariyana one of the predecessors of the king is said to have obtained the Lakshmi of victory by stirring the ocean of his enemy (forces) with the churning rod of his mountain (like) shoulders rubbing against the bow strings¹².

Rajendra Chola deva acquired the crown of pure gold worthy of Lakshmi¹³. Tandantottam plate of Vijaya-Nandivikrama Varman states in verse four "He is the Lord of Circle of good people as Hari, him the wise cling to as to Sakra, by him the earth has become coupled with a husband, to whom faultless good deals are most welcome, at whom the sole hero on the battle fields, the enemy king take flight, of whom the fame fills ten quarters and in whom Sri-Lakshmi

dwells permanently abandoning her vice of fickleness¹⁴.

The practice of dipadana in the temple of Visnu in the month of kartika is said to ensure astute mental faculty and in all matters a penetrating intellect and unfaltering sense of organs¹⁵. This practice of granting land, cattle and gold to temples of Visnu and his consorts for burning lamps and performing puja are recorded in the inscriptions i.e. a gift of 33 cattle for a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Periya Pirattiyar, the senior consort of Arulala Perumal by a native of Tirumunaippadi-nadu in Naduvilmandalam¹⁶.

An inscription on the 2nd prakara of the east wall at Srirangam registers a gift of land valued at 800 pon and yielding an annual income of 16 pon in Malavanallur near Perungavur in Kilaimuri in Vadagarai-Malanadu by Muddirai Raman belonging to Sattada Vaishnavas for certain offerings to be made to Ranganatha during Adi festival and offering to Karugala (Karuvula) Nachchiyar on the occasion of Jothi-piya during mahanavami festival¹⁷.

In the same temple in the 2nd prakara of the west walls records a gift of 100 pon, the interest of which was to be spent towards offering to god on the occasion of Sri Jayanthi Uriyadittirunal and to Sriranga-Nachchiyar on the occasion of mahanavami celebrations by Kandadai Madhavayangar¹⁸.

The inscription found at Tiruvellarai Pundarikaksha perumal temple, Tiruchirapalli taluk dated in the 8th year of Parakeswari varman who may be identified with Uttam-Chola registers a gift of 20 Kalnju gold gifted by Irayiravan

Devi Ammanar for providing for special offerings with 4 nail of rice on the day of two Vauv, Sankaranti and Astami to God Sri Krishna and Goddess Sri-Rukmini. Another gift of gold for a lamp to be burnt on these days. This is said to be the earliest reference to the worship of Krishna and Rukmini found so far in South Indian inscriptions.

Apart from grants for burning lamps certain individuals called "Tirunandavilakkudi" are assigned to the temples by kings and nobles and they were exempted from taxes. Remission of taxes were also granted to individuals for supplying sacred garlands to Periya Pirattiyar on certain lands in Pandi-nadu alias Devapperumalnallur in Kaliyur-kottam which was given for flower garden by Diddarasa 20. The inscriptions also testify to the act that the temple trustees accepted gold coins deposited in the temple treasury by some of the mutts for specified festival, processions and offerings to Prarulalar and Mahalakshmi²¹.

Virupaksha-danayaka, the son of Gangadhara of the Asrayana-gotra, and a vassal Mahapradhana of Narasinga raya Maharaja made a present of money for the reconsecration ceremony of the images of Nachchiyar Perarulalar and Perundeviyar in the temple and he formed a new town called Virupaksha danaya puram and dugged an irrigation canal in the temples lands, and planted groves all around, ordered that from the produce of these lands certain offering were to be made to these images²².

A record of Rajendra I's twelfth-fifth year (A.D. 1037) from the Adikesava temple at Vadamadurai in the Chingelput district mentions

the gift of an areca garden as Sridhana (dowry) to the goddess Nambirattiyar (Sita) on the occasion of her consecration and marriage with Tiruvayoddhacakraṇvartī (Rama)²³ regarding building of Vimana, Varadāraja temple of Kanchipuram known as Kalyanakoti records on the south-wall of the Tayar-shrine- Tatachrya consecrated the high Vimana for the goddess Lakshmi²⁴.

Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Magaral was named as Tiru-ner-koyil-virrirunda Perumal from the inscription which belonged to the period of Raja Raja III. It states that the temple complex was caused to be built by Poyan Maniyan Perugan in the province of Jayamgondasola Mandalam. This temple must have been completed in or possibly before the 23rd regnal year of Rajaraja III (A.D.1239) maybe the date of the inscription. This is thus a dated temple, one of the few with a regular foundation inscription. About the same time as the construction of the central Visnu shrine was in progress, the shrine of the consort must also have been under construction, and was in fact completed much earlier. Above the entrance to the Tayar shrine, an inscription in Tamil verse states that it was built in the sixth year of Raja Raja III (A.D.1222). The central shrine of Visnu with all its adjuncts obviously took a longer time to complete²⁵.

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Muslim Education in Tamilnadu-(1902-1935)

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Education is the key to progress; the gateway to knowledge; the means to perfection and culture.

Islam attaches immense importance to the acquisition and extension of 'ilm' or knowledge, which, has been a part of the Quran, the Ahaadith and other sciences. Surah-I-Iqra, the first revealed version of this Holy Book, opens with an injunction addressed to the prophet to "read". The place assigned to education in Islam can best be appreciated in the light of importance attached to ink, pen, and paper, - the three indispensable instruments of acquiring and extending knowledge¹.

In Tamilnadu, there were nearly eight lakhs of Muslims at the beginning of the 20th Century². They outnumbered people of other religions and formed the biggest minority group. This feeling that theirs was a minority religion always lingered in their minds and this is reflected through their action and policies including education.

During the British rule, Persian language was replaced by English. Persian had been the main medium of instruction and a traditional language of the Muslim community. Soon after the replacement of Persian, the orthodox Muslim community hated the new 'western education and did not send their children to learn the 'heathen education'. The Muslim community as a whole was against the introduction of western education system. Meanwhile, other communi-

ties especially the Christians took advantage of all the facilities available.

Under such a circumstance was born the Muslim reform movement under the name of Aligrah Movement. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded "The Muhammadan Anglo oriental College" at Aligarh in 1870. In South India matters still continued in the same old fashion until when, "Muhammadan Education Association of South India" was found in 1902 at Madras.³ Together with this, The Muhammadan Educational Society, Trichy, Muslim Educational Society, Melvisharam⁴ gave strength to the movement for the growth of education among Muslim educational activities. The propaganda made by these associations, aroused interest in education among Muslims. Added to these, Justice Abdul Rahim, Nawab C. Abdul Hakeem, Jamal Mohideen, Hamid Hassan, M.A. Azeem and Jamal Mohamad rendered yeoman service to the community in spreading education.

The educational attainments of Muslims may be classified into Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Higher Education, Technical Education and Women's Education.

Elementary Education:

In many schools, Teaching was through Tamil medium where the Muslim children went for elementary education. But at Vellore, Vaniyambadi, Melvisharam, Madras, Trichy, Salem, Urdu was the medium of instruction. The Government started elementary schools wherever

the Muslim population was more than a thousand. To extend elementary education, an attempt was made by the curriculum of English Schools, where hitherto only Quran was taught⁵. But government efforts met with little success because of the Khilafat Movement had already begun and Muslims blindly disliked government measures.

Tamil, being the mother tongue for many Muslims in Southern Tamilnadu, language was not a problems to them. But the Muslims of North Arcot and Madras city were the main sufferers, who knew only Urdu. Though there were also few schools which taught through Urdu medium, they were not sufficient. By 1924, there came a sudden increase in the number of pupils taking to elementary education because the Khilafat Movement was no more. It was also due to the introduction of compulsory education in some of the selected centers of the State. Private organisations like Melvisharam Muslim Education Association also founded schools to educate the Muslims.

Secondary Education:

The secondary schools which were founded in Madras, Trichy, Salem, Arcot and Ranipet did not attract Muslim pupils of the state. There were separate schools for Muslim boys and girls. Government schools for boys functioned at Madras, Vellore, Arcot, Ranipet and Salem. Whereas there were only two schools- Government Hobart Secondary and Training School, Royapettah found in 1873⁶ and Government School for Muhammadan women, Trichirapally⁷. District Education Board for each district was proposed by Government in January 1923, to look after the administration of these schools and it was formed in 1928⁸.

In the District Education Board, non-Muslims were appointed to look after the education of Muslims. But in the separate advisory boards, the Muslim members were appointed to administer each secondary school. There were such boards for Islamia Secondary School, Trichirapally.⁹

To increase the Muslim pupils strength, the curriculum was centered around Arabic, Persian and Urdu and students were provided with school uniforms and mid-day meals with the help of some philanthropists. In spite of all these, the Muslims community showed no interest in it, the strength in those schools was decreasing.

Higher Education

There were a few who could not take higher education, due to their poor financial condition. Government Muhammadan College, Madras and Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi.¹⁰ Some Muslim students also studied in Presidency College, Madras Christian College, Law College and Medical College in Madras.

When the Khilafat leaders made a call to the students to abandon their studies, there was spontaneous response from the students of Islamiah College.¹¹ But after 1923, politics did not attract Muslims students as it was secular in nature and so they did not respond well to the Salt Satyagraha and the Civil Dis-obedience Movement.¹²

The Muslims of North Arcot and Madras city had better opportunities to get higher education than the Tamil speaking Muslims of Southern districts of TamilNadu. There was steady increase in the strength of Muslim students from 1922-1928; it was due to the distribution of scholarships both by Government also ensure

that no classes were held during Friday prayer (Jummah) hours. Wherever necessary, it also recommended loan of services of educated Muslims and even foreign scholarship facilities were provided to the deserving students. In spite of all these measures there was no marked improvement in higher education among the Muslims. They seem to have taken it lightly and did not realize its importance. They realised the need of education only recently and hence their progress in education was slow.

Technical Education:

For the improvement of the Muslims, technical education on the widest possible scale was the remedy. Very few technical institutions were available in the state. Besides the few government technical institutes at Madras and Coimbatore, especially for Muslims, an industrial school was started by "Anjuman-e-mufid-e Ahl-e-Islam" (Society of Madras) in 1885. It was started by Mirza Feroze Hussain, the agent of the Nawab of Carnatic with a donation of Rs. 1200/-. Because of the hard work of the Anjuman it emerged as a well known institution all over the state¹⁴.

Among the Muslims very few took to medical and law courses. In 1925, a School of Indian Medicine was opened at Madras. Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani systems of medicine were taught in Urdu, Tamil and Telegu. Great Muslim Unani doctors like Haji Hakeem Syed Maqdom Ashraf Sahib and Haji Hakeem Peer Badrudden Sahib served in that institution¹⁵. 'Eastern Medical Association of South India' started in 1912, but in 1926 it was closed, as a Government College was opened. Similarly, the Muslims also had interest in legal and professional studies. In 1922-23, there were fourteen Muslims students in the Law College, Madras.

Sports education had very little attraction to Muslims. Teaching too received little attention. Thus technical education had the least attraction for the Muslims.

Women Education

Women education under the British was far from satisfactory. The orthodox section of the Muslims held the view that offering English education to their women was an unIslamic act. According to 1921 census of the total literate Muslims, females were 7.9%. In 1931, literate females were 8.1% and those knowing English were 6.7%¹⁶. It shows that the nonavailability of educational facilities to women and their interest in education.

At Madras there was a Government Hobart Secondary and Training School for women where Arabic, Persian and Urdu were taught together with Islamic way of life. In mofussil areas there were separate schools for Muslim girls at Tirukkoilur, Panruti, Chidambaram, Coimbatore and Erode, managed by taluk boards¹⁷. Where as, in southern district there were no separate schools for Muslim girls.

The measures of the Government to educate Muslim women were not sufficient. Some of the schools specially intended for them were closed in 1930's because of fall in strength and non-availability of suitable staff. It checked the progress of women education.

In spite of the measures of the Government and private bodies, the progress of Muslim education was slow. According to the Census Report of 1921, the total Muslim population was 8,85,731, in which male literates were 15.8% and female literates were 9.2%. In 1931, of the total population (10,13,818) literates were 1,76,833 (17.4%), in which males were 1,62,934

(91.1%). of the literates, those knowing English were 10.9% of which males were 94.9% and the rest were females¹⁸. In 1931, the literate population decreased to 82.5%. This was because, with the exception of the few in city, the Muslims never felt the need of education. They remained backward in education because they were late in taking to education.

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Truth, Goodness and Beauty - Concepts of Satyam - Shivam - Sundaram in Hindu Philosophy

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"The Absolute is Pure Existence, Pure Knowledge and Pure Bliss, all in one. It is Truth, Goodness, and Beauty-Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram. They belong to God alone. The consistantial and comprehensive conception of these 'Cardinal Virtues' has moved the human intellect from lower, narrow to higher, wider plane of Absolute Reality. Gita represents" Knowledge, action, devotion to make it suitable with the inherent consciousness of freedom of thinking, willing and feeling". "One may have freedom, the unconditional necessity, to taking advantage for his self-preservation and self-development with his intellect and will; he learns to think of himself and rebuild the world according to his own ideal". The historian B.G. Gokhale attributes the 'Corpus of Values' of early Indian society as 1. Reverence for life and awareness of the unity of all life. 2. a constant concern for achieving harmony between means and ends, and 3. a general attribute of tolerance for various manifestations of thought and life style"². Of course, these may be the major contributions of Indian religious concepts towards the mankind.

Truth (or) Satyam :

An insight into the inner urge of rational nature is an inherent demand for Truth. "In search for the absolute Truth – 'Satyam' the entity of

pure existence as ever, the human reason moves to higher and higher plane. i.e. from the lowest physical plane of thought it ascends to the vital plane, from this to the moral plane, from the moral to the idealistic plane, and then to the plane of absolute self- realization³. "To express the pure existence (Sat or Truth) of God we can take the expression of Kant's conception as 'a priori' knowledge" ⁴. The idea of God, as all-perfect being, for the concept of an existence of x is the concept of something more perfect than the x, to take away the existence is to take away perfection"⁵. The absolute existence is a total perfection, hence it must be the absolute Truth. This is the ultimate truth about the ultimate reality by its and ever pure existing phenomenon; out of which all that come into exist. So he called as Brahman. ('Bir' means to evolve). "The souls and the world are declared to be 'Sat' due to the existence of God; but he exists through himself and he requires nothing else for his factuality" ⁶. "The pure existence – the ultimate truth, can be indentified as the essence of both the 'Absolute' as well as 'Atman' will be fulfilled only when a higher principle has been evolved where consciousness becomes self – conscionsness, the fusion of empirical trinity of knower, knowledge, and known with the Transcendental Unity, the Brahman – the supreme reality. "This dialect-

tical march of pure self – consciousness from the subject through the object to its own synthetic nature was arrived at by the upanisadic Sages centuries before, Hegel and before Plato were born”⁷.

“That something is real is a self-evident truth, and it is its nature that we have to understand. This reality which we realise serves as the criterion to distinguish degrees in existence”⁷. Gandhi recognised God with ‘Truth’ as is ultimate power; Truth force (Satyagraha) was another of his major ethical principle.

Good (or) Shivam

“The Pure existence of Absolute Reality is being restricted by the word ‘Chit’. He exists as Chit (Intelligence). Also the soul is chit, but in a limited sense. ‘Shivam’ is conceived as Absolute Intelligence” ...⁸. While the souls are dependent intelligence depending on God. Without God, there is no knowledge”⁹. “The name Shiva points out that he is the kind one; the loving one; he is also called Shankara i.e. as a Saviour from the consequence of sin, by his grace upon us. It is the essence of beatitude of God”¹¹. “On account of the moral constitution of one’s nature, one has an inherent demand for the attainment of the absolute Good’ (Shivam). Man naturally distinguishes between ‘What is’ and ‘What ought to be’ – between the ‘actual’ states and objects of his experience and the ‘ideal’ to be realized in experience. The ideal he regards as good to be attained that which ought not to be he regards as evil to be

shunned. His inner nature moves him towards the realization of Good within himself as well as in the outer world. “The conception of good rises to higher planes and it is sought to be attained even at the sacrifice of mundane happiness (Kama) and earthly prosperity (Artha) . . . and that what is morally ought to be pursued even though it may be accompanied by consequences not relished by the sensuous consciousness”¹². “As man’s reason seeks for Truth for his own sake, so man’s moral consciousness seeks for Good for its own sake. “One who is no longer troubled by any sense of ought as distinct from what it attained in his actual experience. At that stage there is no gulf between his will and its object actual as possible. According to the Hindu view point this is Dharma in the true sense. Dharma as the ideal life has the inherent right to regulate, restrain and control Artha (Wealth) Kama (Worldly happiness)”¹³. The consciousness of ‘ought’ is the unconditional necessity which we have found to be the distinctive characteristic of moral experience. “It is like jewel that shines in its own light and cannot fail to dazzle every impartial spectator, duty for sake”¹⁴. Moral conduct is self-realised conduct ... help to realize on self is to identify with a god-that is not his alone”¹⁵.

‘Truth’ and ‘Good’ are thus more and more thoroughly identified in the higher and higher planes of the development of man’s rational and moral nature. At the highest plane, the ‘Absolute truth’ and ‘Absolute Good’ – Satyam and Shivam – are realized as absolutely identical.

Beauty (or) Sundaram

The essential nature of man's consciousness is not only rational and moral but also aesthetic. The aesthetic aspect of the consciousness seeks for 'Beauty' – Sundaram – as its ideal. Beauty is that the realization of which gives satisfaction to man's emotional nature. The objects which one receives through the feeling of love (Prema) appear beautiful and becomes objects of enjoyment (Anandam). So that Brahman or Absolute Reality is the object to be loved and felt happy with that experience. "Love is the expression of the demand of man's innermost self, hence the Brahman becomes the object in relation to the innerself of a man, his innerself has a demand for Truth and Good, so it has a demand for Beauty"¹⁶. The realization of which gives satisfaction to the emotional aspect of his spiritual nature. Saiva Siddhanta sees in Shiva the God of love, because of saving one from the consequences of sin and help him to get into the paradise with this grace. It is conveyed from the Tirumantram of Tirumōḷar as . . .

அன்பும் சிவமும் இரண்டென்பார் அறிவிலார்
அன்பே சிவமாவது ஆரும் அறிகிலார்
அன்பே சிவமாவது ஆரும் அறிந்தபின்
அன்பே சிவமாய் அமர்ந்திருந்ததாரே¹⁷.

"Scriptures like Tiruvachakam and Tayumanavar praise the God as God of love again and again, it is the purpose of the whole philosophical system to state that Shiva is love"¹⁸. This highest truth can be felt by the simple and pure mind and it can not be learned just by intellect or not by genius and much knowledge of

books. It is attained by the mystics in their moments of Illumination. It is direct and immediate insight. In the mystic experience the soul finds itself in the presence of the highest. It is lost in awareness, contemplation and enjoyment of "The Ultimate Reality"¹⁹. The mystic insight is unable to express. The account of reality given by intellect is not false. It fails only when it attempts to grasp the reality in its fullness. But "Intuition can throw light on the dark places which intellect is not able to penetrate. However the results of intellect empty without the intuition, intuition will be blind without intellectual confirmation. The ideal of intellect is realised in the intuitive experience"²⁰. By insisting on intuition more than on thought, on Ananda more than on Vijnana, the Upanisads seem to support the non-dualism of atman and Brahma. "In ananda man is most and depths in reality. In the unexplored depths of individual experience, the inner anandamaya, lies in the stuff of reality".

"Ananda cannot be the end of evolution unless it was also the beginning of it. The end is present throughout, though in a suppressed form. The individual things of the world possess the features of their ultimate source and end"²¹.

Brahman is the sole and the whole explanation of the world, its material and efficient cause. The entities of the world are different planes of development, which begins with matter and ends in ananda. The knowledge of absolute Truth, the attainment of the absolute Good, and the union with the absolute Beauty are the ideals of the three fundamental aspects of man's spiritual nature of the Absolute. The absolute

reality, when conceived as the ultimate ideal and realized in the path of knowledge (Gnana – Yoga) as the Absolute Truth; in the path of moral activity (Karma – Yoga) as the Absolute Good; in the

path of love (Bhakti – Yoga) enjoyed as the Absolute Beauty – Satyam, Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram.

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The Social Idealism and Reforms of Saint Shuddhananda Bharati

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Saints speak of divine love, compassion and spiritual harmony. India has produced a number of saints. Saint Shuddhananda Bharati is one among them. Like other saints he also rendered service to the society through his writings and deeds. He is popularly known as Kavi Yogi.

A prolific writer, he wrote more than 1500 books which include press, poetry, prose, drama and philosophy. His *magnum opus* is "Bharatha Sakthi Maha Kaviyam" published in 1948. In its preface, V.V.S. Iyer says: "It is an epic written in Tamil after many centuries".¹

He served as an editor for *Swarajya*, the journal, for sometime. *Yoga Samaj* was founded by him at Adyar to train the aspirants and to serve as the centre of spiritual service. Later it was shifted to Sivaganga.

Social Ideas

Kavi Yogi Shuddhananda Bharati's social idealism touched open various fields echoing spiritual socialism.² His social idealism is the way to peace and social harmony. His idea on education is: "It is integral perfection of man. Knowledge enlightens and perfects life. Knowledge, strength, industry, character and aesthetic are the five component parts of perfect education".³

Kavi Yogi's social equality is known from his speeches, writings and deeds. To him all are equal without any disparity. When he was

asked which country and caste he belonged, his reply was: "Swadeshi is my Country", "Humanity is my caste".⁴ He believed that caste feelings cause all evils. He believed that a man whose heart was full of universal love, identifies himself with all beings and lives only to serve them with the tender care of a mother. He stated that such a man knows no caste and creed, all are his kith and kin, entitled to share his love.⁵

His thought on service is that one should not serve for name and fame and selfish gains. His view is: "Man should serve humanity to lead it from darkness to light, ignorance to knowledge, poverty to abundance, falsehood to truth, bondage to liberty and from manhood to godhood".⁶

He meant people suffer mainly because of disunity. He insisted the importance of unity. He said, "Every human problem is a question of unity and harmony. Disharmony and division are the causes of all failures, quarrels and miseries. Division is mental ignorance. Unity is the natural course of life. Nations Unite only when hearts unite; establish hence harmony in the heart".⁷

Kavi Yogi respected women and worked for the uplift of women. He said: "Man is the root, women the trunk and children the flowers and fruits of the growing family. Woman is the inspiring mate to man in spiritual and temporal life. Woman is not mere a cook or a sex mechanism. She is not a mere child bearing machine".⁸

He condemned dowry system with a view to reform the society. He said: "Evil thoughts, words and deeds cause pain and suffering. They will be counteracted by good, thoughts, words and deeds".⁹ He was of the opinion that by engaging in good and holy works, one can be free from bad thoughts and chance of disturbance. His social idealism created awareness among the people, shaped their lives and remained a solution to the problems in their life. Whole of his life was dedicated to the service of spiritualism and humanity.

Social Reforms

Dedicated his life to the progress of humanity, he rendered his service through writings, speeches and deeds. In the beginning he worked as a teacher at Kattuputtur, then at Devakottai. Afterwards he used to start schools in villages and entrusted them to the public after their successful functioning. This helped the illiterates to receive education. The Saint started a school at Sri Ramasamudram to impart education to the Harijans.¹⁰ He visited nearby villages and insisted on learning. While he delivered a lecture at Sanmarga Sabhai at Pillaiarputtur he appealed to the educated persons to teach at least ten illiterates. He said that giving education to every house would enlighten the society.¹¹

Kavi Yogi advocated for women upliftment. He participated in a women's conference held at Gokhale Hall at Madras, which was presided over by T. Vijayaraghavachari. When he delivered a speech there to suggest his views on women, he spoke as if a woman spoke telling her aspirations in life. His speech was: "I am a modern woman. I have a conscience of my own. I act according to its guidance. I will marry him at

18. If he uses snuff, smoking, drinking and other bad habits I will remove them from him. My husband must be pure both inwardly and outwardly. If he dies earlier by fate, I will remarry and remain a housewife".¹² The above speech reveals us the ideas of Saint of upliftment of women. He stood for the abolition of Devadasi system.

As a freedom fighter, he took the message of Gandhiji to the rural masses and awakened then through his words and deeds. He met Gandhiji in Trichy. Gandhiji asked him to do service in the villages.¹³ Shuddhananda Bharati collected charkas in and around Kattuputtur and made people to spin and encourage weavers to produce khadi. Moreover, he went to the houses of those who used to drink liquor and sung the songs or prohibition of liquor. He also requested women not to permit their husbands to use liquor.¹⁴ At Pamani village he started "Aranilayam" so as to awaken them. People kept their street clean, preserved drinking water and the reforms of Saint received good response in the village. Toddy sellers turned to coconut sellers.¹⁵

The Saint took part in Simon Commission and delivered a speech in the meetings.¹⁶ He published a journal "Bharatha Sakti" which spread nationalism among the people. His ideas reerberated in many journals like Swadesamitran, Dinamani, Lokopakari, Kalaimakal, Ananda Vikatan, Kalki, Tamilselvan, Ezhakesari, Sunday Times, Kalyana Kalpatharu, Divine life and vision.¹⁷

The age in which Saint Shuddhananda Bharati lived, was marked by momentous changes. He was a witness to the various changes that happened in British India and independent India. Under the leadership of

Mahatma Gandhi the freedom struggle became a mass movement. Gandhiji's programme of social reforms and freedom struggle provided a greater opportunity for service and dedication. Saint Shuddhananda Bharati involved himself in the freedom struggle, rendered service for the promotion of education, social equality and upliftment of women. His service to Tamil Literature is to be mentioned. Perhaps none other than Saint Shuddhananda could have written such books in various fields. His vision and mission are known from his works. He had vision to transform the society through spiritual socialism through Yoga Samaj. But he could not materialise his vision fully during his life time since he had to shift the Yoga Samaj from Adyar to Sivaganga. However he showed a way for spiritual socialism.

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Tamilnadu Newsprint and Papers Limited - A Study (TNPL)

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Paper has become an integral part of the development of our Culture, both as a communication medium and a packaging sector. The demand for paper increased with the spread of education and eradication of illiteracy since independence. The extent of the use of paper by a country reflects, to a considerable measure, the living standard, the openness of society and its educational and intellectual attainments. Thus the paper industry occupies an important place throughout the world. An attempt has been made here to study the history of the Tamilnadu Newsprint and Papers Limited.

Etymologically the word 'paper' owes its origin to 'papyrus' an aquatic plant which grew in abundance in the delta of the Nile in Egypt. The barks and leaves of the plant were woven and pressed into a sheet to be used as writing material by ancient Egyptians. The evidence of papyrus having been used as a writing material can be found even today in some of the European Libraries, which preserve old manuscripts.¹

The art of paper-making was first discovered in China in the second century B.C.² Then it travelled slowly to Europe and by the end of the 14th century a number of paper mills came into existence in Italy, France and East Germany. The growth of paper-making was gradual till the first paper plant was set up at Xatira in Spain in

about 1150 A.D.³ Since then, the paper industry has undergone revolutionary changes and now employs today's automated capital-intensive technology.

History of paper - making in India

Paper industry is one of the oldest industries established in India. In ancient times various materials were used in India for writing. Stones, bricks, wooden boards, chips of bamboo, metal plates (especially those of copper) and, above all, palm leaves and birch-bark, bhurja were all in use. The use of well beaten cotton as a writing material by the Hindus is mentioned by Nearchus who was one of the generals of Alexander the Great.⁴

The first authentic account of paper-making in India dates from the time of Emperor Akbar, when the art is said to have been introduced into Kashmir.⁵ It spread rapidly all over India and displaced the birch-bark and palm-leaves that were previously used for writing. The Persian word for paper 'Kagaj' has been adopted in most Indian languages. It is believed some Indian Muslims might have also learnt it from the Chinese when they visited Mongolia. But this art was kept a closely guarded secret by a few families. Those paper-making families were known as Kagzis, who settled mainly in the Punjab and Kashmir and flourished under the patronage of the Mughal Empire.

Before the advent of machine-made paper, a sizeable hand-made paper manufacture flourished in India. The earliest efforts at mechanizing this industry in our country date back to the beginning of the 19th century. William Carey, an European missionary at Serambore started a paper mill in 1812 with the help of local Kagzis. The mill was located at Serampore in West Bengal.⁶ The First Fourdrinier type machine was introduced in 1832. The raw material 'wood' was used for the production of paper in this mill. The paper industry in India received an impetus, when the British Government granted it preferential treatment in 1880. Five paper mills were set up in India between 1881 and 1894. The real growth of the industry came in 1925, when the government of India granted tariff protection to the Indian paper industry.

On the eve of the Second World War, 11 paper mills were in existence of which 4 each were located in Bengal and Bombay, and one each in U.P., Madras and Travancore. The planned programme of development of paper and paper board industry was initiated by the Government of India in 1951. At the time of Independence there were less than 20 mills in India with a total annual production of 1,00,000 tonnes. Today the industry's output is over 35,00,000 tonnes from more than 500 mills.⁷

Growth of paper industry in Tamilnadu

Hand-made Paper Industries

In Tamilnadu, hand-made paper industry played a vital role in the production of paper, by utilising old rags, waste cotton and other agricultural wastes. In Tamilnadu there are 20 hand-made paper units working in different districts under the control of the Khadi and Village

Industries Board.⁸ It is quite appropriate to Gandhian ideology. Since this industry makes wealth from waste. Moreover, it will not result in deforestation and the question of pollution also does not arise in the case of these units.

Mini Paper Mills

In Tamilnadu there are 11 small paper mills functioning in different districts in the private sector. The production capacity of the mini paper mill is 30,000 TPA.⁹

Large Scale Paper Mills

There are two paper mills functioning on a large scale basis in Tamilnadu. Seshasayee Paper and Boards Limited a Private Sector Mill is situated at Pallipalayam, in Namakkal District of Tamilnadu. The mill was incorporated in 1960 and it commenced commercial production in 1962. the production capacity of the mill is 60,000 TPA.¹⁰

Another mill, Tamilnadu Newsprint and Papers Limited promoted by the Government of Tamilnadu at Pugalur in Karur District belongs to Public Sector.

Tamilnadu Newsprint and Papers Limited (TNPL)

The Government of Tamilnadu has set up a paper mill named TNPL at Kagithapuram in Pugalur, an industrially backward area in the Karur district on the bank of the Cauvery river, about 300kms, southwest of Chennai. The TNPL plant was set up at a cost of Rs.239 crores. The project was initially conceived in the year 1981. The paper mill commenced its commercial production in October 1985. The installed capacity of the mill is 90,000 MTPA.¹¹

The TNPL plant was dedicated to the nation by the then Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamilnadu Dr.M.G. Ramachandran, on 24th May 1986.¹²

Raw Material - Bagasse a New Technology

TNPL is the first bagasse based mill producing newsprint as well as all grades of printing and writing paper in the world.¹³ The advent of the bagasse technology for newsprint manufacture proves a great relief to the sugar producing countries which were hitherto dependent on the imported newsprint for their domestic requirements.

The origin of bagasse route to the manufacture of newsprint could be traced from the general shortage of the conventional raw material 'wood'. The shrinking forest cover, which has its impact on ecological balance - too, has driven nations, especially the developing ones, to look for alternative raw materials. Bagasse emerged as the most attractive non-wood paper-making fibre.

The annual bagasse requirements of the TNPL is 4,00,000 tonnes, which is met by 5 sugar mills located in the neighbourhood, in exchange for steam supplied through paper mill's boilers installed at these sugar mills.¹⁴

Expansion Scheme

Within a span of ten years, the Company doubled the capacity from 90,000 MTPA to 1,80,000 MTPA at a capital outlay of Rs. 585 crores. The cost for the expansion scheme was partly met by the Issue of Equity Shares (for a sum of Rs. 216 crores in Nov. 1995) and partly by raising loans from IDBI, World Bank etc.¹⁵

Employment

At present, the company has provided direct employment to nearby 1700 persons and indirect employment to nearly 5000 persons.¹⁶

Management and Organisation

Board of Directors

The Company's Board is a comprising of 10 Directors. The day-to-day affairs of the TNPL are looked after by the Chairman and Managing Director supported by General Manager (Finance), General Manager (Corporate Affairs) and Deputy Manager (Marketing). They are assisted by a Secretary and a team of qualified and experienced professionals in personnel, financial and marketing disciplines.

The TNPL Corporate office is situated in Guindy, Chennai. It has marketing branches in Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Calcutta, Cochin, Cuttack, Indore, Mumbai, New Delhi and Secunderabad. A Deputy Manager (Marketing) is incharge of each branch.

Operational and Financial Results of TNPL

The Company has been earning profits continuously for the past eight years in a row and has been paying dividend regularly from the year 1991.¹⁷

Exports

The TNPL is exporting papers to various countries such as Egypt, Sri Lanka, Jordan and Iran etc. The Ministry of Commerce, Government of India has accorded the "Export House" status to the Company during September 1998.

Till 31.3.1999, the Company had exported 31, 195 MTs of printing and writing paper and earned foreign exchange equivalent to Rs.74.43 crores.²⁰

Production and Capacity Utilisation of TNPL is shown below:¹⁸

Year	NP	PWP	Total	Capacity Utilisation
	In.M. Tonnes			
1985-86	89,315	17,771	1,07,086	118.98%
1986-87	31,585	9,251	40,836	45.37%
1987-88	59,330	25,496	84,826	94.25%
1988-89	--	--	--	--
1989-90	--	--	93,966	104.40%
1990-91	--	--	90,300	100.33%
1991-92	--	--	87,242	96.93%
1992-93	--	--	85,039	94.48%
1993-94	33,970	60,663	94,633	105.15%
1994-95	28,659	64,401	93,060	103.40%
1995-96	19,925	81,263	1,01,188	96.37%
1996-97	36,891	1,16,569	1,53,460	85.26%
1997-98	52,410	1,18,208	1,70,618	94.79 %
1998-99	64,820	1,11,255	1,76,075	97.82%

Production capacity 90,000 M. Tonnes per annum upto October 1995.

Production capacity doubled as 1,80,000 M.Tonnes per annum from November 1995.

NP - News Print

PWP - Printing and writing paper

Special Achievements

During the year 1998-99, the Company has obtained ISO 9001 - certification for development, manufacture and supply of Newsprint, printing and writing paper.

During the year 1998-99, the Company has introduced a branded value added product viz. "TNPL EXCEL MAPLITHO" and has improved the quality of newsprint, TNPL copier and other varieties of paper.

Sales Turnover and Profit of TNPL is Shown below:¹⁹

Year	Turnover	Gross Profit	Net Profit	Dividend
		(Rs. in crores)		
1993-94	204.91	88.18	54.05	22.5
1994-95	210.11	88.88	56.31	27
1995-96	294.68	134.20	78.24	30
1996-97	419.38	135.13	17.38	15
1997-98	421.02	39.12	(3.57)	Nil
1998-99	454.61	--	15.15	--

TNPL will save foreign exchange to the tune of Rs.40 crores annually by avoiding import of Newsprint.²¹

Research and Development Department

TNPL is having a Research and Development Department. The department concentrates on identification of cheaper substitutes for costly chemicals, improvement in process efficiencies, thermal energy recovery studies and treatment and utilisation of liquid effluents for irrigation purposes.

The R&D department also renders technical consultancy services for the establishment of integrated pulp and paper plants, both in India and abroad.

In July 1998, the Company signed an MOU with Quena Nesprint, Egypt for providing technical assistance and support for erection and com-

missioning of a newsprint and paper mill in Egypt. The first batch of Egyptian trainees have completed their training in April 1999.²²

Promotion and Service

TNPL participates in Industrial Trade Fairs and Commercial Exhibitions in various trade centres as a part of their promotional strategies.

TNPL's core team is continuously on the move-addressing and counselling customer problems. A nation wide network of customer service officers, work in coordination with customer representatives, to ensure the removal of all bottle necks. A customer service cell functions for 24 hours in a day.

Power Generation

The TNPL took steps to install a new boiler and a TG set of 20MW. capacity at a cost of

Rs. 50 crores for augmenting its captive generation of power. With this, the Company would not only be 100% self-sufficient in power but also will be able to reduce the energy cost in the total cost of production.²³

Labour Welfare

Labour, the most important determinant factor for industrial efficiency and productivity, is composed of dynamic individuals with complex needs. By way of catering to the needs of the employees, TNPL has provided educational, medical, transport, housing facilities, co-operative credit, fair price shop, distress relief and cash benefits to their workers.

Environmental Issues

The environmental issues associated with the paper industry are: large use of water and discharge of coloured effluent presence of chlorinated by products in the effluent system, odour control, acid deposition and stack emission and solid waste.

The treated effluent water is used in agriculture especially in the cultivation of sugarcane. Doubts on effect of effluent irrigation on soil conditions can be answered only by scientific study over an extended period of time. Scientists are of the view that many chlorinated compounds get produced naturally and not all of them are poisonous. The TNPL has implemented a Lift Irrigation Scheme at a cost of Rs.2.68 crores to

irrigate around 1400 acres of land with treated effluent water.²⁴

Trees are critical to mother earth. In addition, the paper industry is also held, uncharitably responsible for the denudation of forests. The use of bagasse as raw material prevents deforestation to a larger extent.

Thus the paper industry has not only eradicated illiteracy and provided employment avenues but led to societal upliftment.

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Muhaideen Andavar Pallivasal at Pottalpudur - A symbol of Communal Harmony

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Muhaideen Andavar Pallivasal at Pottalpudur stands as a symbol of communal harmony. Pottalpudur is an inam village of Kadayam Union of Ambasamudram Taluk of Tirunelveli District.¹ This village lies on the left bank of the river Ramanadhi. Here the wellknown Mosque Muhaideen Andavar Pallivasal is situated. In respect of sanctity it claims to rank not below Nagore in the Tanjore District and second only to Bagdad. This Darga is an old one said to have been founded in 1674.² There is a story behind the emergence of this Darga.

Muhaideen Abdul Kadar was a Muslim. he was born in Russia. He visited various parts of the world. India was one among the places visited by him. During his visit in India, he came to the far south and, at the end of his Indian tour, he arrived at Pottalpudur. Here he sat on a rock and worshipped Allah. This event was witnessed by the local people of this area. One among the local persons was Chinna Umaru Lebbai.³ Immediately after the departure of Kadar from Pottalpudur, Chinna Umaru Lebbai saw a dream. In his dream Kadar came and asked him to construct a mosque for Allah on the place where he worshipped Allah. He conveyed the matter to his fellow villagers. This was accepted by the villagers as a whole.

Accordingly, a small shed was constructed at first in the place of Allah worship of Muhaideen Kadar. The successors of Chinna Umaru Lebbai

acted as Lebbais in the small mosque.⁴ Lebbais means the person who did the work for the daily prayers in the mosque. Very quickly this mosque attracted large number of devotees towards it. The worshippers gave generous offerings to the mosque. Its administration was maintained by the family members of Chinna Umaru Lebbai. Even to-day the same family continuing the work. Some 49 families of Chinna Umaru Lebbai are living at present in Pottalpudur and its surroundings.⁵ They are managing the mosque duties in rotation. Due to the generous offerings of the people, it was built in an ample scale, strongly coinciding in its design, the plan of a Hindu temple.

In the present southern Tamil Nadu this Pottalpudur Muhaideen Andavar Pallivasal is the best example for following secular traditions.⁶ Whenever and wherever any incident happened in the name of religion, this place is not affected by any trouble. During the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, this was the only Darga in India where we could see the peaceful atmosphere. The present study aims at illustrating secular features attached with the Muhaideen Andavar Pallivasal, which stands as a symbol of communal harmony.

The affairs of the mosque is managed by an Administrative Committee. In the first time a member from the Arcot Nawabs family was appointed as the president.⁷ This post is neither

nominated nor elected. It is a hereditary one. The present president is S.P. Sha. He came to power in 1975. According to the judgement of the Madras High Court dt, 12th March 1958 the sub-court of Tinnevely appointed two members to the administrative committee once in 5 years.⁸ The president is the ex-officio member in the Administrative Committee.

The designation of the president was Swamy-cum-Muthavalli. The designation itself denotes that the title Swamy represents Hinduism and also Islam. This was given in order to establish a unity between the Muslims and Hindus of the area. We cannot see such designation anywhere in the world. In other parts of our country most of the clashes in the name of religion were held between the Hindus and Muslims and rarely between the Hindus and Christians. Here, 400 years back steps were taken for creating unity between the two religions.

Apart from the Administrative Committee, a small department was created for maintaining the day-to-day accounts and other works of the Pallivasal. In this office a Hindu by name Parameswaran Pillai was appointed as an accountant.⁹ He is in-charge of Managing the income and expenditure of the mosque. Some other Hindus are also appointed in various positions of the mosque administration. Various kinds of complaints were coming from various Muslim quarters to appoint only the Muslims in the mosque services. But, the Swamy cum Muttavalli never lend his ears.

Originally, the mosque had an area of 60 acres of wet land.¹⁰ Two ponds were under its control. The water was stored during the rainy season in the ponds and used for the cultivation of paddy in times of dry seasons. The two ponds

were named Paramanatha Kulam, and Nainar Kulam.¹¹ One time crop was cultivated every year. The land was given on lease basis to the farmers of the locality. They gave a part of the annual harvest to the mosque management as tribute. Here the point we have to remember is that most of the farmers who cultivated the lands were the Hindus. Even at present majority of the mosque land holders are Hindus. This is another best instance for the secular traditions of the Pallivasal.¹²

From the income of the Darga, including the Hundi collection, 25% goes to the president, another 25% to the Lebbais who performers daily offering to Allah and the remaining 50 percent is spent for other works relating to the mosque.¹³ At present the mosque has only 11 acres and 55 cents of paddy fields. As per the judgement of the High Court in 1958, from the income of the mosque the Managing Committee shall have the power to devote a portion of the income for higher educational advancement and medical expenses for the people of this area irrespective of their religion.¹⁴ The Managing Committee shall have the power to frame their own rules for the conduct of its business. The managing Committee offered donations from the mosque trust every year to the neighbouring poor Hindus and Christians for celebrating their respective festivals. This is another unique feature of secularism visible in Pallivasal.

We can see a number of resemblances between the offerings in the Darga of Pottalputhur and the Hindu temples. The last Friday of every Tamil month is an auspicious one to the Hindus. Most of the Hindus are going to the temples during the last Friday of every Tamil month.¹⁵ In the Darga also the last Friday is an auspicious one. Large number of devotees assemble in the

Darga. The number of non-Muslim devotees exceed the Muslim devotees. Hindus are larger in number compared with Christians. The unmarried Hindu ladies and the persons who have no issue even after a number of years of their marriage, brought water from Ramanadhi in a new small pot and poured it under the flag post planted near the mosque. It represents the custome followed by the Hindu worshippers of Tiruchendur and Ovari of our place.¹⁶ It coincided with the practice of bringing sand from the sea-shore and put it near the temple of Ovari by the persons who had problems in their life, practiced it for redeeming from such difficulties.

The mosque has its annual festival known as Kanthuri.¹⁷ The date for the commencement of the festival is calculated on the basis of the emergence of half moon. This is celebrated for 12 days. The 10th and 11th days are the most important days of the festival. Sandal paste is prepared on a large scale at the time of the Kanthuri. The sandal pot is sent to the Hindu village of Ravana samudram and brought them with larger gatherings of people along with an elephant to Pottalputhur.¹⁸ At the mosque it is offered to the Andavar. It resembles the Sandanakudams brought by Tiruchendur worshippers. Many of the ceremonies performed in the mosque are of purely Hindu character.¹⁹ Distribution of sacred ashes (vibuthi) is an important ritual in Hindu temples. Here only ashes of another kind obtained from tamarind bark, ghee and flowers are distributed by the Lebbai to all worshippers.

The mosque has an elephant. Normally, we can see elephants only in Hindu temples. Here it is peculiar one. One of its old elephant died in 1988. It was an old one of 85 years. On that occassion large number of Hindus crowded

there and paid homage to the diseased elephant. Whenever the neighbouring Hindu people celebrate their temple festival, this elephant is sent there if the temple authorities request. The elephant is also sent to Kerala during the Kajamela Festival of the Keralites.²⁰ The elephant is decorated by the Hindus of the area in times of Kanthuri festival. Here we could correlate it with the Ganesha workshop of the Hindu temples.

Another notable feature is that the Hindus and Christians who are affected by evil spirits of devils come to the mosque and stay here till their recovery. The non-Muslims are gaining quick recovery than the Muslims.²¹ Sheep and fowls are brought by all classes as offering to Allah. The Lebbais slays them in honour of the God and the flesh is divided between the worshippers and labbais. Hindus bring fruits of first yield to obtain blessings of Allah and then distribute it among the worshippers. The Hindus and Christians also give contributions in money and model lambs to the mosque. Throughout the year it is a popular resort not only to Muhammadans but also to the Hindus and the Christian pilgrims.²²

The architecture in the construction of the mosque has larger reflections of Hindu temple architecture. The linga shape stone structures are seen in the top of the pillars of the mosque. One of the days of the Kanthuri is spent for Deepa Alankaram. On that day more than 200 Kuttuvilakkus are lighted in front of the mosque. People of all religions from South India witness it and provide ghee to the lighted Vilakkus. It can be compared with the Thiruvilakku Pooja of the Hindu temples.²³ Thus the Pottalpudur Muhaideen Andavar Pallivasal maintains a secular tradition in many respects.

Religion is a practical code of living, whether it is the upanishads of Hindus or Bible of the Christians or Koran of the Muslims. All of them provide an exhaustive science of better living, a complete technique of self-development. Swamy Vivekananda says religion does not consist in dogmas and creeds, temples and churches, rituals and ceremonies, it is being and becoming its realisation. It is the manifestation of divinity already in man. Gandhiji avers religion is one tree with many branches. As branches, you may say, religions are many but as tree, religion is only one. He adds, "my religion has no geographical limits. My religion is based on truth and non violence. My religion is based on truth and non-violence. My religion forbids me to hate anybody. Religion is not for separating people, it is to bind them". His religion was the true religion of love, truth, tolerance and service to humanity.²⁴

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Historiography of the Feudatories - A Review

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Esteemed General President, Fellow Historians, Ladies and Gentleman.

I am very thankful to the office bearers and members of the Tamil Nadu History Congress for giving me this opportunity to deliver the Sectional Presidential Address at this 17th Session of the Tamil Nadu History Congress being held at Vaniyambadi.

The History of Tamil Nadu is very ancient and long. From the dawn of history, it has witnessed the rule of innumerable dynasties. Some were very powerful and some others, less powerful political vicissitudes were responsible for the changes in the position of the rulers - big or small. In Tamilnadu, the Chera, Chola, Pandyas and Pallavas were the major powers and many other chieftains were ruling independently or under the control of these major powers. The word chieftain generally refers to the head of a clan, a leader or a commander (*Chambers 20th century Dictionary*, P.183). Hence, chieftain in historical sense may refer to a ruler, having all control over his small territory. He had independent control over his people, army and administration. But once defeated by a major power, he lost his individuality and paid tribute to his overlord. Hence, the term feudatory came in to use to denote the subdued chieftain.

The word feudatory is derived from the word 'feudalism'. Feudalism may be defined as a structure of society in which the powers of

government are exercised by private barons over persons economically depended upon. (Burns, *Western Civilizations* p 280). It is a system to overlordship and vassalage in which the right to govern is conceived as a property right belonging to anyone who is a holder of fief. In return the vassals are bound to obey the overlord, and serve him faithfully. Early feudalism in India was a phase of agrarian expansion. It is believed that there were only few similarities between European feudalism and Indian feudalism. The grant of villages to Brahmin priests may be compared to the practice of giving benefices to churches in Medieval Europe. But unlike Europe, India did not have a sharply refined class of feudal barons organized in councils and assemblies, much of military feudalism. In India, there was not serfdom as seen in Europe (*R.S.Sharma, Indian Feudalism*, (Reprinted) 1990, p 223.) If feudalism was merely a political disintegration and administrative decentralisation brought about by the nobles or chiefs and vassals, it had occurred many times in India History till the establishment of the British rule. If feudalism is a form of social order in which the owners appropriated the surplus produce of the farmers by exercising superior rights over lands and people, it had not happened before the establishment of the Gupta rule. In the Hindu theology, king was represented as the greatest landowner and all others appeared as lesser landowners under him.

R.S. Sharma deals with this subject in great detail in his '*Indian feudalism*'. But the term feudatory, in political context, denotes something different. While the traditional monarchs ruled and controlled the capital cities and the adjoining area, the rest of the kingdom was usually parceled out to the subordinates who paid annual tributes to their overlords. Such subordinates were called as feudatories. Samanthal in Sanskrit may mean feudatory but the term chieftain as such may not mean the same. A chieftain may be an independent ruler until he was subdued by a powerful ruler. Perhaps then he lost his individuality and identity and like a vassal was brought under the control of his overlord. The relationship between the king and the feudatory was more or less in fact. N. Subramaniam questions the appropriateness of the use of the term feudatory in so far as determining the relationship between the monarch and his subordinate chieftains. In the European feudal set up, the king stood at the apex and below him were the barons, tenants-in-chiefs and serfs. Each owed loyalty to the persons above in the feudal hierarchy which included rendering of certain services. A close study of the role of chieftains in ancient Tamilnadu would reveal the dissimilarity between European feudalism and chieftaincies in the Tamil country. Hence N. Subramaniam feels that it would be unscientific and abuse of terminology to call these subordinate chiefs as feudatories. But at the same time the same scholar states that the traditional chiefs either recognised one of the three crowned monarchs as the lord to whom tribute was made or acted as royal officials obeying the commands of the overlord. It may be understood that in Indian context, this sort of obedience and subordination to the overlord by the subdued chiefs (i.e) vassals, might have resulted in calling them as feudatories.

We should not compare European feudalism with Indian feudalism because our set up, culture, environment were totally different. But it cannot be denied that land played an important role in both and the conquests were made only for appropriation of land. After conquest, the conqueror became the overlord and the conquered, the vassal or feudatory. As the vassal discharged his responsibilities to the feudal baron in Europe, the feudatory or subordinate chief was forced to be loyal and obedient to his overlord in Tamilnadu. Because of the overall similarities, the term feudatories is used to denote the subordinate position of a chieftain. When time and distance were realities, the maintenance of an empire depended to a great extent on the loyalty of the local rulers. It is interesting to note that at times, feudatories had taken advantage of the weakness of the king, asserted their freedom and declared their independence by withholding tribute or being in subordinate to his overlord. They even occasionally waged war against their masters or organised a coalition of other chieftains to face the overlord. History has proved that overlords had become feudatories and the latter becoming the former due to inevitable political circumstances. Aditya, the Chola feudatory of the Pallavas became an independent ruler after the battle of Sn'puramblyam in 880 A.D. and many Pallava princes figure with Pallava titles as ministers, commanders and chieftains under Aditya I, Kopperunjinga, the Kadavaraya chieftains under Rajaraja III rose to the position of imprisoning the Chola monarch at Sendamangalam. Instances of this are many in history. Hence it could be surmised that in Indian context a feudatory was one who accepted the subordinate position under a crowned king and discharged the duties assigned to him by his overlord in various capacities.

Historiography occupies a unique place different from theoretical and regular history. Historiography is an attempt to record the history of historical writing. In recent times there has been radical change in writing history. Major dynasties attracted the attention of early historians. They concentrated on the history of the Mauryas, Guptas, Harsha, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyani, Hoysalas etc. For a long time attention was not given to the South Indian dynasties. Even in a book on Indian History all the South Indian dynasties were clubbed in one chapter, while separate chapters were allotted to the history of North Indian dynasties. More so the history of Tamilnadu received scanty attention.

But there was some specific change was historical writing in the twentieth century as far as the history of the Tamil dynasties was concerned. K.A. Nilankanta Sastri in his '*History of South India*' deals with the South Indian dynasties in detail. Special mention could be made on the following works where more information on Tamil rulers could be found. A.S. Altekar's '*The Rashtrakutas and their times*' (Pune, 1931), R. Gopalan's '*The Pallavs of Kanchi*' (Madras, 1928), C. Minakshi's '*Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*' (Madras, 1938), T.V. Mahalingam's '*Kanchipuram in early South Indian History*' (Madras, 1969), K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's '*The Cholas*' (Madras, 1955), '*The Pandyan Kingdom*' (London, 1929), K. Gopalachari's '*Early History of the Andhra Country*' (Madras, 1941), Derret M. Duncan's '*The Hoysalas*', '*A Medieval Indian Royal Family*' (Bombay, 1896), T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar's '*History of the Later Cholas*' (Annamalainagar, 1955) and '*The History of the Pandyas*' (Madras, 1969). They deal in detail about the origin, growth and decline of the above

mentioned dynasties giving importance not only to political history but the social, economic and cultural aspects too.

But for a long time a detailed History of the feudatory dynasties of the South was not available J.F. Fleet in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts makes a definite remark that the history of an imperial dynasty will be incomplete without a detailed notice of atleast the important feudatory families. These feudatories aligned themselves on the borders of big powers. The territory occupied by them and the span of their rule were also limited. Generally the balance of power was not altered to a considerable extent because of the feudatories. But the political events taking place in a small region had their repercussions on the fortunes of a larger one. Similarly the history of feudatory powers constituted the history of the major powers.

As the feudatories had played some role in the life of the major powers, there are incidental references about them in the works on major dynasties mentioned above. Some of the important feudal powers who played some dominant part in the history of the dynasties of Tamilnadu were the Velirs, Kongu Cholas, Muttaraiyars, Western Gangas, Banas, Nolambas, Vaidumbas, Ays, Telugu Cholas, Paluvettaraiyars, Miladudaiyars, Malaiyamans, Sambuvarayas, yadavarayas, Kadavarayas, Nilagangaraiyars etc. They are mentioned in the historical works on the Cholas, Pallavas, Pandyas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Hoysalas and Cheras as and when they played some roles. But the origin, growth, decline, their contributions are not dealt with in a coherent manner.

stones and copper plates are known to us from these works on Kongu rulers.

C. Sivaramamurthi's *Nolamba Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum* (Madras 1964) gives very interesting piece of information about the Nolambas. Though they ruled in the Telugu and Karnataka region and their loyalty to the Rashtrakutas and Western Chalukyas is wellknown, their contribution to sculpture is well brought by the author. It is good work on art history of a feudatory dynasty.

K.R. Venkatarama Iyer's *Manual of the Pudukkottai District* (Pudukkottai, 1948) gives some account of the Muttaraiyars, and Velirs who were powerful in that region and their subordination to the Pallavas and Cholas. Inscriptional and literary sources have been well utilised for this purpose by the author.

M.S. Govindasamy has published two important works, one each on the feudatories of the Pallavas and Cholas. *The Role of the Feudatories in Pallava History* (Annamalai Nagar 1965) gives a detailed account of the role played by the Banas, Muttaraiyar, Kodumbalmchies, Cholas of Uraiyur and Palayarai, Cholas of Renadu, Adigamans, Western Gangas and some other minor subordinates of the Pallavas in their individual capacity. Apart from tracing their origin and connection with the Pallavas, the author gives the available information about their art, architecture, literature and education. As the powerful Cholas succeeded the Pallavas in power, to have a continuation to the Feudatory history, M.S. Govindasamy in his *The Role of the Feudatories in Later Chola History* (Annamalai nagar, 1979) continues the interesting account of the Banas, Paluvettaraiyas, Miladudaiyars, Kongucholas, Kadavarayas, Telugu Cholas,

Muttaraiyars and other minor subordinates. Apart from their political dealings their interest in religion, administration, literature art, architecture are also narrated. Most of the informations are got from inscriptions and literature.

Another important work on the feudatories is authored by V. Balambal. In here *Feudatories of South India* (Allahbad, 1978), she utilised many inscriptions, copper plates and literature as primary source and given a critical account of the important feudatory families of South India from 800 A.D. to 1070 A.D. The study focuses on the political history of the Banas, Nolambas, Vaidumbas, Kodumbalur Velirs, Muttaraiyars and Paluvettaraiyar. She has brought about the differences in their attitude towards their overlords and proved how the political environment was responsible for changes in allegiance and given the opportunity has the feudatories could prove their loyalty or disloyalty. The same author has written another work in Tamil titled *The Paluvettaraiyars* (Madras, 1980) which not only traces the political history of the feudatory dynasty but also deals with the social and cultural aspects related to them.

The paluvelteraiyars were unique in showing continued loyalty to the Cholas till last without joining hands with other major powers of the South. These works are also based on epigraphs and literature.

S.R. Balasubramaniam's contribution to the Chola history is worth mentioning. Apart from that, he has written a very interesting book in Tamil on a great revolutionary feudatory of the Chola times, namely *Kopperunjinga* (Madras 1965). This work deals with the role played by

the great Kadava chieftain who was under the control of the Chola ruler and how he turned to be a great conqueror, going to the extent of imprisoning Rajaraja III in Sendamangalam. His rise and fall, his involvement in art, architecture and religion are brought out in lucid style by the author.

Sambuvarayas who rose to power in the later Chola period in the South Arcot region played an important part in the Chola history. Though they were brought to limelight by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and T.V. Sadasivapandarattar in their works on Cholas, a detailed account of them was first made by Pandarattar in *TamilPolil* Vol II pp. 144 -149 under the title *Sambuvarayamannar*. G. Thangavelu and Thyagarajan have written a voluminous work in Tamil titled *The Sambuvarayar*. Using the inscriptional and literary sources, the authors have tried and succeeded in bringing out an elaborate account of the feudatory chieftains. The political, social, economic, religious and cultural involvement of the dynasty is very clearly explained in this book.

The history of the Muttaraiyars has been incidentally narrated in various books. Natana Kasinathan has done some justice in his work on Kalabhras in bringing out some features of the Muttaraiyars. Similarly some more information on various feudatory dynasties have been brought out to the notice of historians from Tamil and History books. Anyhow, as the feudatories had played important roles in the rise and fall of the major dynasties of Tamilnadu it would be very useful, interesting and complete if scholars take up in future the study of feudatory history, concentrating not only on their political history but also on their economic, social and cultural history. This would help us to have a full complete history of Tamilnadu.

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நாட்டில் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டிருப்பதையும், இக்கல்வெட்டுக் களின் அமைப்பு இலங்கையப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்களை ஒத்திருப்பதையும் சான்றாதாரமாக காட்டினார்⁸.

ஆனால் இக்கருத்து பொருத்தமாகத் தெரியவில்லை எனில் இலங்கைப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டில் உள்ள அனைத்து எழுத்தும் தமிழ்நாட்டுப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் காணப்படவில்லை. தமிழ்நாட்டுப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டில் உள்ள அனைத்து எழுத்துக்களும் இலங்கைப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் இருப்பதாகக் கூறமுடியாது. இலங்கையின் மிகத் தொன்மையான பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் பெரிய புளியங்குளம், மிகுந்தலை, சிகிரியா போன்ற இடங்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. இங்கு ஒரே கல்வெட்டில் அசோக பிராமியும் தமிழ்ப் பிராமியும் மாறிமாறி வருகின்றன. பெருங்கற்கால மட்பாண்டங்களில் குறியீடாக வரும் வடிவம் அசோக பிராமியில் ம என்ற ஒலிப்பெறுமானம் கொண்ட எழுத்தாக உள்ளது இலங்கைப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டில் இவ்வெழுத்து மிக அரதாக தமிழ்ப் பிராமிக் குரிய ம வடிவத்தோடு ஒரே கல்வெட்டில் வருகிறது⁹. இலங்கைக்குரிய பிராமி எழுத்து வடஇந்தியாவில் இருந்து பரவி, பின்னர் தமிழ்நாடு சென்றதென்றால் எப்படி இலங்கையின் காலத்தால் முந்திய ஒரே கல்வெட்டில் இருவகைப் பிராமி எழுத்துக்களும் இடம்பெற்றிருக்கும். இதனால் இலங்கைக்குரிய பிராமி எழுத்துக்கள் சமாந்திரமாக தமிழ் நாட்டிலிருந்தும், தமிழ்நாட்டிற்கு

வடக்கிலிருந்தும் பரணியதெனக் கூறுவதே பொருத்தமாக தோன்றுகிறது. அதேவேளை தமிழ்நாடு இலங்கையுட்பட தமிழ்நாட்டிற்கு வடக்கிலுள்ள பிராந்திய நாடுகளுடன் வர்த்தகத்தில் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தது. இவ்வர்த்தகத் தொடர்பால் இங்கு வழக்கில் இருந்த எழுத்துக்கள் தமிழ்நாட்டுப் பிராமி எழுத்தில் செல்வாக்க செலுத்தியிருக்க வாய்ப்புண்டு. இதையே அண்மையில் கொடுமணல், அழகன்குளம், உறையூர் போன்ற வர்த்தக மையங்கள், துறைமுகங்கள் ஆகிய வற்றில் மட்பாண்டங்களில் பெறப்பட்ட பிராகிருதச் சொற்கள், எழுத்துக்கள் உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றன¹⁰.

வடஇலங்கையில் பிராமி எழுத்துக்கள்:-

இலங்கையின் ஏனைய பாகங்களோடு ஒப்பிடுகின்றபோது வட இலங்கையில் மிகக் குறைந்தளவு கல்வெட்டுக்களே இதுவரை கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள்கூட புராதன இராசதானியாக இருந்த அநுராதாபுரத்திற்கு வடக்கிலுள்ள வவுனியா மாவட்டத்தில் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டவையாகும்¹⁰. இங்கு கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுக்கள் ஏனைய இடங்களில் கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுக்களில் இரந்து தனித்து இனங்காணக்கூடிய சிறப்பியல்புகளைக் கொண்டதாகக் கூறுவதற்கில்லை. இரு கல்வெட்டுக்கள் தமிழ்வணிகர் பெளத்த சங்கத்திற்கு அளித்த தானம் பற்றியும், நான்கு கல்வெட்டுக்கள் உதி என்ற சிற்றரசனின் கீழ் இருந்த அரசு பற்றியும் கூறுகின்றன.

தமிழ் வணிகனாக கூறப்படும் விஸாகி என்ற பெயரை ஒத்த பெயர் கொடுமணலில் மட்பாண்டத்தில் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளது¹¹. மேலும் இங்குள்ள கல்வெட்டுக்களில் தமிழ்மொழிக்கே சிறப்பான, ஈ, ம, ள, ழ, போன்ற எழுத்துக்களும் வேளா, ஆய, சோழ, உதிய போன்ற தமிழ் பெயர்களும் பரவலாக காணப்படுகின்றன¹².

இவை இக்கல்வெட்டுக்களில் காணப்படும் முக்கிய அம்சங்களாகும். வவுனியா மாவட்டம் தவிர்த்த வட இலங்கையின் பிற மாவட்டங்களில் இவை போன்ற கல்வெட்டுக்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப் பட்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இதற்குப் பொளத்த துறவிகள் தங்குவதற்கு ஏற்ற குகைகளும், எழுத்துக்களைப் பொறிப்பதற்கு பொருத்தமான இயற்கையான பாறைகளும் இல்லாமல் இருந்தமை காரணமாக கூறப்படுகிறது¹³. இதனால் இங்கு வாழ்ந்த மக்கள் எழுத்தின் பயன்பாட்டை அறிந்திருக்கவில்லையென அர்த்தம் கொள்ள முடியாது. அவர்கள் மட்பாண்டங்களிலும் பொறிக்கட்டிலும் செப்பிலு, செங்கட்டியிலும் எழுதப் பழகியிருந்தனர் என்பதை வல்லிபுரம், கந்தரோடை, ஆணைக்கோட்டை பூநகரி, வரணி ஆகிய இடங்களில் கிடைத்த சான்றுகள் உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றன.

பூநகரி:

இலங்கையின் பெரு நிலப் பரப்பையும், யாழ்ப்பாணத் தீபகற்பத்தையும் இணைக்கும் தொடக்கலாயிலாக பூநகரிப் பிராந்தியம் விளக்குகிறது. இப்பெயர்

கல்முனைவெட்டு மாதோட்டத்திற்கு வடக்கே சோழமண்டலம் வரை பரந்துள்ள பரந்த பிரதேசத்தைக் குறிக்கிறது. இங்குள்ள சில இடப்பெயர்கள் வரலாற்றிலக்கியங்களில் ஆங்காங்கே சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளபோதிலும், வரலாற்றாய்வில் இப்பிராந்தியம் நீண்ட காலம் கவனத்தில் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்படவில்லை. 1991-இல் பொ. இரகபதி மண்ணித்தலை என்ற இடத்தில் சில பெருங்கற்காலச் சின்னங்களை கண்டெடுத்ததின் பின்னர்¹⁴ கட்டுரை ஆசிரியர் 1989-91 காலப்பகுதியில் மேற்கொண்ட தொல்லியல் மேலாய்வால் இப்பிராந்தியத்தின் வரலாற்றுப் பழமை ஓரளவுக்கு உணரப்பட்டது. இந்த ஆய்வின்போது பல்வேறு காலப்பகுதிக் குரிய தொல்லியல் சின்னங்கள் பெறப்பட்டன. அவற்றுள் பெருங்கற்கால குடியிருப்புப்பகுதிகளில் பெறப்பட்ட பிராமி எழுத்துப் பொறித்த மட்பாண்ட ஓடுகள் சிறப்பாக குறிப்பிடத்தக்கன.

இவை மண்ணித்தலை, வெட்டுக் காடு, பரமன்கிராய், ஈழவூர், வீரபாண்டியன் முனை ஆகிய இடங்களில் கண்டுபிடிக்கப் பட்டவை யாகும். இவற்றுள்

மண்ணித்தலை, வெட்டுக்காடு பரமன்கிராய் ஆகிய இடங்கள் இரு மைல் சுற்றுவட்டத்திற்குள் அருகருகே அமைந்த கிராமங்களாகும்.

மண்ணித்தலையில் மட்டும் பிராமி எழுத்து பொறித்த உதினாறு மட்பாண்ட ஓடுகள் பெறப்பட்டன, ஈழவூரில் இரண்டு மட்பாண்டங்களில் கிடைத்துள்ளது. இங்குநான்கடி ஆழம் வரைகிணறு ஒன்று தோண்டியபோது பெருங்கற்காலச்

சின்னங்கள் வெளிவந்தன. அதனால் கைவிடப்பட்டது. இக்கிணற்றில் இருந்து இச்சின்னங்களோடு பிராமி எழுத்துப் பொறித்த மட்பாண்ட ஓடுகளும் பெறப்பட்டன. இதன் அயல் கிராமமான வீரபாண்டியன்முனையிலும் இவ்வாறான ஒரு சூழ்நிலையில் இவை பெறப்பட்டதாகும். இதனால் இவற்றைத் திட்டமிடாத அகழ்வாய்வில் கிடைத்த சான்றுகளாக கொள்ள இடமுண்டு.

மேற்கூறப்பட்ட இடங்களில் பெறப்பட்ட எழுத்துக்கள் மட்பாண்டங்கள் சுடப்பட்டபின் சிறுபாணைகள், தட்டுக்கள் என்பனவற்றின் கழுத்து, வயிற்றுப் பகுதியில் எழுதப்பட்டவை யாகும். பெரும்பாலான மட்பாண்டத்துண்டுகளில் ஒரு எழுத்தும், சிலவற்றில் இரண்டு, மூன்று எழுத்துக்களும், அரிதாக நான்கு எழுத்துக்களும் உள்ளன. சில எழுத்துக்கள் மட்பாண்டத்தின் உட்பகுதியில் விளிம்போடு எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளது. அவற்றில் ஒன்று தெளிவற்றதாக ஆனால் மூன்று சொற்கள் கொண்டதாக உள்ளது. பெரும்பாலான எழுத்துக்கள் தனி சிவப்பு மட்பாண்டங்களிலும், ஒரு சில கருப்பு சிவப்பு, கருப்பு, நரைந்த மட்பாண்டங்களிலும் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளன. சில எழுத்துக்கள் குறியீடு களுடன் காணப்படுகின்றன.

இங்கு அ, ஈ, உ, இ, ஓ போன்ற உயிர்எழுத்துக்கள் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. அத்துடன் அலங்கை பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுகளில் அடிக்கடி இடம்பெற்றுள்ள க[ga] க[gha] ப[Ba] ச[Sa] எழுத்துக்களும் கிடைத்துள்ளன.

இவ்வேழுத்துக்கள் தனியொரு எழுத்தாக மட்பாண்டங்களில் இடம் பெற்றிருப்பதால் சிலவற்றைக் குறியீடுகளாகவும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ள இடமுண்டு. இங்கு ப என எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட எழுத்து கொடுமணலில் ஒரு சொல்லுடன் மட்பாண்டங்களில் வரும்போது வ என வாசிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது¹⁶. இதற்கு தனியொரு எழுத்து தட்டையான மட்பாண்டங்களில் இடம் பெற்றிருக்கும் போது எழுத்தின் அமைப்பு திசைமாறி வாசிக்கவும் இடமுண்டு. இதனால் ஒரு எழுத்துக்கு தவறுதலாக வேறுபட்ட ஒலி வடிவம் கொடுத்து வாசிக்க இடமுண்டு.

இங்கு தமிழுக்குரிய பெரும்பாலான மெய் எழுத்துக்கள் வருவது குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அம்சமாகும். அவற்றுள் பெரும்பாலான எழுத்துக்கள் ஓர் சொல்லாக வருகின்றது. அத்துடன் தமிழ்மொழிக்கே உரித்தான ழ, ள, ற, ன, போன்ற எழுத்துக்களும் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளவை. அவற்றுள் ற, ன போன்ற எழுத்துக்கள் முறையே மூன்று நான்கு முறை வருகின்றது. இது ஆட்பெயராக வருவதால் ஆண் மகனைக் குறிக்க இந்த ன் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டதாக கொள்ளலாம். இலங்கைப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் ழ எழுத்து இரு இடங்களிலும், ள எழுத்து நாற்பது கல்வெட்டுக்களிலும் காணப்படுகின்றன. அத்துடன் தமிழ்ப் பிராமியின் சிறப்பு எழுத்து வடிவமான ஈ, ம போன்ற எழுத்துக்கள் பல கல்வெட்டுக்களில் வருகின்றன. ஆனால் தமிழ்மொழிக்கே உரித்தான பிற எழுத்துக்கள் இதுவரை பெறப்படவில்லை. இந்நிலையில் இவ்வேழுத்துக்கள் அனைத்தும் பூநகரி

யில் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதன் மூலம் எழுத்து வாசனையுடைய தமிழ் மக்கள் இங்கு வாழ்ந்துள்ளார்கள் என எடுத்துக்கொள்ள இடமுண்டு. இக்கூற்றை மேலும் உறுதிப்படுத்துவதாக இங்கு மட்பாண்டங்களில் பெறப்பட்ட குலப்பெயர், இடப்பெயர்கள் விளங்குகின்றன. [வரைபடம் 1,2]

பரமன்கிராயில் மூன்றெழுத்துப் பொறித்த மட்பாண்டத் துண்டொன்று கிடைத்துள்ளது. இது ஒரு தனிச்சொல்லா அல்லது சொற்றொடரின் உடைந்த பாகமா என்பது தெரியவில்லை. இதன் முதலிரு எழுத்துக்களுக்கும் வே, ள என்ற ஒலிப்பெறுமானம் கொடுத்து வேங், வேளா அல்லது வேள் என வாசிக்க முடிகிறது. இதன் மூன்றாவது எழுத்து டி அல்லது து என வாசிக்கலாம். ஐ.மகாதேவன் இவ்வெழுத்து பக்கவாட்டில் சரித்து எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளதெனக் கூறி இதை தமிழுக்குரிய ன வாக கொண்டு இதைவேளான் என வாசித்துள்ளார்¹⁶. இதில் வரும் தமிழுக்குரிய ன வை பரணவிதானா இலங்கைப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் அசோகபிராமிக் குரிய லு வாக கூறி வேள், வேளா எனவரும் நாற்பது பெயர்களையும் வேலு என வாசித்துள்ளார்.

தமிழ்நாட்டுப் பிராமிக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் சில இடங்களிலும், சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் பல இடங்களிலும் வேள், வேளர், வேளா போன்ற பெயர்கள் வருகின்றன. இப்பெயர்கள் சங்க காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்த வேள்குலத்தை, குறுநில மன்னர்களைக் குறிப்பதாகும்.

மகாதேவன் பரமன்கிராயில் பெறப்பட்ட வேளான் என்ற பெயர் சங்ககாலத்தில் வழக்கிலிருந்த பெயரை ஒத்திருப்பதால், இப்பெயர் பொறித்த மட்பாண்டம் பூநகரியல் சங்க காலத்திலிருடியேறியிருந்த தமிழ்வேளர் அல்லது வேளார் குலத்தைக் குறிக்கின்றதென்றார்¹⁷.

இங்கு கிடைத்த இன்னொரு மட்பாண்டத்தில் நான்கு எழுத்தும் அதையடுத்து புள்ளிகொண்டு இடப்பட்ட ஒருகோடும் காணப்படுகிறது. இதை யொரு குறியீடாக அல்லது எழுத்தாக கொள்ளலாம். முதல் நான்கு எழுத்தையும் தத்தன் என வாசிக்கமுடிகிறது. இதன் நான்காவது எழுத்து ன் என முடிந்திருக்க வேண்டும். இங்கு ன் அல்லது ன் என ஒலிப்பெறுமானம் கொடுக்கும் வகையில் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளது. இது எழுதியவரின் தவறாக இருக்கலாம். இன்னொரு மட்பாண்டத்தில் ஒரு புகைப்பெழுத்துக்கள் உள்ளன. இது ஒரு சொல்லின் அல்லது பெயரின் உடைந்த பாகமாகும். இது தன் ன் என முடிவதால் இறுதியில் வரும் ன் ஒரு ஆண்மகனின் பெயராக இருக்கலாம் என்பதை இச்சொல் உறுதிப்படுத்துகிறது. கொடுமணலில் பெறப்பட்ட மட்பாண்ட ஓடுகளில் கண்ணன், ஆதன், பண்ணன் போன்ற பெயர்கள் வருகின்றன. இவை சங்க இலக்கியப் பெயர்களாக காட்சியளிக்கின்றன¹⁸. இவ்வொற்றமை பரமன்கிராயில் பெறப்பட்ட பெயர் களுக்கும் பொருத்தமாக உள்ளது.

பரமன்கிராயின் மேற்கெல்லைக்

கிராமமான மண்ணித்தலையில் மட்பாண்டங் களில் பெறப்பட்ட பிராமி எழுத்துக்களில் இரண்டு சிறப்பாக குறிப்பிடத்தக்கன. முதலாவது மட்பாண்டத்தில் இரண்டு எழுத்ததுக்கள் உள்ளன. இவற்றை ஈலா என வாசிக்க முடிகிறது. இரண்டாவது மட்பாண்டத்தில் மூன்று எழுத்துக்கள் உள்ளன. முதலாவது எழுத்துக்கு ஈ என்ற ஒலிப் பெறுமானத்தைக் கொடுக்கலாம். ஆனால் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலும், மட்பாண்டங் களிலும் நேர்கோடாக வரும் இவ் வெழுத்து இங்கு புள்ளிகொண்டு சற்று வளைவாக கீறப்பட்டள்ளது. இரண்டாவது எழுத்து தமிழுக்குரிய ழ வாகும். மூன்றாவது எழுத்து சற்று இடைவெளி கூடிய நிலையில் சிறுகோடாக உள்ளது. முதலிரு எழுத்துக்களையும் ஈழ என வாசிக்க முடிகிறது. மேற்கூறப்பட்ட இரண்டு பெயர்களும் ஈழம் என்ற நாட்டுப்பெயரைக் குறிக்கலாம். உள்நாட்டு வெளிநாட்டு வர்த்தகத்தில் பொருட்களின் கொள்கலன்களாக மட்பாண்டங்கள் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டது. இதனால் இப்பெயர்கள் கொள்கலன் உரிமையாளரின் நாட்டை அல்லது இடத்தைக் குறிக்கப் பயன்படுத்தப் பட்டதெனக் கருத இடமுண்டு.

ஈழம் என்ற பெயர் திருப்பரங்குன்றப் பிராமிக் கல் வெட்டிலும், பட்டினப்பாலையிலும் வருகின்றது. இது இலங்கையின் இன்னொரு பெயராக கருதப்படுகிறது. ஆதிகாலத்தில் இலங்கை பல பெயர் கொண்டு அழைக்கப்பட்டதற்கு பானி, சிங்கள இலக்கியங்களில் சான்றுகள்

உண்டு. ஆனால் ஈழம் என்ற நாட்டுப்பெயர் இலங்கை வரலாற்றி லக்கியங்கள் எதிலும் காணப்படவில்லை. தமிழ்நாட்டு வரலாற்று மூலங்களில் மட்டும் வரும் இப்பெயர்கூட எல்லாக் காலத்திலும் முழுஇலங்கையைக் குறித்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. பிற்பட்ட உதயணன் பெருங்காந்தையில் இந்நாடு சிங்கள - ஈழம் என வேறுபடுத்திய கூறப் பட்டுள்ளது. இதனால் சங்ககாலத்தில் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்ட ஈழம் என்ற நாட்டுப் பெயர் வட இலங்கையில் பூநகரி உள்ளிட்ட ஒரு பிராந்தியத்தைக் குறித்திருக்கலாம். பூநகரியில் மண்ணித்தலைக்கு தெற்கேயுள்ள ஒரு பிராந்தியம் ஈழவர் எனவும், இங்குள்ள கடற்கரைத்துறை ஈழலங்குடா எனவும் அழைக்கப்பட்டுவருகிறது. இப்பெயர் 16ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலும் இவ்விடத்திற்கு பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டதை போர்துதுக்கேய ஆவணங்களில் காணமுடிகிறது¹⁹. இங்கு ஒரு கத்தோலிக்க ஆலயம் அமைக்கப் பட்டதை இவ்வாவணம் கூறுவது இக்கிராமத்தின்பாரம்பரியம் வரலாற்றிற்கு சான்றாக. இவ்விடப்பெயருக்கும் மண்ணித்தலையில் பெறப்பட்ட பெயர் களுக்கும் இடையிலான வரலாற்றுத் தொடர்ச்சி ஆராயத்தக்கது.

இயற்றாலைக்கோட்டை

வட இலங்கையில் மேலும் சில இடங்களில், பிராமி எழுத்தின் பயன்பாடு இருந்துள்ளதென்பதற்கு கட்டுரை ஆசிரியர் இயற்றாலைக்கோட்டைப் பகுதியில் கண்டெடுத்த பிராமி எழுத்துப் பொறித்த செங்கட்டிகள் சான்றாகும்.

இவை கண்டெடுக்கப்பட்ட இடம் மேலும் இதன் முக்கியத்துவத்தை ஆராயத் தூண்டுகிறது. இவ்விடம் யாழ்ப்பாணத் தீபகற்பத்தில் தென்மராட்சிப்பிரிவில் உள்ள வரணிப் பிரதேசத்தின் மேற்கெல்லையில் அமைந்துள்ளது. இக்கிராமத்தின் தென்மேற்கு எல்லையில் கடற்கரைப்பக்கமாக புராதன கட்டிடங்கள் இருந்ததற்கான செங்கட்டிகள் பரந்த அளவில் மண்ணுள் புதைபுண்டு காணப்படுகின்றன. இச்செங்கட்டிகள் ஓர கோட்டையின் அழிபாடாக இருக்கலாம் எனக் கருதி இவிவடம் இயற்றாலைக் கோட்டை எனவும், இங்குள்ள ஆலயம் கோட்டை வாசல் பிள்ளையார் எனவும் அழைக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் இதன் அமைவிடம், இதுவரை இவ்விடத்தில் பெறப்பட்ட தொல்லியல் சான்றுகள் என்பனவற்றை வைத்து நோக்கும்போது இன்னிருக்கும் கட்டிட அழிபாடு கடல்சார்ந்த வர்த்தகத்திற்கு பயன்படுத்தப் பட்ட துறைமுக மேடையாக இருக்கலாம் எனக் கருத இடமாகிறது. இவ்விடம் இருபது ஏக்கர் நிலப்பரப்பில் உயர்ந்த மேடையாக உள்ளது. இதன் ஒரு பகுதி காடாகவும் இன்னொருபகுதி பயிர்ச் செய்கை நிலமாகவும் உள்ளது. பயிர்ச்செய்கைக்காக இவ்விடம் திருத்தப் பட்டபோது பரந்த அளவில் செங்கட்டிகள், பொழிந்த முருகைக்கற்கள், மட்பாண்ட ஓடுகள் ஒருசில உரோம சோழ, பாண்டிய நாணயங்கள் என்பன வெளிவந்ததைக் காணமுடிகிறது. அத்துடன் இங்கு மண்குடம் ஒன்றில் இருந்து கண்டெடுக்கப்பட்ட எழுநூறு உரோம நாணயங்கள் கட்டுரை ஆசிரியரால் சேகரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

காடாக உள்ள பகுதியில் சிறிய நாச்சியார் ஆலயமொன்று காணப் படுகிறது. கட்டிடம் எதுவுமின்றி மரநிழலின்கீழ் பதிநான்கு தெய்வங்களைக் குறிக்கும் கற்கள் நாட்டப்பட்டு வழிபடப்படுகிறது. கற்களின் அடியில் சிறிய செங்கட்டிமேடை காணப்படுகிறது. இம்மேடை கற்கள் நாட்டப்பட்டபோது போடப்பட்டதா அல்லது அயலில் உள்ள செங்கட்டி களைக் கொண்டு பிற்காலத்தில் போடப்பட்டதா என்பதில் தெளிவில்லை. ஆனால் இங்குள்ள மூன்று செங்கட்டி களில் பிராமி எழுத்துக்கள் உள்ளன. 9 X 12 அங்குல நீள அகல செங்கட்டிகள் இரண்டில் முறையே இரு எழுத்துக்களும், 4X4 நீள அகல செங்கட்டியில் ஒரு எழுத்தும் உள்ளன. முதலாவது செங்கட்டியில் உள்ள எழுத்துக்களை மய அல்லது மாய எனவும் இரண்டாவது செங்கட்டியில் உள்ள எழுத்தை தறா எனவும் வாசிக்க முடிகிறது. இச்சொற்கள் ஒரு சாசனத்தின் எஞ்சிய பகுதிகளாக இருக்கலாம். சுண்ணாம்புக் கற் பிரதேசமான யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் கல்வெட்டு எழுதுவதற்குப் பொருத்தமான கல் காணப்படாததால் மக்கள் செங்கட்டி களிலும் எழுதினர் என்பதற்கு இவையொரு சான்றாகும்.

ஆலயத்தில் அமைப்பையும், சுற்றாடலில் பெறப்பட்ட சான்றுகளையும் வைத்து நோக்கும்போது இங்கு பெறப்பட்ட பிராமி எழுத்துக்கள் வரலாற்று முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்ததாக உள்ளன. இவ்வெழுத்துக்கள் இங்குள்ள ஆலயத் தோடு தொடர்புடையதாக இருப்பின்

இங்குள்ள கற்கள் சங்ககால நடுகல் வழிபாட்டு மரபிருந்ததற்கு சிறந்த சான்றாகும். எதிர்காலத்தில் இங்கு மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் ஆய்வுகள் மேலும் பல புதிய தகவல்களைத் தரலாம்.

முடிவுரை :

வடஇலங்கையில் வல்லிபுரம், கந்தரோடை, ஆணைக்கோட்டை ஆகிய இடங்களைத் தொடர்ந்து எண்ணிக்கையில் கூடுதலான பிராமி எழுத்துக்கள் பூநகரியில் பெறப்பட்டமை வடஇலங்கை வரலாற்றாய்வுக்கு புதுவெளிச்சம் மூட்டுபவையாக உள்ளன. இவை இப்பிராந்தியத்தின் தொன்மையையும் மொழிவழக்கையும் அறிப்பெரிதும் உதவுகின்றன. அண்மையில் அநுராதாபுரத்திலும், தமிழ்நாட்டில் உறையூர், அழகன்குளம், கொடுமணல் ஆகிய இடங்களிலும் பெருங்கற்கால மட்பாண்ட ஓடுகளில் பிராமி எழுத்துக்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன²⁰. பூநகரியில் பெறப்பட்ட எழுத்துக்கள் மேற்படை ஆய்வின்மூலம் கிடைத்தவையாகும். ஆயினும் இவற்றின் எழுத்தடைவு கொண்டு இதன் காலம் கி.மு. 3ஆம் 2ஆம் நூற்றாண்டென ஜ. மகாதேவன் கணித்துள்ளார்²¹. ஏறத்தாழ இதே காலத்தை சேர்ந்த கொடுமணல் அழகன்குள மட்பாண்டங்களில் வரும் பெயர்கள், சொற்கள் சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் வரும் பெயர்களோடு ஒத்துள்ளன. இவ்வொற்றுமை பூநகரியில் பெறப்பட்ட பெயர்களுக்கும் பொருந்துவதாக உள்ளது.

கொடுமணலின் குறியீடுகளுடன் கோவே என்ற பெயர் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இங்கு பெறப்பட்ட பெரும்பாலான பெயர்கள் என் முடிவதால் இப்பெயரின் முழுவடிவம் கோவேதன் என இருந்திருக்கலாம். ஆணைக்கோட்டையல் கொடுமணலில் காலத்தை ஒத்த முத்திரையில் மூன்று குறியீடும் கோவேத என்ற பெயரும் இருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது²². அநுராதபுரத்தில் பூநகரியைக் காட்டிலும் எண்ணிக்கையில் கூடுதலான எழுத்துக்கள் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதன் காலம் கி.மு. 500 அல்லது கி.மு. 750 எனக் கணிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது²³. ஆனால் இதன் எழுத்துக்கள் பூநகரியிலும், தமிழ்நாட்டிலும் பெறப்பட்ட எழுத்துக்களோடு பொதுத்தன்மை கொண்டுள்ளன. அத்துடன் மட்பாண்டங்களில் தமிழ்ப் பிராமிக்கே உரியசிறப்பெத்துக்களும் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவ்வொற்றுமையை நோக்கும்போது பெருங்கற்காலப் பண்பாட்டில் தமிழ்நாட்டிற்கும் இலங்கைக்கும் பொதுத் தன்மை இருப்பதுபோல் அதன் மையங்களில் மட்பாண்டங்களில் பெறப்பட்ட பிராமி எழுத்துக்களிலும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் செல்வாக்கு இருந்ததெனக் கூற இடமுண்டு.

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நன்றி

பூநகரிப் பிராந்திய பெருங்கற்கால மட்பாண்டங்களில் பெறப்பட்ட பிராமி எழுத்துக்களை வாசித்து அறிந்துகொள்ளப் பெரிதும் உதவியாக இருந்த தமிழ்நாட்டின் முதன்மைச் சாசனவியலாளர்களில் ஒருவரான ஜராவதம் மகாதேவன் அவர்களுக்கு என் நன்றி.

Writing of Regional Histories - A Review

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History of a region or a sub-region is as important as the history of a Nation. All parts play a vital role in the development of the whole Nation. The importance of the regions had been realised by the rulers and administrators and hence many accounts on regions have been attempted in ancient, mediaeval and modern times. Many literary works of the past and present portray the history of the regions with some details pertaining to political, social, economic, religious, cultural and military affairs.

The notable development of sub-altern studies in recent decades has undoubtedly given a momentum to the writing of regional and sub-regional histories. But there are some difficulties in writing the regional histories. No doubt, the Gazetteers and Manuals of various regions deal at length with various affairs of the regions. But these secondary sources have to be relied upon with caution as certain factors have been written on the basis of hearsay information. Hence, writing of regional or sub-regional histories have to be attempted after a scientific analysis of the information.

Various factors remain as constraints on regional studies. Complex structure of the regions, languages of respective regions, less exposure of the people of the regions to the de-

velopments around and their inert attitude to the changing times resulting in the lack of historical sense and a few more remain as impediments in writing of histories on regions and sub-regions.

Historical writing in the nineteenth century was dominated by the productions of general history whose salient feature is centrifugal approach to the study of Indian history. It is since the beginning of twentieth century, the idea of regional or sub-regional study has been receiving the attention of the scholars. As against the view of history being studied from the central point, a new trend has gained currency to approach Indian history through micro angle viewing society from the level of provinces, districts and towns. The study of the regions has also resulted in ventures of writing histories concerning social groups and communities in these regions. So the nineteenth century practice of writing general history and particularly political and administrative history has undergone a change into writing of histories narrating the social, economic, religious and cultural conditions. This remarkable change brought out regional and communal histories which illuminate the part in the whole of history.

The above view was well illustrated in the Indian History Congress held during the end

of 1976 where the papers presented by scholars all over India reflected the marked trend in the recent years that there has been a decline in interest among historians in purely political, military or chronological matters. The interest now seems to be shifting not only to matters of society but to the inter-relation of social and economic issues with political and military issues.¹

Every region has good potential resources to present a history of its own. Various regions have been playing from time immemorial, a considerable role in the history of India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular. While studying about a particular linguistic groups is to be based on vast potential resources available to us. But the essential prerequisite here is that the researcher should have first hand knowledge of the language and dialect in which the evidence he is handling is couched. Bertrand's *Mission Du Madure (LETTRES EDIFIANTES ET CURIEUSES)* which is in French, Tondaiman Vamsavali, Tondaiman Vijayamu and many more in Telugu, Rayath Tondaiman, Anuragamalai, Thondaimandala Sathagam and many more in Tamil, Atma Vidya Vilasam and some other works in Sanskrit and a number of other sources in different languages help us in tracing the history of Pudukkottai and many other regions in Tamil Nadu. But language is a big barrier. Even in translation of some letters and works or reading of inscriptions in subsequent periods, shocking blunders have been committed by learned scholars as is observed in 'Three lectures' by Mr.K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Retired Superintendent for Epigraphy, published through Kannada Research Office, Dharwar in 1941.

It is also essential for the researcher on

regional history to live and move in the region of his investigation for days and months together as Dr. Robert Eric Frykenberg would write "Guntur District, 1788 - 1848", which he mentions in the perface of his work.² The researcher must also identify himself with the region of his study to know more deeply and intimately about the social institutions and organisations, economic viabilities, religious sanctities and cultural developments.

Regional history is a study of a social phenomenon in relation to the location of regions and with reference to the natural environment as well as to the culture of the region. The ideas of relationship between the region and the whole of which it is a part, and the mutual interdependence of the cultural and physical elements, of the region are basic aspects to a regional study.³

Regionalism is a cluster of geographical, economic, sociological and governmental factors. This leads to a district consciousness of its own identity which differs from the rest of the regions. Though it forms a part in the whole, its social and cultural peculiarities make it a unique identity from the rest of the regions which is worth a study. But the historians, in tracing the history of territorial integration, placed so far, a little emphasis on ethnically or culturally homogeneous regions. Their conquest, aggression, empire building and movement of national importance are not properly taken into account while writing the history of the whole. Nations history is not complete unless the histories of various regions within the nation, whether they played minor or major role, whether their contribution is considerable or less in the history of the whole, are vividly written. As Dr. Nirmal avers in his paper entitled "Regional Bias in Indian His-

toriography", 'any Indian history must be written on the basis of regional histories' which have the trappings of a nation.⁴

While the average western visitor to this country, to whatever profession he may belong, is able to appreciate the beauties of the monuments and sculptures and even our social values. But we have an indifference to our surroundings. We are quite unaware of many of the things around us. It is because Indian culture in the proper perspective has not found its place in the text books.⁵ Great contributions of many regions are not found in many of the books on history. That Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterj and Dr. Bhikhan Lal Atreya and Mr. Alain Danielou in their scholarly work "Indian Culture" do not make a mention of the musical inscriptions at Kudumiyanmalai in Pudukkottai region or the musical pillars in the Thanumalayaperumal temple Suchindram.

Research is often described as an academic luxury. At present it is a necessity but is an expensive one. The financial implications are tremendous. The research student has to travel in his own country and if possible abroad for procuring his materials, chiefly the primary sources and for meeting people who are connected with his field of research.⁶ This kind of financial stress no doubt affects the research activities.

Though Indian History Congress and other academic bodies speak of writing history on regional and local levels on up-to-date line of scientific enquiry, the impetus is still lacking in this line of approach.⁷ This is mainly because of the conception that the regional or local histories are most by epitomes of Gazetteers and

manuals of difference regions and territories. But, Guntur District (1788 - 1848) by Dr.R.E. Frykenberg, A General History of the Pudukkottai State by S. Radhakrishna Iyer, The Kongu Country by Dr.M. Arockiaswamy, Malabar and the Dutch by K.M. Panikkar, History of Madurai (1736-1801) by Dr.K. Rajayyan are scholarly works of history on regions with new interpretations and findings based on careful investigation. They cannot be compared as ordinary works with Gazetteers and manuals. Similar works like Modern Mysore by M.S. Shama Rao, explaining military episodes and administrative measures along with socio-economic conditions, History of Mysore by C. Hayavadana Rao, A history of Deccan by J.D.B. Gribble, History of Kerala by K.P. Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala by K.M. Panikkar, Tamilagam in the 17th Century by R. Sathianatha Aiyer, Madras in Olden Times being a History of the Presidency by J.T. Wheeler are works of high repute in respect of their presentation of facts and description.

The historical inaccuracies found in many of the books where the authors seem to have depended on one-sided accounts of earlier disparaging publications, perplex the research students. Publications based on general reports, ballads and folk songs and also oral works have played down the brighter side of the lives and achievements of many enlightened personalities. As it is viewed there are two opinions about Poligar Kattabomman's protest against the British. After independence, in the process of integration of Indian states, in many books "Pandit Nehru figures more often than Sardar Patel". The authors have consulted hardly any literature on Sardar Patel or the more authoritative sources

on Pandit Nehru. Consequently, their account inevitably suffers from inadequate appreciation of the personality and achievements of both made at the time of partition to secure a peaceful transfer of power through their tours, speeches and other activities.⁸ A research student is then at a loss to know the truth if he has to depend on secondary sources for some minor references.

With regard to archaeological and epigraphical evidences, a research scholar has to make a thorough and critical study of all the things available to him, combining them wherever necessary with secondary and circumstantial evidences. He has to sift the vast array of epigraphical data and rely heavily on logic, as Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan, an experienced epigraphist and an erudite Sanskrit scholar did in his work, the *Vishnukundis and Their Times* (An epigraphical Study). He has to reinterpret many of the relevant inscriptions and succeed in presenting a balanced and comprehensive survey of a region and dynasty.⁹

Suggestions are made by various scholars for assigning each student a limited region for his study and for training him to collect the source material to weave out a descriptive account of the progress of history in that region. But "research in history is conducted at present in Indian Universities in an isolated fashion. A research scholar in each University is not aware of what his counterpart in another University is working on. No systematic digest or handbook is available to a research scholar for consultation. There is no instance of correlated group research in well-marked areas".¹⁰ It is also a welcome suggestion by Dr. Romila Thapar that the macro-history model of India should be built up after detailed studies of regional micro-histories, instead of imposing a macro-view on the regional

histories.¹¹

Some remarkable sources of information are to be found in the private papers and letters and in some records held by the descendants of ancient families for which access is difficult unless a local authority or an officer assures them of their careful handling and safe return after perusal. Hence, the Government must come forward to acquire such vital resources for historical research. If those difficulties are overcome, the goldmine of original sources can easily be tapped and many an unexplored area can be kept open for further investigation.

"In all times and in all places, men have for the most part conservative. They have clung tenaciously to what has come down to them from the past. But at varying rates of speed, the culture and social institutions of any society change through time".¹²

It is also to be noted that with few exceptions, most of the historians failed to take note of the significant social changes that had occurred in many regions. The revolution of a collective nature in its selflessness,¹³ in different spheres of Indian society, temple entry of the Harijans with a new light, protest against the domination of certain communities and many other social changes must be studied in detail to know whether they have close bearings on our national existence and progress.

Attempting to write regional or sub-regional histories is a commendable work. But the challenges confronting the researchers are many. To overcome these difficulties, attempts should be made to educate the people of the region on various lines so as to make them

realise the importance of the past. Like imparting human rights education to the rural masses. History education should be carried on among them and conservation of the sources of regional histories. The researchers should also learn the languages of the regions to attempt these micro studies, so that whatever bulk of literature is available on the regions they could be well analysed to understand the intricacies and complex structure of the regions. If such difficulties are overcome, writing of regional histories is really a commendable task and such a task is a contribution to the field of historical literature and national development.

Finally, writing of regional history is mistaken as separatism, sectionalism and secession. To Turner, Amercia was only a "sectional amalgum".¹⁴ But regions are the building blocks which are making up the structure of the larger sociocultureal area¹⁵ and it must be remembered that the part alone does not play a role in isolation, but the whole, consisting of the parts, assert itself to take all the parts with it to a national goal, as Indian constitution gives importance to the idea of Union of states which is a means towards the realisation of the unity of India. "Too many india is beautiful".

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the moral philosophers and folklorists as the only ones with an interest in oral tradition.

This tradition indeed had brought in criticism of the use of oral tradition in historical reconstruction. Ferguson was sceptical of oral sources, because he pointed out at first the oral tradition contained some resemblance of truth, and in every generation receive different form.

Similarly, the American anthropologist Robert Lowie pronounced that he could "not attach to oral traditions and value whatsoever under any circumstances whatsoever" because "we cannot know them to be true". [301]

However, writing in 1920 the British anthropologist W.H.R. Rivers took an opposite position. Rivers concluded : "where native traditions seem to record historical events, the conclusions drawn from them are in agreement with those reached through lines of evidence" [391].

Lord Raglan declared : " Tradition never preserves historical facts he further added. "without precise chronology there can be no

history". Such hardline attitude towards oral traditions was taken by such historians who were firmly tied to the documentary - archival traditions. One such criticism emanated from the heir of Lord Action ie., Hugh Trevor - Roper. He cautioned that the time had come to nip this blossom before it could propagate itself further.

Conclusion

The interpretations of oral tradition remains in a state of considerable flux. The study and understanding of oral historical material is far more troublesome and demanding. Above all, many fieldwork experiences has shown that person to person contact itself affects very much the nature of the material gathered. All said and done, oral traditions are important source material for a true social history, to provide a true subaltern perspective if properly tapped and handled.

"Every single item of folklore, every folk-tale, every tradition, had its origins in some definite fact in the history of man" [George Gomme]

Subaltern School of Thought in Historical Writings : The Concept Explained

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It has been a welcome trend that history writing in the twentieth century, especially after late 1920's in Europe, after the emergence of *Annales*, the French School of Thought, searching for a "total history" and from 1940's and 1950's in India, has undergone a sea-change from its dull, dynastic and episodic history to people - oriented history. Even this trend has been changed by Ranajit Guha and other Indian - born Cambridge historians from 1980's onwards. They all belong to a new school of thought called "subaltern studies" as they began to expound vociferously, "the subaltern as the subject of historical and sociological enquiry" treating the subaltern not as "objects of history but as makers of history". This school of thought was first advocated by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian communist politician - cum - social scientist in his *Dairy* written while he was in jail and later it was published under the title *PRISON NOTE BOOKS*.

Subaltern School and Concept :

Antonio Gramsci *inter alia* emphasised the need of historians resorting to this trend in their writings even though it is necessarily fragmented and episodic. He was of the view that unification of these subaltern groups in the historical activity is essential but, it has been prevented by ages since by dominant ruling groups. Its unification could be possible if only the spontaneous revolts of these groups have

achieved permanent victory against exploitation and discrimination. In view of the historical activity that is being constructed and dominated by the hegemonistic social and political groups in society, it is imperative according to Gramsci on the part of the historian who believes in equity and social justice, to integrate the revolts of these subaltern groups with history. Otherwise studies about subaltern groups or people bereft of unity with history can only be dealt with monographically, and each monograph requires an immense quantity of material which is often hard to collect.

Like Lenin who interpreted Marxism and like Mao who interpreted both Marxism and Leninism, Ranajit Guha and scholars of his like Partha Chatterjee, Shahid Amin, Gnanendra Pande, Gautam Patra, Dipesh Chakraborty, Danik Sarkar, Julie Stephens, David Hardiman, David Arnold, Sumit Sarkar and others interpreted the "subaltern concept" of Antonio Gramsci, an avowed Marxist in a different angle that befits of a grass - root historian and social scientist. In fact, the scholars who belong to this school of thought are specialists in subjects like History, Sociology, Economics and English Literature. So far, ten volumes on "Subaltern Studies" have been published. Most of the contributors of these volumes wrote on states like Uttarpradesh, Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat. David Arnold alone contributed two articles on

South India. Colonial India forms the subject matter of these eight volumes with stray references about post-Independence India peeped in.

Having been concerned of with school of thought, Prof. Irfan Habib an eminent scholar of Marxist brand stated that the Marxist historians should have to guard against these Cambridge breed of subaltern historians, for they brand Marxist historians "elite historians". It is true that the historiography of recent decades has been influenced to a certain extent by this new school of thought. Hence, stirred the thinking of Marxist historians whose writing are based on the concept: "dialectical materialism". The subaltern school of thought negated this as "inadequate".

The motivation of the scholars who belong to this school of thought was to interpret societal events and incidents, in the context of "outbursts" and "revolts" of the subaltern people. This could very well allay the fears of Prof. Irfan Habib like historians. On the following promises these scholars defy the extant trends in historical writings of the colonial period in particular.

- i) the colonial and national history is dominated by elite historians - this charge is directed against the Marxist historians as well;
- ii) national history is nothing but the spiritual history of the leaders;
- iii) in the present historical works no space is found extolling and highlighting the subalterns' cause, their politics, belief systems, attitudes, behaviour patterns,

traditions, thoughts and their life styles;

- iv) and in identifying and utilising those sources like oral information, hand-bills, folk-songs and tales, that throw much light on the "subalterns", references on whom are not certainly found in records, for they are influenced and controlled by the elites had not found favour with the elite historians hence, "biased", "history from above" and not "from below".

The word "subaltern" stands for the soldier "of inferior rank". According to Ranajit Guha, the chief interpreter of this new school of thought, "subaltern consciousness" manifests in the revolt or outburst of more spontaneous nature of inferior people, which is derived from the conditions of exploitation. He further says: "... one of its invariant factors was a notion of resistance to elite domination". To him "subaltern mobilization is relatively more violent" and "it relies more on the traditional organisation of kinship and territoriality or on class associations".² And these "subaltern insurgencies" could be expressed by the poor and the downtrodden, low caste people, people discriminated on the basis of age and gender and any exploited or ill - treated state official. But all these "outbursts" in one way or the other, either directly or indirectly, essentially have to undergo three stages of opposition, namely dissent, protest and struggle. This is the characteristic feature of the subaltern revolts.

The insurgencies of the subalterns have been understood as spontaneous outbursts that have a tendency to prove effective in solving some of their immediate problems though temporarily. However, attempts to do studies

on subaltern classes and their insurgencies, especially in the context of writing history from below, as an integral part of the wholesome historical process transcending colonial boundaries, would be laudable, for such studies by providing new dimension to any historical knowledge, would in the process enrich it.

The history of Tamilnadu is replete with many such events, incidents, happenings and anecdotes, especially the medieval history of Tamilnadu and the peasant insurgencies that challenged the British colonial foundation in Tamilnadu from 1920's to 1940's, need attention by the scholars.

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Women's Studies Methodology : A Historical Perspective with Special Reference to Andhra Pradesh

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Women's Studies, a novel discipline in the world of education, has comparatively a belated origin. It was the brain child of National movements and Women's Movements in the late decades of the 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries in the entire globe. In India, Women had a hoary past in Aryan Vedic times and their high status in home and society continued unabated but with some imposed restrictions till the Muslim occupation.

Modern period falls into two parts - early modern and later modern. The predominant feature of the early period (AD 1600 - 1800) was the advent of the foreign merchants. The next period (AD 1800 - 1947) witnessed the birth of Indian nationalism. Indian nationalism, had received a form with the founding of the Indian National Congress (1885) and by the turn of the century, the Swadesi Movement, followed by the more momentous *Vandemataram* movement and on its heels, the Home Rule Movement had strengthened it countrywide. Mrs. Annie Besant was the architect of the Home Rule Movement and her works as India, a Nation were timely and effective as a negation of the prevalent western nation that it was conglomeration of races ever in mutual conflicts - an easy prey to colonialism. By this time, the religious and social

reform movements had enthused women to understand their hardships and awareness of attempts were on the anvil to better their condition, eg. raising the age of marriage, remarriage of child widows, spread of female education etc.

After the I World War, the disappointed Indian nationalists became more anti-British and Mahatma Gandhi, with rich experience of non-violent satyagraha in South Africa emerged as the sole leader of the Indian freedom struggle with the wonderful weapon of satyagraha, and women en masse - from children to very old mothers, responded to the clarion call of the Mahatma whom they considered as the incarnation of Krishna in the *Mahabharata* war. They, with devotion and sincerity, participated in the non-violent Non-Cooperation (1921), Salt Satyagraha, Individual Satyagraha and Quit India Movements - their numerical strength was swelling from time to time. Women's participation in the constructive programmes - Charka propaganda, Harijan uplift, anti-liquor propaganda, foreign cloth boycott, Council entry etc, was greater and profound compared to the other southern states - Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Sarojini Naidu, Muthulakshmi Reddi, Rukmini Lakshmipati and Durgabai Deshmukh were to rank freedom fighters from South India.

For the study women's multifarious roles in this interesting period, State Archives, Delhi, Madras and Hyderabad possessing the British records-Despatches from the Presidency of Madras and Residencies of India. States eg. Nizam, besides those in District Libraries, District Manuals and Gazatteers, Encyclopaedias in English and Telugu, works on Freedom Movement eg. Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh (3 vols.) by M. Venkatarangaiah, Who is Who in Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (3 vols.) by Dr. Sarojini Regani and High Lights of Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh by the same author, besides contemporary newspapers in Telugu-Andhra Patrika, Andhra Prabha, etc. and in English The Hindu, Indian Express, Madras Mail, Swarajya etc. give us some material. Patriotic literature, ballads, songs, dramas, speeches and traditional oral culture should be studied meticulously to cull out information for the activities of women in the long period. An indepth study of folk culture and mass culture will yield fruitful results.

Independent India - contemporary indigenous sources in archives - State and Central mass media, libraries, public and those attached to Universities and literature prose, poetry, dramas - should be researched exhaustively for a detailed and complete depiction of women's multi-dimentional activities and compare them with men and women in other States in India in their achievements. To assess, whether *dejure* status is becoming *defacto* status of women, a deep and elevated study on the part of women students committed to work for the discipline of historical studies is essential.

In contrast to urban culture rural mass culture should be probed thoroughly, for the study of development of women through the ages. Folk

culture comprising folklore, folk songs, folk ballads, folk theatre, proverbs, adages, axioms, and sayings-some recorded but mostly unrecorded just transmitted by oral tradition through the ages should be collected from villages and studied. As man and woman, both hailing from woman, and together forming the human being, their intricate implications, mutual and in contact with nature - flora and fauna, hills, rivers and temples could be revealed from the mass folk culture and archival and literary. In the present age of tremendous technological advancement, women and children, due to tight activity of programmes in competitive life, have little aptitude or time to enquire or listen to epics or puranas highlighting the local and regional variations and interpolations or learn folk tales, or ballads eg. *Palnativiracharitra*, or battle of Bobbili, songs celebrating seasonal festivals, and important events in the life of a female child-naming ceremony, attaining puberty and various phases for they engage themselves in viewing Television, listening to Radio Broadcasts or attending music concerts. So, oral communication between elderly women and youngsters is negligible.

For researchers on historical studies to proceed to rural areas, mingle with them to cull out unknown information from them with tact and patience they must be provided with facilities and adequate funds. They must have a good knowledge of the local language and be able to elicit more information from the people than by the formal interviews with a few persons. Women's studies and methodology should be included in the curriculam of every educational institution- from school to University - not merely confined to women's colleges and Universities. A comparative study of folk culture of the Southern States will yield us a full statured portrayal of women of South India through the Ages.

Social Service of Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell to the Erstwhile Tennevelly District.

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Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell, one of the greatest missionaries of 19th century the world has known, was not only hailed for his religious service but also for his linguistic studies, historical writings, archaeological findings and social service. The world has known more of his services except social service. It is not known to most of the population. Even the christian world is ignorant of that. So it is apt to highlight the hidden truths about his social service.

Born on 7th May 1814 at Antrim near stream Glady in N. Ireland of Scottish parents¹, Caldwell had his university education at Glasgow. When he felt the inner call of his mind, he attached himself to the sect of congregationalists and after taking his degree, joined the London Missionary Society. The Society sent him out to Madras in 1838². After his arrival there he devoted himself to the study of Tamil with the help of Mr. Drew and other European scholars of Tamil. Then he enlisted himself in the service of the society for the propagation of Gospel³. In 1841 he was sent to do His Mission at Idaiyangudi in Tinnevely District. Bishop Spencer ordained him as Decan. For 43 years he dedicated his life for the cause of the upliftment of the downtrodden of that region: Dr. Caldwell married Eliza in 1844. They had two sons and three daughters. In 1877 he was ordained as the S.P.G. Bishop of Tinnevely District. In 1884 Dr. Caldwell moved to Tuticorin on the advice of the Metropolitan. He actively engaged himself in missionary and educational work until in Janu-

ary 1891⁴. The 77 year old Bishop breathed his last on August 28th at Kodaikanal was interred with all honours in the church he built at Idaiyangudi among the people for whom he had lived and served. This study makes an attempt on a birds eye view of his services to the society.

In every branch of his untiring labours, he was inspired with the belief that he was doing true missionary service⁵. A true servant of God, a profound scholar, a man of persistent and whole-hearted devotion to the one great purpose of his life, he strove to raise and benefit in the highest and fullest sense the whole mass of the people in whose midst he spent more than half a century of his noble life. Their bodily, mental, spiritual and social welfare were all alike the objects of his unceasing solicitude and effort⁶.

Europeans are little different from the other aliens who came to India. Before propagating christianity they worried about the people. They followed the method of Jesus who fed and healed the people before he started preaching. The missionaries too provided the people with food. Their scientific outlook made them ignore the superstitions of Indians. They started schools and hospitals⁷. Dr. Caldwell started schools both for boys and girls in and around Idaiyangudi to improve the villagers. As soon as their marriage, his wife (Mrs. Eliza Caldwell) started a boarding school at Idaiyangudi. She pitied for the families. To uplift and to add to the wealth of the families, she taught lace making to the girls and house wives. She shouldered her husband in the

responsibility of removing illiteracy. Moreover, whenever people were in distress, Dr. Caldwell and his wife rushed to them to mitigate their sufferings. In the last 1870's cholera broke out in the Southern part of Tinnevely District. Dr. Caldwell swung into action immediately and did the relief work enthusiastically, risking his life. This won the affection of all the people and brought around 24,000 Hindus and Muslims into the Masters fold.

In 1877 when Dr. Caldwell returned from Calcutta after receiving Bishopric, South India suffered a famine caused by drought and flood never known before. Andhra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu part of Kerala and Orissa were affected by that. Dr. Caldwell and other missionaries did the relief work by supplying food stuff, dress materials, money, agricultural implements, seeds, financial help for house repairing, etc. irrespective of caste and creed which earned good will from the Hindus and Muslims alike. It was responsible for conversion too.⁸ His daughter too helped poor boarding and non-boarding students by managing to get aid from their friends, relatives and others of their home land. Rev. J.M. Fenton sent 1002£ and with that Dr. Caldwell bought a land and dug a lake (Fenton Estate) and lent it for rent and spent the money thus got for the education of the deserving children.⁹

In 1869 Tirunelveli was affected by flood never known before which was followed by epidemic. In that juncture Dr. Caldwell and his wife went from village to village, met the people, comforted them and rendered all possible helps. His co-workers too followed him.¹⁰ Lord Napier helped the people of Idaiyankudi by opening a hospital with the help of Dr. Caldwell in 1870.¹¹ Dr. Caldwell gave importance to women education also. By his coaxing speech and conver-

sation with the elders of the village Idaiyangudi, he made them understand the importance of women education.¹² At Sawyerpuram, G.U. Pope instituted a College for which Dr. Caldwell prepared his students of Idaiyangudi and sent them for higher studies. When Dr. Caldwell was asked to shift to Tuticorin he transplanted the college at Sawyerpuram to Tuticorin and named it as Caldwell College. But in 1891 it was closed for lack of finance and reduced to be a high and higher secondary school. After 107 years Caldwell College was established to fulfill his dream. At Tuticorin his wife started Victoria Girls School to commemorate the 50 years rule of Queen Victoria.

In 1890 Tirunelveli and Ramnad suffered a severe famine due to the failure of monsoon. People suffered hunger and few died. Dr. Caldwell gave a helping hand to other missionaries and catechists. In that juncture Dr. Caldwell, in spite of his old age and his inconvenience to travel due to weakness, visited Ramnad, just to comfort the famine affected people.¹³ While he was in Ramnad a great disaster happened at Idaiyangudi. A house in the main street got fire and it spread to six other houses and burnt them including the mission hospital, post office, some buildings belonged to the mission. It wrought huge loss of materials, when Dr. Caldwell heard that he was in tears. Due to his weakness he could not go to Idaiyangudi at once, so he sent his son in law Rev. Wyatt to undertake immediate relief and reconstructive works.¹⁴

Dr. Caldwell was moved by the humiliations of Shanar Community under the high caste Hindus, their sufferings, poverty and hard labour made him to write the small book *The Shanars of Tinnevely*. He wrote it with an intention, to

create world opinion in favour of them, in order to get financial help to ameliorate their sufferings and to enhance their status. His aim was fulfilled.¹⁵ Further, in that book he spotted their ignorance, lower status, idolatry and uncivilised character which made Chattampillai to organise opposition against him.¹⁶ That small book provoked the Shanar community itself. Opposition to that book by the Shanar themselves made him to withdraw that with heavy heart (to appear shannar Community). Had it been written by a Hindu it would not have met with such opposition. Since because it was the work of a white man who had come to India just to convert people to their religion, (as the people believed), it suffered a set back.

Dr. Caldwell, while studying at Glasgow was influenced by the lectures of his Professor of Greek Sir Daniel Sandford formed to resolution to write something useful to the world, if he happened to be among strange races speaking strange languages. This made him write *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*¹⁷ (1856). He was familiar with eighteen languages. Moreover, his comradeship with C.P. Brown and W.H. Drew made him to be interested in Tamil¹⁸, in turn it made him write the *Magnum Opus*, Comparative Grammar, a classic even now. For that Glasgow University honoured him with L.L.D.¹⁹

Dr. Caldwell has the greatest claim on our gratitude (historians) as it is he who made a pioneer attempt to write local history. He wrote the *Political and General History of Tinnevely* in 1881, which is still a foundational work on that subject²⁰. He observed that very little is known with certainty of the early history of most districts in India. It is a singular fact that the

"Hindus ... seem never to have cared anything for history. The only available history pertained to regions was **Raja - tarangini** of Cashmere".²¹ So to remove the darkness that prevailed in that respect he had gone through the foreign notices, Sangam literature and the then available sources and wrote the earliest history of Tinnevely upto its cession to British government in 1801. He thus inspired and lighted up the minds of historians.

As a good translator Dr. Caldwell translated Tamil Prayer Book. He was the one among those who had revised the Tamil Bible. His writings are wide and varied. Few are :

- (1) History of the Tinnevely Mission of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. (1881).
- (2) Demonolatory in Southern India (1877).
- (3) On the Kudumi (1867).
- (4) Exploration at Korkai and Kayal (1877).
- (5) Address at the Convocation of the University of Madras (1879).
- (6) Christianity and Hinduism.

Tamil Works are :

- (1) The Spiritual Temple
- (2) Dyanamalai
- (3) Elementary Cetehism
- (4) Rudimentary Catehism on Confirmation
- (5) Translation of Service for the Dedication of Churches.

Dr. Caldwell served the people of Idaiyangudi by constructing new houses and he magnificent church. He served the people of Tamil Nadu by his excavations at Korkai and established the fact that Korkai was once a harbour.²¹ He made a big impression on the

people of Idaiyangudi as well as the people of Tirunelveli by his services. His most famous legacy is that he devoted his life for the upliftment of downtrodden. He engaged himself to awaken the masses. Those who had been converted to Christianity gave cohesion and prime importance to educate the poor and downtrodden. For that purpose he started many schools for male and female children. Boarding schools were also started. Orphans were tended with much care. To give medical service he built hospital. He enlightened the masses through his missionary services. He and his wife indulged in relief works in the famine stricken areas. Being a very good scholar his writings were wide and varied (both

secular and religious). As a builder, he built many mission buildings and churches. As a good translator he translated books and hymns. Amidst all tiresome works he found time to do archaeological excavations too. His religious services brought him the award D.D. He excelled in many respects among his contemporaries such as G.U. Pope (a Tamil scholar) Sargent (One of the double stars), Thomas and Marcosheus. Dr. Caldwell secured a place in the hearts of the people of Tamil Nadu. Needless to say that, the Government of Tamil Nadu hailed him by installing his status on Marina beach, during the Second International Tamil Conference.²²

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- 4) Ibid, p.397.
- 5) R.P. Sethupillai, Rev. Robert Caldwell, Madras University, 1944, pp
- 6) Ibid., p.106.
- 7) Centenary of the Tirunelveli Bishopric (1896 - 1996), Commemoration Souvenir, pp.28- 29.
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- 9) Ibid., pp.152-154.
- 10) Ibid., pp.169-170.
- 11) Ibid., pp.169.
- 12) R.P. Sethupillai, op.cit., pp.22-23.
- 13) Rev. Christudas, op.cit., p.283.
- 14) Ibid., p.289.
- 15) R.p. Sethupillai, op.cit., p.89.
- 16) Robert L. Hard grave, **The Nadars of Tamilnadu**, Tr. by. Jaya Pandyan as **Thamilaka Nadar Varalaru**, Murugan Publications, Tuticorin, p.109.
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- 18) D.A. Christudas, op.cit., p.12.
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குமரிவின் கல்வெட்டுச் செல்வங்கள்

டாக்டர். எஸ். பத்மநாபன்

பொதுச் செயலாளர், கன்னியாகுமரி வரலாற்றுப் பண்பாட்டு ஆய்வுமையம்,
நாகர்கோவில்.

ஒரு நாட்டின்பண்டைய வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்புகளையும், அந்நாட்டு மக்களின் பண்பாட்டுப் பெருமையையும் அறிவதற்கு இலக்கியம், தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுகள், பிறநாட்டுப் பயணிகளின் குறிப்புகள், செவிவழிச்செய்திகள், நாட்டுப் புறவியல் ஆகியவை துணைபுரிகின்றன. தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வினை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் கல்வெட்டியல், அகழ்வாய்வு, கட்டடவியல், நாணயவியல், படிமக்கலை எனப் பலவனவாய் பிரியும். இவை யனைத்துமே காலத்தைக் காட்டும் கண்ணாடிகள் என்றாலும், அவற்றுள் கல்வெட்டு ஆய்வுதான் நிறைந்த, பயன்தரும் தன்மை கொண்டது.

கல்வெட்டைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் 1896-ல் திருவிதாங்கூர் அரசின் அப்போது மன்னராக இருந்து ஸ்ரீ மூலம் திருநாள் காலத்தில் கல்வெட்டுத் துறை தோன்றியது. இக்கல்வெட்டுத் துறையின் முன்னோடியாக விளங்கியவர் பேராசிரியர் சுந்தரம்பிள்ளையவர்கள் தான்.¹ இந்த உண்மையை திருவிதாங்கூர் அரசு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வாத்துறையை தொடங்குவதற்கு 5 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னரே பேராசிரியர் கல்வெட்டுக்களை ஆராய்ந்து ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரைகள் எழுதத் தொடங்கிவிட்டார்.

கல்வெட்டின் அடிப்படையில் 1984-ஆம் ஆண்டு திருவிதாங்கூர் பண்டைய மன்னர்கள்சிலர் [Some Early Sovereigns of Travencore] என்ற தலைப்பில் ஆங்கில நூல் ஒன்றை வெளியிட்டார்.

குமரிமாவட்டத்திலுள்ள மணிக் கரை ஆழ்வார்கோயில் தூண் ஒன்றில் நான்கு பக்கங்களிலும் வட்டெழுத்தில் செதுக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு கல்வெட்டை சுந்தரம்பிள்ளையவர்கள் கண்டுபிடித்து வெளியிட்டார். இக்கல்வெட்டுவேண்டி மன்னர் வீரரவிகேரளவர்மன் காலத்தில் கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 411-ல் [கி.பி. 1236]ல் செதுக்கப்பட்டதாகும். நாட்டில் பஞ்சம் ஏற்பட்டதால் நிலவரி குறைக்கப்பட்ட அரசாணையை இக் கல்வெட்டு குறிப்பிடுகிறது என்றும், இக்கல்வெட்டு திரு விதாங்கூர் வரலாற்றில் போற்றத்தகுந்த ஓர் அரசாணை [one of the great Charters of Travancore] என்றும் பேராசிரியர் சுந்தரம்பிள்ளையவர்கள் கூறியுள்ளார். மேலும் இக்கல்வெட்டுதான் மலையாள மொழியில் தோன்றிய முதல் கல்வெட்டு என்று கருதப்படுகிறது. வட்டெழுத்தில் செதுக்கப்பட்ட இக்கல்வெட்டில் தான் முதன்முதலில் மலையாளச் சொற்கள் பல இடம்

பெற்றுள்ளன. கல்பிச்சு, வாங்கி, வச்சு, ஒழிந்து, பறஞ்நு ஆகிய சொற்கள் அவற்றுள் சில. இது மலையாள எழுத்துக்கள் தோன்றுவதற்கு முன் செதுக்கப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டு என்பது இங்கே குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.²

திருவிதாங்கூர் முழுவதும் கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுகளின் எண்ணிக்கை 1129. அவற்றுள் பெரும்பாலும் தமிழ்க் கல்வெட்டுதான் என்பது இங்கே குறிப்பிடத் தக்கது. தமிழ் 864, மலையாளம் 212, இலத்தீன், சிரியா, வடமொழி உட்பட பிற மொழிகள் 53. மற்றொரு வியப்பானதாகவல் என்னவென்றால் 1129 கல்வெட்டுகளில் தென்திருவிதாங்கூரில், அதாவது இன்றைய குமரி மாவட்டப் பகுதியில் கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுகள் 625. திருவிதாங்கூரில் கிடைத்த 65 செப்பேடுகளில் 35 தமிழிலும் 21 மலையாளத்திலும் 9 பிற மொழிகளிலும் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அதேபோல 67 ஓலைச்சுவடிகளும் 9 பிற மொழிகளிலும் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அதேபோல 67 ஓலைச் சுவடிகளும் 42 தமிழிலும், 25 மலையாளத்திலும் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளன. இத்தகவல்களிலிருந்து மலையாள நாடா்க இருந்தபோதிலும் திருவிதாங்கூரில் கிடைத்துள்ள பெரும்பான்மை யான கல்வெட்டுகள் தமிழிலேதான் செதுக்கப் பட்டிருந்தன. மட்டுமல்ல பாதிக்கும் மேல் குமரிமாவட்டப் பகுதியில் கிடைத் துள்ளதும் இங்கே ஊன்றி கவனிக்கத்தக்கது.

தென்திருவிதாங்கூர் பகுதிகள் தமிழகத் தோடு இணைந்த பின்னர் தமிழ்நாடு அரசு ஐந்து கல்வெட்டுத் தொகுதிகளை வெளியிட்டுள்ளது. அகஸ்தீஸ்வரம் வட்டத்திலுள்ள 332 கல்வெட்டுக்களை மூன்று தொகுதிகளாகவும், கல்குளம் வட்டத்திலுள்ள 137 கல்வெட்டுக்களை நான்காவது தொகுதி யாகவும், தோவாளை வட்டத்திலுள்ள 91 கல்வெட்டுக்களை ஐந்தாவது தொகுதி யாகவும் வெளியிட்டது. சுசீந்திரத்தில் கிடைத்துள்ள 124 கல்வெட்டுக்களை ஒரு தனித்தொகுதியாக வெளியிட்டதும், சில முக்கியமான கல்வெட்டுகளை தமிழக அரசு வெளியிடத் தவறியதும் இங்கே குறிப்பிடத் தக்கவை. சான்றாக திருசனம் கோப்பு இராகவேஸ்வரர் கோயிலில் இராஜ ராஜசோழனால் செதுக்கப்பட்ட இரண்டு கல்வெட்டுகளை திருவிதாங்கூர் தொல் பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறையினர் பதிப்பித் துள்ளனர். இந்த இரண்டு அரிய கல்வெட்டுகள் தமிழ்நாடு அரசு பதிப்பித்த தோவாளை வட்டக் கல்வெட்டுத் தொகுதியில் இடம்பெறவில்லை. வடசேரி கொம்மண்டையம்மன்கோயிலில் கிடைத்த இராஜராஜசோழன் கல்வெட்டையும் தமிழ்நாடு அரசு பதிப்பிக்கவில்லை.

சுசீந்திரம்

குமரிமாவட்டத்தின் ஆன்மீகத் திருநகராகக் கருதப்படும் சுசீந்திரத்தில் நூற்றுக்கும் மேற்பட்ட கல்வெட்டுகள் கிடைத்துள்ளன. இது ஒரு கல்வெட்டுக்

கருவூலமாகும். சுசீந்திரம் தாணுமாலயன் ஆலயத்தில் மட்டும் கிட்டத்தட்ட 90 கல்வெட்டுகள் கிடைத்துள்ளன. பெரும் பான்மை கல்வெட்டுகள் கைலாசநாதர் கோயில் அமைந்துள்ள பாதையிலேதான் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அப்பாதையில் காணப்படும் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் பெரும் பான்மையும் வட்டெழுத்துத்தான் பயன்படுத்தப் பட்டுள்ளது. மூவேந்தர்களான சேர, சோழ, பாண்டியர் கல்வெட்டுகள் இக்கோயிலில் கிடைத்துள்ள குறிப்பிடத் தக்கது. முற்காலப் பாண்டியர்கள், சோழர்கள், சோழபாண்டிய பிரதிநிதிகள், சேரர் குலத்தைச் சார்ந்த வேணாடு மற்றும் திருவிதாங்கவர் மன்னர்கள் விஜயநகர், நாயக்கர் தளபதிகள் அகியோர் கல்வெட்டுகள் இந்த ஆலயத்தில் கிடைக்கின்றன. வேணாட்டு வேந்தர்கள் கல்வெட்டுகள் இங்கு நிறைய காணப்படுகின்றன. நாயக்கர் கால கல்வெட்டு ஒன்றுதான் கிடைத்துள்ளது. இக்கோயிலில் கிடைத்துள்ள கல்வெட்டுக்களில் பழமையானது கி.பி. ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சார்ந்த பாண்டிய மன்னன் சடையன் மாறன் காலத்து என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. பராந்தக சோழன் [கி.பி.907-953] ராஜராஜசோழன் [கி.பி.985-1013] ராஜேந்திர சோழன் / [கி.பி.1012-1044] குலோத்துங்க சோழன் [1070-1120] ஆகியோர் கல்வெட்டுகளும் இங்கு கிடைக்கின்றன.

சுசீந்திரம் ஆலயத்தில் கிடைத்துள்ள இராஜ இராஜசோழன்

காலத்திய கல்வெட்டுகள்நாஞ்சில் நாட்டில் சோழர் ஆதிக்கம் எவ்வாறு வளர்ச்சி அடைந்தது என்பதைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. இராஜராஜசோழனின் பத்தாவது ஆட்சி ஆண்டில் தோன்றிய கல்வெட்டு நாஞ்சில் நாட்டுத் திருச்சிவந்திரம் எனவும், பதினைந்தாம் ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு இராஜபாண்டிய நாட்டு உத்தம சோழவள நாட்டுத் திருச்சிவந்திரம் எதுவும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. இக்கல்வெட்டுத் தொடர்களிலிருந்து நாஞ்சில் நாட்டிலே படிப்படியாக சோழர்கள் ஆதிக்கம் வளர்ந்து, பின்னர் நாஞ்சில்நாடு முழுவதையும் அவர்கள் கைப்பற்றினர் என அறியமுடிகிறது.³

இராஜராஜசோழன் காலத்தில் குமரி மாவட்டப் பகுதிகள் முழுவதும் அவன் ஆதிக்கத்தில் இருந்தது என்பதை குமரி மண்ணில் பல்வேறு இடங்களில் கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. இராஜராஜனது பல்வேறு காலங்களில் தோன்றிய கல்வெட்டுகள் குமரி மாவட்டத்தின் பல்வேறு பகுதிகளில் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவனது ஆட்சியில் எட்டாவது ஆண்டு தோன்றிய கல்வெட்டு தெரிசனம் கோப்பிலும், பத்தாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு சுசீந்திரத்திலும், பதினைந்தாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு கன்னியாகுமரியிலும், பதினெட்டாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு திருந்திக்கரையிலும், இருபத்தேழாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு கடியப்பட்டினத்திலும் கிடைத்துள்ளன.⁴

யணிகளும் புடைப்புச் சிற்பங்களாகச் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அவற்றைச் செதுக்கிய வர்களது பெயர்களையும் அங்கே காணலாம்.

நாகராஜர் ஆலயம்

நாகர்கோவில் நாகராஜர் ஆலயத்தில் 5 கற்பலகைகளில் காணப்படும் 9 கல்வெட்டுகள் அக்கோயிலைப் பற்றியும், அக்கோயிலில் அமைந்துள்ள நகரின் வரலாறு பற்றியும், சமணர் ஆதிக்கம் பற்றியும் பல அரிய உண்மைகளை நமக்குத் தருகின்றன. கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 697 வரை அதாவது கி.பி. 1542 வரை இக்கோயில் சமணர் பள்ளியாக இருந்து வந்தது என்றும், அதன் பின்னர்தான் இந்தப் பள்ளி இது ஆலயமாக மாறியிருக்க வேண்டும் என்றும் கல்வெட்டுகள் மூலம் அறியமுடிகிறது.¹⁰ நாகராஜர் ஆலயத்தில் காணப்படும் ஒன்பது கல்வெட்டுகளில் எட்டு கல்வெட்டுகள் நாகர்கோவில் நகரை கோட்டாறான மும்முடி சோழபுரம் என்றுதான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. இக்கல்வெட்டுத் தொடரிலிருந்து பழம்பெரும் நகரான திருக்கோட்டாறுதான் நாகர்கோவில் என்ற பெயரைப் பெற்றது என்பதையும், இந்நகருக்கும் இராஜராஜசோழனுக்கும் நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு உண்டு என்பதையும் நாம் அறிய முடிகிறது. இந்நகரின் ஒரு பகுதியான வடசேரியில் அமைந்துள்ள கொம்மண்டையம்மன் கோயிலில் இராஜராஜசோழனின் பதினெட்டாம் ஆட்சி ஆண்டு கல்வெட்டு கிடைத்துள்ளது.

இங்கே குறிப்பிடத்தகு. “இராஜராஜ வளநாட்டு நாஞ்சில் நாட்டு திருக்கோட்டாற்று வடசேரி பிடாரியார் கொம்மண்டை நங்கை” என்பது அக்கல்வெட்டுத் தொடர்.¹¹

சமண சமயத் துறவிகளான புட்பணந்தி அடிகள், உத்தணந்த அடிகள், விமலசந்திரர், பாதமுலத்தான் அரங்கன்மாறன் ஆகியோர் தங்கள் பெயர்களின் முன்பாகத் திருக்கோட்டாறு என்னும் ஊரின் பெயரை அடைமொழியாகக் கொண்டிருந்தனர். கோட்டாற்றில் வாழ்ந்த சமண சமயத் துறவிகளும், அர்களது மாணவர்கள் பலரும் கமுகுமலை சென்று சமண சமயக் கருத்துக்களைப் பரவச் செய்தது மட்டுமல்ல, அங்குள்ள பாறைகளில் தீர்த்தங்கரர்களது திருவுருவங்களையும் செதுக்கி வைத்துள்ளனர் என்று கமுகுமலைக் கல்வெட்டுக்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறியலாம்.

திருவிடைக்கோடு

கு ம ரி ம ல ட ட த் தி லு ள் ள பன்னிரண்டு சிவாலயங்களில் ஒன்றான திருவிடைக்கோடு மகாதேவர் கோயிலில் கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 835-ல் [கி.பி. 1660] செதுக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு கல்வெட்டு ஓர் அரிய செய்தியைத் தருகிறது. பண்டைக் காலத்தில் கோயில் திருப்பணிகளை பரம்பரையாகச் செய்யும் பெண்களை தேவதாசிகள் என்றும் அழைப்பர்.

அதேபோல கல்குளம் நீலகண்ட சுவாமி கோயிலில் நியமிக்கப்பட்ட ஆண்களை தேவபுத்திரர் என்ற இக்கல்வெட்டு குறிப்பிடுகிறது. இது ஓர் அரிய தகவலாகும்.¹² இங்கு ஆய் மன்னன் கேக்கரு நந்தடக்கன் 9கி.பி.857-885] காலத்து வட்டெழுத்துக் கல்வெட்டுகள் இரண்டு கிடைத்துள்ளன.¹³

வள்ளுவநாடு

திருக்குறளை நமக்குத் தந்த திருவள்ளுவர்நாடாண்ட மன்னர்என்ற ஒரு கரத்து உண்டு. வள்ளுவர் அரச பரம்பரையில் பிறந்தவர் என்று கருதலாம் என்பது அறிஞர் சாமி சிதம்பரணார் கூற்று. [சாமி சிதம்பரணார், வள்ளுவர் வாழ்ந்த தமிழகம், பக்கம்-29]. வள்ளுவர்கள் சங்க காலத்தில் குறுநில மன்னர்களாக இரந்தார்கள் என்று கூறுகிறார் அவ்வை துரைசாமிப் பிள்ளையவர்கள். [அவ்வை துரைசாமிப்பிள்ளை, தெய்வப்பலவர் திருவள்ளுவர், பக்கம் 13] மன்னராக இருந்து துறவியாக மாறிய காரணத்தால்தான் அரசியல்துறையில் மிக ஆழ்ந்த கருத்துக்களை திருவள்ளுவரால் கூற முடிந்தது என்பது அவர்கள் வாதம். அவ்வாறாயின் வள்ளுவநாடு எங்கே இருந்தது? என்ற கேள்வி இங்கே எழுகின்றது. சங்க காலத்தில் நாஞ்சில் பொருநன் என்ற நாஞ்சில் வள்ளுவன் ஆண்ட நாஞ்சில் நாட்டை அடுத்திருந்தது வள்ளுவநாடு. இந்த உண்மையை கி.பி. ஒப்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் இப்பகுதியை

ஆண்டுவந்த ஆய்குல மன்னன் லி.க்கிரமதித்த வரகுணன் காலத்திய செப்பேடு ஒன்று வள்ளுவநாட்டு மேற்கோடு¹⁴ என்றும், திருநந்திக்கரை குடைவரைக் கோயிலில் கி.பி.1003-ல் செதுக்கப்பட்ட இராஜராஜசோழன்காலத்துக் கல்வெட்டு "வள்ளுவநாட்டு முட்டம்"¹⁵ என்றும், கருப்புக்கோட்டை கைலாசநாதர் கோயிலில் கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 339-ல் [கி.பி.1164] செதுக்கப்பட்ட இரண்டு கல்வெட்டுகள் "வள்ளுவ நாட்டாழ்வான்" என்றும், குறிப்பிடுகின்றன.¹⁶ இக்கல்வெட்டுகளிலிருந்து கி.பி. பன்னிரண்டாம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை வள்ளுவநாடு இருந்ததாகத் தெரியவருகிறது. இந்த வள்ளுவநாட்டைத் தான் பண்டைக்காலத்தில் திருவள்ளுவர் ஆண்டிருக்க வேண்டும். தமிழ்நாட்டில் வேறெங்கும் வள்ளுவநாடு இருந்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இந்த அடிப்படையில் திருவள்ளுவர் பிறந்தது குமரிமண் என்ற ஆய்வின்முடிவைக் கல்வெட்டும் செப்பேடும் உறுதிசெய்கின்றன.

பல்கலைக்கழகம்

குழித்துறையை அடுத்துள்ள பார்த்திபசேகர புரத்தில் கி.பி. ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் சிறப்புடன் நிகழ்ந்த ஒரு பல்கலைக்கழகத்தைப் பற்றி தகவல்களை அங்கு கிடைத்த செப்பேடு ஒன்று தெரிவிக்கின்றது. பல்கலைக் கழக விதிமுறைகள், பாடத்திட்டங்கள் மட்டுமல்ல போர்ப்பயிற்சிகள், குற்றம்

செய்த மாணவர்களுக்கு வழங்கப்படும் தண்டனைகள் போன்ற பல தகவல்களை அச்செப்பேடு விரிவாக எடுத்துரைக்கின்றது.¹⁷ ஒரே நேரத்தில் 95 மாணவர்கள் இலவசமாக அங்கே கல்வி பயின்றதோடு நில்லாது சக மாணவர்களுக்கு கல்வி பயிற்றுவிக்கவும் செய்தனர். பொதுக்கல்வியோடு நில்லாது நாட்டை ஆகும் முறைகளையும், போர்ப்பயிற்சிகளையும் இங்கே மாணவர்கள் பயின்றார்கள். தங்கிப் படிக்கும் வசதியுடைய தற்காலப் பல்கலைக்கழகம் போன்று இக்கல்விக்கூடம் இயங்கியது. இக்கல்விக் கூடத்தை நிறுவியவன் ஆய்ஞர் மன்னாண்ட கோக்கருந்தடக்கன் என்று செப்பேடு தெரிவிக்கின்றது.

சிற்பக்கூடம்

கி.பி.16-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் நடுப் பகுதியில் கோட்டாற்றில் ஒரு சிற்பக்கூடம் சிறப்புடன் நிகழ்ந்தது என்றும், அதில் சிறப்புரந்தரன் என்ற விருதுபெற்ற கொம்மண்டைநயினார் முதலி, நம்பிரான்குட்டி முதலி ஆகியோர் முதல்வர்களாக பணியாற்றினர் என்றும், பறக்கை, கரியமாணிக்கபுரம் ஆகிய இடங்களில் கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுகளிலிருந்து அறியலாம்.¹⁸

கூத்தும் நாடகமும்

திருநயினர்குறிச்சி கறை கண்டேஸ்வரர்கோயில் நந்திமண்டபத்தில் கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 339-ல் [கி.பி.1163]

செதுக்கப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று அக்கோயிலில் நடைபெற்ற பக்தி நாடகத்தைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறது. 19 பறக்கை மதுகுதனப்பெருமான் ஆலயத்தில் கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 751-ல் [கி.பி.1575] செதுக்கப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று அக்கோயிலில் திருவோணம் தோறும் கூத்து நடைபெற்ற தகவலைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றது.²⁰

வரிகொடா இயக்கம்

வரிச்சமை தாங்க முடியாமல் நாஞ்சில் நாட்டு மக்கள் வேண்டி மன்னரை எதிர்த்து கி.பி.17-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு நடத்திய அரசியல் போராட்டத்தையும், அதனைத் தொடர்ந்து நடத்திய வரிகொடா இயக்கத்தையும் வடசேரி மகாதேவர் ஆலயத்தில் கிடைத்த ஒரு கல்வெட்டும், அழகிய பாண்டிபுரம் முதலியார் ஓலைச்சுவடியும் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. நமது நாட்டிலே ஒத்துழையாமை இயக்கத்தை முதன்முதலில் அரசியலில் ஆயுதமாகப் பயன்படுத்திய பெருமை நாஞ்சில் வாழ்மக்களுக்கே உரியது என்று கவிமணியவர்கள் கூறியுள்ளார்.²¹

அறுவைசிகிச்சை

அகஸ்தீஸ்வரம் சிவன்கோயில் அருகே உள்ள பாதையில் கொல்லம் ஆண்டு 614ல் அதாவது கி.பி.1438-ஆம் ஆண்டு செதுக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு கல்வெட்டு அக்கோயில் அர்ச்சகருக்கு மருத்துவ

வசதிக்காக நிலம் விட்டுக்காக,
இத்தகவலைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றது. மருத்துவ
வசதியை அக்கல்வெட்டு நூற்றாண்டில்
அறுவை சிகிச்சை முறைக்கும் மண்ணில்
இருந்தது என்று அறியமுடிகிறது.22

இவ்வாறு குமரிமாவட்டத்தில்
கிடைத்த கல்வெட்டுகள், செப்பேடுகள்,
ஓலைச்சுவடிகள் ஆகியவை வரலாறு
காட்டும் கண்ணாடிகளாக
அம்மாவட்டத்தின் சமுதாயம், அரசியல்,
சமயம், கல்வி, கலை போன்ற பல்வேறு
துறைகளில் மறைந்து கிடந்த வரலாற்றை
நமக்குப் படம்பிடித்துக் காட்டுகின்றன.
இந்த ஆதாரங்களை அடிப்படை யாகக்
கொண்டுமேலும் ஆய்வு செய்தால் குமரி
மாவட்டத்தில் புதைந்துபோன, மறைந்த
போன, மறந்து போன வரலாற்று
உண்மைகள் பல வெளிவரும் என்பது
திண்ணம்.

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Archaeological Museums in Tamilnadu

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Tamilnadu is famous for its cultural and artistic preservation and also for its availability to the visitor. The British introduced the modern concept of establishing museums. In 1936 there were only eleven museums in Tamilnadu¹ and today there are over hundred and twenty museums and galleries. It is quite surprising that there is a very good response for the museums. This is proved by the increase in the number of visitors to the museums. The survey, which was undertaken by the author, has revealed many interesting features, which are encouraging.

The Madras Museum was organised during the year 1851, with about 1,100 geological objects with surgeon E.G. Balfour (1851-59) as the first officer - in charge in the College of Fort St. George at College Road, Nungambakkam. Museum was thrown open to the public on April 29, 1851. Members of European Community as well as Indian donors like Rajas of Cochin and Travancore, the Nawab of Carnatic and several South Indian Zamindars, added to its collections.

In 1854, the museum was moved to the Pantheon road. Captain Mitchell collected medals, illustrative of the history of Madras. In 1856 six local museums were established at Bellary, Cuddalore, Coimbatore, Mangalore, Ootacamund and Rajamundry in the then Madras Presidency.² These local museums seemed to

be popular for a few years, though the Bellary Museum was a failure from the beginning. They were under the control of a committee consisting of the Collector, Medical Officer and Engineer of the District. In 1851 all these museums were closed except the museum at Rajamundry, which was later handed over to the municipal administration. In 1861, the contacts between the Chennai Museum and Robert Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey of India. In 1865, the Thanjavur Armoury was transferred to the Chennai Museum from the Arsenal, Fort St. George. The collection of pottery from the ancient burials of the Nilgris (Break's Collection) reached the museum in 1856, during Dr. Balfour's time.

During Dr. J.R. Henderson's period potteries from Adichanallur and Perumbair were added to the collection. The first conservation laboratory was set up in the museum in 1930 to conserve the archaeological objects of the museum. The Chemical Conservation and Research Laboratory in the museum owes its inception to Dr. F.H. Gravely's scientific vision and foresight. Dr. S. Paramasivan was the first Curator of the laboratory who did yeoman service in the field of chemical conservation of antiquities and paintings.

During Dr. Frederic Henry Gravely's period, His Excellency, the Governor opened the

Archaeological Gallery in the ground floor of the new extension on 4th December 1939. Dr. A.Aiyappan was the first Indian Superintendent to succeed the European officer. The Dowlaishwaram hoard of gold coins of Raja Raja Chola I and Kulothuka I, Natesa from Ponipumettupatti, Kathakali dancers, relics from the Brahmagiri cist burial, stone tools of Peking Man, shadow play figures from Malabar and boomerang collections were noteworthy collections of this period.

In 1941-42 murals of Ajanta, Sigiriya, Panamalai, Central Asia along with some modern paintings were added to the museum and the new gallery at the Victoria Hall was called National Art Gallery, which was thrown open to the public in 1951³, by the then honourable Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1949 the Pudukkottai museum began to function as an independent museum.

Dr.S.T.Satyamurti, the then Zoology Curator, took over the charge of the museum as the Superintendent from Dr.A.Ayyappan in 1958. During the year 1964, the Bronze Gallery was organised with Saivite and Vaishnavite bronzes along with Jain and Buddhist pieces. Thiru.N.Harinarayana, a conservation chemist took over the charge as Director of Museums. In 1978, Coins Gallery, with models of coins belonging to various dynasties, commemorative medals etc., were thrown open to the public.

The contribution of the department of Archaeology in Tamilnadu to the field of archaeology is of great order as the repositories of this department has the archaeological objects brought from the excavation sites and also through exploration. There are 16 such

repositories and they are in different districts where the excavations were carried out. The earliest of this kind was created in the year 1971 in Madurai. The Thirumalai Naicker Mahal was converted into a museum. Then, after a gap of six years the Danish Fort and Ramalinga Vilasam were converted into museums. Similarly in 1979, the Sarja Madi, the palace in Tanjore was made as a museum and another museum at Dharmapuri. In 1982 only one museum was open at Korkai. The museums at Arcot and Karur were started in 1983. After 1983, this department set up no museum since the department of Museums was established. Museums in the district headquarters, these museums were later named as Archaeological Repositories.

The Archaeological Survey of India has opened two museums, one at Chennai and the other at Vellore. Besides these, the Archaeological Survey of India has established Archaeological sheds in Mahabalipuram, Tharasuram, Gingee and Narthamalai. The loose sculptures and visitors, the antiquities and sculptures found during the excavation are also kept similarly.

One interesting thing in the history of museums is the establishment of the Archaeological Museum at Kalaimagal Kalvi Nilayam, Erode in 1981, exclusively for the use of the school students. It has got a very good collection of archaeological objects such as prehistoric objects, palm leaves, coins, bronze icons, beads, hero stones, stone inscriptions, sculptures, household objects etc. This museum is the out come of the efforts of Thiru. Meenakshi Sundaram, the founder of the school through Pulavar. S. Raju, an archaeologist and

epigraphist. Yet another important thing is the establishment of the Vasavi College Museum in Bhavani in 1984. It has got a collection of sculptures, Roman potteries, cannon balls of Tippu Sultan from Anthiyur, hero stones, burial urns, coins etc. This museum was due to the efforts of Dr. P. Chinnian, one of the history professors and Dr. C. Mookka Reddy, Librarian of the College.

The universities at Chennai and Thanjavur have got separate museums. The museum at the Madras University has a good collection of archaeological objects, which are through the excavations and exploration done by the students, who do M.A. Archaeology.

Colleges are trying to establish museums in them. Even though objects are collected by the students of the colleges where history departments are available, due to want of space and interest, museums are not established in colleges. The history department of the Voorhees College, Vellore had a fairly good collection of archaeological objects. But the museum was not started. Similar is the case with other colleges in Tamil Nadu. The government of India is trying to establish a museum in each school in order to teach the students through visual aids and modes of antiquities.

Kinds of Museums

The survey has revealed that there is a development trend in the museum movement in Tamil Nadu. Different types of museums have sprung up here. The primary museums were through the Department of Museums and department of archaeology, Government of Tamil

Nadu. These museums are multipurpose museums and all these museums have an archacology wing.⁴ The Department of Archaeology has established 16-archeological repositories as well as the site museums through out the State. The Archaeological Survey of India has got 4 Archaeological Sheds at the monuments, where loose sculptures are kept displayed for the use of the interested public. The Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Department has established two Temple Museums at Srirangam and Madurai in Tamil Nadu. Universities, Colleges and Schools have established their own museums only for the use of the students and to the public on request. Museums have been started by the private organisations.

The museums in India can be classified in to various categories depending upon the type of objects preserved in the museums. But the museums in Tamil Nadu can be broadly classified in the archaeological point of view, according to the subjects as follows:

Types of Museums	Number of Museums
Archaeological Museums	23
Archaeological Sheds	4
Art and Crafts Museums	2
Fort Museums	2
Historical Museum	1
Multi-subjects Museums	19
Palace Museums	5
Temple Museums	2
Church Museum	1

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Name of the Administration Government of India	Number of Museums
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Archaeological Survey of India	7
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Government of Tamil Nadu

Department of Art and Culture	2
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Department of Education	3
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Department of Museums	18
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Department of Archaeology	16
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Department of Tourism	2
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Hindu Religious and Charitable	
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Endowments Board	2
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Universities	2
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Colleges	2
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Schools	1
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Trusts	3
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Churches	1
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Growth of Museums in Tamil Nadu

The growth rate of museums in Tamil Nadu is encouraging in the recent years. After independence there was a sudden increase in the museums. From 1980s the museums had a steep increase in numbers. The major increase in the number of museums is due to the Government policy⁵ that every district must have a museum in its head quarters to make available to the people the information about the district.

Year of Establishment	Number of Museums	Year of Establishment	Number of Museums
1850	1	1982	1
1851	1	1983	4
1910	1	1984	1
1940	2	1985	1
1948	1	1986	1
1951	1	1988	1
1961	1	1989	1
1966	1	1990	5
1968	1	1991	1
1971	1	1992	1
1972	1	1993	1
1976	1	1994	1
1978	2	1995	1
1979	2	1997	2
1980	3	1998	2
1981	5	1999	2

Education through the Archaeological Museums

Archaeological museums play a very important role in educating the students and the public alike. The archaeological museums interpret their objects in two ways namely research and exhibition. The museums are helpful to the school children since they give the three dimensional view of the objects. Museums are helpful for the students to understand the subject better, which a teacher could not explain. In the beginning the museums were meant for only the rich and the scholars. Now days it is open to the general public. People may be rich or poor, educated or illiterate, but they could visit the museum and obtain knowledge from it. Thus one could say that the museum is helpful in teaching the people. From the museum, people could know about the culture of the people during the ancient time. The learning is attractive, pleasure and fun in a museum. The proverb, "John is more important than the Bible". Museums are for men and not vice versa.⁶ The recent policy of the Government is that the old buildings should be converted into the museums. The archaeology department of the government of Tamil Nadu is setting up the repositories in the old protected monuments so that the people who come to see the palace or fort naturally tend to see the museum also. Such examples are the archaeological repositories at the Danish Fort at Tranqubar, Thirumalai Naick's Palace at Madurai, and Ramalingavilasam Palace at Ramanathapuram.

Similarly the Archaeological Survey of India has set up a Museum at the Fort St. George, Chennai and Fort, Vellore. It is the same

case with the Government Museum, Trichirappalli in the Rani Mangammal Audience Hall, Government Museum, Vellore inside the Vellore Fort, Government Museum, Thirunelveli in the building where Oomaithurai, brother of Veerapandia Kattabomman was trailled.

There is a spurt in the number of museums in this state. People are interested to know more about the past history and they help the museums to preserve the antiquities in the museums for posterity. There are many cultural organisations, which are engaged in the preservation of archaeological objects in Tamil Nadu, such as South Indian Numismatic Society, Tamil Nadu Numismatic Society, Madras Coins Society, etc. Government of India is helping private organisations to start museums to preserve our antiquities while educating the mass through the museums.

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