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EDITOR'S NOTE

The twelfth issue of your journal is in your hands. It is a bulky one. Reasons – to respect our friends and colleagues. But, the next issue is going to be different. It is going to be an annual one and refereed at that as we are graduating to a higher stage i.e. to the national level from a regional level.

We need co-operation from our readers and contributors to establish this journal among the top ranking ones in the country. To ensure this we are seeking help of renowned specialists – referees.

Regarding this issue, there are several excellent papers. We are carrying Dr. V. Balambal's impressive lecture delivered at the South Indian History Congress in Calicut. Dr. Shankar Goyal's piece on 'Historiography of Professor K.A. Nilakanta Shastri, is a detailed study. Dr. Chandni Bi from Aligarh has sent a brilliant paper entitled 'Female Functionaries of Medieval South Indian Temples', like Mr. V. Palanichamy from Pondicherry on 'Society and Land Relation on the Kaveri Delta during the Chola period'. Dr. K.G. Vasantha Madhava's contributions as always is commendable on 'Note on Dutch Documents on Coastal Karnataka 1583-1763'. Dr. Samba Siva Reddy has documented very well the role of Kadapa district in Indian Nationalism during 1922-1930.

All other papers are worthy of publication and hence have figured here. We thank all contributors for their effort.

Dr. Prema Kasturi deserves special gratitude not only for sending a book review but also for helping us edit this volume. A special word of thanks to Dr. Nanditha Krishna and her staff for all their support and guiding the destiny of this journal.

Dr. G.J. Sudhakar

MAHISHA, THE BUFFALO DEMON

Dr. Nanditha Krishna

Hon. Director

The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, Chennai

Rambha, demon son of ṛishi Kaśyapa and Danu, mother of the Dānavas, married a Mahishi (female buffalo). They had a son, Mahisha. Rambha and his wife were killed by a giant buffalo, but the son grew up to become the king of the Mahishas.

Mahisha lived in the Vindhya Mountains and, by the practice of severe austerities, gained the strength to drive the gods out of the heavens. So Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva issued energy (Śakti) from their mouths. The energy united and from it emanated Durgā as a beautiful woman with ten arms, riding a lion (sometimes she is depicted riding a tiger). She held each god's special weapons in each of her ten hands: discus, conch, club, trident, spear, flame, bow, arrow and quiver, snake and the thunderbolt. She had a terrible laugh and roar that shook the earth. Several of Mahisha's warriors came forward to fight Devī: Chiksura with his army; Udagra, Mahāhanu, Siloma, Vaskala and Viralāsha with chariots; Parivarita with elephants; and Mahishāsura with elephants and horses. She killed each one of them with a different weapon. As Durgā approached the Vindhya, the demon tried to capture her. Unable to do so, he attacked her under several forms, each of which was destroyed by Durgā. Finally, he took the form of a buffalo, which she caught with a noose and tied up before transfixing him with a trident, after which she killed him with her sword. (*Devi Māhātmyam, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*). Some versions have her tiger mount attacking and killing the demon.

There is also a sexual tension between Durga and Mahisha, who was a suitor and wanted to marry her. Mahisha is killed by Kārttikeya in the *Mahābhārata*. But this is not the popular perception.

Who was Mahisha and is this story merely a legend?

Central India, where the Vindhya hills are situated and the legendary scene of the battle, still has buffalo-totem worshippers like the Marias and Gonds. The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in the south west are also a buffalo-worshipping tribe.

Mahisha is closely associated with the town of Mysore (formerly Mahisha-ūr), named after him. In fact, it is locally believed that this was where

the goddess killed the demon. Many of his generals take on the goddess, but are killed with a variety of weapons, from stones and trees to bows and arrows, spears and swords, establishing the cultural situation of the war. In fact, it is locally believed that he was a local ruler killed by the goddess, and a huge statue of a mustachioed male figure of Mahisha holding a sword and a snake stands at the foot of the Chāmundeśvari Hill, at the top of which stands the temple of Durgā as Chāmundī, killer of Mahisha.

Whom did the goddess defeat?

Less than 100 kilometres from Mysore are the Nilgiri Hills where the Toda tribe lives, a tribe that worships the buffalo as a god and whose origins are shrouded in mystery. The Todas venerate the buffalo, whose horns adorn their temples. The Todas are buffalo herders and, till recently, supplied buffalo milk to the other tribes through a tribal barter system. So sacred are the buffaloes that no other tribe was allowed to own any. The Toda buffaloes are enormous, handsome animals who are fierce fighters if approached by strangers. The Todas also have a tradition of being the palanquin bearers of Rāvana, from whose atrocities they fled. It is likely that the Todas were buffalo worshippers who were defeated by the followers of the goddess, and who disappeared into the hills consequent to their defeat.

The cairns of the Nilgiris, believed to have been deserted by the Todas, are called *mōriaru mané* or house of the Morias. The word could also be synonymous for the buffalo-horn Marias of Central India¹. Besides the Nilgiri hills in South India, Central India is also famous for buffalo totem tribes like the Marias and Gonds, who even wear the buffalo horns on festive occasions. The Marias also worship Danteśvarī Devī, besides the buffalo. Here, both the Goddess and the Buffalo deity are revered.

Mahisha is also associated with the town of Mahishamati, situated south of the river Godavari, on a tributary of the river Kṛshṇa. It was founded by king Mahishmat, whose name implies that he was rich in buffaloes. The region was ruled by king Nila of Dakshinapatha, and his subjects were called Mahishakas². This is also the region of the Gond tribes. It is likely that this kingdom extended as far south as Mysore, for Nilgiri and Mysore are coterminus.

In Maharashtra, the demon Mahśobā (Mahisha + bā or father), who was killed by Parvati, is held in high esteem and venerated by

the lower castes, particularly cultivators. Fowl and goat are sacrificed to Mahśobā³.

Both Mahishamati and Mahśobā are situated in or near the Vindhya region.

Besides the buffalo-worshipping Todas, there is also a sub-caste called Mahishi in Karnataka, whose followers still worship the buffalo and the Goddess Chamundi.

Mahisha was obviously a leader of a buffalo-totem tribe destroyed by the followers of the goddess. It seems likely that the Marias and Todas, both followers of the buffalo, were driven out of their homes by the worshippers of Durga. The Marias of Central India adopted the goddess into their cult, but the Todas did not.

Before the killing, Devī drank wine and her eyes became bloodshot. Such un-Āryan behaviour means she was clearly of non-Āryan origin, indicated by her appetite for wine and blood.

The destruction of the demon by the goddess shows that the demonization of the defeated ruler was a universal trait not restricted to the Āryans. Durgā was a non-Vedic goddess. Apart from the lack of similar goddesses in the Vedic tradition, early references to Durgā associate her with the Vindhyas, giving her the epithet Vindhyaśiṅi; tribes such as the Śabarās (contemporary Saoras) were her worshippers, and they had non-Vedic habits such as drinking blood and eating meat or offering flesh. She creates helpers such as Kālī and the bloodthirsty Mātrikās, who are wild, bloodthirsty and particularly fierce. She is not submissive, does no household duties and excels in battle, being a fierce independent warrior. The word *durg* means fortress, and the goddess is as formidable as a fortress.

The sacrifice of the buffalo to Durga is practiced all over India, particularly during the festival of Navarātri which celebrates the war between the goddess and the demon. Mysore is famous for the celebration of Navarātri, when the image of Goddess Chamunda, whose temple is on the Chamundi hill, is taken out in ceremonial procession on an elephant.

Mahisha is an example of the demonization of a god or ruler by his enemies who defeated and killed him. The destruction of the demon by the goddess shows that the demonization of the defeated ruler was a universal trait not restricted to the Āryans. Durgā was a non-Vedic goddess, and Mahisha was obviously a god of a buffalo-totem tribe. His destruction signifies the defeat of one tribe by another.

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A STUDY OF THE RAMAYANA AND MAHABHARATA

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In this paper, an attempt is made to study the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, both of which represent the ethos of ancient India. The Ramayana, according to tradition, owes its origin to an extraordinary circumstance. A hunter's arrow killed one of a pair of curlews. Moved to pity at this tragic incident, the Sage Valmiki cursed the fowler: he did so in verse, which came out spontaneously from his lips. This poetical expression of profound grief is said to have been the first ever verse composed and the sage, who became the author of the Ramayana is popularly called the 'Adikavi'¹.

Anandavardhana (who belongs to 9th century AD), the famous rhetorician analysing *Valmiki's* state of mind as he reacted to the pathetic sight of the bird being killed, is of the opinion that the experience had not only culminated in the utterance of the first verse, but also gave rise to the idea of *rasa* in poetry.

According to tradition, the Mahabharata was penned by the elephant-headed deity *Ganesa*, as dictated by Sage *Vyaasa*². The oral transmission was through two classes of people: *Sutas* (bards in the royal courts)³ and *Kusilavas* (travelling singers). Before they were committed to writing, the epic stories gathered many accretions. Even after they were written down, additions and alterations continued. The extent of the changes that occurred explains the great popularity of the epics⁴.

Although the epic stories are very old and some of them hark back to Vedic times, their present forms are of much later date. It is generally believed that the Mahabharata had attained its present form by about the fourth century A.D., whereas the Ramayana probably assumed its present shape a century or two earlier⁵.

Tradition places the Ramayana earlier than the Mahabharata. The nucleus of the Mahabharata may have been older than that of the Ramayana, but in their present forms, the Ramayana appears to be the earlier work. The Ramayana is more ornate than the Mahabharata i.e., even more refined

and sophisticated: the ballad style of the Mahabharata is not there. But the Ramayana is more or less a unified work. Much shorter than the Mahabharata, it does not show the jumble of diverse matters that are found in the Mahabharata⁶.

Weber's suggestion that Homer's story of Helen and the Trojan War had exercised a deep influence on the *Ramayana* is not substantiated by reliable evidence since two allusions in the *Ramayana* to *Yavanas* (Greek and Ionians) have been proved to be spurious. As Wintrnitz says, "There is not even a remote similarity between the stealing of Sita and the rape of Helen, between the advance on Lanka and that on *Troy*, except only the remote similarity of motive between the bending of the bow by Rama and that by *Ulysses*"⁷.

The Ramayana

The poet is an adept in characterization and this is displayed in a series of unparalleled portraits: For instance, Rama's supreme sacrifice for the sake of his father; Lakshman's obedience to his elder brother; the self-abnegation of *Bharata* in abjuring royal comforts during the absence of Rama; and the unflinching loyalty of Hanuman to his master⁸ are notable among them.

Among the women Sita is a glowing example of *chastity* and high-mindedness, the paragon of all domestic virtues. Rama is a model son, husband, brother, king, warrior and man. Lassen and Weber, followed by some other scholars, consider the story of Rama to be allegorical. Rama, they hold, symbolizes Aryan culture, and his expedition against Ravana represents the cultural domination of the southern regions by the Aryans⁹.

Jacobi is one of those scholars who hold the opinion that this story is no allegory, but just an ancient Indian myth transformed into a massive narrative of earthly adventures. Monier Williams thinks that the story of the conflict between Rama and Ravana contains a moral allegory. It seeks to typify the great mystery of the struggle ever going on between the forces of good and evil¹⁰.

However, some scholars have suggested that there is a philosophical allegory in the epic. The epic is highly valuable in another respect. It seeks to hold up lofty ideals in the life of the individual, the family, and society; it also holds out high political and economic ideals. It is in fact an epitome of Indian civilization, for the highest spiritual and metaphysical ideals are also set forth, stressing the transience of life so full of misery, and the

eternal nature of the soul. While fate is recognized as extremely powerful, good actions and penance are stated to be the means overcoming it¹¹.

The verbiage, hyperbole, exaggeration, diffuseness, etc. are natural in most poetic literature. Therefore, the Ramayana could not be an exception¹². As Monier Williams puts it so beautifully, “It (the Ramayana) is like a spacious and delightful garden; teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams, and even its most tangled jungle intersected with delightful pathways¹³. In fact, most of the artistic drawbacks of the Ramayana are attributable to the later versifiers who altered the original production by *Valmiki*¹⁴.

The Mahabharata

The Mahabharata is not a homogeneous and unified work of art. It is, to quote Winternitz, a ‘*literary monster*’ containing so many and multifarious things. It is a fact that, “the epic is more suited than any other book to afford an insight in to the deepest depths of the Indian people”¹⁵.

Moreover like the *Rig-Veda* and the *Upanishads*, the Mahabharata contains beautiful poetry juxtaposed with philosophical or other topics that are, perhaps, to the ordinary reader, insipid. In the course of time, when the Buddhists assumed political power, they seized upon the popular Mahabharata as a convenient tool for the dissemination of their doctrines and moral principles. Similarly, the Jains too did not lose the opportunity to spread their doctrines among the masses through the framework of this popular epic¹⁶.

The epic, thus, underwent changes which have made it a medley of miscellaneous matters. It is not, however, amorphous, nor is it meaningless. It has the single purpose of upholding the glory of Dharma and proclaiming the internal values of peace and tranquillity in society. This phenomenon prompted Winternitz to say that if one has to believe that the epic is by one and the same hand, then it must be presumed that the author was at once a sage and an idiot, a finished writer and a wretched scribbler¹⁷. But according to some modern researchers, the Mahabharata is not one single poetic production at all, it is a literary complex. So, the presence of portions of varying merits in one and the same work is not surprising¹⁸.

Impact on Society

Both the epics are essentially didactic and ethical in spirit. Hence, they are regarded as *Dharma-Sastras* and *Niti-Sastras*. They provide detailed

guidelines for rulers, statesmen, law givers, and persons belonging to the various castes¹⁹. Both have tried to propagate the same message: It is virtue, not falsehood, that ultimately wins and prevails²⁰.

The pictures drawn in the epics of happiness, harmony and understanding in the domestic and social spheres are ideal. For instance, affection of parents, loyalty of brothers, love of wives, and obedience of children, have an irresistible effect on the minds of the reader. Monier Williams observes that they depict scenes of domestic affliction, and express those universal feelings and emotions which belong to human nature in all time and in all places²¹.

Swami Vivekananda says that the epic reflects the national character of ancient India: her wisdom, her beauty and her power. Therefore, they are aptly called India's national epics, India's pride and treasure²². Of the two other great epics of the world, like the *Iliad and Odyssey*, it can be said that they remain as monuments of the human mind and as documents of human life and manners in ancient times. The Indian epics are no less interesting than their European counterparts²³.

Conclusion

Thus, the life and literature of the Indian people beginning from the remote antiquity down to the present day have been largely influenced by these two great epics. In fact the story of *Ramayana* and many of the episodes of the *Mahabharata* are stock subjects, which appear over and over again in the later literatures. For example, many paintings and architectural and sculptural objects have also been designed after the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* motifs. Even on the epigraphs and coins the influence of the epics is considerable.

They have become so popular and famous that they travelled far beyond the frontiers of India to the countries in the west, north, south, and southeast and to a great extent moulded their art and literature.

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18. Cited in HIL, Vol p. 382.
19. *Ibid* p.413.
20. *The Great Epics on India*, pp. 58-84 and pp 403-5.
21. *Indian Wisdom* p.439.
22. Vide Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works* Vol IV.pp. 100-101.
23. For a detailed study of the influence of the epics on the life and literature of India and abroad, Vide CHI, II Part – I.

SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTION OF PERFORMING ARTS

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“Sound stretched is music and movement stretched is Dance”. The two performing arts play an important role in the life of all living beings, especially human beings. If the development of fine arts is a measuring rod of culture, there is no doubt that the Tamils all through the ages have been steeped in culture. Even from pre-historic times, expressions and sounds have been used for various purposes. The dawn of civilization and the progress made by mankind reveal the significance of music and dance in society. In a world of stress and strain, people wanted relaxation and it was available to them in the form of performing arts. There is no doubt that everyone born in this world is a singer, dancer and actor. But a systematic study reveals the secular and religious contribution of performing arts in the Tamil country. The word secular conveys a very simple and clear meaning. It is nothing but non-religious nature of the use of fine arts and the corresponding effects. Initially, music and dance were performed mainly for entertainment value, but when religion became an important part of human life, these fine arts were used to please the gods too. Religious literature in Sanskrit and Tamil also became a base for performing arts in the Tamil country. The performing artistes were not mere entertainers but also conductors of social change. They could be in the form of mere musicians, dancers, actors or instrumentalists who performed during religious and other occasions, or religionists like the *Alvars* and *Nayanmars*. Knowingly or unknowingly, they were responsible for some changes that had taken place in Tamil society. Music, dance, and drama played a tremendous role in the normal as well as religious life of the people. Performing arts as such could not do anything; but the same in the hands of the well-trained artistes could do wonders.

The present study deals with the music, musical instruments, dance and drama in the Sangam, Pallava and Chola periods in Tamilnadu and how those were put to secular and religious uses. Different types of musical instruments were used by the people for different occasions. The

knowledge and skill of the ancient people in the performing arts is amazing. Literature, inscriptions and published works form the main sources for the present study.

Sangam Age

There are abundant source materials to know about the performing arts in early Tamil Society from 5th century BC to 3rd century AD. There were both tribal and urban cultures, which were reflected in the fine arts too. Every one of their actions and emotions was connected with music. Though *iyal*, *isai* and *natakam* flourished in the early Tamil society, the beginning of the same could have been the lullaby sung by the mother in a casual manner and developed into different types. Women sang even while playing, working and swinging. (*Kalitokai*-131) *Kanalvari* and *Aaruvari* refer to the songs sung by women when they merrily spent their time on riverbanks and seashores.

There is a reference in *Ahananuru* (88) to a bird called ‘*isai ari paravai*’ or *asunam* which had a musical ear. Those who wanted to catch it sang songs appropriate to entice the bird. There are incredible references in the Sangam literature to the effects of music, such as blooming of buds into flowers, movement of Podiyil Hills to the music of Agastya etc. Though these instance poetic exaggeration, the value and use of music could not be under estimated. The early Sangam literature contains a lot of information on music. Parimelalagar stresses that *Paripadal* was well tuned to music.

The people of the five land divisions (i.e) *Kurinji*, *Mullai*, *Marutham*, *Neithal* and *Palai* had their distinct life patterns and utilised music and dance for specific purposes other than entertainment. The *Kurinji* women (*Kuratti*) sang in *Kurinjippan* in praise of Seyon (Muruga), their regional deity (*Tirumurukarrupadai*-ll 238-243). Even God could be pleased with divine music. A local priest invoked Muruga in the form of a spirit by singing devotional songs with rhythm. (*Narrinai*-322).

When the young girls of the *Kurinji* region were entrusted with the job of safeguarding the crops from birds, they drove them away by singing beautiful songs. It is interesting to note that the sweet rendering of songs by women made the elephants enjoy the music (*Ahananur*-102) and the melody of *yal* brought wild elephants under control. (*Kalitokai*-2: 26-27). Perhaps animals were domesticated with the rendering of vocal and instrumental music. To ease themselves, *Kurinji* women, while pounding

corn at home, alternately sang *vallaippattu* with melody and rhythm. (*Kuruntokai-89*) The same thing occurred when women thrashed paddy. (*Kalitokai-42*) It is the practice even in the present day that the village people take to singing while they perform hard work. The soothsayers too expressed their views in the form of songs. (*Kuruntokai-23*)

Considerable research has been done on music therapy and it is being used on human beings, animals and plants too. People of the Sangam era were far advanced in this science. There are references to the healing effect of music, which soothed the wounded and sick people. When the *Kuravas of Kurinji* lands went for hunting and were fatally wounded by a wild tiger, their women sang melodiously to alleviate the wounded men. (*Malaippadukadam-302-304*) When men were wounded in the battlefield, women sang *Vilarippann* to protect them from the bloody vultures and foxes, which came to taste the blood of the wounded ones. (*Purananuru-291*) People believed that ghosts and spirits would have an adverse effect on the wounded men. To ward off the evil spirits, women sang the *kurinjippan*. (*Ibid-281*) It might seem irrational to say that some specific tunes had the power to drive away animals, birds and evil spirits, but the power of music is detailed in the above instances.

Religion – When an offering was made to *Seyon* he was invoked with melodious music with accompaniments. (*Kuruntokai-362*) The *Mullai* region is associated with cows and sheep, which could be controlled by the flute of the cowherd. *Mayon*, the god of the region was a great flautist and dancer. The people associated music and dance with religion. *Ayciyarkuravai in Silappadikaram* gives a detailed account of music, dance and drama in the Sangam age. The cowherds worshipped *Mayon* through a religious dance called *Kudam* or *Kudakkuttu*, (*Silappatikaram-XXIV*) in which nine women participated, each clasping the hand of another dancer in the group and moving merrily in a circle. *Korravai*, the goddess of Victory and of the Palai people was hailed by the devotees performing *Vettuvavari* to celebrate victory. In the process, the priestess came under a divine spell and prophesied and prescribed healing for the ailments of the people gathered. Music kindled emotions and drove the performers to an extreme stage, which was supposed to give some relief to some. Though it appears to be based on superstition people had faith and derived satisfaction from it. There were instances in *Silappadikaram* to show that even when Kovalan parted with Madhavi, they exchanged their feelings in song.

People associated with the performing arts were *Panar, Padini, Virali, Adumakal, Kondimakal, Kodiyar, Kuttar, Kuttiyar, Porunar, and Vayiriyar*. They moved with musical instruments from place to place, individually or in groups, seeking the patronage of kings and chieftains. Their services were required for religious as well as secular purposes. *Pattinappalai* details public entertainment in music and dance in the port city of Kavirippattinam (113). The rulers kept in their court women who were experts in dance, music and drama for entertainment. (*Porunararruppada*-84-85) The dancing girls and musicians regularly performed in royal courts and public places. *Vayiriyar* provided music to the people in public assemblies (*Padirrupattu*-29). Perhaps they also went with the king and sang his praise when he defeated his enemy and felled his guardian tree (*kaval maram*) (*Ahananuru*: 45). *Padini* was not only a good singer but also very beautiful and educated and accompanied the king to his war camps (*Padirrupattu*-14) and entertained him and received valuable gifts. (*Ibid*-361) Their closeness to the king is known from a *Purananuru* song (319), which states that the *padini* refrained from wearing flowers after the death of her patron king. *Porunar* were respected musicians in the Sangam age. They were known for their talents in the performing arts, and their conversational skill, which made the rulers use them as messengers to the people from battlefields. (*K.K.Pillay, A Social History of the Tamils*, Madras, 1975,p, 439). *Panar* were skilled musician and dancers too. The kings respected them and chieftains granted even villages. They carried with them different types of instruments. Musicians were gifted with golden lotus flowers and silver stringed flowers by the rulers (*Purananuru*-11). Nalankilli patronised dancers (*Ibid*-28, 29). In the absence of the king, the queen honoured the singers with warm hospitality. (*Ibid*-319) As musicians, *the panar* maintained their neutral position and were sent as messengers.

Viraliyar were beautiful dancers as well as singers. They played various instruments too. (*Ibid*-152) They accompanied the *porunar, panar and padini* (*Paripadal*-17:15-17) to various places and entertained not only the rulers but the public too. *Panar and Virali* acted as mediators between separated couples and lovers. They performed during religious ceremonies also. (*Malaipadukadam-II* 358-360) Though some scholars doubted the chastity of the *viraliyar*, another group differed from them. (*R.Vijayalakshmi, Women of Tamilnadu*, Chennai, 1997, p.153)

Kodiyar, who were well versed in the arts of music, dance and acting went with a band of artistes and performed in various places. They

mingled with the local people, who missed them when they moved from their region.

Some of the rulers like Pokuttelini, son of Adiyaman, undertook expeditions against their counterparts who failed to patronise artistes. This shows the respect the rulers had for the performing arts.

Silappadikaram deals with the performing arts in a minute manner. It gives a detailed account of the musical scales, melodies, tunes, rhythms, musical instruments, qualifications of a dancer, stage, decorations, jewellery, costumes, situations etc. prevalent in Tamil society. (III)

Musical instruments enrich the performance of the musicians and dancers. Some instruments were used for religious purposes, and many for entertainments and family rituals. *Nedumpalliyattanar* was the name given to the musicians skilled in the use of many instruments (*Purananuru*-54) which were made of wood, leather, bamboo, strings and metal. There were thirty types of percussion instruments such as *murasu*, *mulavu*, *tannumai*, *kinai*, *patalai*, *tattam*, *tatari*, *tudi*, *akuli*, *mattari*, *mattalam*, *karadigai* etc used on different occasions. The stringed instruments were *yal* (*Malaipadukadam*-21-23), *vil*, and *parai*. There were different types of *yal* in the Sangam age. (*Silappadikaram*-III 70-79) Each land division had its own *yal* and the pan (melody) played was also distinct. The wind instruments were *kuzhal* (flute) (*Ainkurunuru*-v306), trumpet, *tumpu*, and conch. The bell metal instruments called *kanchakkaruvi* was also used by the Tamils. These different kinds of instruments were used on different occasions like weddings and other happy occasions, funeral, announcement of war and important matters, victory like warding off animals and birds from wounded soldiers at battlefield etc. Perhaps women were experts in *yal* and most of the musical instruments were played by men.

Adal was the term used to denote dance in the Sangam age. It is a performing art, which required accompaniments and music. Different kinds of dances are referred to in *Silappadikaram* and other literary works. *Tolkappiyam* (*Porul*-60) itself refers to *Verikuttu* (*Velan Veriyadal*), *Kunrakkuttu* (dance of the victors), *Vallikkuttu* (dance of Valli, the spouse of Muruga) and *Kalanilaikuttu* (dance performed in honour of soldiers who stuck to the battlefield inspite of the retreat of their colleagues). Dance was the medium through which the rulers expressed their respect for the fallen kings. The victorious kings danced fiercely with swords in their hands in honour of a king who died in the battlefield. It shows that the kings were trained in dance too.

Each region worshipped their regional deity with a special form of music and dance. *Kunrakkuravai* was a dance performed by the *Kurinji* women in praise of *Seyon*. Parents who were worried about the strange behaviour of their daughters were advised by the soothsayers to experiment with *Velanveriyadal* to know their condition. *Velan Veriyadal* was another ferocious form of dance performed by the priest to know whether the young girl in question was possessed by Muruga. (*Ainkurunuru-II* 242-250)

Similarly the *Mullai* women danced *Aychiyar kuravai* in propitiation of Mayon. (*Silappadikaram-XVIII*) *Kuravaikkuthu* was a common dance in the *Marutham* region. (*Padirrupattu- v, 73*) and *Mullai and Kurinji* people also followed the same. *Verikkuravai* was performed by the *Kurinji* men wearing the Palmyra leaf, to signify wild rage. (*Purananuru-22*). *Tunangaikkuttu* was performed by men and women on different occasions. During festivals women danced gracefully in the company of other women and men too (*Malaipadukadam-1-13*). But the victorious kings danced ferociously around the dead bodies at the battlefield after their victory (*Padirrupattu-v,77*) *Porunararruppadai* gives a detailed account of talents of the dancers and musicians. Whether the influence of the Aryans was felt or not, Bharata, in his *Natya Sastra* makes a reference to the greatness of South Indian music and dance which were graceful and rich with a variety of instruments. (Chapter V: 31-32 & XVI)

Though a monk, Ilanko Adikal, the author of *Silappadikaram*, was endowed with abundant knowledge of music, dance, drama and musical instruments, like his teacher Sittalai Sattanar who had authored *Manimekalai*. Professional dancers and courtesans were expected to undergo rigorous and systematic training in the art with accompaniments. *Silappadikaram* relates the need for proficiency in sixty-four arts for the dancers. (XIV-167) They should differentiate between the dances to be performed at the court of the kings (*Vettiyal*) and for the public (*Poduviyal*) (*Ibid-148*) Such information ensured that the performing artistes of the time were experts in various art forms and could make use of them as and when necessary. *Adiyarkkunallar* distinguishes between *Agakuttu and Purakkuttu; Ariyakkuttu and Tamilkuttu; Vettiyal and poduviyal. Parathaiyar* of higher ranks like *Madhavi* were well versed in music, dance, drama and musical instruments. They engaged in diligent study and practice of the performing arts and received royal patronage.

Incidents concerning gods and goddesses were brought before the commoners through the medium of dance and drama. The visual impact

of the same was tremendous. Even the illiterates could understand and benefit by seeing dance and drama. The Tamils had knowledge of the dances performed by Siva, Seyon, Kama, Tiru (Lakshmi) and Indirani. (*Ibid*-VI, 40-67) The triumphant dance of Siva known as *Kodukotti* and *Pandarangam* when he set fire to Tripuram is narrated beautifully, and a dancer who depicted the same pattern of dance was highly appreciated by Cheran Senkuttuvan and his queen Venmal. The Tamils enacted the victory of Krishna over Kamsa by breaking the tusk of his elephant in the dance form called *Alliyam. Malladal* was the play to honour Krishna and Balarama for their victory over the Asuras in wrestling. *Seyon's* success over Surapadma is well depicted in a dance called Tudi. The *Kudaikkuttu* depicted Muruga's triumph over the Asuras. *Kudakkuttu* is a dance performed by the artist balancing a vertical tier of pots on his head and shoulders and throwing and catching the pots. A man in the attire of a woman performed *Pedu*, meaning a eunuch, and depicted the story of Krishna's son. *Pavai* dance tells about Lakshmi assuming the form of a beautiful doll to tempt the *Asuras*. Indirani, the spouse of Indra, is said to have been represented as a dancer in *Kadayam* dance. *Marakkal* is a dance of Kotravai, the goddess of Victory, performed with wooden stilts, facing the challenges of the *Asuras*. These eleven types of dances described by Ilanko Adikal depict incidents related to divine beings worshipped by the Tamils. Madhavi is said to have performed these dances and she was familiar with *Varikkuttu* too. It is interesting to note that Ilanko and Sattanar had a definite leaning towards Buddhism but had highlighted Hindu, Jain and Buddhist practices as well as non-religious traditions in their respective works. Music, Drama and Dance became their handmaids in treating the theme of their works. Ilanko had gained wide knowledge of Puranic incidents related to Hindu deities. Both the teacher and his disciple have enriched the performing arts with their abundant knowledge.

Though different in nature, both dance and drama were expressed as *kuttu* in the early Sangam literature. The difference could have been the presence of a story in a drama. But the twin epics make specific references to *Natakam*, while referring to actresses as *Nataka makalir*, *Nataka kanikai* and *Nataka madantai*. Adiyarkkunallar discusses the different methods of acting in *Varikkuttu* which was divided into *Kandukavari*, *Kanvari*, *Ulvari*, *Puravari*, *Kilarvari*, *Terchchivari*, *Katchivarandi*, *Eduttukkolvari* (*Silappatikaram*-VIII-77) Nine types of emotions such as heroism, fear, contempt, amazement, love, sympathy, anger, amusement and impartiality

were to be correctly expressed by the dancers as the *navarasas* or cardinal expressions in classical dance. Expressing subtle feelings and reactions were needed for systematic acting. Verbal and facial expressions, gestures and body movements were to be well practised by the artistes. As most of the performances were in the form of musical and dance dramas, there was no great differentiation between dance and drama. As stated earlier, the main aspect of a drama was its story value. Many religious and secular themes were enacted by the artistes of the time.

The Age of the Pallavas

The performing arts received high royal patronage during the *Pallava* period (6th–9th century AD). Many inscriptions and literature of the *Pallavas* stand testimony to the glorious progress made by them in the fields of music, dance, drama and painting. Dance and music became inter-related and the significance of the same is made known from the paintings, sculptures and architecture of the *Pallavas*. Though there are controversies regarding the authorship of the paintings at Sittannavasal, the significance of the same in relation to performing arts cannot be underestimated. The dance paintings and the Kudumiyanmalai and Tirumayyam inscriptions on music have proved that the Tamils were in no way inferior to the northerners in fine arts. The icons and sculptures of Nataraja, seen in the temples, especially at Kanchipuram, depict the lord as Nada Murti and Nrta Murti, giving importance to the two flourishing performing arts of the Tamils.

The Sangam age was ended by the Kalabhras who patronised Buddhism and Jainism and Tamil culture went to oblivion. But it was revived in the 6th century when *Pallava* Simhavishnu and Pandya Kadunkon re-established their power in their respective regions. Saivism and Vaishnavism were given new life not only by the rulers but also by the *Alvars* and *Nayanmars*. The *Tevaram* Trio Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar infused new vigour to Saivism and their soul stirring melodious *Tevaram* hymns attracted even the illiterate mobs and influenced them to a great extent. Every nook and corner of the Tamil country was visited by them, and they succeeded in reviving and propagating Saivism all over the region. Appar's songs favoured the spirit of equality among human beings, condemning orthodoxy, casteism etc. The *Nayanmars* and *Alvars* stressed the importance of *bhakti* as paramount. In the case of Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Manickavasakar, their hymns had the effect of healing, giving

life to the dead, defeating arrogant people, nullifying atrocious actions, and realising god. Their songs were full of vigour, imagination and highly musical. Their spontaneous outpourings with great devotion easily engulfed the people. Similarly, the *Alvars* with their *pasurams* brought the people to their fold. The *Pallavas* built many temples for Siva and Vishnu and as temples were the abodes of cultural activities too the performing arts gained momentum. The saint poets encouraged the use of instruments in temples and public places. The fact that *Tevaram*, *Tiruvacakam* and *Nalayira divya prabhandam* are being sung in Siva and Vishnu temples respectively reveals the powerful impact of the sacred hymns. Though most of the hymns available in the present time were due to the efforts taken by Rajaraja Chola I and Nambi Andar Nambi, there are references to the rendering of some *Tevaram* songs even in the reign of Nandivarman III in Bilvanatheswara temple at Tiruvallam. There are innumerable references to the endowments made to *Tiruppadikam Oduvar* for rendering the sacred hymns (*Tiruppadiyam*) in the Siva temples (South Indian Inscriptions (SII), Vol.III, p, 98).

Appar compares the soothing effects of the music of the *vina* to the shadow of the sacred feet of Siva. Though most of the scholars identified the *yal* of the Sangam age with the *vina*, it proved to be incorrect at later times as both *yal* and *vina* had been mentioned as two different musical instruments. (*Tiruvacakam*, Saiva Siddhanta Edition p.87) Appar's conversion to Jainism and reconversion to Saivism, and the sufferings he had undergone, could have contributed to the more melodious nature of his hymns. His contribution to the progress of Saivism in musical form is well known from *Periyapuranam* by Sekkilar.

Sambandar has rendered many *padikams* in praise of Siva in his various abodes in Tamilnadu. His companion Tirunilakandayalpanar had determined to follow Sambandar with his *yal*. They both made a good combination of vocal and instrumental music. Though he was perfect in repeating the hymns rendered by Sambandar, once he failed to reproduce the same musical note in his instrument, which shows the high standard of Sambandar (*Sambandamurthi Puranam*, vv.446-454). Sundarar's hymns and Manickavasakar's *Tiruvacakam* have also contributed to the revival and growth of Saivism in the Tamil country. Performers sang their hymns during daily rituals as well as festivals. The melody and rhythm with which the hymns were sung increased the popularity of the composers. *The Andadis* of *Poygai Alvar*, *Pei Alvar* and *Bhudattalvar* were sung in Vishnu

temples. *Tirumalisai Alvar*, *Tirumangai Alvar* and *Tondaradipodi Alvar* were *Pallava* contemporaries. *Tirumangai Alvar's Periya Tirumozhi* was a contribution to religious literature but not to the performing arts. He failed to make an impact like the *Tevaram* Trio. Though the *pasurams* of the *Alvars* were also rendered in the temples, they were not sung but only chanted as they lacked melody and rhythm. From the absence of sources to know the simple and regular use of music in day to day life it cannot be assumed that the *Pallavas* lacked musical and dance programmes. Whenever they had festivals and ceremonies, the people could witness their favourite performing arts,

The musical instruments of the time were *yal*, *vina*, *kuzhal*, *kinnari*, *kokkari*, *sachchari*, *thakkai*, *monthai*, *mrtankam*, *mattalam*, *tamaru*, *tuntubi*, *kudamula*, *murasu*, *udukkai*, *talam*, *tattali*, *tudi* and *kodukotti*. They were used in secular and religious occasions. The musicians and dancers utilised the instruments to enrich their performances. *Tattali kottuvor*, consisting of sixteen men, were given endowments for their performance in the Vishnu temple during the reign of *Pallava* Kampavarman (ARE, 208 of 1901) Drums and trumpets were also played during rituals in the temples. The use of varieties of musical instruments show that many men were employed in the services of temple and, perhaps, an equal number of instrumentalists would have performed for the commoners as well as for the royal family. Though occasions and festivals as specified during the Sangam period were not reported in epigraphs or literature, it could be assumed that there were many such occasions in the *Pallava* period also.

Both women and men participated in singing and dancing in temples as well as public places. The *Kudumiyanmalai* inscription is a treatise on music throwing much light on the standard of music during the *Pallava* period. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII) *Mahendravarman I* was not only a great ruler but also a good singer, instrumentalist with great knowledge in music, dance and painting. Hence, he was known as *Vichitra chitta*, *Chitrakarapuli* (ARE, 82 of 1921) and *Sankirna jati*. He was a great composer as well as the one who experimented with an instrument of his innovative choice called *Parivadini* with eight strings. (C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, Madras, 1977, pp. 271–273) The *Tirumayyam* musical inscription adds to the glory of *Mahendravarman*. It also refers to a musical instrument called *Parivadini* and the importance given to vocal and instrumental music and dance (*gitam*, *vadyam* and *nrttam*). The colophon to the epigraph states that

Mahendravarman I was a disciple of Rudracharya. The significance of a teacher is well stressed. Even a knowledgeable and skilful performer like Mahendravarman himself needed the help of a master to reach perfection.

His *Mattavilasa Prahasana* reveals his interest in performing arts. The beauty of the dancers, costumes, ornaments, movements, etc. are narrated in an interesting manner. It also praises the Dance of Siva, which united the three worlds. *Tevaram* and *Tiruvacakam* mention the *Siva Tandavam* in the cremation ground. Rajasimha *Pallava* depicted various dance poses in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram. Ornaments and drapery found in the dance sculptures reveals the need of beautification of the dancing class. More than the musicians, the dancers needed different types of jewellery so that they would look gorgeous. Sculptural representation of Siva in the form of Nataraja tells more about dance. Ferocious dance forms of Siva in the act of burning Tripuram have been well appreciated. These instances show that the people were interested in puranic details.

Rajasimha *Pallava*, the grandson of Mahendravarman I, was a great lover of the performing arts. He was known as Vadya Vidyadhara, AtodyaTumburu and Vina Narada. Perhaps he was influenced by his grandfather. His wife Rangapataka was a great dancer. In all the Siva temples built by him, he had shown his love for dance by depicting Siva in the form of Nataraja.

There were singers and dancers attached to the temples. The latter were known as *Adikalmar* (303 of 1901), *Manikkattar*, *Kanikaiyar* (278 & 303 of 1902), *Rishabhataliyar*, *Devaradiyal*, *Talicheripendukal* and *Kuttis*. The *Rudraganikaiyar* were attached to the Siva temples. Paravaiyar, the spouse of Saint Sundaramurthi Nayanar, one of the sixty-three *Nayanmars* was a daughter of a *Rudraganikai*. These dancing women were well trained in music and dance like the *Talippendir* of the Chola times (SII,II,66). Thirty two women and twelve kuttikal formed the dancing group in the Mukteswara temple and were maintained by the temple for the services rendered by them. They were accommodated in special residences near the temple so as to utilise their proximity for temple services. Some of them made endowments for the renovation of portions of temples. Some of them were honoured by assigning the duty of fanning the deities during processions and special festivals. Perhaps they were also crowd pullers during such occasions. They sang and danced during daily and special rituals. They were held in high esteem by the rulers as well as the commoners. Even the *Alvars* and *Nayanmars* had praised not only their service to the Lord but their skill in the art of dancing. They were

compared to celestial dancers like Ramba in the court of Indra. (C. Minakshi, pp, 196-197)

Though there are controversies regarding the authorship of the Sittannaval paintings, there is no doubt about the greatness of the fresco paintings. Various mudras have been depicted in the paintings describing the artistic skills of the painters as well as the dancers of the time. Different poses in the paintings go hand in hand with the descriptions in the *Natya sastra* of Bharata. Ancient Tamil literature stresses the need for the knowledge of painting to dancers. Hence, there is a close relationship between dance and painting and the latter too takes its inspiration from other fine arts like dance and sculpture. It is clear that perfection could be possible only if the artistes qualified and trained themselves well in the fine arts.

Unlike the musicians, the dancers had to prettify themselves in a pleasing manner, as they had to create a visual impact on the audience. Their hair style, costume, jewellery, and make up had to enrich their overall appearance. Though we are not able to get the description as in *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai*, the fresco paintings come help us to know about the beautification of the dancers of the time.(C.Minakshi, pp.323-325). The painter would have utilised his skill in depicting the dancers with the then existing style. Dubreuil was of the opinion that the dancers depicted in the paintings could have been the *Devadasis* of the temple. But some scholars do not subscribe to this view. Whatever be the case, no one disagrees with the contributions made by the artistes in popularising the performing arts, and introducing new styles in allied fields.

Group dancing was also practised by the artistes. Sculptures in Vaikuntaperumal temple at Kanchipuram testify to the prevalence of group dances. Both men and women participated in a group performance at the court of the *Pallava* King, identified with Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Three dancers, a male in the centre and two women on either side stood before the king seated on his throne after their performance. It shows the practice of having dance programmes in the court to entertain the king and his officials. Perhaps it could have been a grand festive occasion when skilled ones were allowed to exhibit their talents. Another panel in the northern wall of the temple depicts another group performance. It also took place in the court of the King. The whole band of nine consisted of a drummer marching with his drum, followed by six men and two women dancers. (Panel, XX)

The Siva temple at Tiruvotriyur and Mukteswara temple at Kanchi maintained many dancing girls (*adikalmar*) for singing and dancing during festivals and regular worship in the temple. The artistes were responsible officials of the temples as they had to perform specific duties.

Though there is not much direct reference to the performance of dramas during the period of the *Pallavas*, there is a possibility of its prevalence as there was literature written in the period, and people knew the epics and *puranas* and, during celebrations and festivals they would have enacted the same. As in all societies, the people of the *Pallava* period also would have enjoyed the performing acts in their secular life giving importance to music, drama and dance. As it was the era of *Bhakti* Movement, the artistes focussed more on religious themes.

Age of the Cholas

The *Cholas* were not only great conquerors, temple builders and administrators but they excelled in performing arts too. Music and dance flourished with royal patronage. There are many inscriptional and literary evidences to show the special place given to the performing arts. Not only the royal family but also officials of all ranks and commoners gave their support to them.

The temple was the nucleus around which all political, social, religious and cultural activities revolved during the Chola period. As the social use of the performing arts had been a routine and regular feature, no specific mention has been made about it. But as all, including the royal family, gave utmost importance to religion, the musicians and dancers attached to the temples were the focus of special mention in literature. No temple functioned without these performing arts. The Vedic tradition was followed along with the Tamil tradition. Vedas were sung by Brahmins in the Chola temples. (ARE-103 of 1926-52 of 1928) During festivals, more number of Brahmins were appointed for the same purpose and special endowments were made. (SII, II, 25) *Sama Veda* is noted for its musical excellence. Special preference was given to the rendering of some portions of *Jaiminiya Sama Veda* with musical notes and conducting competitions for reciting the same on the *Arudra* festival in the Siva temple at Pandaravadai. (266 of 1923) An endowment was created for awarding prizes to the winners. It shows the interest evinced by the *Cholas* to promote Vedic music, which is rich in melody and rhythm.

Tevaram songs were sung in temples even in the *Pallava* period (SII, II; 32,33) Parantaka I made provisions for the Brahmin singers to sing *Tiruppadiyam* during daily services in the temples. (99 of 1929) With the help of Rajaraja I, Nambi Andar Nambi was able to retrieve the hidden *Tevaram* hymns and made them available in all temples. The monarch appointed forty eight singers called *Tiruppadiyam Vinnappam seyvor* for singing the hymns before Rajarajesvarar at Tanjavur to the accompaniment of kettle drum and big drum. (SII, II, 65) Rajaraja I himself is said to have practised singing the hymns, keeping the idol of Siva named *Tevaratevar* in front of him. (S.R.Balasubramaniam, *Middle Chola Temples*, Faridabad, 1977, p.80).

Rajendra I regularised the practice of singing the hymns by appointing *Tevaranayakam*, a higher official to supervise the execution of rendering of *Tevaram* in temples. (97 of 1932) Manickavasakar's *Tiruvembavai* and *Tirucchulal* were rendered on special occasions during the reign of Kulottunga III. (143,144, 149 of 1940-41). Appointment of singers for specific purposes reveals the significant place of performance as well as performers.

Rajaraja I encouraged instrumental music. His epigraphs in the Tanjavur temple narrates in detail the instrumentalists attached to the temple, their status, salary and duties. Like singers and dancers, the instrumentalists also enjoyed royal patronage. We could say that the community of performing artistes had played an important role in preserving the religious and ritual traditions of the Tamils. He donated for the maintenance of a *vina* player and a vocalist for their performance in the Siva temple at Tindivanam. (141 of 1900) The instruments played for various purposes, both secular and religious, during the *Chola* period were *vangiyam* (pipe), *vina*, drum, *udukkai*, *kottimattalam*, *sagadai* etc. Like the *talippendir*, the performers of the Tanjavur temple were given land and house in specific areas, which in course of time perhaps led to the earmarking of regions for different communities.

Similarly, the Vishnu temples patronised singers of *Nalayiradi-vyaprabhandam* and *Tiruvaymozhi* on various occasions. (176 of 1923; 343 of 1921) Kulasekara *Alvar's Pasuram* was sung on three nights during a festival in the Srirangam temple. (62 of 1892) It is interesting to note that in Vaishnavite temples too, group singing of *Tiruvaymozhi* by fifty-eight men was encouraged. (557 of 1919) The co-operative spirit and co-ordination skills of the singers are known from this record. The chanting of sacred hymns of different kinds is mentioned in Chola inscriptions.

Even in *Vedapadasalas* attached to *the mathas* and temples, all literature was taught to the pupils in musical form as it enabled them to memorise and recite easily.

Temples were the centres of cultural activities and they accommodated the performing arts. As already stated the sacred hymns of the *Alvars* and *Nayanmars* and Vedas were regularly sung in the temples. Siva in the form of Nataraja was known as Adavallan. The devotion of the King to Nataraja and his dance form made him name two measures *ulakku* (SII,II,63,94) and *marakkal* (*Ibid*-66), and weight as *Adavallan*. After constructing the Rajarajeswaram (Brihadeeswarar) at Tanjavur, Rajaraja I appointed four hundred *talippendir* (temple women) for discharging specific duties. They kept the temple premises neat, took care of the temple garden and made garlands for the deities, and sang and danced during regular services and festivals. (SII, II: 66) They were brought from ninety-one other temples in fifty-one places in the Chola Empire. Each one was given a house in the streets around the temple and a piece of land for their regular maintenance. The institution of *talippendir* was well respected as the dancing girls were well trained in music, dance and musical instruments. No stigma was attached to them. But, in course of time, they came to be called Devadasis and they were praised for their proficiency in the performing arts; but society secluded them from the mainstream. They were also known as *patiyilar* and *Devaradiyar* (128 of 1912) during the reign of Virarajendra. Interesting information pertains to the coaching given by the dance master to the *talippendir* who had to perform in the temple. It is interesting to note that some of the *Devaradiyar* were assigned the duty of reciting *Tiruppadiyam* with melody and rhythm in a low pitch in the Tiruvorriyur temple. It shows the high respect commanded by them. The later records of the *Cholas* show a change in the social structure of the *Devaradiyar*. Though the record of Rajaraja I states the hereditary nature of the institution, (SII,II,66), the epigraphs of Rajendra I (153 of 1912), Kulottunga I (183 of 1904) and Rajaraja III(122 of 1912) state the prevalence of men dedicating women of their own family, or others under their control to the temples to serve the lord. Men had all rights over women and they went to the extent of donating women as commodities. It is not known whether the dedication of these *Devaradiyar* was done with the acceptance of the women concerned. If not, it would be a black mark on Chola culture. Perhaps in these cases it cannot be confirmed whether the

women were specially trained in performing arts, as the epigraphs state that they performed duties other than singing and dancing.

Some dancing girls were given special assignments to be performed on specific occasions in the Chola temples. *Sakkaikuttu* was performed by them in the Siva temple at Ulaganallur and the *Devaradiyar* were assigned their role of singing and dancing. Endowments were made for their special service. (160,161, 176 of 1940-41) Innumerable ornaments and jewellery worn from top to bottom, reported in the epigraphs of Rajaraja I, (SII, II, 1, 3, 59, 93) give an impression that the people, including the dancers, would have worn the same according to their economic status. The goldsmiths of the period would have had their hands full in making different kinds of ornaments. Similarly, the weaving community too would have contributed to the enrichment of the costumes of the dancing and acting classes. Thus, the performing arts and artistes would have had indirect impact on the economy of the region.

Talaikkoli was the title given to an artist who excelled in dancing. Madhavi was given the same title soon after her initial performance. It was an honour given to a good performer. The dance programmes were conducted in the temple pavilions. Tiruvarur was famous for religious and cultural activities as it was one of the important seats of music and dance in Tamilnadu. A dancer called Punkoyil nayaka talaikkoli and another official were appreciated for the performance rendered by the woman in the pavilion at the temple at Tiruvarur and tax-free land was given by the ruler to the chieftain attached to the temple as also to the dancer. (548 of 1904) There is a reference in *Tamil Navalur Charitai* to Kambar falling in love with a dancing girl called Valli, (K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, Reprint, Madras,1984) which had affected his personal life.

Though the dancing girls (Devaradiyar) were attached to the temples with the belief that they were wedded to the lord, a few of them took to family life by marrying someone of their choice (147 of 1912; 411 of 1925). How they had empowered themselves to that extent in the society is unknown. It also reveals the stigma attached to the dancing community.

The literature of the Chola period reveals the importance given to the performing arts. A systematic codification of the sacred hymns of the Saivites and Vaishnavites and rendering of the same with instrumental music in temples and public places reveal the progress made in fine arts and the patronage of the *Cholas*.

The development in literature, music and dance was reflected in dramas. Though much direct references to drama are not available in the Chola period, there are some epigraphical references to the enactment of certain Rajarajesvara *natakams* (120 of 1931) in the temples. The text or other details of the drama are not available. But the inscription says about the staging of the drama in the Sri Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur during festivals and the endowment made for the specific purpose. The actors were paid and fed out of the endowment. *Rajarajesvara* was the lord of the temple at Tanjavur and the text of the drama might have been related to the establishment of the temple by Rajaraja I. Due to the enactment of the drama, the actors benefited; the public were entertained; it was an added attraction to the temple festivals; and it was a milestone in the cultural achievement of the *Cholas*. It was a popular medium through which the commoners were not only entertained but enriched their knowledge too.

Similarly, the reading of the Rajaraja Kavya, a heroic account of Rajaraja I and his role in the construction of the great temple was acknowledged in the Tiruppunturutti temple on special occasions by the artistes which added glory to the monarch. Kamalalaya Bhatta is said to have written a drama titled *Pumpuliyur Natakam* and *Kannivanapurana*, *Sthalapurana*. (128, 129 of 1902) in Tamil around 1119 AD and received tax-free lands as donation for his contribution.

It is interesting to note that no performer was denied payment. Their services had been well recognised by all. Permanent endowments had been made for the chanters, musicians, dancers, instrumentalists, actors, nattuvanars, oduvars and others who participated in various performances to entertain and please the gods and people. The artistes of the Chola period had left permanent marks of their contribution for posterity.

Conclusion

Indians were culturally advanced in the arts of music and dance even from very early times. The terracotta dancing girl from Mohenjo Daro and various descriptions of dance forms, melody, rhythm and musical instruments in the Sangam literature in the north and south, respectively, stand testimony to the advanced stage of the performing arts in India. Though music and dance were initially performed with the intention of entertaining people, in course of time they had other purposes too. It had become a medium through which messages and ideas could be conveyed to the people concerned. Music is said to have a healing effect on the

people who were physically and verbally hurt. One could forget the worries and ease stress and tension by listening to music. It was used as a therapy. The easy way of learning even the difficult lessons was possible with the help of music. Music has been used as a tool for spreading religion too. The *Alvars* and *Nayanmars* were able to reach even the commoners through the musical rendering of their sacred hymns. Even the cowherd could round up cattle with his flute. It has been a means of communication between the lovers and friends. Even the monks like Ilanko Adikal could master the art. The *Panar* and *Viraliyar* were the cultural ambassadors and mediators of the time because of their expertise in the performing arts. Group music resulted in promoting co-operation, unity, and understanding among the artistes.

Dance could not go without music. Indian dance is not an act of arms and legs alone, but of the whole body, especially the face which could express *navarasas* (nine emotions) and more if possible. Dance performances are not only pleasing to the eye but to the mind also. It is good exercise for the body. A performance will be successful only if there is coordination of body, mind and face. Though every one is basically a singer, dancer and actor in day-to-day life, to be a performer is something more. The performers should have undergone rigorous coaching and training under an able teacher. Though the dancing girls of the Tamil country of all times have been highly appreciated, no one could deny the stigma attached to them. Some categories called *Devaradiyar*, *talippendir* and *patiyilar* were respected because of their activities related to the temples, but others were treated with contempt as they utilised their proficiency in music and dance to earn money in other ways. Slowly, this institution got associated with concubinage and prostitution, which had deep roots in Indian society. But there is no doubt the art of dancing in Tamilnadu has been of a high standard from the Sangam age till the present day. *Silappadikaram* is a treasure house of knowledge, of dance, music, drama and instruments in the early Tamil society; the sacred hymns of *Alvars* and *Nayanmars*, the Kudumiyanmalai inscription and Sittannaval paintings are strong evidences of the great style in music, dance and paintings of the *Pallava* times; and the epigraphs of Rajaraja I in Tanjavur are the repositories of materials on performing arts of the Chola period. All the three periods witnessed the growth of these arts and artistes and the various contributions they had made in the political, social, economic, religious and cultural spheres. Though the present day

seems to be more progressive, there is no doubt that we carry on the thread woven by the Sangam, *Pallava* and Chola traditions, perhaps with appropriate and inevitable modifications.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF PROFESSOR K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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Brief Life History

Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri¹ belonged to the Madras School founded by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. He was, in a way, the academic successor of Aiyangar. He was born on Friday, August 12, 1892, in an economically modest but enlightened Telugu Niyogi Brahmin family of Tirunelveli, Tamilnadu, as the third and last son of his parents. He was brought up in rural surroundings. He had his early education at George Secondary School Kallidaikurichi, and in the Ambasamudram High School. His eldest brother A.Kuppuswami managed to get him a Government Scholarship of the value of Rs. 14/- p.m. for his B.A; for his M.A., he obtained the Thurso studentship which fetched about Rs. 20/- p.m. By sheer hard work, he got not only a First Class in M.A. (1913) but also stood first in the Presidency.

After such a brilliant academic career, Nilakanta joined the Hindu College, Tirunelveli, as a Lecturer. He taught History there from 1913 to 1918. Then, he served as Professor of History, Benaras Hindu University, from 1918 to 1920. In 1920, he joined the Meenakshi College, Chidambaram, as Principal, and spent eight years in building up the college from an intermediate college of about 70 pupils in the beginning, to the level of a university with 700 pupils on the rolls, and magnificent new buildings and hostels, by the end of 1928.

Nilakanta Sastri served as one of the most distinguished Professors of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of Madras University from 1929 to 1947, when he retired on attaining superannuation at 55. But that was not the end of his academic career. He became Professor of Indology, Mysore University (1952-56) and Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures (sponsored by the UNESCO), Madras (1957-71). For a year, he was a visiting professor (1959) at the University of Chicago, where he delivered a series of lectures on South Indian history.

Sastri graced numerous posts of honour. He was the General President of the Indian History Congress, Patna, in 1946, and the General President

of the All-Indian Oriental Conference, Lucknow 1961. He also acted as Chairman of many sessions of various seminars and conferences. He also served as an Hon. Member of the Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, Saigon, in Indo-China; Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, Ceylon and Malayan Branches; Hon. Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; and member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, New Delhi.

Even in his early years, K.A.N. Sastri was in the enlightened company of the cream of great scholars, like professors Saranathan, Vaiyapuri Pillai, M. Raghava Iyengar and others. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, even after becoming President of the Republic, was very cordial and well-disposed towards him. Among his other academic friends and associates, mention may be made of Dr. P.C. Bagchi, Dr.A.S.Altekar, Dr. R.C.Majumdar, Dr. N.P.Chakravarti, Dr. Tarachand, Dr.Bisheshwar Prasad, Dr. B.P.Saxena, Dr. H.C.Ray Choudhry, Dr. S.K.Chatterji and Dr.Nihar Ranjan Ray. Despite his being an orthodox Brahmin, he had good relations with Father Heras, a Christian scholar. Among his students who made a mark in the field of politics and administration were Shri R.Venkataraman, the ex-President of India, Dr. S. Kameshwar Rao, and Shri R. Tirumalai, retired officers of the Indian Administrative Service. Among his students who made a mark in the field of history were C. Minakshi, Dr. K. Gopalachari and Prof. A.Appadurai.

Sastri was not only a man of letters but also an exceptionally successful and inspiring teacher. He was an eloquent speaker. He knew the *Arthasastra* by heart. He was very strong in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and English. He also learnt Dutch and French to study South-East Asian history. He knew many subjects besides History. He knew the History of many countries besides India and he knew many branches of History besides political and dynastic. His independent scholarly pursuits continued till his incapacitation which was due to failing sight and hearing. He expired in 1975.

Historical Opus of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri

Nilakanta Sastri produced a considerable amount of historical literature. His works may be classified into five categories² according to their form and content.

A. His major works whose dominant trait was political were

- i) *The Pandyan Kingdom* (1929),
- ii) *Studies in Chola History and Administration* (1932),

- iii) *The Cholas, I and II* (1935, 1937, one volume, 1955),
- iv) *The Tamil Kingdoms of South India* (1948),
- v) Sir William Meyer Lectures on *History of Srīvijaya* (1949),
- vi) *History of India* (three parts, 1950, revised edition, *Advanced History of India* (1970)),
- vii) *A History of South India* (1955),
- viii) *The Culture and History of the Tamils* (1964), and
- ix) *India – a Historical Survey* (1966),
(revised edition: *Life and Culture of the Indian People*, 1974).

B. His works on cultural and social history were

- i) *Gleanings on Social Life from the Avadānas* (1945),
- ii) *South Indian influences in the Far East* (1949),
- iii) *Dravidian Literatures* (1949),
- iv) *Cultural Expansion of India* (1959),
- v) *Development of Religion in South India* (1963),
- vi) *Cultural contacts between Aryans and Dravidians* (1967),
- vii) *Sangam Literature – its Cults and Cultures* (1972).

C. His edited works were

- i) F.Max Muller's *India – What can it Teach Us?* (1934),
- ii) *Some Documents on the History of Cochin* (1939),
- iii) *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Huan* (1939),
- iv) *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, 3 Vols. (1946),
- v) *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (1952),
- vi) *A Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. II, 1957),
- vii) *A Great Liberal: Speeches and Writings of Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyar* (1965),
- viii) India as seen in the Brhat Samhitā of Varāhamihira,
- ix) *B.C.Law Memorial Volume* (1946) as Jt. Editor.

D. His works on methodology were

- i) *Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History* (1941),
- ii) *Lectures on Factors in Indian History* (1949),
- iii) *Historical Method in Relation to Indian History* (1956), and
- iv) *Sources of Indian History* (1961).

E. Some of his minor writings and stray historical articles were

- i) The Concept of a Secular State,
- ii) Agastya,

- iii) Alexander's Campaign against Porus,
- iv) Nalanḍa,
- v) Tirumala Naik, Portuguese and the Dutch,
- vi) Southern India, Arabia and Africa,
- vii) South India,
- viii) *South India and South-East Asia* (1977) – a collection of twenty-eight research articles.

He also delivered some Presidential Addresses to learned bodies.

The earliest work to come out of the pen of Sastri was *The Pandyan Kingdom*. It was an enlarged version of a series of lectures he delivered on this subject at the University of Madras in 1926. The Pandyas had, at no stage, any great influence on the main course of Indian history. Pandyas antiquities have, somehow, failed to interest scholars. However, Sastri realised that a complete view of the story of South India cannot be obtained until the history of the Pandyas is fully worked out. Sastri himself began his work with the candid admission that his work makes no claim to be considered as “a full and satisfactory account of the Pandyas Kingdom”. As Father Heras pointed out in his review of this work, “Sastri was eminently successful in his enterprise”, and by this book he “placed himself among the great professors and writers of the history of India”³.

Studies in Chola History and Administration may justly be called a spade work for his *magnum opus*, *The Cholas*. The history of the *Cholas* easily falls into five divisions, viz:

- i) The pre-Christian period,
- ii) The age of the literature of the Sangam,
- iii) The interval between the end of the Sangam period and the rise of the line of Vijayalaya,
- iv) The period of the Vijayalaya line, and
- v) The age of the Chalukya-*Chola* line of Kulottunga I.

While giving details about various rulers of the dynasty, Sastri also dealt with the central and local governments, taxation and finance, population and society, agriculture and land tenure, industry and trade, education and learning and, lastly, religion and literature under the *Cholas*. A curious feature of ‘*The Cholas*’ is that Chola art does not find a place in it. Sastri considers the earlier phase of Indian history as the happier phase of India’s history: “The history of the *Chola* Empire belongs, on the

whole, to this earlier and happier phase of India's history"⁴. In the opinion of A.L.Basham, "Despite the troubled times and the seething national unrest and aspiration of the late nineteen-twenties and thirties, much solid work was done along the lines laid down by Bhandarkar. H.C. Ray's monumental *Dynastic History of Northern India* (2 vols. 1931-6), and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's very detailed study *The Cholas* (3 vols. 1935-7), are only two examples among many"⁵.

The Tamil Kingdoms of South India and *The Culture and History of the Tamils* of Sastri give an excellent review of the government, socio-economic conditions, religion, literature and fine arts of the *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pâddyam* Kingdoms. History of Srivijaya or the Sumatran Kingdom of the Sailendras was the theme of Sir William Meyer Lectures Sastri delivered at the University of Madras in 1946-1947. "Sangam Literature: its Cults and Cultures" is another scholarly work of Sastri in which he made a successful attempt in bringing into prominence the sober and realistic pictures of the political, social, religious, and economic life that prevailed in the ancient Tamil country, with the help of the early Tamil classics. He depicts a vast panorama of the life of the Sangam people. The language employed is rich, dignified and plainly direct.

K.A.N. Sastri's *The Cholas*, *Foreign Notices of South India*, *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History* and *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, etc., were great pioneering works in their respective fields of study. They are also models of historical writing in which original sources; most of them unearthed by Sastri himself, have been critically examined and fully utilized.

Sastri wrote quite a few text books of Indian history which are primarily based on published sources and works of earlier authors in the field. Of these *A History of South India* (from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar) is more than an ordinary text book. In fact, it is certainly by far the best work on South Indian History. In this work, Sastri presented in a compact form a comprehensive account of the history of the whole of South India treated as a single geographical entity⁶. In it, he has incorporated the results of his own researches, and has also brought together material previously scattered in many separate studies and presented it as a coherent narrative. Here, political history naturally occupies a predominant place, but an account is also given of social life, commerce, religion, philosophy, literature and the plastic arts. These subjects are treated both in the course of the historical narrative and in four separate chapters at the end of the book. The history of the Vakatakas is given in Chapter VI.

Both in respect of chronology and history, he broadly followed the outline of A.S.Altekar. For example, he believed that Rudrasena I was helped by Bhavanaga in his internal troubles, that the conquests of Samudragupta did not affect the *Vakatakas*, that the *Guptas* contracted matrimonial alliance with the *Vakatakas* to strengthen the Gupta position 'in execution of their plans against the *Sakas*', that Prabhavati gave considerable help to her father in the *Saka* war, and so on⁷. The History of the Châlukyās of Badami,⁸ *Pallavas* and *Pâddyas*⁹ are given in Chapter VIII.

All in all, in his *A History of South India*, Sastri takes the reader along safely with him amidst falling of kingdoms and clash of arms. However, his work is not only the chronicle of kings or the wars they waged, it also includes material conditions, social institutions, philosophy, religion and art and literature. Here, Sastri not only built up the board outlines of the history of peninsular India but has brought out the multi-coloured and fascinating cultural life and cultural movements of the people of South India. His work reflects the true history of the life of the people and their cultural movements. Sastri's concept of history is so wide that it includes every aspect of the life of humanity. His scholarship and his intimate connection with the land and people give to his historical writings a distinct stamp. This work established him as the foremost historian of South India. Commenting on this work B.K. Majumdar says, "the entire political history of ancient India has been covered by the valuable works of Dr. Ray Chaudhuri and Dr. H.C. Ray expect perhaps the history of South India in its entirety which has been ably presented to the public by Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *History of South India*, published in 1955¹⁰".

Sastri edited two very significant volumes *The age of Nandas and Mauryas* and *A Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. II)¹¹ sponsored by the Indian History Congress and the Bhârâtîya Itihâsa Parishad¹². The first volume contains eleven chapters of which five are Sastri's contribution. Sastri's approach to the history of Asoka was traditional in nature and his treatment of Maurya polity was based on the acceptance of the *Arthauâstra* "as the authentic production of the Mauryan Empire¹³. For him the Maurya period was one of "great endeavour and noble achievement"¹⁴. "Politically India became one, and the cultural unity in the midst of diversity that has always characterised her civilization became more marked than ever in this period"¹⁵. "India was in the van of human progress", Sastri declares, "and one of her greatest emperors came forth into the world with the message of universal peace and love"¹⁶.

The second volume covers the history of the Mauryas and Satavahanas (325 B.C. to 300 A.D.). In this work, greater stress has been laid on cultural movements and social institutions.

Sastri also compiled and edited a few source books of South Indian history. Of these, mention may be made of *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 3 vols. Some *documents on the History of Cochin* and *Foreign Notices of South India*. In the spirit of a genuine scholar of history, Sastri has not only discovered and used new sources but has given them a systematic form for the benefit of future scholars in the field.

Now we may discuss some of his minor works. His *Gleanings on Social life from the Avadānas* is a collection of data on social life from two of the earliest known works of this class of Buddhist literature – *Divyavadana* and *Avadana-Sataka* (c.100-150 A.D.). In *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, he has studied the art and social life prevalent in the early stage of Hindu colonization of the East with a view to estimating the role of Southern India in their evolution. In his view, influences from other parts of India which flowed into the area were weaker and less persistent than those from South India. His *Cultural Expansion of India*¹⁷ is an attempt to find out Indian elements in the cultural make-up of other countries, particularly those of Eastern Europe, Near East, Middle East, Central Asia, China, Indo-China and Indonesia. *Sangam Literature - its Cults and Cultures* is an account of the earliest Tamil literature known to us. It comprises more than two thousand poems, which help create a pen-picture of polity, society and economy. *Dravidian Literatures* is a small booklet of only forty-eight pages giving general readers a short but compact outline of the chronology and content of the literatures in the principal languages (Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam) of South India. *Development of Religion in South India* contains the series of seven lectures which Sastri delivered at the University of Chicago in 1959. The integration of cults and the beginning of Hinduism to the present-day reform and modernisation formed the theme of discussion. *Cultural Contacts between Aryans and Dravidians* was a course of four lectures which he delivered at the University of Patna in 1964. He is of the view that the *Aryan-Dravidian* contacts were friendly. The view put forward by some scholars that the *Dravidians* were pushed out of Northern India has, Sastri suggests, no real basis.

Nilakanta Sastri's two addresses, as Sectional President – "Ancient India" and General President, Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939 and Patna,

1946 respectively, provide an insight into his concept of history and political thinking. The Calcutta Address concentrating on ‘the Conception of *Chakravartin*’ is more a record of attempts made by ancient Indian powers – the Mauryas and the *Guptas* in the North, and the Andhras, *Pallavas* and *Cholas* in the South to extend their political tentacles in India as also by the latter, particularly the *Cholas*, across the seas pursuing an active naval policy. This conception of *Chakravartin* might have led to an all-India State, and in the Mauryan Empire this condition was nearly attained, but the intense love of social and local autonomy on the part of the people forbade the rise of a centralised administration. In his words, “the pattern of peace-time life in ancient India was that of a number of closely-knit autonomous groups each contributing to a fairly rich and harmonious culture, richer and more harmonious perhaps than ever before or since but maintained on somewhat slender means”¹⁸.

Sastri’s View of History

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri did not subscribe to any particular philosophy of history. He did not attempt to find out the forces behind the historical process or movement or identify the prime mover in history. He was also not concerned with such questions as; “What is the meaning of history?” “What fundamental laws govern historical development and change?” His view of history was quite simple. He regards history “as the entire record of men living in societies in their geographical and physical environment”¹⁹. He sees the human race as a single society and looks at history in universal terms. In such a view, India also becomes a part of universal history. “From the period of prehistory to the present age of atomic energy, India has been in close contact with almost every civilization of every age in the world. Well it may be said that India from time immemorial has been a part of universal history”²⁰.

In the nineteenth century, the main object of history was regarded as teaching of political events in their rigid chronological sequence. But Sastri had freed himself from this narrow perception. He believed that history is concerned not only with the political happenings it is also concerned with the economic, social, cultural and religious aspects of life. Actually his concept of history is so wide that it includes every aspect of the life of humanity. He does not negate the importance of chronology and political history but advocates the reconstruction of social and religious history also. “The stress on political history is not accidental or perverse

and it does not proceed from a failure to realize the value or importance of social history. Any picture of social life, if it is to be of real significance, must have a firmly established framework of chronology to fit into. And this framework, which alone could support and hold together the reconstructions of social and religious history cannot be built up except by fixing the details of political history. This is true in some measure of the history of all countries and is especially so, of our own”²¹.

Sastri sees an intimate link between the past, present and future: “What we have been determines in a large measure what we are, and may well influence, if not decide, what we shall be”²². He partly accepts Benedetto Croce’s dictum that “All history is contemporary history.” “It is in a sense true to say that the knowledge of the present is the key to the understanding of the past, that the knowledge of the past varies with the present, and insight into the past with the personality of the historian”²³.

Sastri believes in the uniqueness of historical situations. “No two historical situations are alike. It is often said that history repeats itself. It would be much true to say, “that history never repeats itself”²⁴. The concept which arises out of the idea that history repeats itself denies the very idea of progress.

According to Sastri, “History is a scientific discipline in which the student should be ready to go wherever his evidence leads him; but the conclusions of history will be viewed and understood by each generation according to its own lights.”²⁵. To Sastri “The historian, like a scientist has to have a mind which is free from pre-occupation, which is free from theories and is ready to take in all the bits of evidence, and appraise each such bit at its proper worth.”²⁶. Further, “in the writing of the history of one’s own country, the temptation, to select some facts and suppress others that go against your thesis, or in your judgements do not give credit, is strong, but must be resisted”. He also emphasised: “It is the task of the historians of India to delineate impartially the successive phases of the country’s development through the ages and enable the reader to arrive at a just appraisal of the good and the bad, the strength and the weakness, that marked it at every stage”²⁷.

According to Sastri, in search of truth, the student of history should be ready to go wherever his evidence leads him. In his works he always tried to follow this principle and maintained all along a high standard of professional honesty. He well knew that in a conflict between pre-conceived ideas and a historical document, usually the former prevails

with disastrous results for historical scholarship. He took care to avoid that danger and did not allow prevalent theories or formulations to influence his judgment.

Like other historians, he drew upon five categories of sources – literary evidence, archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics and accounts of foreign travellers. But he did not take his sources at face value. Rather he verified the authenticity of his sources from different angles before using them in his history. He knew that the historian legitimately indulges in an act of creative imagination. But that is to be done within certain limits and in no case should the historian allow the present to dominate the past and turn history into a hand-maid of politics.²⁸ Still the proper task of an historian, Sastri felt, is interpreting the past for the present not carrying the present into the past. Sastri himself tried to hold close to the texts and other categories of sources, and interpreted them with impartiality and honesty.

In his Presidential Address to the Indian History Congress, Patna in 1946 Sastri pointed out that the harm that results from one-sided history is immense, and when history is used as propaganda, the consequences are apt to be deadly. He appreciates Kalhana, ‘the Father of Indian history’, for having the ideal of truth and impartiality: “That noble – minded one is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a Judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.”²⁹ According to Sastri, we can have no better standard for the historian.

However, Sastri believed that historical truth is always many-sided, and there is always scope for differences of interpretation of the evidence at hand. The scope for such differences is particularly wide in our period in which almost all the sources bear a certain bias and offer divergent accounts of the same set of events³⁰.

Sastri was ever willing to change his opinions or alter conclusions, if newly discovered dependable data warranted such a change. For example, when new evidences came from the *Chola* inscriptions, he unhesitatingly countermanded his earlier conclusions.

In these writings, Sastri followed a simple, clear and lucid style by avoiding highly ornamental and complex sentences; his polished language and depth of feeling add charm and freshness to his writings. In the delineation of narration, Sastri had a rare combination of gifts - a mastery over all the varied and complicated sources and a balanced and accurate judgement. Therefore, whatever he wrote was readable and thought-provoking.

Though Sastri always maintained a pan-Indian vision and approached Indian history from the standpoint of an Indian, his main contribution has naturally been to the history of South India. As V.A. Smith became the author of the first really complete history of India to Sastri belongs the credit of writing a full-scale connected history of South India from prehistoric times to the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire in the 17th century A.D. According to N. Subrahmanian, "K.A.N. Sastri's position as an Indologist is so central to the historiography of South India and especially Tamilnadu that it may be said that a greater part of the history of Tamilnadu has been settled by his efforts rather than anyone else's. Though S.K. Aiyangar was a pioneer and set the pace for Tamil historical studies, "Sastri gave nearly a final shape to the picture"³¹. In the words of S.K. Mukhopadhyay, "Sastri contributed more than anybody else towards the reconstruction of South Indian history and culture. He has not only built up the chronology of some of the important dynasties of South India, but has also uncovered the cultural and social history of the people. His aim always had been to discover the "rich cultural heritage of the South that lay hidden for a long time"³².

According to Sastri, it is essential that each historian should accept the ideals of truth and impartiality, and refrain from deliberate suppression and distortion. But his own attempt at objectivity was a lamentable failure. Firstly, Sastri was a great 'Hindu'phile; a circumstance which has had great influence on his judgement of events and persons in the second volume of his *A Comprehensive History of India*. He has laid emphasis on the superiority of Hinduism and Indian culture. Being a great 'Hindu'phile, he sometimes displays an anti-Islamic bias. He aimed to promote a sense of pride in the past, recollecting the glories of India for fifteen centuries viz., between the rise of the Mauryan Empire and the fall of the *Cholas*. According to him, though in the organization of free Government, ancient India must rank below some other lands and far below ancient Greece, yet even the continued vigour of the village institutions of the South mitigated for many centuries the evils of a weak Central Government. In all the other arts of civilized life, Southern India was the peer of any other Country. From the very earliest times, this part of India carried on and developed a maritime trade which linked her with the Empires of Rome and of China. She gave Burma her earliest script and profoundly influenced the art and religion of distant Indo-China. Her social economy was securely built on the harmony of diverse groups, each free in its own sphere to pursue its chosen

methods and cherish its distant ideals. Its literature with its richness and power is the most precious treasure inherited from the past, vividly depicting the thoughts and lives of her saints, philosophers and kings, and providing moving and musical expression to the joys and sorrows of her people. He did not subscribe to the view held by many in the South that the people of the peninsula are the builders of the Indus Civilization. He also rejected the view of some Tamilians, born out of narrow Tamil nationalism, that the people of the South are the original inhabitants of India. He was rather inclined to accept the view that the *Dravidians*, like the *Aryans*, came to India from outside, probably from Central Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean region. He also does not agree with the view that the *Aryan* penetration into the South was superficial and that it did not affect the life style of the people. On the contrary, Aryanisation of South India, he believes, represented a happy blending of *Aryan* and *Dravidian* elements, a synthesis of two cultural traditions.

Though Sastri resented north-centric historical writing in modern India and argued that the South was not sufficiently represented in Indian history, he had no bitter feeling against the North and never subscribed to narrow regionalism of the South. He took care to avoid isolationism and chauvinism in his writings and had no sympathy for narrow Tamil nationalism.

Sastri had an exalted notion about the impact of Indian civilization in the Countries of Asia and in the world. He writes that there was a time “when Asia led the world in civilization and culture, and India led Asia”³³.

Sastri sees the colonization of South-East Asia also “as just a continuation of the process by which the Deccan and South India were Aryanised and Hinduised by the inflow of northern influences”³⁴. He had the insight of a social historian. He explains the social structure of the South in the days of the *Cholas* thus: “Caste was the basis of social organisation, each caste was more or less a hereditary occupational group with an active organisation for the regulation and protection of its economic and social interests; and the Indian society of those days is best conceived as a loose federation of strong self-regulating groups which shared a common background of social rights and obligations which made for mutual understanding and accommodation”³⁵. He is, however, silent on the problem of caste conflict or other social injustice like untouchability or unapproachability.

On the question of the *Aryan* penetration into the South, he observes: “The results of *Aryan* penetration into the South were more cultural than

racial and the pre-Aryan inhabitants survived the 'conquest' in sufficient strength to retain their own language and many of their old habits and methods of life, with the consequence that the resulting culture was a real blend of the Aryan and Dravidian elements which shows several points of difference from the culture of the remaining parts of India which were more thoroughly Aryanised"³⁶.

In the same vein, he describes the mission of the Hindu colonists thus: "Just as the Greek colonists carried to their new home fire from the hearth of the home city, so the Hindu colonists carried with them an organised culture based on easily identifiable elements viz., a conception of royalty, Sanskrit as the means of literary expression, a mythology based on the observance of the *Dharmasastras*, particularly the law of *Manu*"³⁷.

Sastri gave a new perspective to Indian history by bringing the whole of South-East Asia within the orbit of the history of Indian culture. His vision has always been broad, as well as deep and penetrating, and did not leave a single known West Asian, Roman, Greek or other source in order to explore the dimensions of India's contribution, as well as debt, to world human thought and culture. His book *Cultural Expansion of India* is an attempt to find out the Indian elements in the cultural make-up of other countries, particularly those of Eastern Europe, Near East, Middle East, Central Asia, China, Indo-China and Indonesia. Sastri attempted to prove the widespread Indian influence in Asia and in different parts of the world. The term 'Greater India', which became widely current in historical circles at the time, was a sign of the growing national pride in the part India had played in the civilization of Asia while phrases such as "Indian colonies in South East Asia" occurring time and again in many contexts, were indicative of the reactions of the historians to the political situation. According to Sastri, though the colonies had no political connection with the mother country, the new states were Hindu in every aspect. Sastri compares Indian imperialism with Roman imperialism and British imperialism "When an Indian Empire was established, it made little difference to the lives of the people of its component parts, which went on as before. Yājñavalkya expressly states that when the conquest of a country was completed nothing in it was to be changed, and the King was to respect local customs and institutions as if they were those of his home country"³⁸. There was no consciousness of cultural superiority on the part of the conqueror and his followers over the conquered; and in a social milieu which exalted stability above change, the conqueror was

strictly enjoined to maintain the status quo. Samudragupta's victorious marches into the Deccan, and Rajendra Chola's expansion to the Gangetic plain are the most conspicuous examples of the sheer exhibition of *Parākrama* on the part of great rulers; they led to no permanent results; they were not meant to do so.

Sastri has cautioned historians against certain common errors usually committed in the interpretation of the past such as the error of discovering in history the lessons which we wish to inculcate, the error of discovering all great and good things in the past of one's own country, taking sides in historical disputes and telling the tale almost exclusively from one particular point of view, making statements full of inaccuracies and factual mistakes. Sastri does not think that it is good and useful for the historian "to have preferences, leading ideas and superior conceptions"³⁹.

Sastri was the foremost historian of South India and one of the front rankers of modern India. He has contributed more than anybody else towards the reconstruction of South Indian history and culture. He has not only built up the chronology of some of the important dynasties of South India, but has also uncovered the cultural and social history of the people. His aim has always been to discover the rich cultural heritage of the South that lay hidden for a long time. In this self-imposed task, he has been eminently successful. Well-equipped in history, archaeology, Sanskrit and languages of the South, he produced a large number of standard volumes on his subject. More than fifty years' study and research, combined methodology, a keen historical insight and, above all, the vast range of his specialised field, from the age of the Sangam to the Vijayanagar Empire, combine to assure him a high place among the historians of modern India.

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FEMALE FUNCTIONARIES OF MEDIEVAL SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLES

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Introduction

Early medieval South India witnessed tremendous growth of temples and temple culture dominated the medieval age. Though temple construction began in ancient times itself, the elaborate structures and functions could be seen in early medieval and later medieval ages. Historians have written on various facets of temples like origin, history, architecture, functions and festivals etc. Even the temple economy has also been analysed to some extent by some historians but the study of temple-functionaries, who were the real tools who activated the temple structures, the human power that gave life to the temple, remains unexplored. Due to some unknown reasons, this has not fired the imagination of historians. Thus, an attempt has been made to study the female functionaries of early medieval South India from among all other temple functionaries.

The temple, as a big complex structure, had varied functions and employed a considerable number of functionaries who were directly or indirectly connected to temple related jobs. A long list of temple functionaries like priests, drummers, musicians, dancers, carpenters, smiths, potters, weavers, garland-makers, accountants, shepherds, lamp-lighters, gardeners etc. could be seen in the inscriptions. Females also had a share in the temple functions. Their presence was required for many of the jobs like cleaning, washing, assistance in cooking, garland making, flower collection, paddy husking and, not least, professions like, singing, dancing and playing musical instruments. Such a variety of jobs were undertaken by feminine functionaries of medieval South Indian temples. In this paper, an attempt has been made to narrate the jobs undertaken by them, and an analysis of their socio economic life is attempted.

Inscriptions are the main source which speaks about all activities of temples. Raja raja's (985-1014 A.D.) Brahadeswara temple at Thanjavur says that the king had engaged nearly nine hundred servants to maintain the temple and manage its affairs. Among them four hundred were female

servants. They were all provided independent houses to live in, and remunerated through the temple for livelihood. Of course, this long inscription does not specify the nature of their jobs¹. They formed nearly fifty percent of the total retinue of the *Talipparivaram* or *Koyil Parivaram*, as the servants of the temple were called².

To assess the position of their female servitors it is necessary to look at the nature of appointment, the scale of remuneration, terms and conditions of the profession and others. We should look into the various duties performed by them inside the temple. Naturally we have to compare them with male counterparts for a better understanding of their situation.

Recruitment

There were various routes of entry into temple service. Some dedicated themselves to temple service while some were donated by others and some by the elder members of the family; some were sold to the temple while some were appointed by the kings. Dr. Minakshi³ enumerates seven modes of entry. *Dattai* was the dancer who dedicated herself to the temple voluntarily; the one who sold herself to the temple was *Vikritai*. *Prityai* was the one who dedicated herself to the temple for the sake of her family. She who joined the temple service was called *Bhaktai*. She who was captured, perhaps in wars, and handed over or gifted to temple service was known as *Hrdai*; the one who was selected by the king or the others as an accomplished dancer was termed *Alangari*. The dancing girl who received a salary was known as *Rudra Ganika* and *Gopitai*. According to Dr. Minakshi, the women who were dedicated to dancing were called as *Risabhataliyar*, *Devaradiyal*, *Talichery Pendugal* and *Kuttiyal*.

When we analyze each term, we have to differ with Dr. Minakshi. *Rishaba* is the bull or the *Nandhi*, the *Vahana* or carrier of God Shiva placed in front of the image of the Lord in Shiva temple. *Tali* a term to denote stone structure denoted the temples which were stone structures. Hence, *Risabhataliyar* could denote the female servants of a Shiva temple and may not necessarily refer to dancers in general. Again, the term 'Devaradiyal' is of two words *Devar* and *Adiyal*, where *Devar* is God and *Adiyal*, is slave or servant. And, again, this also denotes the ladies devoted to God as servants or slaves. *Talichery Pendugal* (*Tali* + *Chery* + *Pendugal*) means the temple ladies who lived in the hamlets adjacent to the temples. This term can denote all female functionaries of the temples as we find, from inscriptions, that they had their dwellings in the hamlets near and

around the temples. The last term is *Kutti* or *Kuttiyal*: since dance was known as *Kuttu*, the female dancer was *Kutti* and male dancer *Kuttan*. Among all these terms only *Kutti* denoted a dancer directly, while others denote only female functionaries without specifying the nature of the duties carried out by them. This was mistaken, perhaps, by all who wrote on this subject, since it has been reported that almost all were dancing girls. Perhaps it was felt that the women did nothing in temples except dancing, and Dr. Minakshi appears to subscribe to this concept. But this attitude can be changed by a serious study of the inscriptions of the age. For convenience, the recruitment could be categorized into two types (1) appointment by royal authorities (2) induction by other sources.

The female temple servants, when appointed by the royal authority, were treated at par with other servants like a carpenter, drummer or a smith of the temple. Almost all inscriptions that refer to the temple girls and other servants of the temple treat them alike. Their terms and conditions were also similar. They were also paid on the same pattern as mentioned in the record. They were paid as much as the potter, carpenter, astrologer and tailor and many others (see annexure – 1). They were supposed to live away from their family and had religious sanction to have sexual life. They were allowed to adopt daughters. Interestingly, Raja raja I's inscription⁴ at Thanjavur temple says that, in case a particular female servant wanted to leave the profession for various reasons, or died, the profession should be taken up by her daughter, and in case she had no daughter, the close relations could take up or nominate someone in her place, to take up her duties, and remuneration could be availed by the nominee equal to the other servants. For this matter, all arrangements for temple management, like income for various expenses, supply of oil, ghee, were also kept on the same pattern, rather like the recurring account of our modern banks. All servants of the temple were appointed on the same terms and conditions and mentioned in the same document. In the case of male servants, their sons were given the opportunity to take up their father's profession. All servants were referred by the term *taliparivaram*. Almost all inscriptions that refer to the appointment of female servants to the temple service clearly indicate that they were treated at par with their male counterparts and worked under the same terms and conditions.

It is learnt from the inscriptions that, apart from the royal appointment, the girls were donated to the service of the temple by their family elders. A bowman of some reputation named *Achcha pidaran ganavaty*, who had

the title *Alagiya pandiya pallavarayan*, officially belonged to the regiment of *Irumudi Sola Terinda* bow-men of the army; he assigned some women of his family to the service of a temple of Tiruvallam, (Gudiyatam Tk., North Arcot Dt.) which also seemed to be his home-town⁵. Many inscriptions throughout the length and breadth of South India show women selling themselves singularly and in groups to the service of the temples in the medieval ages, especially in the later Chola period. Along with the women folk of the family, male members too had sold themselves to the service of the temple⁶. In certain cases, the whole joint family of more than ten members comprising three generations were sold for some money to the temple⁷. Sometimes the donors donated their own slaves, or slaves who constituted part of the dowry were also donated to the temple retinue⁸. Thus, one could see variety in the model of entry of men and women, into temple service. The inscriptions do not mention any job assigned to them or means of maintenance. In these situations, the female servants who entered temple service could not be placed at par with the ones appointed by the royal authorities in any of the aspects like service terms and conditions, remuneration, maintenance, nature of job etc. There are instances, from the inscriptions which state that many individuals made donations to maintain the Devaradiyars. One *Paraman Kunjara mallan* alias *Rajasikamani Pallavarayan*, the headman of Kurukadi village donated some land to maintain the servants of a Vishnu temple⁹ (995 A.D.).

Duties

Inscriptions give us a very good picture of various duties of ladies in the temples. Girls were appointed as temple servants to stand in front of the shrine¹⁰; some were to wave a white fan called *Vensamaram*¹¹. While some were to hold the lamps¹², a few had to help in arranging food offerings¹³, some followed as the idol circumambulated the temple¹⁴, many were engaged in husking the temple paddy,¹⁵ while some were to husk specifically the paddy meant for preparing food offerings to the deities (Brahmadesam, Tanjavur)¹⁶. Some were engaged in cleaning and decorating the temple floors with cow dung;¹⁷ while some collected flowers, others were engaged in garland making¹⁸ and some carried torches¹⁹. There were some who performed dances²⁰ (Tiruvotriyur) and others sang sacred hymns²¹. The dancers were in different groups and performed different types of dances²² (Tiruvotriyur). Some temple girls

were supposed to husk paddy besides dancing²³. Ladies were also engaged as musicians and instrumentalists²⁴.

Dancing and Singing

A section of the female functionaries performed singing and dancing either individually or in groups. *Tiruppavai*, *Tiruvempavai* and *Devaram* hymns generally referred to as Tamil Vedas were sung in temples. The songs were either preceded or followed by dance. Inscriptions throw a flood of light on these issues. *Sakkai Kuttu*, a particular type of dance had five parts (angas) which was performed before Lord *Maheshvara* (Siva) on specified occasions²⁵ (Tirukkuvalai-vill, Tanjavur Dt., Rajendra I) and the same has been divided into seven parts at times²⁶. *Agamarga* and *Santikuttu* are other types of dances mentioned. Even *Varikolam* seems to be a type of dance²⁷.

The sacred hymns were also divided into different parts and the right to sing the same distributed among various functionaries. There are many instances to show that *Tiruppavai*, *Tiruvenbavai* and *Devaram* were divided into three parts as first, middle and last, and the singing 'rights' were given to Devaradiyars²⁸. (Nallur Vill, Virudachalam Tk, South Arcot Dt.).

The sacred hymns were also sung by both male and female functionaries of the temples.

There was a hierarchy among these temple female servants. The seniors and juniors were referred to in the inscriptions. They performed their duties in groups. The remuneration to the group was made in the name of the group leader²⁹. The allotment of houses and lands perhaps followed this hierarchy.

Gradation

Excellence seems to be the criteria for the gradations. That may be the reason for change or transfer of residence in case of certain groups of dancers. An undated record from Mannarkoil village, (Tirunelveli Dt., Tamilnadu) conveys that Anandavalli was to be the third *Kudi* service holder in the temple of *Alagiyamannar* of Rajaraja Chaturvedi Mangalam in the place of Valli Manikkamalai and her set who were transferred to the fourth *Kudi*³⁰ (Bramhmadesam Vill, Thanjavur Dt.) where the term *Kudi* may mean gradation.

While such transfers were carried out in Tirunelveli, the case was different in Tiruvotriyur (Chennai). The Shiva shrine at Tiruvotriyur had

a very big complex filled with a big band of functionaries. Three inscriptions³¹ of the fourteenth century reveal the misunderstandings between the different sections of the female servants of this temple. Their struggle dragged on for more than three decades. Three attempts were made to solve their problem in 1338 A.D., 1368 A.D. and 1371 A.D. Finally, the problem seems to have been solved during the reign of Harihara II, the Vijayanagar ruler.

The problem was the allocation of duties, and they fought for their rights to perform the duties like dancing, singing and others. In the first instance (1338 A. D.), the chief *Mudaliyar* of *Bhiksha Mathha* at Chidambaram was called to settle their problem. He presided over the meeting. The Maheswaras, the trustees, the *Nattars* (administrative body of Nadu division) and others met in the temple hall and discussed the issue. It was found that the issue was related to three sections of female servants, 1. *Padiyilar* (those without husband/headship/marriage) 2. *Devaradiyar* 3. *Isabhattaliyilar*. It was understood that some *Padiyilars* appointed during the time of Sundara Pandiya Deva, either died or had aged. Hence, some *Isabhattaliyilars* were appointed to assist the *Padiyilars*. Besides, *Devaradiyar* were exempted from certain duties like *Tiruvalagu*, (piercing the body with the help of sharp instruments like needles, spears and arrows) *Tirumelukku* (cleaning with cow dung), *Taligai Vilakku*, cleaning rice required for rice offering to god, etc. which evidently they used to do before this arrangement came into force. It was also settled that the dance *Sandikunippam* in the shrine of the goddess and the waiting upon the goddess with *Chouri* on occasions when she was installed during the day, were assigned to the *Devaradiyar* and *Padiyilar* together, the latter coming first and the former following.

The *Devaradiyar* carried the plates *Tirunirrukappu* and *Pushpataligai* and *Varikkolam*. When the *Padiyilar* played *Sokkam* and performed the dance *Sandikkunippam*, the *Isabhattaliyilar* supplied the vocal music. The *Isabhattaliyilar* were not to carry under any circumstance the white chouri or perform the *Tiruvandikkappu*. Each of the *Padiyilars* received thirty *Kalams* of paddy for one year for their maintenance. Each of the *Devaradiyar* received one *Nali* of cooked food every day. These were the terms of settlement. Those who transgressed were considered to be traitors of Siva and traitors of their own community and creed.

Again *Vittappar*, the treasurer of king's office in Tiruvotriyur, found that these three sections of female workers had struck work in that temple and

the earlier attempt to reconcile their differences proved abortive. *Vittappar* enquired from the temple officials, the cause of their strike and, having called a meeting of the Sri Rudras, Sri Maheswaras and many others and gave a set procedure and order of precedence in performing their duties. Here the record stops and we are not in a position to say how the matter ended. It, however, appears that the question was not solved finally, and three years later on the orders of Kampanna Udaiyar, the King, they had to meet again in the same hall. This time it was presided over by the officer *Tunai Irunda Nambi Kongarayar* including the trustees and the district representatives, and the question was decided among the three different sections of the female functionaries besides many others.

In effect the Isabhattaliyar were required to serve in the shrine of god and the Devaradiyar in the shrine of the goddess on festive occasions celebrated within the temple. And when the gods were carried in procession through the streets into *Mandapas* (halls), gardens, tanks and other significant spots outside the temple precincts and when minor deities including the image of the sage TiruvadaVurar Nayanar (Manikka Vasagar) on the occasion of the hearing of *Tiruvempavai* were paraded, the procedure was different.

A point of interest in the reference of the inscription is to certain dances and modes of singing, and to the recital of *Tiruppavai* and *Tiruvempavai* hymns by the *Padiyilar*. The dances included *Sandikkunippam*, *Idavu*, *Malaippu*, *Agamargam*, *Sindukku* and *Vari*, all of which appear to be technical terms.

Their struggle and the effect they could produce by striking work was serious enough to merit royal attention. This incidence makes clear that there were many categories or hierarchical standards observed among the female servants of the temple. From the arrangements suggested and accepted by the female functionaries, it could be derived that the *Padiyilar* seemed to occupy the first position, followed by the other two. While this is conspicuous from the duty they performed and the measure of remuneration, the status as between the other two sections remains uncertain. Dancing was performed by all the three sections of the female servants, though the time and place of dance differed. As their name suggests, the *Padiyilar*, as could be derived from the above mentioned incident, had lived without a family. They had not even adopted daughters and had lived a life totally devoted to god. It also suggests that the way of life led by the Devaradiyars were different from *Padiyilars*. The mention

of *Padiyilars* is very rare when compared to that of the Devaradiyars. Moreover the *Padiyilars* had never appeared as donors. *Padiyilars* were appointed in both Siva and Vishnu temples.

While such were the gradations among the ladies recruited by the royal authorities, there were others who were in temple service due to a variety of reasons. Some sold them selves or were donated by others to the temples. We do not have any information about these temple ladies, the nature of their jobs, means of maintenance, the place of livelihood etc. They should have been placed lower in gradation due to various reasons. In the first place, they do not appear to be artistes like singers and dancers. Secondly, they were purchased by the temple authorities for a price on a random basis. Hence, they might have been treated as slaves or servants of the lowest grade. There were also no specifications regarding their duties. Under these circumstances, very naturally, they would have been lower or the lowest in the hierarchy of temple female functionaries.

Social Status

In the society, though they operated outside of the traditional family system, they were respected. The temple functionaries came from different sections of society like chieftains, *Vellalas* (agriculturalists) and warrior classes³². Their profession commanded respect in the society. The king and royal house, the village administrative bodies, and the public, donated for their livelihood. Generally, it is assumed that the temple female servants never married. But a few examples from epigraphs mention that Devaradiyars got married³³. (Tiruvotriyur, Raja Raja 1016 A.D). Ninety-five sheep were donated by a Devaradiyal named *Chathuran Chathuri*, referred to as the wife of *Nagan Perungadan*, for a lamp to the same temple to which she also belonged. Another inscription from Achuda Mangalam village Tanjavur Dt. mentions the marriage of the Devaradiyal of the Siva temple of the village³⁴. But we are left in the dark regarding the nature of marriage and other particulars. One interesting inscription from Orissa³⁵ states that a particular *devadasi* of a Buddhist monastery joined the harem of the king, to whom the king donated a village. The mother and grandmother of the lady in question also had been of the same profession. In this case, it is doubtful if it was a marriage. Anyway, such evidences are not available from South India, though we come across a completely different one. During the time of Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D)³⁶ some of the temple servants entered palace service for unknown

reasons. These ladies addressed their problem to the king through an officer, and the king solved the issue by letting them get back to temple service. Here the *Devaradiyars* seem to be unhappy over the entry into the palace and were apparently satisfied over their jobs in temples. The heirs of the *Devaradiyars* mostly seem to have been their daughters. The *Devaradiyars'* daughters, who appear as to have been donated, carried only their mothers' names while the rest of the society, except in the case of palace maid servants, mentioned the name of their husband and or father, but never the mother's name. In rare cases, sons of the *Devaradiyars* are also mentioned in the inscriptions³⁷. These instances support the general idea that the *Devaradiyars* were outside the normal family circle but were allowed sexual pleasures.

The *Devaradiyars* had Kings' and Queens' names and titles along with their names denoting the high social status like any other chieftain or artisans like the carpenters, smiths and musicians. *Sembian Devaradigalar*³⁸ *Mitadayar Kannaran Madevadigalar*³⁹, (Virudachalam, S.A.Dt 992 A.D.) Sermangai, Rajakesari, Rajaraji, Iravikulamanikkam etc.⁴⁰ are some referring to the royal names and titles. Eduttapadam, Paravai, Narayani, Azhi, Tiruneelakandi, Samundi, Tirumalai, Umai are some that denote both Saivite and Vishnavite names. Some had place names, and some the titles of *Alvars* and *Nayanmars* who were the devotees of god Siva and Vishnu, and sang appropriate devotional songs. (see annexure-II). These facts reveal the actual place held by them in the society as personal names and titles also play a role in suggesting the social status of one who possessed it. It is very difficult to identify or differentiate between female servants appointed by the royal authorities, and the others, since both were referred to by the same term '*Devaradiyar*'.

Economic Status

The female servants who were appointed by the royal and temple authorities were paid by them and housing sites granted at par with other functionaries. They were able to live off their profession. When these females were given as donations to the temple, they were remunerated by the temple. But when they sold themselves to a temple, we could not gather information from epigraphs as to how they were maintained. Even then it is quite understandable that they would have been fed by the temple and mutts to which they were related. Some revenue from the public also flowed in to the temples to maintain these temple functionaries.

A lady named *Korriyammai* donated 25 *kalams* of paddy to feed female servants especially for the *Chittirai* festival⁴¹ celebrated in the month of *Chittirai*, the first month of the Tamil year which falls on 13th or 14th of April. It was perhaps the first celebration of a New Year.

Many female servants were economically well off to make donations to temples, especially the *Devaradiyars*. They donated lamps⁴² (Tiruvudavayal, Tanjavur Dt, 1004 A.D), sheep⁴³, cows, and goats⁴⁴ (Brahma Desam, Vilupuram Tk, S.A.Dt, 1075 A.D.), to maintain lamps, paddy⁴⁵ (Tiruvudavayal, Tanjavur Dt, 1021A.D.) land, gold⁴⁶ (Virudachalam, S.A.Dt, 1017 A.D.) and cash⁴⁷ (Viravanallur Vill, Ambasamudram Tk, Tiruveli Dt) on various occasions to temples. Certain *Devaradiyars* paid tax to the Government in the 11th century in the Karnataka State; also, four temple girls were exempted from the payment of house tax and mirror tax⁴⁸. Epigraphs provide rich information on this aspect. Their sons and daughters too enjoyed a good status economically and socially, and made donations. An inscription from the 16th century (1501 AD) says that a person named Suryadeva, son of a *Devaradiyal* named Anganame Adaippu Tittal had been gifted a house site, two looms, some lands and a share of food offerings for some service rendered by him⁴⁹. (Valikandapuram vill, Perambalur Tk, Trichy Dt, 1502 A.D.).

Management

Like all other temple servants, these female servants were also placed under a supervisor, who seems to have been responsible to the *Srikariyam* of the temple. *Srikariyam* was an officer who was supposed to look after the affairs of the temple and so resided in the vicinity. At the same time, these officers also held certain other offices like *Olainayagam*, *Adikari* at the level of the central government⁵⁰. In such cases, they appointed a subordinate servant to act in their place who resided in the area.

There are many examples in the lithics that indicate that temple servants were kept under the supervision of the temple management, trustees and other supervisors. There are instances in Karnataka, where these females were under the control of the village headman or temple priest⁵¹.

In the Rajendra Vinnagar temple (Tirunelveli district), the temple servants were placed under the supervision of Sri Parankusa Mamunigal, and the Munigal was responsible to the *Srikariyam*. When the *Srikariyam* introduced certain rules and regulations, he desired that all the servants of the temple should follow them. If any one were to transgress the

instructions of the *Srikariyam*, then the supervisors Sri Parankusa Mamunigal could change them and could appoint others, on the *Srikariyam's* directions, as substitutes⁵² (Brahma Desam vill, Tanjavur Dt., Maraverman Sundara Pandya).

Branding

The temple servants were branded with charka or trident, respectively, in Vaishnavite and Saivite temples. Such stamps were pressed on their shoulders. According to an inscription of Kulottunga's time, some ladies who were recruited for temple service were allotted to the service of the palace, by mistake. These ladies, through a supervisor, reported the matter to the king, and the king ordered that the palace emblem should be removed and branded with emblems of temple service so that they were restored to the same (1119 A.D.)⁵³. So this epigraph clarifies that temple and palace service holders were branded with particular identifiable emblems. There is also much evidence in the inscriptions where the temple slaves or servants, when observed or bought to temple service, they were branded on the spot in the temples and then inducted into service⁵⁴. This practice seems to have been followed in the medieval ages where both men and women servitors were concerned.

Conclusion

Certain derivations could be drawn on the basis of the messages conveyed in this paper. The female functionaries of medieval South Indian temple carried out many duties apart from singing and dancing. Hence, the perception that female servitors were dancing girls has to be given up. They could be called female service holders or female functionaries of the temple, keeping in view the various duties carried out by them, as mentioned above. They operated either individually or in groups and were transferred from one temple to another. The female service holders seem to be at par with other male service holders of the temple in many ways like recruitment, service, remuneration and supervision. They could exercise their profession like other professionals and enjoyed economic freedom and social status.

While there was hierarchy among the functionaries appointed by the royal authorities, there were also some who were bought by the temple authorities and some donated by others to the temples like any other commodity.

The male and female servants were paid equally by the rulers. This seems to have been a noteworthy feature in all historical periods.

Annexure – I

Temple Functionaries and their Remuneration by Land

No	Recipient	Amount received in Land
1.	Ketis Setti (?)	12 Mattars
2.	Drummers	10 Mattars
3.	Musician	6 Mattars
4.	10 Temple Girls	4-5 Mattars each
5.	Dance Master	5 Mattars
6.	Steward of Temple Girl	5 Mattars
7.	Keepers of Temple Girl	5 Mattars
8.	Manager of the Estate	6 Mattars

Adopted from Aloka Paresher Sen(ed) *Social and Economic History of Early Deccan*.

Temple Functionaries and their Remuneration by Paddy

No	Recipient	Amount received in Land
1.	400 Temple Girls	One share (100 Kalams of Paddy)
2.	Drummer	One share
3.	Carpenter	One share
4.	Brazier	One share
5.	Washer man	One share
6.	Barber (Navisan)	One share
7.	Astrologer	One share
8.	Tailor	One share
9.	Superintend of Gold Smith	One share
10.	Potter of Sacred Kitchen	One share
11.	Lamp Lighter	One share
12.	Holder of Sacred Parasol	One share
13.	Dance master	Two share
14.	Chief Musician	Two share
15.	Chief Accountant	Two share
16.	Supervisor of Temple Women & Female Musician	Two share
17.	Singer in Sanskrit	One and Half share
18.	Singer in Tamil	One and Half share
19.	Jewel Sticher	One and Half share
20.	Master Carpenter	One and Half share

No	Recipient	Amount received in Land
21.	Instrumentalist	Three fourth share
22.	Velaikkarar	Three fourth share
23.	Anukkar	Three fourth share
24.	Padaikkarar	Three fourth share
25.	Sub accountant	Three fourth share
26.	Drummer under a leader	Half share
27.	Water sprinkler	Half share
28.	Asst. Potter	Half share
29.	Asst. Lamp lighter	Half share
30.	Helpers to hold sacred parasol	Two fifth share

Prepared from No. 66 of S.I.I Vol-II Pt-3

Annexure – II

Some Temple Girls of Tanjavur Temple Appointed by Rajaraja from other Temples

Name of the Lady	Name of the Temple	Name of the Village
Śēramangai	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Iraṇamukharāni	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Udāram	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Paṭṭali	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Eduttapadam	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Sōḷakulasundari	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Ēkavīri	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Rājakēsari	Tirukkārōṇam	Nāgapattinam
Tēśichchi	Kōyil-taḷi	Nāgapattinam
Periya-Tēśichchi	Kōyil-taḷi	Nāgapattinam
Vichchādiri	Tirukkārōṇam	Nāgapattinam
Maraikkādu	Tirukkārōṇam	Nāgapattinam
Amari	Naduvil-taḷi	Nāgapattinam
Tiruvaiyāru		Rajakesarinalur
Tillai-Aḷagi	Vikrama Vijaya Īśvaram	Jananatha Puram
Echchumandai	Vikrama Vijaya Īśvaram	Jananatha Puram

Name of the Lady	Name of the Temple	Name of the Village
Tiruvālangādi (name lost)		Sīkandapuram
Uttamadani (name lost)		Parāntakapuram
Venkādu	Arikulakēsari Īsvarar t.	Parāntakapuram
Kuttadi	Arikulakēsari Īsvarart.	Niyamam
Śōlaśulamani	Arikulakēsari Īsvarart.	Niyamam
Pūngāvi		Niyamam
Nānjūri	Arikulakēsari Īsvarart.	Āyirattali (Niyamam)
Devi		Āyirattali (Niyamam)
Nānjūri	Tiru Māhālam t.	Ambar
Rājarāji	Tiru Māhālam t.	Ambar
Ati māni	Tiru Māhālam t.	Ambar
Udayam	Avani Nārāyana Vinnagar	Ambar
Kamakkodi	Tiru Māhālam	Ambar
Nichchāl	Mudubagavartali	Ambar
Kuppai	Tiruvilangōyil	Kadambūr
Vidi Vidangi	Tiruvilangōyil	Kadambūr
Nakkam (Jr)	Tiruvilangōyil	Kadambūr
Nakkam (Sr)	Tiruvilangōyil	Kadambūr
Dharani	Ittāchchīśvarar t.	
Vārāni		Kadambūr
Mādēvi		Tirumaraikkādu
Ammai		Vidayapuram
...tappagai		Vēlūr
Tirunilakanthi		Nayadirapuram
Mānāb(h)arani		Vīrapuram
Perra-tiru	Tiru-Mērrali	Pāchchil
Solam	Tiruvachchiramam	Pāchchil
Sengulam	Tiru-Mērrali	Pāchchil
(Name lost)		Vīrapuram
Porkkēsi		Tirukkōkambudūr
Arāyiram		Tirukkōkambudūr
Tillaikkūtti		Karpagadānipuram
Ārūr		Karpagadānipuram

Name of the Lady	Name of the Temple	Name of the Village
Śāmundi		Karpagadānipuram
Ad(h)ayam		Talichchattāngudi
Tirumāhālam	Brahmakūttam	Tanjāvūr
Pichchai	Brahmakūttam	Tanjāvūr
Tiruvadigal		PallavaNāranapuram
Śāttam		Tirumaraikkādu
Tirumalai		Tirumaraikkādu
Vikkiramatongi	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Pugali	Lōkamahādēvi Īśvaram	Tiruvaiyāru
Mānikkam		Miraiyil
Mādēvi	Periya-Talich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
Tirumūlattānam	Periya-Talich-chēri	Tiruvārūr
Ārūr	Brahmīśvarar t. Periya Talich	Tiruvārūr
Kandiyur	chēri (a quarter)	Tiruvārūr
Āchcham	Ulagisvarar t.	Tiruvārūr
Aravam	Tiru-vara-neri	Tiruvārūr
Karambiyam	Tiru-vara-neri	Tiruvārūr
Kandiyūr	Periya-talich-cheri (a quarter)	Tiruvārūr
Vīdividangi	Periya-talich-cheri (a quarter)	Tiruvārūr
Innilavanji	Avani Nārāyana Vinnagar	Ambar
Malaich-Chilambu	Avani Nārāyana Vinnagar	Ambar
Sembon	Tirumahālām t.	Ambar
.....		Tiruvaiyāru
Aiyāru		Tiruvaiyāru
Tiruvennavāl		Tiruvaiyāru
Umai	Tiruvāchchirāmam	Pachchil
Perratiru	Tentali	Palaiyāru
Śīr-Uddiyāl (Sr.)		Kallagudi
Śīr-Uddiyāl (Sr.)		Kallagudi
Olōkamātā		Talich-chattāngudi
Tiru		PagavatiŚēri (a quarter of) Janathapuram

Name of the Lady	Name of the Temple	Name of the Village
Mādēvi Kāli	Tanjai-Ma-manik-koyil	Tanjāvūr Talai-Ālangadu
Tiruppūvanam Marudamānikkam Karpagamānikkam	Ūri Tali Vinnagar	Ārapuram Karpagadānipuram Karpagadānipuram
Kalilayām Āchcham	Tiruamalisvarar t. of Ayirattali	Nannilam Niyamam
Paranderuman Solakulasundari	Tiru Merrali t. Vada tali	Pachchil Palaiyaru
Adavallai llankoyil	Pagaividai Isvaram Nandi Isvarar t.	Paluvur Kadamdur
Arivatti Madevadigal	Mahadevi Isvaram t. Eriyur Nattut tali	Tanjavur
Ponnalmandal Karayil	Vikrama Vijaya Isvaram t. Sripudi Vinnagar	Jananathapuram Pambuni
Tiruvaiyaru Aiyaru	Lost	Lost Ayirattali
Perramai Mari	Niraimadi Isvarar	Tirumaraikkadu
Tiru Nandi Eruman	Vikrama Vijaya Isvarar t. Vikrama Vijaya Isvarar t.	Jananathapuram Jananathapuram
Tillaikkarasu Umai	Tiruvamalisvarar t. Tiruvachchiramam	Pachchil Pachchil
Siriyal Āchcham	Mahadevi Isvarar t.	Tiruvidaimarudil

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Abbreviations

A.R.E.	Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India.
Vill.	Village
Dt.	District
Tk.	Taluk

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SOCIETY AND LAND RELATION IN THE KAVERI DELTA DURING THE CHOLA PERIOD A.D. 850–1300

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Introduction

The Indian labour force consists of the peasant's non-industrial sector where the majority of the Indian population have their economic activities. Ancient India had a primitive type of agrarian structure but held its position high in the world. The Ashokan Empire had a flourishing agrarian economy as testified by the *Arthashastra*. Likewise, Medieval South India was characterized not by its art and architecture, but also by the agrarian economy during the *Chola* period. Particularly the temple economy, which tied almost all kinds of economic activities of the period together, was the basis for the development of agricultural revenues, production markets and development and enlargement of urban centres in the Tamil country.

Condition of Peasantry

Peasantry under *Cholas* was an important factor not only for assessment of land grants like *brahmadeya*, but also for the enlargement of urban centres like *nagaram* which attracted the attention of peasants as well as traders of the hinterland and the regions outside the *Chola* Empire. Peasantry could be defined in socio-economic history as the major area where a set of rural communities comprising landowners, land tenants, landless labourers were involved in agriculture production for subsistence as well as for the market. It also means the pros and cons of the rural communities who had nexus with the traders and other economic groups¹.

The economic position of labouring groups is clearly depicted in a Tanjavur inscription, which serves as a classic summary of hierarchy in the *Chola* period. It seems likely that it was based on observations of more recent practices, that is arrangement of production² was most common in the areas that supported irrigated agriculture, especially in the Kaveri river delta, where larger concentrations of Brahmans and other non-cultivating groups lived in their own settlement. The micro-region, *Cholamandalam* of medieval South India comprised of numerous distinctive localities and different ecological conditions, which formed the foundation

for the peasant society. Medieval South India historians have estimated that there was one village per two square miles in irrigated eco-regions. There were artisans, merchants, labourers apart from Brahmans, Vellalas and Nattars who together formed the *nadus* and imparted economic stability by interacting with each other in all kinds of land relations.

Two inscriptions from Tiruvaigavur³ and Korukkai⁴, about the Tanjavur district are relevant. The order of enumeration seems to have again been vertical descending from the top according to the hierarchy of *Jatis*. We find, in ascending order, the communities of watchmen, washermen, weavers, merchant and others. In Rajaraja I's inscription referred to earlier, we find the description of the phrases, "Southern Parai-Cheri of the Paraiyas who cultivate and western' Parai-cherri of the Paraiyas who cultivate. We are therefore not sure how commonly Paraiyas cultivated land. Kinship ties, cult practices and defensive arrangement of agrarian and artisan groups had resulted in common interests in the management of land relations.

The *nadu* was identified as the basic peasant and governing unit of the *Chola* age. The notable feature in the *Chola* Kingdom of the Kaveri delta region, was the production of all arable land, which was divided into two main parts *Melvaram* (top share) which belonged to the state and the *Kilvaram* (lower share) belonging to the cultivators. The King and local landowners redirected a proportion of the upper share for the support of religious institutions and communities, giving rise to many of the temple records that have survived. The majority of the villages under the system called *Vellan –Vagai* (peasant tenant) had kinship communities together with specialized and kinship groups of village artisan, and village servants like common irrigators. The religious communities in the scene were conservative elements, preserving corporate or communal controls over *kani* shares that supported ritual functions. The dynamic class in the creation of endowments and the manipulation of *kani* rights were the secular lords, typically Vellalar cultivators, who supported the *Chola* state and its successors and the decentralized policies of the segmentary state.

Brahmans and Vellalas

The *brahmadeya* villages dominantly inhabited by Brahmans formed an assembly called *sabha* for the village administration. This assembly looked into many affairs of the village, for example, cultivation, irrigation etc. The most fertile and productive lands were under the authority of the *sabha*. In the crucial riverine tracts an increasing proportion of lands

came under the control of Brahmin communities and temple which were preserved for extended periods by eleemosynary grants and corporate management of endowment lands. The record from Mannargudi dated A.D. 1239 mentions land controlling groups from five *nadus* who met as a body to settle complaints by some of them against the demands of the Brahman *sabha* of Mannargudi (*Rajadhiraja-chaturvedimangalam*)⁵.

Studies of Periyannadu were made by K.G. Krishnan who, in a fairly detailed discussion of the subject,⁶ underlined the fact that all the four castes (*varna*) were members of these agricultural guilds, the qualification being either cultivators of land or owners of land. In the Periyannadu assemblies dominated by respectable cultivating castes, the style of these assemblies was very nearly the same as that of Brahmans and itinerant merchant associations. This is quite clear from the language of the inscriptions which were ordered by the *Periyannadu*; examples of such arrangements can be seen from the following:

Hail, Prosperity, We [are] the Chitrameli-Periyannattar, who are renowned for justice, resplendent in all quarters, of the eighteen lands in the four quarters, the local merchants [and other named merchant groups] being subordinate to us. We, the above bodies having met in full quorum With unanimity made this arrangement on [a date in 1235 A.D.]...⁷.

The composition of the *Periyannadu* varied according to the problem with which the assembly dealt. In some inscriptions, the assembly appeared to be comprised only of agriculturists; in others, it seems the assembly included members of local artisans and merchant associations, who were specifically mentioned as subordinate to the *Periyannadu*; finally, some of the *Periyannadu* inscriptions were placed on the walls of temples in *brahmadeyas* in which the assembly had met to confer their support and protection upon the priests and the temple in which they officiated. Champakalakshmi stated that "the *Periyannadu* was a different kind of dealers in agricultural commodities, a development of great significance in the urban activities of medieval Tamil Nadu⁸. The Vellalas were the basic peasant community during the first half of the *Chola* period. Perilamai-nadus were *nadus* formed by the Vellala tenant-cultivators of hamlets (*pidagai*) attached to and surrounding a big Brahmin village (*brahmadeya*) often designated as taniyur⁹.

The existence of the Perilamai-nadu is limited only to Mannargudi, Chidambaram and a few other taniyur lying in the fertile lower valleys

of the Kaveri and Vellaru, and the matter recorded in these inscriptions is the regulation of the relations of Vellala tenant-cultivators and Brahmin landlords¹⁰. Karashima, one of the present authors, has discussed the situation in which Brahmin landlords were compelled to sell their lands, and also the efforts they made in and after the 13th century to defend their holding from the encroachment of newly appearing landholders belonging to other communities¹¹. The contents of the Mannargudi inscriptions should be understood in this context of the Brahman's efforts to keep control over their tenant-cultivators.

Valangai and Idangai

A peculiar social division prevalent in the period was that of the *Valangai* and *Idangai* castes. The agrarian system being a social arrangement involving use of land and its products, land owners, cultivation managers and tenants, all had access to the physical labour of depressed and landless groups collectively called Paraiyar. The Paraiyar performed a supervisory role while the routine labour was handled personally by owners or cultivators in villages of smallholders. In the village communes the assembled cultivators (*urar*) organized production without individual *kani* rights¹². Karashima has discussed the acquisition of land by some Surudiman chiefs in Kaveri valley in the latter half of the *Chola* period. These groups seem to have increased their power, as also multi-community organization like *Idangai* or *Valangai*.

With the growth and expansion of *Chola* power during the 11th century, these martial communities increased their power and became landholders purchasing, or acquiring by coercive means, land in the plains near the end of *Chola* rule¹³. Cultivation of land and the nexus of relationship involving land exercised a strong centripetal influence upon the structure of social relationship in south India as in other pre-industrial agrarian contexts¹⁴. An inscription of Kulottunga III, gives the detail of their origin. They possessed some lands in five villages, which are now identified in Tiruchirapalli district, and had recovered it in the year 1128 A.D¹⁵. Vellalar, who were widespread throughout the Tamil country, constituted the main landholders and cultivators, while Pallis, Agambadiyars, Surudimans, Malaiyamans, and Nattamans of the western hills and forest north of Kaveri river, and also Kallar Maravers too of the semi-dry area south of the same river. Vellalas remained strong cultivating groups in the Kaveri delta. In the wide areas where irrigated agriculture was not practicable,

i.e. the dry areas, the peasantry associated with low-status agricultural labour were forced to become cultivators and they handled almost all production within their kinship network.

Ownership of land

The majority of the people lived in rural areas and agriculture was their principal occupation. Land ownership meant prestige and dignity in medieval society and the independent land proprietor became the backbone of social as well as agrarian life. In fact, the village was primarily a settlement of peasants,¹⁶ around whom the village assemblies revolved. Part of the land surrounding the village was held in common and some part of the land was subject to periodical redistribution¹⁷. The periodical redistribution of common land appears to have survived in the village of Tanjavur. *Chola* records confirm that there was strong evidence of communal ownership of land, namely, Sabhamanjikkam¹⁸ and Urmanjikkam¹⁹ and Urppodu²⁰. Individual ownership of land was recognized. The principal of ownership of land has been much disputed some holding that the king was the ultimate owner of all land, and others that individual ownership existed alongside the obligation to pay tax to the king. Ownership of land was by and large a source of social and economic power in that dominant agricultural polity. Land being an important economic entity was owned by the members of the community or collective who were to improve the village by their own efforts.

Types of Land

The contemporary inscriptions of the *Cholas* reveal that land was categorized into various types. They were: wet land (*Nanjai*), dry land (*Punjai*), garden land (*Padugai*, also called *attruppadugai*). An inscription²¹ refers to *nanjai* land easily irrigated by river water. They were also called by various indigenous names such as *nirnilam*, *vilainilam* and *payirnilam* - irrigated lands, productive lands and croplands. Another inscription²² states that an individual converted a fallow land into a wet land (*nirnilam*), which yielded two seasonal crops (*Irupu vilaiyum nilam*). Dry lands, known as *punjai*, were entirely dependent upon the monsoon.

Religious Grants

Many inscriptions of this period reveal endowments of land to the temple. In A.D. 1183 Kullottunga III made a gift of 150 *kasus* of gold for

a perpetual lamp to the diety in the Tirumaraikadu temple at Vedaranyam²³. The Thanjavur inscriptions show that the art of making ornaments of gold and precious stones must have reached a very advanced stage in the *Chola* country in the 11th and 12th centuries²⁴. For the most part, land grants took the form of gifts of land to gods, to priests on behalf of temples, and to charitable institutions, and to Brahmins. An inscription of Rajadhiraja II A.D. 1170²⁵ (Alambakkam, Trichirapalli district) mentioned the Vellalas, engaged in cultivation and were living in the *brahmadeya* village *Madurantaka-chaturvedimangalam* and its hamlets who decided to contribute some grain (4 *nali* of oil per ma of land) to the local temple. In 918 A.D.²⁶ Sembian Irrukuvel appealed to the *Chola* King Parantaka I to grant 3 *veli* of wet land and that was to be denoted as tenant free (*kudininkiya devadana*) land. This land came under the holdings of Andavanallur.

Service Tenures

An inscription from Allur refers to the endowment of land for the livelihood of devotees who sing *Tiruppadiam*²⁷ (sacred hymns) at Tiruppadiapuram. The temple of Tiruvarur from the 4th regnal year of Rajaraja I, furnish instances of one of the common methods by which service tenures on the temple lands were created from time to time. In fact, the universal prevalence of service tenures created for all conceivable purposes is most clearly established by the inscription. The instances of land being set apart for the maintenance of lamps in temples is also best recorded as examples of service tenures.

Land Measurement

All the lands were measured by the *Chola* rulers. The survey of all lands in Cholamandalam was undertaken during the region of Rajaraja I (1001), Kulottunga I (1086) and Kulottunga III (1195). The proper measurements of lands, and laying of the boundary stones, denote the interest shown by the *Chola* rulers and the local authorities in agriculture. Two inscriptions, one from Sumor in the Karur taluk Tiruchirappalli district,²⁸ and the other one from Tiruchchengattangudi in Tanjavur district mention a revenue survey in the 17th year of Rajaraja I in 1002 A.D.²⁹. The basic unit linear measurements used in the *Chola* state were *cân* (one span=approximately 9 inches), *ati* (one human foot=10.46 inches) and *piti* (one first=4.5 inches)³⁰. A *panniratik-kol* (rod of 12 *ati*) was used in the revenue survey of 1112 A.D. and 1156 A.D. at Tiruvidaimarudur³¹ in Tanjavur district.

Another measurement was the 16 *cān-kol* used in the same district in the year 1122 A.D.³².

Agriculture and Irrigation

The economic conditions of medieval South India improved with the growth of the Chola Empire in the 9th century. During the chola period (AD 850-1279) peasants settled in village clusters along the fertile tracts in the Kaveri delta, and enjoyed customary rights to the land. The construction of an irrigation system usually was undertaken by a village or a group of villages. Irrigation was considered a work of religious merit, with the result that during all the known history of South India, we find inscriptions, detailing the construction of tanks, dams (*anicut*) etc. The early South India ruler Parakesari Karikalachola who raised the banks is mentioned in the Tiruvaduturai inscription in the time of Aditya I and Parantaka I³³. A notable lake dug by Rajendra Chola I (1012- 44),³⁴ was *Cholagangam* at Gangaikondacholapuram.

For instance, in the Kaveri delta region we find the dry crops like *gingelly*, *cambu*, *ragi*, *cholam*, *redgram* and *varagu*. The important crops of the region were paddy, millet, sugarcane etc. Paddy was the chief crop in the Kaveri delta region. Each householder, even the marginal peasant, had used additional labour (Pariahs) in these seasons. This was sometimes provided in the form of peasant cooperation but also in the form of labourers from untouchable castes, whose locality was called Paraicheri. There is direct reference in the inscription of Rajaraja I mentioning *tindacheri*, which is the area where ‘untouchables’ resided³⁵.

Agriculture was the main profession of the people. Maintenance of irrigation works was as important as their construction and many endowments of paddy land were made for the maintenance of lakes and tanks. They had complete control of the rural administration and acted on their own initiative independent of any directive from King. For the purpose of administration, the *sabha* created “committees”. The management of tanks was entrusted to a committee called “*Erivariyam*”³⁶. The *erivariyam* took up the responsibility of regular maintenance and supply of water for cultivation. Some times it also served drinking water (*uruni*).

Taxation System

In the Chola period there were well - established modes of tax collection. They collected eleven types of taxes. A special tax levied on water drawn

from river sources was known as *attrup-pattam*³⁷. Another instance is known from Tiruverumbur in Tiruchirappalli district. The sabha at its meeting (perrunkuri) imposed a levy for desilting of the village irrigation tanks on the cultivators (*Ulukutical*)³⁸. Commercial and occupational taxes were levied on a range of productive activities obviously derived from the agrarian economy. An epigraph from Kudimiyamalai (1106) refers to taraku imposed on betel leaves brought into the locality (*innatil-vantirankiya-verrilaikku-taraku-kondu*)³⁹. In *Cholamandalam* the duty ankati-kuli⁴⁰ was levied on shops, which was literally a rent on shops (ankati=shop; kuli=rent). In that case it could have been levied in the form of rent for using the place, or for erecting a shop and conducting business therein. However in the available inscription, *ankati-kuli* was levied as a duty of the merchandise sold in the shop. From this it may be understood that *taraku* was levied on the merchandise brought into a locality from outside; occupations of various kinds were taxed. The *tattar-pattam*,⁴¹ levied on goldsmiths was a very popular tax in *Cholamandalam*. The entire range of action of the land revenue department revolved around the schedules of land taxes based on soil type, availability of irrigation, land mensuration and a scale of land grades (*taram*)⁴².

Tax Exemption and Assessment of Land Revenue

Tax exemption was granted to particular groups and for special reasons, and on particular occasions, to individual case. The Brahmins were the prime social group enjoying most tax-exemption. The Brahmins who did puja in temples were given grants called Archanabhogam,⁴³ Salabhogam and Brahmadeya were other tax-free provisions for Brahmins. This salabhogam was an exemption granted to lands owned by salas or schools. Another form of tax remission was granted by local bodies. In case of natural calamities, tax remission was granted. On such occasions, a remission was given on land inundated and rendered uncultivable owing to floods in the river Kaveri.

In the Chola period the assessment of land revenue depended upon a seemingly accurate land measurement. Measuring rods of various lengths were used. In the same manner different land measures were adopted in different regions. The Tanjavur inscriptions record the royal order issued by Rajaraja I in his 29th regnal year that the particulars of the assessment of 100 *kalam*s of paddy (*kani-kadan*),⁴⁴ due to the Tanjavur temple from the village granted by him as *devadana* to the Tanjavur temple should be

engraved on stone. A piece of wet land belonging to the *devadana* category was assessed at an annual rate of 120 *kalam*s per *veli* in 926 A.D. at Andavanallur in Tiruchirappalli district⁴⁵. A thirteenth century epigraph, from Nattarmalai, Pudukkottai district states that, at times of distress, the rate was reduced to 50 *kalam*s of paddy⁴⁶. For different categories of dry lands different rates were fixed. In A.D 1218 an annual assessment of 300 *kasus* was fixed at Tiruvarangulam in Pudukkottai district⁴⁷. The dry land assessment was also made in terms of paddy. In A.D 1117, at Tiruvanaikkaval in Tiruchirappalli district a *kalam* of paddy was assessed⁴⁸. The different rate structure for both wet and dry lands could be due to the different rates of productivity. Noboru Karashima⁴⁹ has also expressed this view in his critical analysis of land revenue assessment as seen in the inscriptions of Tanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram. He has maintained that the different rate structure with a limited area was due to both the nature and the productivity of taxable land.

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NOTE ON DUTCH DOCUMENTS ON COASTAL KARNATAKA 1583–1763

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The Dutch showed interest in the affairs of coastal Karnataka towards the end of the sixteenth century. They were active in the affairs of the region throughout the seventeenth century and lingered on till 1763. All these are known from their own records in the form of travelogues and documents. These documents are in the Dutch language. However, the scholars namely Heras S.J. Moraes G.M, M.A Desai and Campbell studied these documents and noted their importance in relation to the history of Karnataka in general and its coastal region in particular. The travelogues of the Dutch were brought to light by the Hakluyt society in the years 1883 and 1885.

The Dutch sources for our study are the travelogues of John Huyghen Van Linschoten and Philip Baldaeus. The documents are known as *Monumenta Historiae India* (extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia) the *Dutch Records* B.L. 425 Vol 31 No. 836 and Memoirs of *J.V. Sein Colluessi*. Besides, the scholars, namely Danvers and C.R. Boxer studied the Dutch documents and made passing reference to these in relation to coastal Karnataka.

The earliest source for the Dutch interest in coastal Karnataka is the account of the Dutch officer, John Huyghen Van Linschoten. He came to India as secretary to the Archbishop of Goa in the year 1583. He was a careful observer and a great believer in Dutch enterprise. A.C. Burnell and P.A Tile edited his account in the year 1885 and a recent edition appeared in the year 1988. He noticed the importance of the ports of Honnavar, Basrur and Mangalore where rice and pepper were transacted. The Portuguese were the main purchasers of these products from these ports. They had factories there but these were in decline. Regarding the pepper trade in Honnavar, he observed that the Portuguese paid advance six months earlier to the Queen of 'Onore' (Chenna Bhaira Devi) to procure pepper in her land. Otherwise, "They get it not" then "She deliverth the pepper, which by one of the Factors is (receyed and) laid up within the fortress, till the shippes of Portigingall come thether to take

in their lading of pepper”. Linschoten returned home in 1589 with sufficient information to indicate that the Portuguese claim to be “Lord of the conquest, Navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, India, Arabia and Persia” was hardly effective.

It was through the accounts of Linschoten that the Dutch came to know of the commercial potentiality of coastal Karnataka in trade and this induced them to launch their enterprise in trade transactions in the coastal region of Karnataka. But it took a few more years to commence their trade transactions in the coastal ports. This is revealed in one of their accounts of the year 1634 (Batavia Dag De Register dated 1634).

The travelogue of Philip Baldeaus is useful for us to know the rich potentiality of the coastal region in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was another Dutch traveller who passed through Honnavar and other ports in coastal Karnataka in 1663. He observes, “Canara was rich in rice and other products. The people were strong and healthy, capable of any kind of work”. He noticed brisk rice and pepper trade in the ports of Honnavar, Mirjan, Basrur and Mangalore where the Dutch were involved in competitive trade with the Portuguese. The account of Baldaeus was published in Amsterdam in the year 1674 under the title of *A description of the East India Coast and Malabar as also Isle of Ceylon*. Its old English translation appeared in 1774 and it was translated by Churchill.

The most important and relevant document for our study is *Monumentae Historiae Indiae*. It is a diary which gives accounts of Viceroy of the Dutch stationed at Batavia. It is also entitled Batavia Dag De Register. For our study, the Diary between the years 1634 and 1678 is relevant. A few pages of the Diary give the following information. The Diary in the year 1634 and 37 states that, the Dutch showed interest in procuring profitable pepper trade in the ports of Mirjan, Ankola and Karwar. For this they contracted an agreement with the Adil Shahis of Bijapur..

They traded in the ports of Mirjan and Ankola and undermined other European trade in the ports of Karwar while they were at Vengurla. The records of the same years inform us that the Dutch trading activities adversely affected the Portuguese trade in these ports and also in Bhatkala and Honnavar.

The Dag De Register of the years 1600 and 1664 relate that the Dutch concluded a commercial-oriented treaty with the Nayakas of Keladi in

order to procure trade in Basrur, noted for the abundant products of rice and pepper. They were entrenched in Basrur and traded in pepper and rich varieties of sugarcane in exchange for products in musket ammunition, and red cotton clothes. They set up good rapport with the court merchants of Keladi, the members of the Malya family. In course of time the Dutch procured the rice trade in Mangalore based on an understanding with the local merchants and the Nair chiefs, south of Kasargod. These aspects are known from the same Diary in the years 1662–1664.

A few pages of the same Diary disclose the rivalries between the Portuguese and the Dutch in the ports of Mangalore, Basrur and Honnavar and their success in establishing their supremacy in Basrur. It is from the same document of the year 1660 that we learn that the court merchant of Keladi, Malappa Malya, realized the benefit of Dutch trade in preference to Portuguese trade. The study of a few pages of the same document of the year 1672–1678 reveals that the Dutch secured the help of “Konkani (Sic Gouda Sarasvats) merchants in trade transactions. Finally, a few more pages of the same document give vivid descriptions of sedimentation of the ports in coastal Karnataka. The ports like Mirjan and Baindur were dislocated on account of the changes in the river structure. Even Basrur port was gradually deteriorating on the account of the same factor, as written in one of their records of the year 1677.

The crisis of the Dutch trade in the ports of Coastal Karnataka particularly, Karwar, Honnavar and Basrur consequent upon Sivaji’s constant raids in the region south of Goa is depicted in a few pages of the *Dutch Records* Vol 31, Bulletin No2 B.L 425 Dated 31st Jan 1675 and the subsequent months of April and May.

For the nature of Dutch activities in the Coastal Karnataka, we owe a lot to *Memoirs of J.V Sein Van Golluessi*. He was a Dutchman from Malabar and his memoir was written in 1743. It is found in the Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Record No 1, kept in Tamilnad state Archives Egmore, Chennai. The Memoir observes that there was a Resident (Dutch) in Mangalore, in a kind of a fort. According to the same record, all the nations had free trade among these people in “Onore” (Honnavar) Mangalore, Bacqenoor (Barkur), Molekke (Mulki) and Bateceulo (Bhatkal) in spite of the contracts bestowing exclusive right of trading to the Dutch East India Company”. Finally, the same records state that the same Company had at this time full monopoly of trade only in the port of “Barsallor (Basrur)”.

Conclusion

It is known that the National Archives of India has acquired microfilm copies of material of the Dutch Documents relating to India. These copies cover several hundred thousand-folio pages. It is left to the future historians and research scholars to explore these records and find out new sources of information on the Dutch activities in Karnataka between the years 1600 and 1763.

One important point to be remembered in studying the Dutch records is that the Dutch wrongly identified the Coastal Karnataka with Malabar. This was due to the fact they mistook the Tulu language widely spoken in the coastal Karnataka, as regional variation of Malayalam. This misconception continued till the close of the nineteenth century.

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INDIA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE TRANSITION TO BRITISH RULE

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Western imperialism spread its tentacles over India as early as 1498. It was not until three centuries later that British control was established. The imposition of their rule was preceded by an era of turmoil and violence. This was due to the fragmented nature of political power, and the continuous ambition of competing kings and princes to dominate each other¹.

When the East India Company was created it was organised to trade with India. The situation in India as stated above was such that the East India Company started interfering and offered help to the Indian rulers to fight their wars against their enemies. The contenders for power during the eighteenth century were the British, the French, the Marathas, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. The East India Company gradually, and almost unnoticed, extended its territory by taking sides in the Indian ruler's disputes. In return, heavy payment was extracted for the help rendered.

Did the British come to trade or to rule?

The British historians and statesmen gave currency to the view that the establishment of the British Empire was the result of many unforeseen factors. This is definitely not true as it had been very much on their minds since the sixteenth century. This is clearly revealed in a letter written by the Governor of Bombay, Gerald Aungier, who wrote to the Directors of the Company. "The time now requires you to manage your general commerce with swords in your hands". Further, by 1687, the Directors advised the Governor of Madras to establish a policy of civil and military power and create and secure large revenue to maintain an English Dominion².

Thus it was by planned execution that India was conquered by the British. In all cases, the British Governors-General were not really forced by the situation in India to pursue an aggressive policy. Their task was rendered easy because of the rampant disunity in India.

With the steady growth of the East India Company as a political power, there was a change in the attitude of the home authorities. They did not

want to see the establishment of an imperium within an imperio and they were keen to take interest in the affairs of the Company. The Company gathered a rich harvest and drained India of its' wealth. Many of the East India Company officials returned to England with funds amassed from the Company's treasury by misusing power, and private trading. With this money they bought seats in the British Parliament to the chagrin of the qualified British candidates who demanded that Parliament should look into the activities of the Company³.

The British had power and wealth but felt no responsibility for governance. The merchants of the East India Company were more interested in dividend and treasures not in the protection of the people. They were corrupt. In 1772, the British government ended the dual government and administered Bengal through its own members. Thus, the defects in the administrative capability of a commercial Company surfaced.

The Company's high dividend and riches irked many in England. Merchants were prevented from trading with the East due to the Company's monopoly. The manufacturers and free traders in Britain wanted a share in the India trade. They decided to work against the Company's monopoly of trade. They criticised the Company's officials. The autocrats in England treated them with contempt. The Parliamentarians also raised a hue and cry against the Company. The free traders too became their severest critics⁴.

Thus, the need for reorganising the relations between the British Parliament and the Company was felt. The Parliament took necessary steps when the Company approached them for a loan of £ 1000,000. Therefore, since 1773, a series of Charter Acts had been passed to regulate the affairs of the Company in order to ensure that the interest of the English upper classes were secure. The Company retained its monopoly of eastern trade and the right of appointing its officials. The Directors of the Company worked out the details of the administration.

The Regulating Act of 1773 was passed. It put a check on the activities of the East India Company. As the date of renewal of the Charter Act drew nearer, Parliament evinced interest. Earlier they had paid scanty attention to the Company's administration in India.

By the Charter Act of 1784, the British Government gained control over the Company's administration, and its economic policies were determined by the needs of the British administration. The Act subordinated the Bombay and Madras Presidencies to Bengal on questions of war, diplomacy and revenues. A new phase of Indian conquest began, as India was to

serve the interest of all sections of the British ruling class. It, however, retained its entire Chinese trade monopoly, and the Directors retained their rights of appointing and dismissing officials in India.

By the Charter Act of 1813, the Company lost its trade monopoly in India. India was thrown open to all British subjects. They still retained the Chinese trade in tea. The Government and the revenues were still to be handled by the Company and it could appoint officials. By the Charter Act of 1833, the Company's monopoly of trade with China also ended. At the same time, the debts of the Company were transferred to the Government. The Government was also to pay its shareholders 10¹/₂ per cent dividend in their capital from the Indian revenues. The Government of India was run by the Company under strict control of the Board of Control which included two Cabinet ministers.

The actual working of the Charter Act of 1833, brought the realisation that the day to day administration could not be run from a distance of 6000 miles. Therefore, supreme authority in India was vested in the hands of the Governors-General-in-Council. The Governors-General had the right of overruling their Council. They came under the direct control of the British Government. Indians were not associated in the three seats of power namely, the Court of Directors of the Company; the Board of Control representing the British Government; the Governor General-in-Council. Thus the British designed a new system of administration to suit their own purpose⁵.

As far as the economic conditions were concerned, there were a lot of changes brought about in the Indian economy due to British economic policies. India played a supportive role in the success of the British Industrial Revolution. After Plassey, the wealth from Bengal 'plunder' began to arrive in London. India's gold and silver created surplus capital. This was utilised to increase industrialization. This proved advantageous to the new and bigger Indian landlords, and resulted in large scale import of British manufactured goods and the ultimate decline of indigenous industry and trade⁶. Indian wealth was collected and invested in English industries in England in more ways than one⁷. The wealth was accumulated by:

1. Tributes and gratuities obtained from Indian rulers and potentates in the name of, and for, the East India Company.
2. Taxes raised from the Indian people.
3. The profit from internal trade carried on by the servants of the East India Company in their own interest.

4. Gratuities obtained from the Indian rulers. Some of the emoluments were taken openly and some surreptitiously. Part of the money thus raised went to England in the shape of goods purchased from India and the rest in cash. India also paid for England's wars; and expansion of trade profits always went to England⁸.

In the meanwhile India was transformed from a feudal economy to a capitalist economy through trade. This capitalistic economic development was determined by the needs and interests of British Imperialism. India, thus, became an economic appendage of Britain.

The British conquest weakened traditional Indian society and introduced bourgeois elements into it. Every step taken was linked with the extinction of old land relations, and handicraft industries, and the creation of new land relations and modern industries. It was linked with the decay of old classes and the rise of new classes. Thus, instead of the old village commune there appeared the proprietors or *Zamindars* who were private land owners. Instead of the artisans and handicraftsman, came the industrial and transport workers, the class of agricultural labourers, the class of tenants, the class of new type of merchants connected with trade in the produce of modern Indian and foreign industries. Thus, change took place both in the economy and the society to benefit the administrator⁹. Although the impact of the British economic policies united India into a single uniform economic unit, the transformation was to the detriment of Indian economic interests. Hence, between the years 1813-1858 when free trade and capitalistic exploitation was the order of the day, India was converted into a source market for raw cotton for Manchester, and the handicraft sector was totally destroyed.

The Charter Act of 1813 subjected Indian producers to the vagaries of international economic forces. The Company represented commercial capitalism and succumbed to the forces of industrial capitalism represented by Lancashire and Sheffield. In this way, the agrarian economy of India was geared to the industrial economy of Britain¹⁰.

There was a steady growth of export of capital to England. In its wake came the establishment of British-controlled banks, export and import houses, and managing agencies. India soon found that she was drained of her wealth¹¹.

Side by side, 'de'industrilization took place. This was due to the establishment of foreign rule, competition from highly developed form of industries, and the disappearance of Indian Princely States.

Initially, the East India Company wanted to produce things cheaply and sell them profitably. Heavy duties were levied on Indian goods in England. This necessitated the lowering of the cost of production. Therefore, the company monopolised the services of weavers and artisans and forced them to produce articles at low stipulated prices. They prevented them from selling these goods to Indians or foreigners, and imposed custom duties and adopted transit measures which prevented Indians from carrying on internal trade.

Moreover, the industrial classes in England had succeeded in getting Parliament to end the Company's monopoly of trade and open India for free trade to all merchants of England. These merchants brought Indian raw materials to England, thus fulfilling the requirements of British trade.

To counteract the impact of heavy duties on imported goods in England, the merchants of the East India Company employed harsh measures against Indian artisans. Indian shipping, pepper industry, damascening and inlaying arms industries, all underwent the same treatment¹². As industrialization grew in England, their manufactured products were dumped in India. The production of Indian goods declined abysmally.

This British political aggrandisement led to a revolution in the land system also. It created two forms of land ownership, the Permanent Revenue settlement and the Ryotwari Settlement. The British tried to create an aristocratic landed society in the hope that such a society would be loyal to the British and contribute as the main basis for their economic growth in rural areas. The British had built on their hypothesis that social and economic institutions had secured favourable results in Britain and so would yield good results in India too¹³. All these systems were primarily alien to India. In England, the central figure in agriculture was the landlord and the British officials erred in thinking that the *Zamindar* was the prototype of the British landlord.

Lord Cornwallis created the first group of Landlords in India through the Permanent Revenue Settlement. They were created out of the tax farmers in the provinces. The settlement converted these revenue collectors into landlords. They had to make fixed payments. The Permanent Revenue Settlement was introduced in Bengal and Bihar.

The British also introduced the ryotwari system. Thomas Munro introduced it in 1820 in Madras. It was introduced in the Bombay Presidency, Berar and Assam later. It made settlements with individual cultivators and rent was collected by assessment of the land and not by the produce. The village

was deprived of its agricultural, economic and judicial functions. Peasants had to produce mainly for the market. This led to the commercialization of agriculture¹⁴. With the rise of modern industries in England, the necessity for Indian raw materials grew. Thus, the British developed interest in the growth of cotton, hemp, jute, tea, indigo and agriculture became centrally controlled. This had an adverse impact on the material conditions of the people. The individual had been also given the right to dispose off his land. This cut across the joint family system and fragmentation of land took place in cases of adversity. Fragmentation of land took place when landholders had sublet their land. Too much pressure on agriculture led to the ruin of the people. Moreover, they had to pay land revenues.

The ryotwari system may have been an attempt of the British Government to establish an egalitarian peasant society. The British thought that private property would encourage thrift and enterprise. But this was really not the case. There was hardly any growth or mobility. The majority became impoverished, as they could not cope up with the excessive taxes and the market economy. The taxes they had to pay could be enhanced at will by the Government. They had to pay these taxes even in times of adversity. The land tax alone constituted 36% of the total revenue. Furthermore, commercialisation made them dependent on merchants who exploited them and appropriated large sums of money. Besides, they had to pay heavy oil and salt tax. They could not secure wood for fuel, as forests became a state monopoly. Nature, too, played havoc through visitation of famines. Thus, they became indebted to local landlords or sold their lands to absentee landlords. The agriculturist became a serf because he had hardly anything left. The merchants, money lenders and landlords became rich at their expense. The middle level peasants were rich but they, too, during times of adversity were forced to sell their land. Thus, class differentiation developed to add to caste distinction.

The British policies did not result in modernization and mechanisation of agriculture. The only contribution they made was to contextualize agricultural development to suit the administration¹⁵. The Government did not pay attention to the structure of agriculture. The only exception to this was the canal irrigation projects in Punjab, Western U.P and Madras. Not much was invested in irrigation programmes of Eastern India. The British-made canals did not cater to Indian needs. They were used to improve the quality of commercial crops. The destruction of the indigenous canal system led to famines.

The British realised that bullock carts, camels and pack horses were not enough if their manufactured goods were to be sold on a large scale in India. So they introduced steamships, built roads, linked major cities and towns by railways and roadways to tap resources in India and help to facilitate the export of raw material. Top priority was given to their development and to the establishment of the posts and telegraph system. In so doing, the needs of Indian industries, their markets, and sources of raw materials were neglected. Railway rates were fixed to favour imports and exports which discriminated against Indian products. Railways and other facilities provided for British interests administratively, commercially and militarily speaking. These did not serve the Indian people and commerce. They were not introduced in the interior of India and its remote villages¹⁶.

As far as education was concerned, the western conquest exposed the weaknesses in our society. Thoughtful Indians tried to weed them out. They thought that western education alone would provide the answer for regeneration. They were impressed with western science and doctrines of reasons and humanism. The new social groups that arose, namely capitalists, avoided in particular the middle classes who demanded western education.

The type of education that was imparted to the Indians before the advent of the British was religious instruction at the *Patasalas* and *Madradas* and schools run by trade guilds. After the British arrived, these schools continued. The company, however, had evinced no interest. But, in 1781 Warren Hastings, established a *Madrada* at Calcutta to teach Muslim Law and Jonathan Duncan in 1791 established a Sanskrit College at Varanasi for the study of Hindu Law. The motive behind these actions was to provide a supply of Indians to help in the administration of law. They therefore wanted the continuation of Oriental education.

The Christian missionaries pressurized the Company to promote modern education. The East India Company did not approve of missionary education, as it would jeopardise their position in India. They did not want to lose their newly gotten power. They could not tolerate demand for equal treatment by Christian converts. They wanted oriental learning to continue. Thus, Lord Amherst founded the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. All that was taught in the Sanskrit College was Indian literature¹⁷. The missionaries however won due to the efforts of Wilberforce.

The Act of 1813 set aside a sum of one lakh of rupees for promoting the knowledge of modern science. It was to be paid from Indian revenues. This amount was not made available by the Company authorities.

By this time, the Indians evinced interest in learning western sciences and literature. In 1817, the Hindus of Calcutta founded the Hindu College. The East India Company also opened a college to teach traditional subjects. Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted English to be taught. The Company refused initially, but later gave in. There was a slow but perceptible demand for English education throughout India¹⁸.

In the 19th century in Madras for example, the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts started 186 schools¹⁹. This drive was also spearheaded by other societies like the Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan Mission, and the Free Church Mission of Scotland. They possessed sound organisation and considerable financial resources. They established a wide network of stations, seminaries, schools and printing houses in the various districts of South India. The missionaries started their assault on Hinduism through the agency of western education. This did not deter many Hindu families from sending their wards to schools. But when conversions took place, there was a lot of panic. This led to the withdrawal of many students from the schools. A demand was made by the Hindus to stem the tide of missionary advance.

One step that was taken was the starting of schools by Indian philanthropists to offset the danger of exposing Indian youth to missionary influences. The main stumbling block was the lack of funds. The High Court in Madras ruled that part of Pachaiyappa Trust could be legally utilised for educational purposes. The trustees of the Pachaiyappa Charities decided to start a school to impart instruction in English and regional languages. A building was rented in the natives' part of the city Black town. Thus, the Pachaiyappa School was started in January 1842^{19A}. One of the trustees was C.Srinivasa Pillay. He was prepared to spend his wealth in the cause of Indian advancement. He felt that western education would be one of the avenues through which India could regenerate herself. He and the Advocate General of Madras, George Norton, helped to establish the Hindu Literary Society. Through this organisation, an English school was started.

With regard to female education, the Indians preferred to send their children where the least vigilance and strictness in superintendence was observed. Ladies societies had been formed to encourage spread of education. Likewise, the aim of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in securing English education is revealed in a letter of 1823 to Lord Amherst. This letter was a moderate protest against the Government's plan to set up a Sanskrit

school under the control of Hindu pundits. He looked upon modern education as a major instrument to spread modern ideas. He wanted Indians to keep abreast with the times²⁰.

In the meanwhile changes took place in Britain which helped change the Company's attitude. The Court of Directors was inspired by James Mill's Benthamite principle of utility which looked for the greatest good for the greatest number of people. It was this principle which became the cornerstone of educational policy, but in practice this was not followed²¹. Mill had condemned Oriental learning in his Despatch of 1824. English Schools were established soon after²².

Many more Indians evinced interest in English Education long before Macaulay's Resolution of 1835. The Resolution of Macaulay was opposed by James Princep who wanted vernacular languages to be taught²³. Ultimately, Bentinck had to bow down to their demand and vernacular languages had to be included²⁴. Bentinck's policy initially did not get the support from the authorities but eventually, he was able to secure their support. The East India Company decided to devote the limited resources to the teaching of western science and literature. English was made the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. It opened a few English schools and colleges instead of a large number of elementary schools. The masses were neglected.

To make up for this lapse, they took recourse to the so called Filtration Theory. Since the funds allocated could only educate a handful of Indians, they decided to spend them on educating a few from the upper and middle classes who were expected to assume the responsibility of educating the masses and spreading modern ideas.

The British wanted to produce a set of educated Indians who would be docile. But the educated Indian started to demand his rights²⁵. Indians read the works of Locke, Hume, Thomas Paine and college students established academic associations. They were inspired by Derozio in Calcutta. Similar groups had been established in Bombay and Madras. Thus, the particular feature in the process of higher educational work was the scientific research into the social, religious, historical, archaeological and aesthetic spheres of interest²⁶. Modern education created a certain amount of uniformity and community of outlook and interest.

By the Educational Despatch of 1844, Universities were established at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Dalhousie encouraged vernacular education. By Woods despatch of 1854, grants-in-aid were started and practical skills

were given top priority - religious neutrality was to be observed and female education was given further impetus. Woods despatch also helped the spread of vernacular education and brought to the fore leaders like Tilak, Agarkar, Phadke. They held different views from the western educated moderates like Ranade, Gokhale, Pherozesha Mehta and Wacha.

Western learning conferred on Indians a common lingua franca which made it possible to come together and communicate and plan a common programme of action.

The Indians, realizing how backward they were, decided to weed out those elements from their religion and society which brought their decadence? Thus, the Brahma Samaj, Paramhans Mandali, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and the Theosophical Society were established. All their programmes ran on similar lines such as opposition to sati, child marriage, caste system, widowhood and illiteracy. They supported programmes regarding widow remarriage and spread of modern education. They undertook social service and Ramakrishna Mission in particular, took up these activities. Almost all these associations worked from urban centres and slowly penetrated into the interior.

Muslims too took part in the spread of western education. Movements for reforms were late in emerging amongst them. Their upper classes avoided any contact with the West initially. They had not forgotten the disasters they had faced against the British.

Thus, the claims of the Government that they took interest in spreading western education in India are baseless. The limited effort they took was due to other reasons and not because of British philanthropic motives. The credit really should go to the progressive Indians, the Christian Missionaries and liberal minded Englishmen. All along, the Government was anxious to economise in the cost of administration through cheap supply of educated Indians to man the subordinate posts in the administration. For this reason, emphasis was laid on English education. They also hoped that the educated Indian would help expand the market for British manufacture in India. Last but not least, they hoped that through western education the people would reconcile to British rule to strengthen the foundation of their authority in India²⁷. The ancient system of education thus withered away. The main weakness of modern education was the neglect of mass education, including primary education. English medium was the major defect. It created a gulf between the educated and the masses and this was to have a telling effect during the later years

of the 19th and 20th century. The costly nature of higher education made it a monopoly of the richer classes and the urban groups.

Scientific and technical education was neglected. There was a total neglect of female education. The major problem was that of finance. The Government was not willing to spend much money. Yet, with all these obstacles, modern education led to propagation of ideas like Democracy and liberalism.

As far as the social conditions were concerned, the emergence of new social classes was the result of social, economic and cultural changes that took place. What existed in India before 1761 was a narrow sectarian patriotism. This manifested itself in a great deal of parochial loyalties such as attachment to the place of birth, interest in local affairs, attachment to ancestral religion and manners. The educated class broke with tradition and adapted themselves to European ideas such as freedom, liberty and common citizenship which they gathered through the study of European history, press reports and visits to Europe. They constituted a new class in India. They imparted a sense of oneness. They shared their experiences among English educated groups. They discussed common economic, cultural and political problems. These feelings of oneness developed and it loosened the ties of provincialism and caste exclusiveness. This was a slow process. This change, though slow, was perceptible in most sections of Indian society²⁸.

The social system can be examined from the angle of the rural society. The British tried to create an aristocratic landed society in the hope, (as has already been stated) that such a society would be loyal to them and contribute to economic growth. Thus, Permanent Revenue Settlement had been introduced in Bengal. In the social context, it was a very complex organisation dealing with property rights and industrial relations in the land. Some of the territorial magnates thus created were *Zamindars*, who had been confirmed in their rights. Some of them were heads of families with a long lineage. They became revenue collectors. Some were civil servants and men of business who accumulated wealth at the time of the downfall of the Mughal Empire. All of them had something in common. They did not have the ability to improve their lands. They leased out portions of their lands. Within a short time, there were many intermediaries between the *Zamindars* and the tenants. The *Zamindari* system answered a real British need in enlisting the support of powerful elite groups. They controlled a quarter of the area of the Madras Presidency.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the *Zamindars* became one of the bulwarks of the British. They believed that their position

depended on the continued existence of the British regime. This class of landed aristocrats were conservative. They considered agricultural pursuits still attractive. Urban capital and enterprises were, therefore, diverted towards rural lands. They were attracted to their traditional beliefs. Western education was, by and large, ignored. Without western education and self discipline, the landed aristocracy failed to live up to its principles. They squandered away their energies and wealth and hankered after official positions and honours. They did not approve of commercial and entrepreneurial activities. They preferred to secure rents from lands as maintenance. They sought employment in liberal professions introduced by the British. This resulted in their getting interested in regional politics. Within a short time, the incomes of the landed gentry declined. Professions also could not accommodate the sons of the poverty-stricken gentry who became frustrated. They were the root causes for the rise of nationalistic activities²⁹. The Permanent Revenue System was not uniformly followed in India. Far more pervasive in influence was the ryotwari system. This was introduced in Madras, Bombay and other places. The advocates of this system wanted to create not only “a large body of independent ryots who would be shielded from the corrupt and faithless *Zamindars*, but also ensure that every ryot will on his own estate be at once proprietor, farmer, and labourer” at the same time^{29A}. The ryotwari system resulted in strengthening the position of the elite castes. It deprived the lower tenurial groups of their customary rights to the soil and exposed them to the danger of eviction by their new landlords – the British who taxed them. The poor peasants reacted strongly and migrated to neighbouring areas when conditions deteriorated. The rural society became disorganised and turbulent.

The British also wrought changes in the urban society. This was just the beginning. The changes were more complex as the basis of changes lay in the qualitative changes in the way by which wealth was generated. There was a change in the relationship of exchange between urban and rural societies.

Now, a stage was laid for new classes to develop and take active part in the politics of the day. The members of these classes rose up to the occasion and prominent persons worked for reforms in administration and spread of education.

In the meanwhile, the revolt of 1857 broke out. There was discontent everywhere. It was the first articulate expression of a few groups of princes and *Zamindars* against the British administration. It was due to accumulated

discontent among various strata of the old Indian society which bore the brunt of the economic, political and social burden. Therefore, it was not a mutiny as the British had termed it. It went beyond the confines of the sepoy armies and was the first attempt against British supremacy and sovereignty made by certain groups of the people of India³⁰. The most important cause was the economic exploitation and the wanton destruction of the economic fabric of India, has already been discussed. This had impoverished the peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen, the *Zamindar* and the village chiefs. Besides these were the irksome land revenue policies. This led to rendering the peasant and village proprietors homeless due to their rural indebtedness. They had to bear the brunt of corruption and red tapism in the lower rungs of administration. Besides, the police oppressed the people. Unimportant officials enriched themselves at the expense of the ryots and *Zamindars*. The judicial system that had been introduced was another avenue by which the rich could oppress the poor.

The middle and upper classes of Indian society found that they were excluded from administration despite their western education. Moreover, the sudden disappearance of Indian Princely States also proved to be a big handicap to them because they could not be employed in high administrative and judicial posts. The impact of the British policy of aggrandisement could also be seen on the people whose livelihood depended on the cultural patronage of the Indian rulers. These included the *pandits* and *maulvis*. Besides, there was no link between the Indians and the British. The British considered themselves superior socially. They did not assimilate anything Indian but had come to plunder and loot. Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse and annexation of Oudh were irritants to the sepoys. This was so because most of them come from Oudh. Their forbears held lands. Therefore, under the new economic policy, it was incumbent on them to pay land tax. Their purse was thus affected³¹.

Further, there was a growing feeling of mistrust as the British never stuck to their word of honour. Indians did not approve of the proselytising activities of the British missionaries. It cut across the joint family system due to the law of 1850. This law enabled Christian converts to inherit ancestral property. The proselytising activities also extended to jails and the army. The people's religious sensibilities were so hurt that they were not able to appreciate the humanitarian measures introduced by the Government on the advice of Indian progressives. Thus, they did not approve of the abolition of sati, widow remarriage and introduction of

western education. The sepoys too did not approve of the law that forbade them to wear caste marks, beards and turban, nor did they want to go overseas as it went against religious sanctions. In any case, it involved a question of finance too, as they were not given foreign service allowance. But the spark that started the revolt was that the newly obtained Enfield rifles were greased with the fat of cows and pigs. This hurt the religious feelings of both the Hindus and the Muslims. Hence, the revolt started. Many groups in the Jamuna Ganga basin joined the revolt. They were *Zamindars* and peasants and the ruling chiefs. Each had their own motives. Their aim was to oust the British. However, they had no scheme for an alternative arrangement of a national state or reconstruction of the society. At best, the events of the revolt can be described as the first bold source of patriotic inspiration³².

Much of the strength of the revolt lay in Hindu Muslim unity³³. However, modern educated Indians did not join the revolt. They were shocked by the rebels' appeal to superstition and their opposition to progressive social measures. They wanted to modernize India. The progressive Indians believed, but of course mistakenly, that the British would help them in their endeavours to modernize the country, while the rebels would take the country backward. Money lenders too did not join as they were the targets of the villagers. Merchants refused to give free supplies to rebels. The *Zamindars* remained loyal to the British. Big merchants supported the British because their profits came from foreign trade. This disunity proved fatal to the revolt. But this was not the only cause for their failure. They were ill-equipped and lacked leadership. They did not possess a common plan of action. Hence, the British won. The revolt was suppressed. The Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah was imprisoned at Rangoon and the royal princes were killed in his presence. By 1859, the British authority was re-established.

The Revolt of 1857 served as a perennial source of inspiration for the Indian National Movement. It gave a jolt to the British administrators and made its reorganisation inevitable. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the flowering of national political consciousness and growth of the national movement. The national movement chose to adopt the British method of constitutionalism to gain their end and wanted the British connection to continue initially.

The Indian Capitalist class, although not attuned to the others in political consciousness, joined the movement as a result of the checks

and balances imposed on them by the Government on trade, tariff, taxation and transport policies. As a new class, it required Government help, but none was given.

Some of the *Zamindars*, landlords and princes were the only sections of Indian society who supported foreign rule because their interests were upheld by the rulers. But even from these groups, many joined the National Movement. The British policies of racial domination hurt them all. It produced a national reaction. It was national because it united all sections of the society who ironed out their differences to unite against the common foe³⁴. But in the initial stages, they followed the liberal constitutional path as a golden mean to achieve their end. They adopted this method from the British political practice to suit Indian conditions. Thus the transition from the East India Company to British rule was replete with economic, social and political upheavals that finally sealed the fate of British authority. Programmes of so called economic, education reforms introduced for the benefit of British supremacy worked against their interests and united and awakened Indians to the quest for freedom from the yoke of foreign rule.

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KUDIKAVAL SYSTEM IN MADURAI DISTRICT

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In ancient times, there was no regular police system as in modern times; however, the people possessed a system to safeguard themselves from theft and other wrongdoing either by aliens or by the natives. That system was known as *Kudikaval* system. The *Kudikaval* system was one in which a few persons were nominated by gentlemen's agreement as guards for policing duty to protect their agricultural crops and the property of the villagers. These guards known as *Kavalgars* were employed from the Kallar Community in Madurai District on account of their ability. This *Kudikaval* system existed in Tamil Nadu especially in Madurai, Ramnadu, Tanjore, Trichnopoly and Tirunelveli. In Tanjore, Trichnopoly and Tirunelveli, the *Maravars*, a sub-caste of the Thevar Community, were engaged in *Kaval* duty¹. Koravars in Salem, Padayachis and Veppur Parayas in the Northern Districts were engaged in the *Kaval* system. In Madura and Ramnadu, the Kallars, a sub caste of the Thevar Community, were employed for this *Kaval* duty.

This was because the people of other communities such as Idayars or Konars considered that the Kallars were from the martial clans and they were brave enough to face difficult situations and would be able to solve problems during and after theft. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that some of the Kallars were also engaged in robbery and such other anti-social activities as they felt that it was adventurous. Under these circumstances the Kallars were employed as *Kavalgars* (Guards) by the people of certain villages. The object of the system began to lose its importance due to the indiscipline and the negligence of their duty by *Kavalgars*. Besides this, the British also decided to control the obnoxious activities of the Kallars in the Madura region. Hence, the *Kudikaval* system began to decline from the nineteen twenties. Thus, an attempt has been made in this article to trace the characteristic features of *Kudikaval* system

in the Madura district, why it declined, and also the steps taken by the British Government to make the *Kudikaval* system ineffective.

Definition

The word '*Kudi*' means 'Village' and the word '*Kaval*' means "Watch'. Hence, *Kudikaval* means 'Watching of Village' or 'Village Watch'. The people who were engaged in the work of watching the village were called as '*Kavalgars*' (Security guards). *Kudikaval* means a system of watch and ward of a village by a set of people on payment annually by the residents of the villages. If *Kavalgars* failed to recover the stolen property, they had to reimburse it from their income². According to Mohamed Abdul Ghani the prevailing system was called *Kudikaval* "under which the *Kavalgars* received fees and free lands for undertaking to protect the property of the villagers against theft or to restore an equivalent in value for anything lost"³.

Method of Kaval System

The system of *Kaval* (protection) was based on patrolling. In a village suppose the *Kavalgars* were twelve in number, they divided themselves into two or three groups and did their patrolling of the village in rotation. However, they had collective responsibility of all incidents. The number of *Kudikavalgars* in a village depended on the size of the village. But, generally, six to eight members were constituted and they engaged themselves in the *Kaval* system. One of them would act as the nominal head of the *Kavalgars* and he was responsible for theft or other such activity relating to the *Kudikaval* system⁴.

Mode of Payment

The *Kavalgars* were provided with some *inam* land in each village and also they received some amount of grains as fees during the harvest season for ensuring the safety of crops against petty theft⁵. They had the right to collect allowances and duties such as *Mara*⁶, *Wartanah*⁷, *Moolvis*⁸, *Pagodas*⁹ and *Fusugui*¹⁰. The collection might be either in kind or in pagodas¹¹. However, if a travelling bullock with merchandise crosses the *Kudikaval Village*, where a halt was made, the *Kavalgar* usually demanded the *Kaval* fees and those should be paid, if not, the bullock would certainly be lost¹².

Kudikaval System in Madurai District

The Kallars of Madurai district had their headquarters at *Keelakudi*; a village situated six miles to the west of Madura town at the entrance of

Kallarnadu¹³. The *Keelakudi* Kallars had their main source of income through the *Kudikaval* system. The Kallars had to protect the villagers and their properties from theft either by their fellow caste men or from others. In course of time, the Kaval system extended throughout the district and to the borders of the neighbouring districts, and the Kallars of Keelakudi who had migrated to the various parts of the district had become the hereditary *Kavalgars* of that area¹⁴. Thereby, the *Kudikaval* system extended throughout Madurai District.

In a village, if anyone had lost their assets like goat, bullock etc., they reported to the head of the *Kavalgar* and asked him to recover it. Immediately, an agreement was signed between the victim and the Head *Kavalgar*, who usually dealt with the recovery of lost items. As per the provisions of the agreement, if the *Kavalgar* recovered the lost property, the owner had to give some percentage of value of the lost property to the *Kavalgar*, and if the *Kavalgars* failed to recover it, they had to reimburse the original value of the stolen property from their income¹⁵.

The system ran smoothly so long as there was no theft. Whenever a theft occurred in the village, the people expected the *Kavalgars* to restore the lost property. Sometimes, when the *Kavalgars* failed to discover the lost property, problems arose. In some cases, the *Kavalgars* refused to reimburse the original value of lost property as per the agreement. At this juncture, the issue became critical and faith in the *Kavalgars* and their system of work declined. Besides, when the victims started to pressurise the *Kavalgars* in desperation, the *Kavalgars* started threatening such people through various methods. For instance, they began to take the cattle away from their houses. They also set fire to the houses of victims or to their haystacks and even to their agricultural fields which were to be harvested¹⁶.

The activities of the *Kavalgars* hurt the villagers. The *Kavalgars*, who were pressurised, induced *Kavalgars* who were residing in the nearby villages to steal the property of the other castemen of the village which was under their Kaval System¹⁷. Among the villagers, the Idayars were mostly the victims¹⁸. Since the Idayars had cattle as their property, cattle lifting with the connivance of the *Kavalgars* were quite common¹⁹. As a result, the Idayars and other community people had to depend wholly upon Kallars who were supposed to be *Kavalgars*.

In order to recover their lost property, the Idayars and other castes approached the *Kavalgar* and agreed to give him a certain percentage of the value of the property, if it was recovered. As per the secret plan of

the *Kavalgars* and their caste brethren from nearby villages the stolen property would be returned to the Idayars and the *Kavalgar* would share the agreed amount. This method was known as “*Tuppukooli*” or “Clue Hire”²⁰. Though the victims knew this drama, they could not disclose it due to fear.

Anti - Kallar Movement

The suffering of Idayars in the hands of the Kallar *Kavalgars* system on various occasions reached its culmination in the Dindigul taluk of Madurai District. In Dindigul, a Kallar had enticed a woman and her daughter from the Idayar community and kept both of them under his protection. The news of this incident spread around the Dindigul taluk. Immediately, the Idayars from this region gathered under the leadership of Ammayappa Kone and held a meeting to wipe out the Kallars in that area²¹. Ammayappa Kone was rich and influential among the Konars and wanted to dominate the people in that area. Since the Kaval system of Kallars was a hindrance to this, it is stated that he instigated the fellow Yadavars to revolt against *Kaval* system. Further, it is also stated that the *Kaval* system was a formidable challenge to the British Police and the British and the missionaries encouraged communal riots between Kallars and Konars in 1896²². Besides, the villagers decided and took an oath to disband the Kallar *Kavalgars* system and to appoint *Kavalgars* or watchmen from among themselves²³. They also regulated this *Kaval* system by extending mutual assistance to the nearby villages. As per this arrangement, every village was provided with a horn and the people were expected to blow the horn at the time of theft. On hearing this horn, every one in the nearby villages was required to hasten to this place to apprehend the thief. This alternate village *Kaval* system was at first successfully tried in the Dindigul region²⁴. Latter on it was followed in the Palani and Periyakulam region. But this system was found to be a temporary success. Nevertheless, it was the first blow struck against the *Kudikaval* system²⁵.

Decline of *Kudikaval* System

Among the various causes for the decline of the *Kudikaval* system, the anti-Kallar movement in the Dindigul region in Madurai district was one. Obviously, the system was alright so long as nothing was stolen, and the services rendered by the *Kavalgar* were found satisfactory by the inhabitants of the villages. But, it was not found to be good in the long run. Whenever

property was stolen, the people expected that the *Kavalgars* would restore the lost property. When the *Kavalgars* failed to restore it, people were tired of paying fees for the services not rendered by them²⁶.

As per the agreement between the *Kavalgar* and victims, the *Kavalgar* had to reimburse the equal value of the lost property. When the *Kavalgar* failed to respect the agreement and refused to reimburse the loss, the problem arose. The villagers lost their faith in the *Kudikaval* system. Again, when the villagers realised that all the thefts in the village took place only with the connivance of the *Kavalgars* by means of *Tuppukooli* method, they tried to get rid of the system and to find an alternative arrangement²⁷.

Traditionally, the *Kudikaval* system was a hereditary profession for the kallars of this region. In the earlier times, the kallars who were part of the *Kaval* system were efficient and honest, hence it was successful. In course of time, the successors of the *Kavalgars* were found incapable and incompetent when compared to their forefathers either to catch the thief or to recover stolen property. Hence, the system began to decline. Above all, the modern means of transport also had helped the thief, to escape. The *Kavalgars* found it difficult to catch thieves as their forefathers had been able to.

When the Ramanathapuram region was under the authority of the Vijayanagar Empire, Viswavanatha Nayak became the Nayak of Madurai and it was he who instituted the *poligar* system by which the territories were subdivided into many small divisions. Each division was entrusted to his trusted chieftains. Later on, the Maravars were restored as sethupathys of Ramanathapuram, to give protection to the pilgrims from robbery and murder. They instituted a new system of police called *Desakaval*²⁸ as an alternative to *Kudikaval*. Through *Desakaval*, a small band of people was constituted to enforce law and order in Ramanathapuram Sethu Country. Thus, the *Kudikaval* system became insignificant due to the introduction of the *Desakaval* system. When the British came to power they found that the *Kudikaval* system was dangerous to them and hence they encouraged the subordinate communities like Konars and Nadars against Kallars and Maravars to indulge in communal riots. When communal riots occurred, the British established a number of police stations to make the *Kaval* system ineffective²⁹.

Abolition of *Kudikaval* System

In 1801, after the Marudhu Pandian revolts, Madura was annexed by the Company's Government³⁰.

From then on, the Kallars gave infinite trouble to the authorities in the form of *Kudikaval* and also by other non-bailable offences. Hence, the British wanted to put an end to the *Kudikaval* system in this region through various measures. With a view to suppress this *Kudikaval* system, they began to keep the Kallars under their surveillance. The Keelakudi Kallars were so active and dangerous with their *Kudikaval* system in Madurai town that the entire population of Keelakudi were ready to sacrifice themselves for retaining their hereditary right³¹. So, the British planned and established an outpost at Keelakudi to check the movement of the Kallars and keep them under surveillance. However, this setup failed to check the activities of Keelakudi Kallars as *Kavalgars* of *Kudikaval* system³².

Thus, in 1914, the Keelakudi Kallars were notified under section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 and were declared as criminal tribes. Thereby, the provision of section 10 (b) of the Act was applied on them, which refers to the notification of change of residence³³. Subsequently Sorikkampatti, Mela Urappanur and Pusalapuram Kallars of Madurai district were also notified as Criminal Tribes under this Act³⁴. Later in 1917, section 10 (a) of the Act of 1911 was also applied which compelled every registered Kallar to report himself at fixed intervals and inform his place of residence, and any change or intended change of residence and any absence or intended absence from his residence³⁵. As a result of the effective implementation of the Criminal Tribes Act, the *Kudikaval* system began to disappear.

Conclusion

The *Kudikaval* system had functioned as quasi-police in early days. But, due to the decline of the efficiency of *Kavalgars*, and incompetent successors, villages lost faith in the *Kudikaval* system. In the long run, the law protectors *Kavalgars* became the law-breakers. They themselves started robbing, instigating their fellow castemen to steal items and property to take revenge on the victims. Consequently, the *Kudikaval* system started to decline. Finally, the British administration gave a deathblow to the *Kudikaval* system by introducing the Criminal Tribes Act. Thereafter, the modern police officers and other organs of the British administration replaced the *Kudikaval* system.

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ARTICLES OF TRADE, THE SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN PARLAKHEMUNDI UNDER THE BRITISH RAJ (A.D. 1858–1936): A CASE STUDY OF THE GAJAPATI DISTRICT

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The district of Gajapati is one of the backward districts of southern Orissa. It was part and parcel of the Ganjam district. It was under the Madras presidency during the British rule. This district of Gajapati is named after Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo, former Maharaja and first Prime Minister of Orissa. The present district was a sub-division of Ganjam district, but on the auspicious day of 2nd October 1992, it achieved the status of a district under the active leadership of late former chief minister Biju Patnaik of Orissa. It is situated at the southern boundary of Orissa and encircled by Andhra Pradesh on three sides. It has created its geographical identity in the latitude of 19° and longitude 84° with plenty of forest products and enchanting beauty in a total area of 3440.47 square kilometres. It has emerged with 4, 58,175 population comprising different castes, creeds, sects and linguistic and religious groups¹. As per the statistics available 117,383 hectares of land of this district are barren and uncultivable. They are mainly covered with small rocks. The land is suitable for horticulture and 18,275 hectares of land are used for this purpose. The net sown area is about 61,122 hectares. The principal crops of this district are rice, maize, ragi, sugarcane and oil seeds. This is a tribal-dominated district. Out of the total population of this study area, 40.21% are tribal. Their economic condition is deplorable. They are either landless agriculturists or agricultural labourers. There is little scope for engaging them in horticulture. Only 2884 people are engaged in occupations like orchard, livestock, forestry etc. Due to non-availability of work, the tribal people are forced to eat mango kernel, wild mushroom, sweet roots, meat of certain animals, which result in serious diseases and often cause their death too.² The total Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population is 2, 22,646. The percentage of SC and ST population

to the total population is 55.93%. The district is famous for horn work, bamboo work, cane work, earthen pots and jars etc. The district of Gajapati is divided into seven Blocks. They are Gosani, Gumma, Kashinagar, Mohana, Nuagada, R.Udayagiri and Rayagada³.

Trade is the way of livelihood, or an occupation adopted by an individual or a homogeneous group engaged in such equivalent activities. It may be hereditary or acquired but in a smaller scale. This trade may include the process of earning one's livelihood by manufacture or small-scale selling of products either produced or acquired⁴. It, therefore, includes artisans and professionals in small-scale hereditary trades such as goldsmith, blacksmith, potters, groups dealing with the collection and trade of forest articles etc. On the other hand, Commerce is interchange of merchandise on a large scale between individuals and nations⁵. It also includes companies manned by individuals or groups and the nation to nation exchange/sale of products.

There was considerable trade carried on in the Gajapati district. Fairs and markets were held periodically. At these fairs, in addition to the usual sale of agricultural produce, considerable numbers of farm stock were brought together, especially in the breeding districts. Markets were generally held in large open spaces and attended by a number of people. *Hattas* or weekly markets were held in a particular day at a particular place. Varieties of articles from different areas were brought to these weekly fairs and were sold. From vegetable vendors to cloth merchants all attended these *Hattas*. Industrial products were also sold in the markets.

Prior to the introduction of automobiles and railways, the traders of this district largely depended on the beasts of burden for the transportation of goods and other articles of trade. They mostly used pack-bullocks, horses, buffaloes, and sometimes even asses to carry goods to different places. In the hilly areas, generally, elephants were used for transporting timber from one place to another. The *kavadi* or *bhara* was also popularly used by the merchants and other businessmen.

Hattas and *bazaars* were the main centres of the internal trade of the Gajapati district. Bazaars were generally the marketing centres of the towns which catered, mostly, to the requirements of the urban population. They functioned practically on all the days of the week. They served as important marketing centres for the inhabitants of the surrounding areas, often situated at a distance from towns. The vendors from distant places came to the *Hattas* or weekly fairs with the articles of commerce, and here the

rural population constituted the major purchasing class⁶. Along with all kinds of country produce such as rice, vegetables, spices, betel, tobacco, fruits, fish, dry-fish and earthenware, textiles were also sold in the *Hattas*⁷.

There was a considerable trade being carried on in the Paralkhemundi *Zamindari* during the British period. The chief articles of export from Paralkhemundi were grains, samay, honey, gallnut, turmeric, tamarind, hides and fancy goods, made of Jaekhad⁸. The articles imported were sugar and arrack from Aska; silk from Berhampur; cotton cloth, betel and arecanut from Srikakulam; coconut from Uddyan near Sompeta; mustard and arrowroot from Jeypore; wheat and peas from central provinces; Opium from the Krishna district; spices, spirits, piece goods and hardware from Mumbai (Bombay), Chennai (Madras), Kolkata (Calcutta) and the adjacent districts⁹.

Horn works originally were known to the tribals of Paralkhemundi in south Orissa. They used to produce various articles from the horn. The horn works of Paralkhemundi were one of the important products of its cottage industries. It had a special place amongst the buyers/craft bazaars of Calcutta (Kolkata), Punjab, Kakinada and Trivandrum. The horn works were made chiefly out of horns of cattles which were supplied from the neighbouring *Maliahas* (i.e. Agency areas) of the *Zamindari*. The horn workers used to make finest pieces of models, like Lord Jagannath, birds, animals, fish combs, cane, cigarette case, ash-tray etc. The horn products were being exported to the places like Vizianagaram, Kakinada and Rajamahendry^{9a}.

There was a daily market at the heart centre of Paralkhemundi named the **Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Bazar**. Besides this, weekly markets were held in different places of Gajapati district. At these markets, in addition to the usual sale of agricultural produce, considerable number of farm stock was brought together, especially in the breeding districts. There were altogether six weekly markets or *Hattas* in the Gajapati district. They were¹⁰

Name of the market	Held on
Paralkhemundi Market (<i>Hatta</i>)	Saturday
Uppalada Market (<i>Hatta</i>)	Sunday
Raigada Market (<i>Hatta</i>)	Saturday
Garabandha Market (<i>Hatta</i>)	Tuesday
Balada Market (<i>Hatta</i>)	Tuesday
Udayagiri Market (<i>Hatta</i>)	Saturday

The principle commodities sold in these village fairs or *Hattas* were grain, pulses, cloth, poultry, salt, chillies, turmeric, tamarind, garlic, onions, coconut, sweet-meats, vegetables, fruits, flowers, bamboo baskets, coir products, cane products, forest products, fish, dried fish, hides, horn, wax, honey, oilseeds, soapnuts, ivory works, wooden toys and stone works¹¹.

The weekly markets were the most important channels of agricultural marketing of Gajapati district. The average distance covered by people to bring commodities to the nearest market centres was approximately 10 to 15 Kms. The system of barter was prevalent in certain remote rural areas. The weekly markets of villages were of great importance to the people living mainly in the lower stratum of the rural society, since they sold their produce in exchange of their daily necessities and luxuries. Merchants from town areas and other neighbouring areas visited these markets for purchasing goods at cheaper rate. Trade in cattle was carried on in some big markets¹².

The local merchants and peasants carried on trade on a very small scale. The major portion of the trade at the Gajapati district was in the hands of the outsiders. The Oriya people had practically no share in the wholesale trade of this region during the period under review¹³. The chief merchants and traders were principally *Banjaras* from Central Provinces, and Telugu speaking *Komatis* (Vaisyas) from Visakhapatnam. Nearly all business of import and export to and from the Agency was managed by the Telugu *Komatis* (Vaisyas) ¹⁴.

There was a narrow gauge line running from Naupada on the South-Eastern Railway up to Gunupur via Paralakhemundi which helped immensely for the development of trade and commerce in the Gajapati district¹⁵. The commercial transactions also greatly improved by the Raipur-Vizianagaram branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railways which traversed the Rayagada subdivision of Koraput district and the neighbouring district of Gajapati¹⁶.

Weights and Measures

Weights and measures in the Gajapati district during the British period varied from place to place. The rates of the commodities were also not uniform within the same district. Though the economy of the times was chiefly agricultural, yet it had a strong industrial and commercial base. A sound basis for large-scale trade and commerce mostly depended on the proper regulation of standard weights and measures. But in the Gajapati district in particular, during the British period, the actual weights in use were very rough, and more or less lacked any uniform standard,

European mercantile usage had also forced up the natural values of the weights judged by a *tolah* standard, so as to accommodate them. Thus, in the mofussil areas the viss was strictly 3, 0857 lb., the maund was equal to 24, 6857 lb., and the candy was equal to 493.714 lb¹⁷. But in the mercantile usage, these three weights were considered $3\frac{1}{2}$, 25 and 500 lb. respectively. Similarly, the *pucka seer* was generally considered 2lb., though its weight was usually intended to be 80 *torahs*, or 2.057143 lb. The star-pagoda was 52.56 grains by mint standard. The star-pagoda of the Madras mint had on one side the figure of goddess Bhagavati, and on the other a star. It weighted 52.56 grains and was 42.7 grains pure gold. The more ancient pagoda of the Madras Presidency used as a unit of weight may be 54 grains, that of the southern provinces being slightly in excess. The pagoda coins other than the star-pagoda weighed about $52\frac{1}{2}$ grains. During the company's rule when the unit was the rupee, the *tolah* was 180 English grains¹⁸. Originally the rupee of native mints was about 175 grains, and the *tolah* varied from 182 to 186 grains.

Weights and measures in Paralakhemundi and its surrounding areas varied very much. The *tum* or *toom* i.e. *mana* or *kuncham* was the most common measure of capacity in the district. It varied so much that it was scarcely found to be the same at two places 25 kms apart. Of nine different kinds of *tum*, which were in use in the district, the average had been found equal to 254.8 *tolas* or a little over 6 lbs. It must be further noted that in South Orissa two kinds of measures were prevalent, viz, the *Bikka* and the *Sikka*, of which the *Bikka* was $\frac{5}{8}$ of the *Sikka*¹⁹.

Weights²⁰

15	<i>Tolas</i>	made	1	<i>Sola</i>
2	<i>Solas</i>	made	1	<i>Boda</i>
2	<i>Bodas</i>	made	1	<i>Adda</i>
4	<i>Addas</i>	made	1	<i>Tum or mana</i>
4	<i>Tums</i>	made	1	<i>Nauti or 12 seers</i>

Measures²¹

4	<i>Giddas</i>	made	1	<i>Sola</i>
2	<i>Solas</i>	made	1	<i>Tavva</i>
2	<i>Tavvas</i>	made	1	<i>Adda</i>
4	<i>Addas</i>	made	1	<i>Mana</i>
4	<i>Manas</i>	made	1	<i>Nauti</i>
20	<i>Nauties</i>	made	1	<i>Bharan</i>

The above mentioned measures were used in the Gajapati district for all grains. In many parts of this district, certain articles were also bought and sold in maunds. For instance, for commodities like ghee, gingely oil, castor oil, *jilkara*, *methi*, *sonthi*, all that were included under *Kirana* and iron articles, a maund was considered as equivalent to 24 lbs. (i.e. 880 *tolas*). However, for other commodities like sugar, jaggery, coconut oil and *sekara*, a maund was considered as equivalent to 24 lbs. (i.e. 960 *tolahs*).

In the neighbouring district of Paralakhemundi, the following table of weights was followed by traders and petty merchants in their day to day commercial transactions and for them a seer was equivalent to 24 *tolahs*²².

4	<i>Paddy seed</i>	made	1	<i>Padika</i>
4	<i>Padika</i>	made	1	<i>Chinna</i>
7 ¹ / ₂	<i>Chinna</i>	made	1	<i>Paye</i>
2	<i>Paye</i>	made	1	<i>Madho</i>
2	<i>Madho</i>	made	1	<i>Tola</i>
7 ¹ / ₂	<i>Tola</i>	made	1	<i>Korsi</i>
4	<i>Korsi</i>	made	1	<i>Polo</i>
4	<i>Polo</i>	made	1	<i>Seer</i>
8	<i>Seer</i>	made	1	<i>Viss</i>
8	<i>Viss</i>	made	1	<i>Maund</i>

In the district of Gajapati and its surrounding areas land was measured by a rod of 8 *hath* 1 *chakhands* and that a piece of land 8 rods long by 8 rods broad was one *bothisa bharanam* of land. The people of these areas usually followed the following table²³ of land measure.

4	<i>Gouni</i>	made	1	<i>Nouti</i>
8	<i>Nouti</i>	made	1	<i>Pouti</i>
2	<i>Pouti</i>	made	1	<i>Pudugo</i>
2	<i>Pudugos</i>	made	1	<i>bothisa bharanam</i>

Similarly, cloth was measured by the following table of measure²⁴

4	<i>inch</i>	made	1	<i>Chowka</i>
3	<i>Chowka</i>	made	1	<i>Chakhando</i>
2	<i>Chakhando</i>	made	1	<i>hatho</i>
1 ³ / ₄	<i>hatho</i>	made	1	<i>yard</i>
3/4	<i>inch</i>	made	1	<i>angulo</i>
4	<i>angulo</i>	made	1	<i>chowka</i>
3	<i>chowka</i>	made	1	<i>chakhando</i>
2	<i>chakhando</i>	made	1	<i>hatho</i>

From the above discussions, it is noticed that the weights and measures totally varied from place to place. In this district, from petty dealers to big merchants, all used the above varied weights and measures in their day to day trade and commercial transactions. As differences existed in the use of different weights and measures, there was ample scope for the traders and petty dealers to gain personal advantage by deceiving people. This system of weights and measures was influenced by the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh.

Thus, the increased volume of trade and commercial activities became increasingly apparent during the British rule. The involvement of the local mercantile community of the Gajapati district with the English traders helped considerably the enhancement of interstate trade and commerce.

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INDIAN NATIONALISM: ROLE OF CUDDAPAH DISTRICT IN THE CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES (1922–30) – A MICRO STUDY

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B A D V E L, Cuddapah District. Andhra Pradesh

Location

Kadap (hitherto spelt as, “Cuddapah”) District was located within latitude 13° 12 N and longitude 79° 48 E with 8,367 square miles (21,671 square kilometres) ¹, when the governance of India went into the hands of the British Crown in 1858. Later, certain territorial changes took place with the formation of Anantapur and Chittoor districts in 1882 and in 1911 respectively. As a result, these two new districts took away certain areas of land from Cuddapah District. Consequently, the Cuddapah district came to have an area of 5,884 square miles (14,240 square kilometres), and the location of the district, from 1882 onwards, is shown as lying within 13°43–15°14 N. Lat and 77°51–79°29 E. long. The area lies on the western slopes of the Eastern Ghats and faces the Mysore plateau on the west².

Boundaries

In 1858, the district of Cuddapah was bounded by the district of North Arcot of Tamilnadu on the south; Bellary district, now (A.D 2004) in Karnataka on the west; and Kurnool and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh on the north and east respectively. After the completion of territorial changes in the Ceded Districts, which led to the emergence of the districts of Kurnool (1858), Anantapur (1882) and Chittoor (1911), the present district of Cuddapah came to have borders with the districts of Chittoor on the south, Anantapur on the west, Kurnool on the north and Nellore on the east. It is one of the four districts, namely Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, and Bellary, of the then Ceded Districts and one among the districts, known as Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, and Chittoor, of present Rayalaseema, the south-western part of Andhra Pradesh.

General Scenario

During the intervening period between the conclusion of the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922 and the starting of the Civil Disobedience

Movement in 1930 under the leadership of Gandhiji, various constructive activities were undertaken in the district in line with those in other districts, regions and provinces of the country as contemplated by the Indian National Congress (INC) and Gandhiji.

Popularisation of Khaddar

One of them was the special emphasis on *Khaddar* (indigenous cloth) and propagation for its production and use. Prominent leaders of the district toured as many villages as they could³. They motivated the people towards activities related to the production of Khaddar clothes. It resulted in the emergence of a number of *charkhas*, *taklis* and other related spinning wheels in many taluks, especially at Rajampet, Jammalamadugu, Proddatur, Cuddapah, Kamalapuram and Badvel⁴. The production of cotton and the manufacture of Khaddar was on such a scale in the district that Congress volunteers from Cuddalore, Madurai, Chidambaram and Salem of Tamilnadu used to come to the district and collect the needed items like cotton, clothes and spindles⁵. Elite people like advocates and the local leaders opened Khaddar shops. The All India Congress Committee (AICC) also provided grants to this activity to protect people from famine. Prominent Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Gadicharla Harisarvothama Rao and others visited the district and pleaded for the intensification of Khaddar activity. Andhra Provincial Nationalist Association (hereafter APNA) and Andhra Provincial Khaddar Board (hereafter APKB) sanctioned Rs.1695.50 paise and Rs.2000/- respectively for its promotion in the district⁶. A number of persons, members and non-members in the Congress Committee, either spun or manufactured Khaddar and sent it to the APKB. Ladies like Kethu Varadamma, Veeramma, Kethu Bala Subbamma and Pavana Kumari Devi were also deeply involved in this activity⁷. All sections of people in the district felt that this activity served as the main source for their livelihood and employment⁸. Khaddar marriages were held and contributions were made to the Khaddar Fund on certain auspicious occasions. People as well as leaders of this movement sold their Khaddar at cheap rates and the money so earned was paid to the Congress Party to strengthen it⁹ in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji and INC. This in turn consolidated the nationalist movement in the country as well as in the district.

Tilak Swarajya Fund

Another activity pursued during 1922-30 was the continued propagation for and collection of the Tilak Swarajya Fund. Notable leaders of the

district played an important role in this activity. From the information given by Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Secretary, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee (APCC), an amount of Rs. 170/- was collected upto 15 May 1923 from the district, and 6 members were enrolled as volunteers for the said Fund¹⁰. The APNA at its session held on 20, 21 and 22 January 1924 at Bezwada (Vijayawada) fixed and entrusted to the district the responsibility of collecting an amount of Rs. 2500/- for this Fund as its target in 1924. It also, simultaneously, used to sanction grants to the district for the propagation of the Fund¹¹. Tilak's birth and death anniversaries were observed as auspicious occasions in the district for this noble activity. Similarly, meetings were conducted to develop the patriotic spirit in the people of the district and also in memory of Swami Vivekananda, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Lala Lajpat Rai for their role in the nationalist movement¹².

Percolation of Political Ideology

Strengthening and consolidation of the Congress Party in the district formed yet another important feature. The leaders of Cuddapah district and of other districts who played a major role in the Non-cooperation Movement and in the subsequent activities of Khaddar-promotion and Tilak Swarajya Fund, made strenuous efforts to form Congress Committees, Sub-Committees and Executive Committees at Village, taluk and district levels and to enrol as many members as possible for them. At the same time, they conducted several meetings at all these stages in the district and inculcated patriotic feelings in the people to foster the national spirit by arranging speeches, lectures and discussions on the problems facing them¹³.

Another development in the district was the influence of the Andhra Swarajya Party founded by A. Kaleswara Rao and V. Ramadas Panthulu under the impact of Swarajya Party leaders like C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru in 1923. It led to the establishment of the Swarajya Party in the district with G.V. Punnaiah Sastry as Secretary. Some of the notable dignitaries such as the Presidents of Taluk Boards of Jammalamadugu and Proddatur, Chairman of the Cuddapah Municipality, advocates and prominent persons like K. Koti Reddy, Radhakrishnaiah and A. Parasurama Rao of Cuddapah joined it¹⁴. Subsequently, the district also participated in both the elections of 1923 and 1926. Leaders of the district gave wide publicity in favour of the Swarajyists. K. Koti Reddy and A. Parasurama Rao, who contested from Cuddapah District's Non-Muhammadan Rural

Constituency, got themselves elected from it in 1923 and returned as Congress candidates in 1926 from the same district. The Chairman of the Cuddapah Municipality also belonged to it¹⁵.

Amelioration of Social Problems

Gandhiji's fast against the Government's Communal Award also had its impact on Cuddapah district. Several meetings were organised and resolutions passed to observe fasts in support of Gandhiji. Both Muslims and Hindus offered prayers in temples and mosques for the improvement of his health and well-being. Activities like the manufacture of Khaddar, picketing before liquor shops and propagation for the removal of untouchability were undertaken, besides paying special attention to the welfare of the down trodden and depressed classes in the district. When Gandhiji was released, the people of Cuddapah district were so happy that a number of meetings were held at places like Jammalamadugu, Pulivendla, Cuddapah, Kondamachupalli (Siddhavattam Taluk), Rajampet and other places of the district to express happiness. A Gandhi Prayer Fund was collected, Gandhi Month and Week were observed in many places of the district on the auspicious occasions of Gandhiji's birth days¹⁶, and National Flag Days were conducted in many places of the district. It was also decided to send Mandapalli Pitchi Raju to participate in the Nagpur *Satyagraha*¹⁷. The district also followed, practiced and observed yet another activity of Gandhiji that was decided upon at the Bardoli Congress session, and unanimously approved by the Gaya Session of the INC¹⁸. National Schools, especially for girls, were opened at Jammalamadugu and Proddatur by leaders like Doraswami Mudaliar, Gadiyaram Chidambaraiah and P. Venkatapathi of the district. When the Fourth Kurnool District Congress met on 15 and 16 June 1927 at Nandyal, K. Koti Reddy of Cuddapah sent his message for its success and it was read in the meeting. Later, Koti Reddy participated in the Andhra All Party Conference at Nandyal on 17 and 18 November 1928¹⁹.

Protest against Simon Commission

The Royal Commission, which came to be known as the Simon Commission, had its impact on the district in 1928. As per the instructions of the INC, protest meetings were held at Rajampet and at Railway Kodur against its visit. A complete *Hartal* (lock out) was observed at these places. Students also participated actively in this *Hartal*. Grand processions were

conducted with the photos of Gandhiji on this occasion²⁰. As a part of his tour in Andhra, Gandhiji visited Cuddapah district in 1929²¹. The information about the resolution of the Lahore session of the INC of 1929 also influenced the district. When it appealed to the Congressmen to resign their Legislative Memberships, K. Koti Reddy of Cuddapah who attended the Lahore session, resigned his membership of the Madras Legislative Council in conformity with the spirit of the Lahore resolution²².

Conclusion

From the above mentioned activities, it is clear that Cuddapah district, along with other areas, provinces regions and districts of the country, played a pivotal role in various constructive activities and strengthened the national movement even though the Non-co-operation Movement was abruptly terminated. This, in turn, strengthened and intensified the national movement aspired by Gandhiji and INC. More so, it paved the way for other notable movements, to be started, particularly the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Gandhiji in 1930.

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THE PATRIOTIC FERVOUR OF BHARATHI AT CROSS ROADS: THE SEIZURE OF HIS NATIONAL SONGS IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY 1928–1929

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The banner of the Indian National Movement had been held aloft by a galaxy of poet-patriots, prominent among them being Rabindranath Tagore of Bengal and Subramania Bharathi of Tamilnadu. Bharathi is known for his radical views and the concept of nationalism. Bharathi was not only a poet-patriot but also a committed swadeshi enthusiast, who rendered a remarkable contribution by inculcating the efficacy of swadeshi nationalism in the hearts of the Indians during the Extremist movement in the Madras Presidency. Bharathi, a great visionary waged a relentless war against the British rule. He was the first Tamil poet to compose songs on national themes which aroused the dormant feelings of the people against the alien rule.

The aim of the present paper is to bring out the nationalist fervour of Bharathi through his books entitled *Swadesa Geethangal* (National Songs) part I & II, composed by Bharathi, which were published by Pt. Harihara Sharma, a relative of Chellammal Bharathi at the Bharathi Ashram, Triplicane, Madras in 1922¹. These two books contained the national songs, which were proscribed by the Governments of Burma and Madras between August and September 1928². The sources consulted for writing this article are the archival evidence collected from the National Archives, New Delhi and the Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai. The order of forfeiture of Bharathi's songs was issued seven years after the death of Bharathi. Bharathi died on 11th September 1921 in Madras but his songs were banned in 1928 by the Government of Burma. The C.I.D. of Burma found the national songs of Bharathi highly seditious in character and also found these books in the households of the nationalists of Burma. More so, the Government of Burma thought that the national songs of Bharathi would create national awakening among the minds of the Tamil - speaking population of Burma. Hence, the Government of Burma issued a

notification on 7th August 1928 to forfeit Bharathi's songs, on the ground that it contained seditious matter³.

The notification of the Burma Government was republished by the Government of Madras on 3rd September 1928 and this appeared in the Fort St. George Gazette on 11th September 1928⁴. The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras issued the search warrants and the Police was instructed to search the places where Bharathi's books were being stocked. They searched the premises of Bharathi Prasuralayam, Hindi Prachar Shabha and Dhandapani & Co in Madras on 20th September 1928, and seized 2000 copies of Bharathi's books⁵. The seizure of Bharathi's songs caused widespread resentment in the Madras Presidency.

Press Reaction against the British Repression

The nationalist press consisting of journals and papers such as *Swadesamitran*, *Desabaktan*, *Gandhi*, *Navasakthi* and *Tamilnadu* in Tamil; *The Hindu*, *New India* and *Swarajya* in English condemned the proscription of Bharathi's songs by the Governments of Burma and Madras. They regarded this as an "unjust and illegal" attempt on the part of these two governments to arrest the popularity of Bharathi's songs⁶.

The Hindu, in its issue of 25th September 1928, viewed this action as an 'anomalous one' because these books characterizing patriotic fervour had been in circulation for a long time and the Government did not think it necessary to ban them. But when the Government of Burma initiated action, the Madras Government merely followed it and issued the re-notification⁷. 'New India' blamed the bureaucrats because, "it was the invariable and incurable habit of the bureaucratic mind to identify any exhibition of patriotism with sedition and proceeding to kill sedition as they conceived it by destroying its source and inspiration"⁸. *Swarajya* in its issue dated 25th September 1928 said that Bharathi's songs had great value by themselves, but this prescription, would make the songs of Bharathi more popular still⁹.

The content of Bharathi's National Songs

The Government of Burma as well as the Government of Madras considered the *Swadesa Geethangal* (National songs) parts I & II of Bharathi highly 'objectionable and ambiguous' in nature¹⁰. The two governments considered these national songs as excitable in character which would foment strong anti-British feelings. "The National Songs parts I & II consisted of 54 songs, composed by Bharathi, all related to the cause of Independence and in praise

of Mother Bharathi. The Tamil translator to the Burma Government found eight songs in this collection, which were regarded as highly seditious in tone.

The songs in this collection appealed for unity on the part of the Indians to fight against the British. Bharathi wanted the people of the country to be bold and utter the word *Vandemataram* with out fear. In the first song entitled *Vandemataram* Bharathi predicted a terrible disaster if there was no unity among the people. Further, Bharathi underlined the need for total unity in times of adversity or prosperity. He said: "Let us be fearless? Let us not be ashamed of our past and let us say *Vandemataram*. Let us all (30 crores) die to attain the object! Let us not be slaves as we are now!"¹².

In another song entitled *Swandandra Pattu* (song on Independence), Bharathi laid stress on unity and rejoiced as if the Indians had attained independence. He asserted that the end of the Britisher was imminent and the country would henceforth belong to the Indians who would not perform menial work for the Britishers¹³.

In the song entitled *Bharatha Samuthayam* (the community of citizens of *Bharatadesa*), Bharathi exhorted the people of the land of Bharatha to take an oath to wage a war against the British. He stated that the Indians should not follow the dictates of the foreigners because they subdued the Indians for their personal gains. Bharathi further lamented the lack of unity among the Indians: if they had remained united, no foreign hand could touch or rob the food of the Indians. Thus, Bharathi, in this song, laid stress on the concept of unity which alone would help the liberation of the country¹⁴.

Bharathi adopted a novel technique in the song captioned *Thondu Seyyum Adimai* (the slave who serves). In it he pointed out how the Englishman highlighted the darker aspects of Indians, such as the caste quarrels, religious feuds, lack of courage and knowledge to think about the liberty of the nation. With so many drawbacks how was it possible to achieve Swaraj wondered the Englishman. Further, Bharathi in this song referred to the sad plight of Indians who were treated as guinea pigs by the self-proclaimed British dictators. The song was heartrending and, at the same time, thought-provoking in character¹⁵.

In another song entitled *Angileyen Indiya Desabakthanukku Sonnathu* (what an Englishman said to an Indian patriot), Bharathi said that the Europeans by their actions and attitude had opened the eyes of the Indians and made them give up their slavish mentality. Further he said in this song that V.O. Chidambaram Pillai had lifted the Indians from the quagmire of slavery and made them human beings¹⁶.

The next song entitled *Desabaktan Angileyennkku Kurum Marumozhi* (The reply given by the Indian Patriot to the Englishman) was in the form of a reply given by V.O. Chidambaram Pillai to Collector Wynch. Bharathi, unable to tolerate the attitude of the Britishers towards the Indians, stated that even if the Britishers slaughtered the Indians from limb to limb and killed them by torture, they would not waver from their determination (i.e) the attainment of *Swaraj*. He asked whether the Britishers could treat thirty crores of Indians as dogs and pigs, as though only white folks were the real men in India. Thus, Bharathi in this song revealed the feelings of the Indians and also their determination to get freedom¹⁷.

In another song captioned *Belgiyanattukku Vazhthu* (Greetings to Belgium), Bharathi stated that the people of Belgium possessed great qualities like courage, honour and determination. But now the country lost everything by joining hands with England in the war. Bharathi thus indirectly hinted that if India joined the war in support of England, she would lose its cultural heritage as Belgium had lost its honour by bending her knee to the British¹⁸.

The last song in the collection entitled *Bharatha Janangalin Tharpothiya Nilamai* (The present state of the Indians), Bharathi referred to the pathetic condition of the Indians. He pointed out that Indians were afraid of even seeing a soldier and the villagers dare not stir out of their houses on seeing policemen. If they saw any one carrying a gun, they would take to their heels and hide themselves in their houses¹⁹. Bharathi said that he was ashamed to point out that the Indians always tied their hands in obedience whenever they stood before the English. The poet pointed out that all calamities, distress and poverty which affected the Indians were due to the British autocracy in India. He regretted that the Britishers plundered the wealth of the Indians and left them with nothing except poverty²⁰.

Thus, Bharathi through his national songs highlighted the conditions of the Indians and exhorted them to work with dedication to attain Independence. These songs of Bharathi were very popular among the Tamil speaking public. To wean away the public from the influence of these songs, the Burma and Madras Governments forfeited the songs under section 99A of Cr. P.C. of 1898.²¹

Reaction to the seizure of Bharathi's Songs

The reaction to Bharathi's songs was spontaneous. Protest meetings were held in different parts of the southern districts of Madras Presidency. In these

meetings, the action of the government in proscribing the national songs of Bharathi was assailed by the nationalists²². Among the protest meetings, the Madras meeting was a momentous one because it was addressed by prominent leaders like Dr. P. Varadharajulu Naidu, C.N. Muthuranga Mudalidar, D. Kulanthai, V.L. Sastri, Mylai Ratnasabapathy Mudaliar and E. Krishna Iyer at Triplicane on 26th September 1928.

The speakers paid glowing tributes to Bharathi and uniformly condemned the seizure of his songs. They equated the quality of his poetry with that of Kamban and other great poets of the past. They appealed to the youth that the boycott of the Simon Commission was the only remedy to show their protest against the highhandedness of the Burma and Madras Governments²³. C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar regarded the action of these two governments as “unjust to the patriotic fervour of Bharathi”, who rendered a remarkable service for the liberation of *Bharatha Matha*²⁴. Dr. Naidu pointed out that Bharathi’s songs instilled patriotism in the hearts of many Indians. Further, he expressed his disapproval of the action of the Governments of Burma and Madras in banning his works which had been published fifteen years ago.

C. Rajagopalachari wrote an article in *The Hindu* on 1st October 1928 entitled “Government’s Responsibility”, in which he referred to the implications of the seizure of Bharathi’s songs. He advanced the argument that it was impossible to conceive that the Burma Government would send its police officers to seize the books of Bharathi in Madras if the Government of Madras had refused to assist in the proceedings. He regarded section 99A of Cr P.C. as an “autocratic provision”²⁵. Further, he stated that only a few months earlier, the Education Minister of the Government of Madras had praised Bharathi and his writings and considered them as good poetry, and it was really absurd to take a diametrically opposite stand and brand his poems as seditious, and he regarded the action of the Burma Government as a “stupid action”²⁶.

S. Srinvasa Iyengar, another noted leader of Madras, criticized the policy of repression followed by the British Government in confiscating Bharathi’s songs and equated it with ‘medieval barbarism’ which struck at the very roots of cultural freedom²⁷. Pt. Harihara Sarma, the publisher of Bharathi’s songs, filed a petition before Justice Odgers and Justice Beasley at the High Court of Madras against the proscription move of the local Governments in British India. Bhasyam Iyengar of Madras appeared for Pt. Harihara Sarma. Pt. Sarma submitted that the order of forfeiture was illegal and general in nature and did not specify the songs

or the passages which were alleged to be seditious²⁸. The petitioner argued that the publication did not contain anything objectionable and pleaded that the order of forfeiture of Bharathi's patriotic songs should be set aside. After a month-long hearing, Chief Justice Odgers dismissed the petition on 3rd December 1928²⁹.

Reaction at the Madras Legislative Council

The Legislative Council of Madras Presidency met from 8th to 12th October 1928³⁰. On 9th, an adjournment motion was tabled in the Council by S. Satyamurthi, a prominent leader of the Congress to censure the action of the Madras Government in publishing the notification and directing the Madras Police not to seize the books of Bharathi's songs; the Government of Madras had announced that it would have no objection to the introduction of Bharathi's songs in the education curricula in the government and aided schools in the Madras Presidency³¹.

S. Satyamurthi, who referred to this at the Council said with sarcasm that while Dr. Subbarayan, the Chief Minister of this Presidency might make and unmake ministers he was powerless to control his own colleagues and the Home Members would not heed him but listened to the Burma police directing the Madras police to seize by warrant, and forfeit to His Majesty, those very books which the Chief Minister thinks furnish the intellectual peplum to our young children!³². Citing this as an example, Satyamurthi pointed out to the anomalies and absurdities of the dictatorial form of government in the Presidency. Reading out a few lines from the songs which were banned by the British Raj, he asked Dr. Subbarayan whether he did not feel his "pulse beat quicker, his blood run warmer in his veins, when these magnificent soul-stirring songs were sung"³³. He further stated that as a measure to counteract the repression of the government in laying its profane hands on the sacred songs of Bharathi, he had started propaganda for memorising every song of this immortal national poet³⁴.

S. Satyamurthi's speeches inspired other members of the Council and they addressed questions to K.S.M. Krishna Iyer, the Law Member and Md. Osman, the Home Member about the proscription move of the Government of Madras. They were C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar,³⁵ T. Adinarayana Chettiar,³⁶ D. Narayana Raju,³⁷ Ramnath Goenka,³⁸ C.V. Venkatramana Iyengar³⁹ and other nationalists of the Council⁴⁰. After week-long proceedings, the Law Member finally stated that it was for the High Court of Madras to decide

whether the songs of Bharathi were seditious or not, as the seizure case was pending before it. At this juncture, C.V.V. Iyengar proposed an adjournment motion denouncing the seizure of Bharathi's songs, and it was carried by a thumping majority of 67 against 12 and 15 abstained from voting. The victory achieved by the patriotic members in carrying through the motion bore eloquent testimony to the fact that the songs of Bharathi were very dear to the nationalists⁴¹.

Cancellation of the Forfeiture Order

The Government of Madras instructed the Home Department to consider the withdrawal of the order of the forfeiture of Bharathi's national songs. In turn, the Home Department contacted the Burma Government to get some clarifications. The Burma Government replied telegraphically that orders cancelling the forfeiture notification were issued on 5th January 1929⁴². On receipt of this telegraph, the Madras Government also ordered the cancellation of the order of forfeiture on 7th January 1929⁴³. On getting this order, the Madras Police was directed by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras to return the copies of the National Songs of Bharathi, seized by them on 20th September 1928⁴⁴.

The decision of the Burma Government in revoking its earlier order regarding the seizure of Bharathi's songs and the subsequent judgement delivered by the High Court of Madras made the public happy and strengthened their resolve to actively participate in the national movement. In short, this incident revealed the extent of popularity enjoyed by Bharathi among his compatriots.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORMS OF SRI. K. KAMARAJ

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K. Kamaraj was born in 1903 at Virudhunagar. His love for the nation made him ignore his studies and personal life. He was very interested in politics and the freedom struggle. He was an earnest disciple of Gandhiji and he took part in all the political agitations organised by Gandhiji. He met Gandhi many times as volunteer and then as a President of the Provincial Congress Party. He worked tirelessly for the independence of our country. After independence, he became the Chief Minister of Madras State in 1954. He rendered yeoman service for the growth of education in every nook and corner of Tamilnadu. He thought that the development of the nation rested on the growth of education because once education was the monopoly of the richer classes. It was Kamaraj who made education available to all sections of society. To purify the Congress, he brought the Kamaraj plan and resigned his post. Thereafter, he was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress. After the death of Nehru, he played a key role in the selection of persons for the Prime Ministership and thus he earned the title 'King-Maker'. He was defeated in the 1967 election but won in a by-election to Parliament in 1967 from Nagercoil. He revealed his political maturity in the hour of defeat and never lost his democratic spirit.

Education is the tool of social change. Gandhi, who considered social change inevitable and essential, stressed the need of education that forms the basis of human life i.e. basic education. To Gandhi, education does not start with school or stop with school. It is education for life and throughout life. Thus, the dictum is quite appropriate to Kamaraj's personal life that, though he received little formal schooling, learned a lot through life and rose to a high position.

Education should aim at the harmonious development of hand, heart and head – hand by manual labour, heart by moral education and head by the curriculum they study. Compulsory primary education, teaching through the mother tongue, giving ample scope for the national language, adult education and vocational training were the different features of his educational policy. Under his influence, the Karachi session of the Congress of 1931 declared that primary education was a device to protect the poor¹.

The educational policy of Kamaraj was much influenced by Gandhi's education system. Democracy presupposes that the people should take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country. This will be possible only if they are sufficiently literate. Therefore, to Kamaraj, removal of illiteracy formed the basic core of his policy rather than making new experiments in the system of education. In 1953, the new elementary education policy was introduced in Madras by C. Rajagopalachari² and Kamaraj was against this new experiment. But, Rajagopalachari maintained that this invention was in the line of basic education concept of Gandhi.

The chief principles underlying the modified elementary education were:

- Primary education should be less book-oriented.
- Children should not be made to sit in a class for five hours a day
- Children should do simple manual work
- Children should recognize the dignity of work
- Children should help their parents in their work whenever possible³

Rajagopalachari quoted in the Assembly the letter written by Dr. Zakir Hussain⁴ to him in which he had written "I felt thrilled that something was being attempted which would make the basic education of Gandhi's dream possible of achievement"⁵. To analyse and compare Gandhi's basic education and Rajagopalachari's new elementary education, the importance and scope given to manual labour can be considered as a similarity between them. C. Subramanian, the Education Minister at that time, asserted in the Assembly that the system was wedded to the Gandhian ideal of learning through activity⁶.

The controversial point that formed the target of attack by the Dravida Kazhagam and some members of the Congress, including Kamaraj was the emphasis on children taking up their parent's occupation. Gandhi was opposed to the caste system and considered it as a curse on Hinduism. Simple handicrafts taught in school as in basic education would be welcomed, but the word "parent's occupation" denotes that the son of a cobbler should learn only the work of his father and not others. There could be no change in the caste hierarchy or social order⁷. Gandhi had accepted the division of the society on economic or professional basis (*Varna* System) and resented the disparity in the value given to the professions as high or low for he considered it was only because of that

that the caste system became rigid, differentiating people based on birth⁸. Once Gandhi was asked:

“You restrict everyone to his father’s occupation”.

“Neither I nor anybody else can impose the restriction on any one. *Varna Dharma* is a man-made law to be imposed or relaxed at his will. Every one is free to follow or disobey it”.

But later on Gandhi rejected the Varna and caste system, in total. He declared “caste must go”. The Dravida Kazhagam vehemently criticized the new experiment as “Kula Kalvi Thittam”⁹ caste-based education. Jeevanandam, P., prominent Communist member of the Assembly attacked the new experiment on the grounds that:

- The scheme was enforced on 18 June, 1953, but it was brought for the Assembly discussion only in July and thus the decision was not taken in a democratic way.
- The State should not introduce an experiment based on a single man’s (Rajagopalachari’s) idea.
- The students were too small to learn technical education at the elementary level.
- Learning their parent’s profession was totally against the concept of social equality¹⁰.

It was for these same reasons, that Kamaraj opposed the educational experiment of Rajagopalachari¹¹. Rajagopalachari could have modified that clause, but he was not willing to change any of the clauses of his scheme. The good points in this scheme were manual work and the shift system. With the existing school buildings and staff, he could educate double the number of students than before. Now the choice before Rajagopalachari was whether to abandon the scheme or his post of Chief Ministership. As a leader of ‘no change’ attitude, he preferred the latter; thereafter Kamaraj assumed the post and removed the system introduced by Rajagopalachari.

Kamaraj, during his Chief Ministership, gave priority for taking education to the poor and rural population. Gandhi wrote “If we do not pay vigilant attention to villages, I do not know what will happen. After all how many prosperous cities and towns are there in India. They do not make the country prosperous and happy. India means 7,00,000 villages”¹². Like Gandhi, Kamaraj was firm that any successful reform should reach the person on the lowest rung of society, and education should come to their rescue for better living. “When a poor man gets education, he gets self confidence.

His eyes are opened. He sees the world and asks questions to the higher person and tries to improve himself to that cadre¹³. So, he sought to increase the Budget allotment for education so as to provide a large number of schools, jobs to more teachers and introduce free education scheme. What was unique and highly imaginative was his mid-day meals scheme for poor children and the free uniform scheme. The Budget allotment for education which was 10 crores in 1956 rose to Rs. 26 crores in 1962¹⁴.

As soon as he assumed his post, a survey was taken which disclosed that out of 15,000 villages in the State, there was no school of any kind in at least 6,900 villages. Kamaraj's target of achievement in education was free education upto the 11th standard. Every village with 300 populations should have a school. All teachers should get pension, provident fund and insurance¹⁵. Kamaraj emphasised that the teachers by their special care and attention should enable the children coming from uncongenial home surroundings to overcome their disabilities compared to those coming from more congenial home surroundings¹⁶.

"If you ask me not to spread education, I, better resign my post of Chief Minister than doing it"¹⁷. During his predecessor's period about 5,000 schools were closed¹⁸. They were opened as soon as Kamaraj came to power. In 1954 itself, 2800 new schools were opened in 'school-less' places¹⁹. The number of high schools when he came to power was mere 637 and in 1961, it was 1250.

Mid-day Meals Scheme

This system was launched in an organised form purely as a voluntary measure in July, 1956 entirely out of public donations. After watching the working of the scheme, in November, 1957, the scheme was extended as free midday meals scheme with financial assistance. The local community bearing 40% of cost and government bearing 60% of cost, per student they spent 1 anna to 2 annas²⁰. "I am ready to go to all places in order to beg for this scheme"²¹ Kamaraj stated.

Benefits

- It helped to bring into school thousands of children who had been kept off school on account of poverty.
- It prevented wastage caused by children who dropped out of school in order to supplement the slender family resources with their small earnings. Statistically, it was proved that only 40% of the children reach and complete fifth class²². This scheme was aimed at removing such phenomena.

- It made effective education possible because the children were no longer hungry and restless in class rooms. Educational reforms with a changed syllabus could be made possible.
- Poor children of all community and creeds sat together and ate the same meal. This resulted in breaking down caste barriers in the minds of the young. This silent social revolution will go a long way in building up a unified and well integrated society²³.

Year	No. of schools in the state	No. of schools where Midday Meals was supplied	No. of pupils fed (in lakhs)	Expenditure (in lakhs)
1957-58	22,290	8,270	2.29	6.93
1958-59	23,449	11,552	4.00	34.10
1959-60	24,580	23,136	7.75	63.91
1960-61	25,149	24,586	8.86	82.78
1961-62	27,135	26,406	11.80	115.00
1962-63	28,005	27,256	12.65	—

Basic Education

In the progress of basic education, Tamilnadu stands first of all States in India²⁴. This was the work of Kamaraj to prove his committed interest in spreading Gandhian education. Basic education had its growth in three phases²⁵:

- Conversion of non basic schools into basic schools.
- Establishment of basic training schools and conversion of non-basic training schools into basic training schools.
- Establishment of post-basic training schools.

These patterns of development proceeded according to a definite plan. The teachers who had undergone the ordinary training were retrained in the theory and practice of basic education. According to a short term project in 1959-60, by 1961 about 27,000 teachers were retained under this scheme²⁶.

Growth in the Number of Basic Schools 1954²⁷–1962

Number	1954	1956	1958	1960	1962
No. of Schools	938	1900	2900	3648	4283
No. of Students	79, 013	Figures not available		-	7,39,356

With a view to fall in line with the general system of education, the basic schools course was reorganised into 7 years' course of study instead of 8 years. A revised syllabus for basic schools was drawn up by a committee constituted for the purpose.

Like Gandhi, Kamaraj was for decentralization and Panchayat Raj. So, with that motive, in 1961 he brought about a great upheaval by transferring the responsibility of elementary school education from the State government's jurisdiction to the Panchayats of villages. For that, in 1961-62, a larger amount from land tax was allotted to the Panchayats i.e. from 2.5 crores to 4.9 crores²⁸. Basic education which was given high impetus during Kamaraj's period slowly declined after him and now only a few post-basic schools remain in Tamilnadu.

Kamaraj inaugurated the School Improvement Programme in 1959. The people gave funds in cash and kind of about Rs. 5.02 crores for the improvement of schools²⁹. From 1st April, 1955, teachers were given provident fund and insurance. Pension was given to retired teachers. No State in India had conferred this triple benefit on teachers³⁰. From 1959-60 onwards, in recognition of meritorious service rendered for the cause of education, the elementary school teachers were given State awards³¹.

Free Education, Free Uniform and Fee concession

Free education was given to children of poor parents from 1956 onwards. From 1960, poor students were given free education upto 11th standard³². Free uniforms were provided from 1969 to the poor students. This scheme had deep social implications as the policy was that the school children should not feel depressed or inferior by visible signs of economic disparity, and should feel equal and, thereby, uplifted. Teachers, political 'sufferers', constables, Harijans and non Gazetted government staff's³³ children were given free education and fee concession according to their income. About 1/5th of the State revenue was spent on education during Kamaraj's regime³⁴. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, had appreciated these schemes of free education, mid-day meals and free uniforms and requested other States to follow the example of Madras³⁵.

Apart from these reforms, ample scope was given for the growth of technical education, adult education, industrial training, education for the blind, women's education etc. In all these, special efforts were made to enrol children from rural areas, Harijan and backward communities³⁶. By the year 1961, the spread of education rose to about 77.3% (children from

6th standard to 11th standard) where as the average percentage of school going children in India was only 63%. Tamilnad was marked fourth in educational growth (other states were Kerala, West Bengal and Punjab).

Kamaraj gave equal importance to English and Tamil. He found by his personal experience that not knowing English would be a handicap to students. English being the international language could be taught to children in the primary school itself³⁷. Regarding the medium of instruction, Gandhi wanted education through the mother tongue. Kamaraj theoretically accepted this but he considered that Tamil Medium was received mainly by the poor but the rich sent their children to private convents to learn English and other languages. The poor could not get English medium education since they could not spend more. Therefore, Kamaraj decided to introduce English from the 3rd standard onwards³⁸. Tamil as a medium of instruction in colleges had been started by him on an experimental basis in 14 colleges in 1961; on seeing its success, it was extended to other colleges also³⁹.

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HISTORY OF FISHER FOLK AND THEIR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FROM 1947–1996

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Shortage of food for human beings has been one of the major problems faced in many parts of the world. Therefore, development of fishery has assumed importance in recent years throughout the world. Many countries in the world depend on fishery as a source of food supply and protein food¹.

Gathering fish by hand, in shallow water, was the simplest form of fishing. It was practised in ancient times. The skills and knowledge related to sea-faring was an ancestral skill inherited by fishermen. They had a highly specialised and intimate knowledge of the sea, but lacked in formal education. They were proud of being fisher-folk and were independent, self-reliant; they made quick decisions in their professional work. Today they are considered as members of a lower class. They lead a primitive life and their life remains dangerous².

Fishing had been a thriving industry in India for several centuries. A small segment of the population living near the coastal areas and near lakes, rivers and ponds had taken up fishing as their profession and had made it as one of the important and profitable activities. In Tamil Nadu, fishing activity had assumed much significance in recent decades in respect of its export trade and also because of the problems concerning international relations when fishermen cross the territorial waters and move to Srilanka and Pakistan. In spite of all their miseries and sufferings, the fisher-folk had been carrying on their activities with great enthusiasm and fortitude, and they had helped augment fish production. In India, fish production has been considerable particularly from the 1980's. In 1947, there were about 150 fishing villages on the coastal areas. It had grown to 403 marine fishing villages in 1978. This has increased to 442 in 1986. This is attributed to new settlements mainly in Ramanathapuram, Pudukkottai and Thanjavur Districts³.

In respect of Chingleput District, there had been resettlement of villages when sea erosion was checked. The marine fishermen population formed 40.96 percent of the population of the State and this was roughly about

488.08 lakhs. The concentration of marine fishermen with reference to the total population of the respective districts is more in Kanyakumari District with 8.07% followed by Thanjavur 2.14 %, Ramanathapuram 1.97 %, Tirunelveli 1.64 % and Madras District 1.41 %. In contrast, South Arcot District has recorded the lowest increase of 8.20 %. This was due to the fact that the coastal areas in this district had always been damaged greatly during the monsoon months of October and November every year⁴.

Tamilnadu has a fairly long coastline of about 1000 kilometres and a large continental shelf of about 30,000 square kilometres. It is endowed with rich potential for marine and island fisheries. Marine fish production is highest in Thanjavur and Kanyakumari Districts which have a larger continental shelf⁵. Government policy in fisheries aims at overall development of the fishermen community through clearly designed strategies and well drawn up programmes followed by proper implementation of these programmes. Hence, the policy on fisheries development has the following objectives.

- 1) To increase fish production through suitable upgradation of technology.
- 2) To raise the standard of living of fishermen by increasing their income, which will help their socio-economic conditions.
- 3) To raise the nutritional status of the consumers.
- 4) To generate additional employment opportunity and to increase foreign exchange earnings of the State⁶.
- 5) In order to increase the fish production level and marine fishery industry the government had been encouraging farm seeds production and collection.

Inland fishing contributes 40 % of the total fish catch in the country, but these are mainly consumed by local people⁷. The fishing crafts include mechanized boats, fablo boats and catamarans. Tamil Nadu fisher-folk, especially Madras based fisher-folk have been using different types of crafts and gears⁸.

The contribution of mechanised craft to the total marine catch was 49 percent and the remaining 51 percent was accounted by non-mechanised craft. Many fishermen in Madras city have been using hook and line. Fishing in deep seas is another important venture carried on by only a small number of few fishermen due to its risky nature⁹.

Fishermen's Activities on Water

Fishing is a hereditary occupation passed on from father to son. Small boys from a very early age are familiar with the sea and its life. When

they are five or six years old, they start accompanying their father (or) elders in the catamarans and learn preliminary lessons in fishing. So, their economic activities commence from their childhood days. Fatal accidents to fishermen while involved in fishing in the sea are very rare. Only on cyclonic days the sea becomes furious and fishing becomes dangerous. The Fisheries Department informs the fishermen about the weather conditions and they, in turn, inform those already in the sea of the impending danger by hoisting a flag on the kuppam flag mast. All fishermen have a feeling that information given by the Fisheries Department is quite sufficient and well in advance too.

While at sea, fishermen are sometimes struck by poisonous fishes such as Senthumbi and Karuthumbi which are found in the sea. They strike the fishermen with their sharp fins. Fishermen feel an acute sensation of pin-prick all over their body for a couple of days and later they become all right. Such accidents are common in August and September every year. It is during that period that poisonous fishes are quite active in the seas¹⁰.

Employment

The Fishing industry generates employment opportunities also. So, it is important in that respect as it provides employment to many fishermen and provides much needed income for a large number of people. It is reported that between 8 and 10 million people are engaged as fishermen throughout the world and that probably an equal number are employed in related industries as fish traders, boat builders and fish gear manufacturers. On the whole, the fishing industry has been offering employment opportunities to a sizable population who have been thriving in this profession with great enterprise. In Tamil Nadu it is observed that 1,94,450 fishermen are employed in fishing activities. Out of this 87.67 percent are directly and actively engaged in fishing; the rest are employed in government and other private sector establishments¹¹.

The fishermen are not able to command better prices for their catch as a result of which their economic welfare is seriously affected. The middlemen enjoy the greater share of profits. A common Bengal proverb says “*Nikaris Kane Sona, Jaliar Parane tena*” which means a middleman wears gold earnings, and a fisherman wears rags. Many of the fishermen are fleeced of their earnings by the middlemen and money lenders and hence their general conditions have been far from satisfactory.

The fishermen usually go to sea in two batches. The first batch leaves at 3.00 A.M. in the morning and returns to the shore by 3.00 P.M. in the afternoon. The second batch leaves the shore by 3.00 P.M. and returns by 7.00 or 8.00 A.M. The fishing season starts from August with day fishing. Night fishing is avoided till the beginning of winter. During cyclonic weather conditions, fishing activities are completely stopped. Night fishing has the advantage of bringing the catch in the morning when the catch secures a high price. The weather warning system has greatly helped the fishermen in stopping them from going out to sea during inclement weather. During fire accidents they lose not¹² only their houses but at times, their valuable nets stored in them. Whenever fishermen have been seriously affected by natural calamities the government on all occasions has come forward to extend necessary assistance. Relief measures had been provided in 1953-54 and, later, by way of cash grants when fishermen were affected by floods in the west coast¹³.

Conclusion

The life of fishermen has always been exposed to danger since their profession is conducted on the high seas. In addition to the dangers like *cyclones, rough weather, tidal waves*, they have to face attacks of wild fishes. In recent years mechanisation in fishing has affected their fishing activities. In general, most of the fishermen are poor and backward. The majority of them are illiterates. Many of the fishermen are unaware not only of their rights but also of the scientific and technological developments in respect of the fishing industry. Many of the social needs of the fisher-folk do not receive enough attention. Their economic needs are more but many of the fishermen still live in poverty. It is in this connection that government should come forward to help them adequately and improve their conditions.

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ESSENTIAL SERVICES BILL: THE IMPACT OF AGRARIAN RESISTANCE IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 1949

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Peasants were often browbeaten and exploited by *Mirasdars* – the rich land owners of the Madras Presidency. The prevalence of black marketing, corruption and the failure of North-East monsoon aggravated the food crisis in the state. The increased prices of food grains such as rice, millets, etc. caused deterioration in the conditions of peasants. The political parties in general and the socialists in particular inspired peasants to struggle against the government and *Mirasdars*. This paper analyses the background of the Essential Services Bill, a tool to curb the organised struggle of peasants.

The food position in the state was inadequate said O. Ramasami Reddiar, the Chief Minister of Madras in his address to the *Mirasdars* of Kadambadi in Nagapattinam taluk on 6th September 1947¹. In his message, he made an appeal to the *Mirasdars* for surrender of 3,000 tons of rice of their stocks within two weeks to face the existing food crisis. He also demanded 30,000 tons of paddies out of the reserve held by the *Mirasdars* of Tanjore.

The Chief Minister also emphasised that the public, traders and *Mirasdars* should co-operate with the government to prevent the smuggling of food grains from Nagapattinam to Ceylon and other places. M.Bhaktavatsalam, the Minister for Public Health toured the villages of North Arcot to collect as much paddy as possible from *Mirasdars*. Subsequently, the *Mirasdars* promised to give only 6,000 bags of paddy². Food grains continued to be hoarded by *Mirasdars*, rice mill owners, middlemen, traders and corrupt officials. In this connection, the prevalence of black marketing and corruption further affected the food crisis in the State. In view of these fraudulent practices and hoarding, the Chief Minister of Madras maintained that “I am not afraid of criticism. If within 20 days, all the surplus grains are not surrendered to the Government, I shall not hesitate to use police force in unearthing the hoarded grains”³. On the other hand, the *Mirasdars* hardly co-operated with the government to surrender

surplus food grains. The procurement machinery in surplus districts also failed for the following reasons.

- the unremunerative controlled prices for agricultural produce.
- the undue delay in announcing bonus of Rs. 2/- per bag of paddy and unattractive nature and practical difficulties for the payment.
- the suppression of producers-cum-consumers co-operatives (to whom the food procurement was at first entrusted) and consequent discontent among the producers.
- use of coercive methods practiced by the officers, and
- the indifferent price policy of the Central Government.

The *Mirasdars*' denial of wages in kind and the failure of the North-East monsoon raised serious questions regarding the survival and employment of peasants⁴. Moreover, the peasants put pressure upon the Government to enact tenancy rights, food rationing, compulsory procurement of paddy etc. resulting in widespread unrest in *Zamindari* areas of the state. The *Mirasdars* managed to escape from the levy on food grains somehow or other and the entire burden fell on the poor peasants⁴. The *Mirasdars* in fact, requested the Government to postpone the proposed tenancy legislation and prevent the peasant struggle, on the ground that it would affect agricultural production and breach of peace⁵. On the other hand, the stock of food grains in the state recorded a total deficit of about 1.3 million tons of rice and 0.8 million tons of millets during the Kharif year, November 1947 to the end of October 1948⁶. In the highly deficit pockets of the districts, the collectors were empowered to open relief shops to supply a minimum of 6 ounces of food grains per adult a day. The Collectors' programme to build a reserve out of surplus foodgrains procured from big landholders did not yield any response. The prices of essential consumer goods increased steadily. These factors severely affected the poor peasants and forced them to forego even a single square meal a day. In addition to this, the *Mirasdars* enhanced the rent rate and forcibly evicted the tenants of *ryotwari* areas. In view of these types of oppression the peasant agitations were prevalent in the districts of Tanjore, Trichy and South Arcot⁷.

Trichy District

The Agricultural Labourers Conference was held on 9th January 1948⁸ at Pudukkudi in Tiruchirappalli district. G. Varadarajan, the President of

District Congress Committee presided over the meeting. K. Madhava Menon, the Minister for Agriculture attended the conference and maintained that the welfare of the country depended on agriculture. He also suggested that the peasant workers should adopt peaceful and constitutional means in settling the disputes. G. Varadarajan, urged the peasants not to create a crisis and to settle disputes peacefully. The Conference passed the following resolutions:

- it welcomed the abolition of *Zamindars* and *Inamdars* Bill.
- the grant of meagre compensation to *Zamindars* and *Inamdars*.
- the total prohibition of *Zamindars* in the province with an immediate effect.
- payment of bonus amount of Rs. 2/- per bag of paddy directly to the peasant workers instead of *Mirasdars*.
- to enact legislation providing 2/3 share of the produce to agricultural labourers⁹.

A similar conference of peasants was also held on 11th January, 1948 at Ayyampalayam in Musiri Firka. In his address, Madhava Menon, the Minister for Agriculture, assured legislation to fix the wages of peasants, to raise the standard of living of the poor peasants and the abolition of *Zamindars* with immediate effect. On the other hand, the landlords drove out lessees by executing lease deeds with fresh farm workers and commenced cultivation. In this connection, a dispute arose between the landlords and lessees at Allur, on the bank of river Kaveri, over the issue of fresh lease deeds. The displaced peasants trespassed into the land claiming it as their right, and resumed cultivation. As a matter of fact, the landlords approached the police force to avenge the peasants. In order to safeguard landlords, the police enforced orders under section 144 Cr. P.C to avert trouble. On the night of 19th July, 1948¹⁰, about 34 acres of sugarcane crop was burnt in Trichy district resulting in a loss of Rs. 35,000. In this connection, section 145 Cr.P.C. was promulgated in the villages of Pachur, Alagaimanavalam, Kovartangudi, Ayyampalayam and Allur¹¹.

The District Collector of Trichy appealed to the *Mirasdars* to deal with the poor lessees and cultivators generously. In this regard, the Committee headed by the Collector suggested a settlement over the share of produce. It also maintained that the lessees should harvest the field and provide two-thirds of the produce to the *Mirasdars*¹². But, the cultivators and lessees agreed to give only one-third of the produce to the *Mirasdars* and

wanting to retain two-thirds of the share¹³. The *Mirasdars*, in other words, instigated disputes between the lessees, the “Kallars” and the “*Pallars*”, and the cultivators of land. The *Mirasdars* installed tractors for ploughing operations with the help of imported labour. The peasants as a matter of fact, revolted against the *Mirasdars* for having brought in outside labour¹⁴. On 15th July, 1948¹⁵ about 7 peasants who objected to this act of the *Mirasdars* were arrested by the police.

Tanjore District

The peasants’ agitation against the *Mirasdars* extended to Tanjore district. On 12th January 1948¹⁶, P. Venkatarama Aiyar, the Sub Divisional Magistrate of Kumbakonam, used section 144 Cr. P.C. for banning meetings, processions, demonstrations, the assembling of more than 5 persons and any propaganda in connection with the peasant movement in the taluks of Kumbakonam and Papanasam. However, the peasant revolt erupted elsewhere in the district of the Tanjore. The meetings and processions were regularly organised by them in the troubled areas.

In Vennurudi village in Papanasam taluk, a riot took place between the *kisans* and non *kisans* on 17th January, 1948¹⁷ causing damages to the properties of the latter. In Veramangalam and Melathur villages of Papanasam taluk about 500 peasants put down their tools on 1st January, 1948¹⁸ on the issue of higher wages and *waram*. During harvest time, the peasants of Tanjore consented to pay only one-third of the produce to *Mirasdars* in lieu of customary ‘*Waram*’¹⁹ of half of the produce. In consequence, the *Mirasdars* filed suits in the court against peasants demanding their customary share²⁰. The police arrested a large number of peasants and remanded them to custody. On 18th May 1948²¹, in response to the action of the *Mirasdars* and the atrocities of the police, about 400 peasants of Pattamangalam village hoisted red flags. The peasants were thrashed by the police. Subsequently, the peasants of Avarani, Puduchery and Vishnavaram set fire to three hay-ricks of one Kannappa Mudaliar, a *Mirasdar* of Avarani. The police arrested 34 peasants and kept them in Tiruvarur sub jail.

The *Mirasdars* organised a meeting of Tanjore District Agriculturists Association on 27th June, 1948²² at Kumbakonam. N.R. Samiappa Mudaliar and other leading *Mirasdars* of Tanjore district attended the meeting. They protested against the government’s proposal of offering “*Manaikats*” (house sites) to the peasant workers. G. Narayana Swami Naidu, a member of the

Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee, and other peasant leaders of the Congress party, supported the cause of peasants' workers. The police, however, arrested G. Narayanaswami Naidu and two other peasant leaders of the Congress party, at Mayavaram on the grounds of inciting agrarian trouble in the district²³. The *Mirasdars* employed outside labour and this intensified peasant tension. The harvest wage of a peasant worker was fixed at 2 *Marakkals*²⁴ out of every 14 *Marakals* of thrashed paddy. The *Mirasdars* engaged casual or outside labour and paid only one *Marakkal* of paddy as against the normal wages. In the meanwhile, Rajendra Prasad, the Congress president, appointed J.C. Kumarappa as the chairman of the Agrarian Reforms committee in December 1947²⁵ to solve peasant problems. The committee referred to the bad treatment of peasants by the *Mirasdars*²⁶. It visited Mayavaram and recorded the details of the brutal attacks on peasants. It also suggested a flat rate of land tax as low as Re.1 or 8 Annas.

The Socialist Party in the Madras Presidency started an Agriculturists Sangh at Perumbakkam in South Arcot District²⁷. The party, in fact, extended full support to the peasants. The socialists also opened party offices in Tirunelveli and Madurai districts²⁸. On the other hand, the Government arrested many socialists through out the state. In spite of hardships, the socialists continued their activity in the Kisan fronts. K.G. Sivasamy, the leading Socialist proposed the following recommendations to uplift the peasants:

- to provide 2/3 share of produce as *waram*.
- to fix daily wages of peasants at Rs. 1.80 a day and
- the remission of land revenue in case of crop failure²⁹.

Ramnad District

The peasants of Ramnad District were unable to pay one-third of *waram* to the *Zamindars* and *Inamdars* on the grounds of failure of crops. They decided to pay one-fourth of the produce. The *Zamindars* agreed. However, the Communist-sponsored *Kisan* front incited the peasants to take over all the produce without delivering any *waram* settlement to the landlords. To prevent the activities of the Communist Kisan Front, the landlords sought the help of the police. In consequence, a police contingent was stationed in the villages of Ramnad district³⁰. In *Zamindari* areas, the socialists continued to do propaganda exhorting the peasants not to pay kist to the *Zamindars* till the enactment of *Zamindari* Bill. The Government, on the other hand, took action against the Communist-sponsored peasant

agitations. It also banned several voluntary organisations run by the Communists. In Coimbatore district, section 107 Cr.P.C. was instituted against the socialists for fomenting agrarian unrest. In Dharapuram and in the adjoining villages the peasants warned the landlords to lease out the lands only to locals and demanded that no advance should be claimed.

Madurai District

The peasants of Nilakkottai Naratham Firka in Madurai district revolted against the landlords on the issue of higher charge of tenants. It was estimated that about 5,000 acres of wet land in the rich paddy-growing region was hampered. In the mean time, Kala Venkata Rao, the Revenue Minister, appointed an arbitrator to settle the dispute on 30th June 1948³¹. The government drafted a proposal that no tenant should be changed except on the following grounds:

- for any act of violence against the landlord, and
- for non-payment of rent.

However, in case of change of tenants on the above grounds, the Revenue Divisional Officer would enquire regarding the justification for this and settle the disputes. But, the Revenue Divisional Officer neither verified the above-mentioned conditions nor permitted the old tenants to resume cultivation. The landlords, in fact, were often protected by the Revenue Officer when they threw out old tenants and took to self-cultivation. The Secretary of the Land Owner's Association of the Nilakkottai Naratham Firka denied the government terms of settlement on 5th July, 1948³². The denial was over the question of change of peasants. The tenants, as a matter of fact, were forcibly evicted by the landowners on the grounds of self-cultivation. To receive as much share of produce as possible the landowners changed tenants in the name of self-cultivation. In consequence, the peasants demanded increase in wages and tenancy rights. They further organised a social boycott of landlords³³. On 3rd November, 1948³⁴ at Eriodu, about 12 miles from Dindigul, a massive revolt of peasants took place on the issue of increased wages. In addition to this, on the eve of Deepavali day, a group of peasants armed with sticks attacked Pugalagiri Nadar, the leading landowner. Doraisamy, the leader, and 29 other peasants were arrested by the police. A case was registered under sections 147, 148, 153A, 323 and 324 IPC against the accused. Subsequently, the police made a lathi charge upon the peasants to disperse them in *Pallar* Street. It was reported that

16 peasants sustained minor injuries³⁵. Elaya Perumal, a Harijan in South Arcot district, led a peasant agitation against the caste Hindus. A resolution was passed in a meeting in South Arcot District to form Harijan Sangams in every village³⁶. The conditions of peasants, in fact, continued to be poor in the provinces. In his message through All India Radio, Kala Venkata Rao, the Revenue Minister maintained that 51% of peasants owned less than 2 acres, 31% owned between 2 and 5 acres, 7% had 5 to 10 acres and 11% of peasants owned more than 10 acres³⁷.

Sl. No.	Total number of peasants in Madras Presidency (in percentage)	Quantity of land held (in acres)
1	51%	Below 2 acres
2	31%	2-5 acres
3	7%	5-10 acres
4	11%	above 10 acres

(Source: *The Hindu*, 8th May, 1948)

According to the report, 11 per cent of peasants at the top owned a good portion of above 10 acres of land in the total extent of the cultivated land. The failure of crops in the district of South Arcot, a part of Salem, Coimbatore, North Arcot, Chinglepet, Cuddalore etc, worsened the status of peasants. As a matter of fact, the local Communists instigated the peasants to revolt against *Mirasdars*. On 3rd January 1949³⁸, a peasant meeting was held at Karur. Veyappa Gounder presided over the meeting and maintained "I have been a member of the Congress Committee in Karur Taluk. Being a peasant I have to work for the welfare of peasants. For the past two years, the Congress Government failed to uplift the conditions of peasants, The Government, in other words, enhanced tax and forced compulsory paddy procurement upon the poor peasants. The meagre quantity of paddy kept by the peasants was forcibly recovered by the government". In order to end all these atrocities, he invited all the peasants to join the Kisan front sponsored by the leftists. Ashok Mehta, the prominent Socialist leader, visited Madras and presided over the Madras Socialist Youth Convention on 27th February 1949³⁹. The Socialists whole- heartedly supported the cause of the peasants. The socialist activity elsewhere in the state was confined to the party organisation in general, and *kisan* front in particular.

The Impact of Essential Services Bill

The peasant struggle in Madras was very active. The front rank leaders of the political parties such as the Socialist party, the Communist party and peasant sympathisers of the Congress Party provided a helping hand to incite a revolt against *Mirasdars*. The peasant organisations elsewhere in the state terrified the Government on the one hand and the landlords on the otherhand. The atrocities of *Mirasdars* were least cared by the peasant organisations. Furthermore, the blockades posed on the peasants aggravated the situation throughout the state. On the other hand, the land owners of the state such as *Zamindars*, the *Inamdars* and the *Mirasdars* made all possible efforts to suppress the peasant organisations at the grassroots level itself. The police force also helped the *Mirasdars* to shatter the peasants' unity. In consequence, the peasants faced all sort of sufferings and rose up in violence against the *Mirasdars*. The *Mirasdars*' Association, in other words, pressurised the Government to control the peasant organisations. In this connection, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Minister for Home at the Centre introduced the Essential Services Bill in February 1949⁴⁰ to prevent workers' strikes which could only heighten the tension among the peasant workers. According to this Bill, a worker involved in any type of protest or strike would be given six months' imprisonment. Moreover, those who provided monetary help to striking employees were also punished with three years imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. The Bill was called the Essential Services (Work Prevention) Bill. In the Madras Legislative Assembly, the bill caused a sharp reaction. As a matter of fact, the introduction of this bill was welcomed by the *Mirasdars*, *Inamdars* and *Zamindars*. The Government under estimated the gravity of the peasant crisis, and applied crude methods to cover up the policy of helping the landlord community of India.

In consequence, hundreds and thousands of peasants of the Madras Presidency wanted the Government to withdraw the Bill. The political parties such as the Socialists and Communists undertook anti-government propaganda and championed the cause of the peasants. The Bill, in fact, denied the democratic right to organise protest meetings, strikes and hartals. Large numbers of peasants who protested against the Bill were arrested by the police. The workers in industries elsewhere in the state intensified the peasant agitation. The Bill, was strongly condemned by political and democratic organisations. Due to all these political pressure and the mounting peasant resistance, on 5th March, 1949⁴¹ the Government of India withdrew the Essential Services Bill with immediate effect.

Conclusion

The peasants of *Zamindari* areas in general and delta regions in particular have functioned in a milieu of surcharged tension in the Madras Presidency since Independence. The economic impact of the Second World War, the failure of North-East monsoon, the increased prices of food grains, the low share of produce, and the low daily wages deeply affected the conditions of peasants. The *Mirasdars* often succeeded in exploiting the peasant community. The Socialists and the Communists supported the cause of peasants. The year 1948 witnessed a widespread agitation by the peasants elsewhere in the Madras Presidency. In order to curtail the peasant unrest, the *Mirasdars* on the one hand and the Government on the other undertook repressive measures. Subsequently, the Government of India introduced the Essential Services Bill, a tool to curb the peasant organisations and their activities. The peasants responded by organising widespread revolts throughout the province. The front rank leaders of political parties, voluntary organisations and workers of industries took active part in the course of the struggle against the Government. As a result of this, a massive resistance of the peasants forced the Government to withdraw the Essential Services Bill. In this struggle, the fundamental rights and the principles of democracy were achieved by the peasant organisations both at the centre as well as in the state.

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DESTABILISING APARTHEID: THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT BY THE ADI-DRAVIDAS OF TAMILNADU

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The geographical location of Tamil Nadu in the south-eastern corner of the Indian sub-continent has enabled it to develop and maintain a distinctive cultural character. It is almost a nation of its own. Previously Tamil Nadu formed a major part of the Madras Presidency. On the basis of the castes, the Tamil population was distinctively divided into two groups namely the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. The Adi-dravidas who constituted one-fifth of the population were considered totally outside the caste structure. Although they were included among the Hindus, they in no sense formed an integral part of that community. They were literally considered unfit to be touched by the caste Hindus, and in some cases unfit even to cast their shadows on them. These strata of society had been subject to a variety of disabilities under the traditional system. They were denied the right to enter the temple and worship with other Hindus, to send their children to school, and to draw water from the public well as well as to improve their economic and educational conditions¹. They had been relegated to performance of certain tasks or professions that were considered dirty by the high castes. Their dwellings were segregated from those of others. Anything they touched was considered to be polluted. They were very backward in education, extremely poor and mostly landless. These untouchables to whom Mahatma Gandhi gave the dignified name of Harijans (Children of God), referred to the lowest stratum of Hindu society. Englishmen called this class of people untouchables, and they consisted of *panchamas, paraiahs, chandalas* and others². 'Depressed class' was the name given to them in the 1931 census. This word was widely criticized. Hence, the term scheduled caste was substituted for them³. In the Madras Presidency, as per their demand, the Madras Local Boards and Madras District Municipalities Act passed in 1920 conferred the term "Adi-dravida" on them and they were officially recognized in 1921⁴. It was done in order to bring them into line with the non-Brahmin Hindus, who were called Dravidas⁵.

This article endeavours to bring to light the socio-political awakening among the Adi-dravidas of Tamil Nadu in the 1930's, the efforts initiated by them to improve their status, their demand for separate electorate and thereby to maintain a separate identity for themselves, the impact of Communal Award in Tamil Nadu, and the measures taken to bring them into the mainstream by eradicating untouchability.

In the last part of the nineteenth century, the Adi-dravidas bestirred themselves. They formed caste associations to strengthen their caste identity as well as to improve the status and influence of their castes. An important association was the Madras Adi-dravidas Mahajana Sabha founded in 1892 to raise their socio-economic, moral and intellectual status⁶. During the 1920s, the rules adopted under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms enabled the Governor to appoint them to the Legislative Council. The Governor was able to nominate ten depressed class members to the Legislative Council for each term as a way to compensate for the fact that they could not elect any representatives under the franchise arrangements of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in which only 4.1% of depressed classes were enfranchised even though they were 18% of the population⁷. It brought forth a group of intellectuals among the depressed class such as M.C Rajah, Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan and M. Devadasan, who had not only become members of the Madras Legislative Council, but were also the spokesmen of their disabilities and sufferings and fought for their human rights. They held Adi-dravida Conferences every year, discussed and decided all possible means to improve their status. Rao Bhadur Srinivasan introduced a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council in 1924 to permit the Adi-dravidas to have access to all public offices, wells and tanks just like other high caste people. It was unanimously passed⁸. This resolution was accepted by the government and was communicated to all local bodies and heads of departments for information and guidance⁹. In September 1924, a government order was passed that all public roads, streets and pathways should be opened to them. However, in practice, they were denied the rights. For example, two Adi-dravidas were forced to get down from a bus after purchasing tickets in the Pachayappas Motor Service Company on 21 May 1925¹⁰. In South Arcot district, the Adi-dravidas were prohibited from passing through several of the villages even with clean clothes¹¹. Yet another incident of note was that, in spite of the Judgements of the High Court, Madras that any person calling himself Hindu had the right to enter the temple, the Sub-Magistrate of Erode convicted three

accused in the Erode temple entry case and sentenced them to pay a fine of Rs. 60 each¹². The accused in this case made an attempt to enter the temple only after the Temple Committee at Erode had passed a resolution permitting all people professing the Hindu religion to go as far as the sanctum sanctorum of Hindu temples¹³. K. K Subbana Gounder, a member of the Coimbatore Taluk Congress Committee, suffered a lot for allowing two *Pallas* to fetch water from his well. In the eyes of the villagers that was a most heinous crime that a Hindu could commit. They condemned him and all his servants gave up their services as they thought it was a sin to serve a man who had allowed the *Pallas* to fetch water from his well. They prevented K. K. Subbana Gounder from carrying on his work. He and like-minded friends were refused even the privileges of getting water from the public well or entering the village temple¹⁴. It was obvious that the caste Hindus were against any attempt at uplifting the depressed classes. Even those who supported the cause of these people were “outcasted” by the caste Hindus. All these made them think in terms of establishing a separate identity. The first step in that direction was the demand for a separate electorate. In Tamil Nadu, there were two clear cut divisions among the Adi-Dravida leaders. One group wanted to be within the common fold and to elevate their position; others wanted to have a separate identity distinct from high castes.

The decision to grant separate electorates for the depressed classes by the British Prime Minister in November 1931 was a turning point in the history of the depressed class people. Mahatma Gandhi clearly saw before him the British policy of ‘Divide and Rule’ and decided to oppose it at all costs for the sake of the country and his own people. He took a firm stand. Any such arrangement, he believed, would divide the Hindu community into two armed camps. But Ambedkar, the exponent of the idea of a separate electorate, said that Gandhi and the Congress had no right to claim to represent the depressed classes.

Among the depressed class politicians in Tamil Nadu, discussion of the issue of joint as opposed to separate or communal electorates had already created much controversy. Ambedkar’s views were not shared by all. Conspicuous among those who differed from Ambedkar was M. C Rajah, who was appointed to the Madras Legislative Council in 1920 and 1923 and to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1926. He had come to an agreement with B. S. Moonje, the head of the Hindu Mahasabha in February 1932 (Moonje-Rajah Pact) in favour of joint electorates with

reserved seats for the members of the depressed classes. He expressed his disapproval for the temporary provision of separate electorates¹⁵. He criticized separate electorates and pointed out that the Communal Award was an attempt at transforming a community which was socially untouchable into one which would become politically untouchable. Rajah also conveyed these sentiments to the Viceroy in course of a long interview with him¹⁶. He also submitted to the British Premier his memorandum, giving details of his pact with Moonje.

M. C. Rajah was not supported by other Adi-dravida leaders in Tamil Nadu like Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan, (who was one of the representatives of the depressed classes to the II Round Table Conference), N. Sivaraj, Dharmalingam Pillai, Siva Shanmugham and H. M. Jagannathan who were all in favour of separate electorates only. They denounced Rajah for his swing to the system of joint electorates, and supported the demands put forth by Ambedkar.

When Ambedkar visited Tamil Nadu, he was accorded a colourful reception by a huge gathering consisting of depressed classes, Muslims and non-Brahmins. Almost all the depressed class institutions in Tamil Nadu unanimously presented a petition to Ambedkar. At the meeting, Ambedkar attacked Rajah and exhorted the depressed classes to capture political power, and to be on their guard against any verbal and rosy promises. He urged them to believe only those leaders who had experienced their woes¹⁷. There were only a handful of persons who favoured the Moonje-Rajah Pact and tried to greet Ambedkar with black flags.

But Ambedkar succeeded in persuading the British Government to accept separate electorates. As was anticipated, the Premier's decision on the Communal Award was announced on 17 August 1932, which stipulated a special electorate for the depressed classes with seventy-one specially reserved seats and also gave them the additional right to contest the seats in the general (Hindu) constituencies with the provision that separate electorates and reservation of seats for the depressed classes would automatically lapse after twenty years¹⁸. The claim of the depressed classes to the separate electorates marked them out as distinct from the rest of the Hindus. Gandhi, who was in the Yervada jail at that time, made a fervent appeal to Ambedkar to withdraw his scheme and accept that the depressed classes were within the Hindu religion and cannot elect their leaders independently and separately¹⁹ which Ambedkar refused. Gandhi countered Ambedkar by undertaking, at the Yervada prison, a fast unto death from 20 September 1932.

Immediately a campaign was started by the Congress and the press to force Ambedkar to agree to the abolition of separate electorates. A majority of the Adi-dravida leaders in Tamil Nadu were for separate electorates. In the Madras Legislative Council, eighteen seats were reserved for them by the Communal Award. So their leaders in Madras were unanimous in saying that they were not prepared to forego the privileges conferred on them by the Communal Award. They asserted that they were already cut off from the rest of the Hindu community, and that the provision of separate electorates was not going to widen the breach²⁰.

The Communal Award proposed that for the first time depressed classes would have the right to elect their representatives directly. They would compose a separate electorate, elect only their own community people and have eighteen representatives in the proposed Madras Legislative Assembly of 215 members. To compensate depressed classes who were not enfranchised, they were given a second vote in the general electorate and would vote for the general candidate²¹. So they were firm in their stand.

The Congress leaders in Tamil Nadu, who had previously taken little interest in the Communal Award, suddenly bestirred themselves after Gandhi's resolve to starve him to death, and a movement for the eradication of untouchability was set in motion. C. Rajagopalachari, one of the Congress leaders of Tamil Nadu, in order to arrive at a compromise, had interviews with the depressed class leaders of Tamil Nadu such as R. Srinivasan, N. Sivaraj, Dharmalingam Pillai and H. M. Jaganathan who were in favour of separate electorates only. His attempt to take some of them with him to the leaders' conference convened by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in Bombay to discuss the matter did not succeed, as they were not inclined to commit themselves without knowing the move of Ambedkar. Later T. Prakasam, another leader of the Congress, convinced some of them and they attended the conference²².

The Congress also held quite a number of meetings in various places of Tamil Nadu in order to change the mind of the depressed classes for an agreement acceptable to Gandhi. In those meetings, they explained the issue on which Gandhi had taken his resolve and admitted the indifference of the caste Hindus in respect of the removal of untouchability. They appealed for the starting of social propaganda in the localities where depressed classes reside, to remove the social disabilities of the depressed classes. They also held a private meeting at Madras by inviting many of the members of M. C. Rajah's group. There, they expressed their regrets

at the belated interest of the caste Hindus, in the cause of the depressed classes, and supported the Moonje-Rajah Pact. In all these meetings, caste Hindus predominated. In some places, depressed class members themselves held meetings and expressed confidence in Gandhi and favoured joint electorates with reservation of seats. Some of the members of the Adi-dravidas and the members of the Self Respect party threw the blame on caste Hindus, denounced caste system and pointed out that the caste Hindus would be responsible for any fatal consequence of Gandhi's fast²³.

The voters of separate electorates also held meetings in different places and elicited support for the separate electorates. Resolutions were passed criticizing the attitude of Gandhi in opposing separate electorates and conveying their gratitude to Ambedkar.

Forward Youth League, Madras and various Adi-dravida Associations despatched telegrams to Ambedkar strongly supporting his firm attitude on defending depressed classes and condemning the attitude of Gandhi and Rajah²⁴. When the District Collectors interviewed, the local depressed class leaders told that they had no feeling for Gandhi at all and did not consider that he had done them any good in the past as was likely to do them any in future and did not very much care whether he fasted unto death or not. They were entirely in favour of separate electorates and supported Ambedkar. They therefore welcomed the Communal Award²⁵. R. Srinivasan and his party left the decision to Ambedkar. The general trend of feeling among the majority of the depressed classes in Tamil Nadu was that the Communal Award was satisfactory and if any change should be adopted by the leaders to save Gandhi, they should be assured of the following conditions:

1. The grant of free compulsory education.
2. Untouchability being made statutory crime.
3. Providing seats in Legislatures on population basis²⁶.

On the whole, a majority of the Adi-dravidas in Tamil Nadu supported Ambedkar.

When Gandhi's condition became serious definite threats were made outside the jail that Ambedkar would be shot unless he came to an agreement with Gandhi. As a result of this pressure, the depressed class leaders eventually gave way and a meeting was arranged in jail between Ambedkar and Gandhi²⁷. An agreement known as Poona Pact was signed which the British Premier promptly accepted²⁸. Gandhi also discussed his

proposal with M. C. Rajah who, needless to say, had no hesitation at all in supporting his liberal initiatives. The leaders of the depressed classes were more than satisfied that the agreement provided for 147 reserved seats out of the general electorates in the central legislatures while according to Communal Award it was only seventy one. In the Madras Legislature, the number of seats reserved for them was increased to thirty²⁹. Though Ambedkar had demanded 197 seats, he rapidly signed the agreement which provided for the panel system³⁰. According to the panel system, there would be a preliminary election in which depressed classes alone would vote in the constituencies reserved for them. The first four candidates would contest in these constituencies in the final election in which both the depressed classes and others would vote³¹.

After breaking his fast, Gandhi issued a statement and appealed to the Hindus for the abolition of untouchability. He had also given his word to Ambedkar and M. C. Rajah that he was offering his life as hostage to see that Hindu society abided by the pledge. Both temple entry and enacting legislations for the abolition of untouchability were part of the pledge³². Owing to Gandhi's fast, a movement was set in motion to remove untouchability and to uplift the depressed classes. The interest of many caste Hindu leaders in Tamil Nadu was diverted to campaigns in favour of abolishing untouchability and permitting temple entry. The Congress, by forming the Harijan Sevak Sangh, also worked for the economic relief, education and progressive legislations to make untouchability illegal. As a result in 1938, the Madras Provincial Legislature passed a comprehensive law on the Madras Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, making it a penal offence to discriminate against the depressed classes on account of their castes. On 13th August 1939 "The Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Bill" was passed making provision for the opening of the temples to them³³.

Ancient tradition in India had allowed caste to creep into our society, and Indians in the past had set a section of the Hindus on the outskirts of society. But thanks to the sincere efforts of the depressed class leaders and freedom fighters the evil custom had been broken and the depressed classes for the first time got all their rights legally. But social discrimination still continues, to the present day.

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TELUGU DALIT LITERATURE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh is a part of the nation-wide movement. Hence, the teachings of Dr. Ambedkar are the guidelines to the Andhra Dalit movement also. In post-independent India, the atrocities on Dalits in the villages like Karamchedu, Neerukonda, Chundururu and Padirikuppam and some other villages are the immediate influences on the Andhra Pradesh Dalit movement. It is against this background that the Telugu Dalit literature gained momentum. "Dalit literature is not only a literature of protest and rejection, but also a literature of reconstruction of the past. Dalit consciousness has inspired intellectuals to probe the entire Indian history and culture from below" (Jadhav 37-38).

Before 1980s, Telugu Dalit Literature was mostly Gandhian in its outlook and focussed on the unfortunate predicament of the lives of Dalits. However, the Telugu Dalit literature during 1980s and 1990s tried to assert the identity of Dalits more vigorously. The writers voiced the suppressed feelings of anger and protest by questioning the injustice in the society. Self-respect and self-confidence have become the themes of Dalit literature.

Dalit literature is deliberately used as a weapon to fight for the human rights of Dalits. Though untouchability is constitutionally abolished and equality is a fundamental right to all citizens of India, such has not been the case in practice. Hence, the Dalit movements, which started when the constitutional remedies failed.

In the 20th century Telugu literature, Balijepalli Lakshmikantha Kavi in his play 'Harichandriyam' used the word Dalit in 1912. But, there are many references to Dalits in Telugu literature from the Mahabharatha onwards, which was translated into Telugu in the 11th century. The creation of Dalit literature started with Kusuma Dharmanna Kavi (1898-1948) in the 1920s. Being a Dalit, he was the first voice of the Dalits and worked entirely for their liberation. After him, a more popular Dalit poet Gurram Joshuva appeared on the canvas of Telugu Dalit literature. After these two poets, the Telugu Dalit Literature gained momentum in the 1960s based on various social movements in Andhra Pradesh.

A separate Dalit movement emerged in the 1920s in the eleven districts of Andhra Pradesh (seven districts of Coastal Andhra and four districts of Rayalaseema), then part of the Madras Presidency during colonial rule. The economically developed coastal Andhra proved to be a befitting place for the emergence and development of the Dalit movement. English education and missionary conversions of untouchables gave inspiration to a few Hindu social reformers.

Coastal Andhra was the site of one of the most radical elite-based reform movements outside Bengal. Veerasalingam Pantulu was the nineteenth century pioneer, beginning with a bold widow remarriage movement and taking up issues such as dowry, prostitution, corruption of officials, and removal of untouchability. He established the Brahmo Samaj in Andhra, and it was through this that the most important caste Hindu sponsorship of Dalit social advance took place (Omvedt 115).

According to Uma Ramaswamy, the Government of Madras Bill on Education 1895, which is known as 'Magna Carta of Panchama education' not only discussed the issues on education but also about acquisition of the land, i.e. giving wastelands for institutional sites. In the first half of the twentieth century itself, the Brahmo Samaj and a few social reformers established training centres (*Sevashram*) for Dalits. Sir Guduru Ramachandra Rao started one such centre at Gudivada in Krishna district in 1912. Kusuma Dharmanna was one of the active workers during the 1920s.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the extremist Dalits rejected their identity of Panchama and Harijan and preferred to identify themselves as Adi Andhra.

The term 'Adi Andhra' arose in the post-1977 period, when Dalits all over the South, influenced by the 'non-Aryan' themes of the Dravidian movement, were identifying themselves as Adi-Dravidian. Adi-Andhras and Adi-Karnatakas, referred to the original sons of the soil. For coastal Andhra, the decisive year was 1917. At this time, the reformer Guduru Ramachandra Rao called a conference in Vijayawada which was labelled a 'First Provincial Panchama Mahajana Sabha' with his protégé Sundru Venkaiah as chairman of the reception committee (Omvet 117–118).

Bhagya Reddy Verma, the President of Maha Sabha argued for the removal of the word *Panchama* and the next day the delegates renamed it as the "First Adi Andhra Mahajana Sabha". From then onwards, every year, the Adi Andhra conferences were conducted till the early 1930s.

Kusuma Dharmanna Kavi, an active participant of the Ambedkarite group was also the President of the Adi Andhra Sabha Conferences for a few times. He was not only an activist but also a revolutionary writer and powerful speaker; also the founder of *Jayabheri*, a weekly journal that gave voice to the oppressed under the leadership of Ambedkar. He became popular with his popular poem *Nalladoratanamu* (Brown Bureaucracy). This perhaps is the first Dalit Revolutionary poem in Telugu (Andhra) rejecting the Blacks' (Indians) rule in India. He is the first Dalit writer who grew from the Adi Andhra movement. He was the torchbearer in creating awareness among Dalits. Not only he, but also his brothers, used their pens to fight for the emancipation of Dalits. Kusuma Dharmanna Kavi was so courageous as to declare that Dalits would suffer more under the high caste Hindu rulers. And he voiced that "we do not want the rule of Brown Bureaucracy" in his poem *Nalladoratanamu* in 1921; certainly it needed a lot of courage to raise one's voice against the Indian rulers during that period. He was the first one to proclaim emancipation for Dalits in his *Harijana Satakam* in 1933. According to Jadhav:

'Dalit literature is the literature of politics and politics is an integral part of it, though politics could be defined in whatever terms one would like to define it. For, Dalitdom is the product of politicisation, a process that is going on continuously in every organised society'. (Jadhav 37)

During the 1930s, the Congress took the initiative to organise the Andhra branch of the Harijan Seva Sangh. Harijan was the name given to the untouchables by Gandhi; hence it became very popular, even much against the approval of Dalits themselves. A large section of the Adi Andhra leadership was slowly absorbed in the Harijan Seva Sanghas of the Congress. Of course, a few staunch writers like Kusuma Dharmanna opposed it and showed their pro-Muslim stance. Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, (a non-Dalit) writing about untouchability in his novel 'Malapalli' deserves mention. Perhaps Gurram Joshuva, another important Dalit writer during this period, represents Gandhian thinking in his poetry. Though he is well aware of Ambedkar and his movement, and referred to him in his poetry, yet his poetry was mild. Dalit consciousness is the underlying current in his writing, whether the themes were social, spiritual, patriotic or historical. In his popular poem, *Gabbilam* (A Bat), he selected a bat (ill omen according to Hinduism) as his messenger to Lord Siva. His writings were credited as realistic portrayals and made society think. He opposes

untouchability and questions exploitation. The critics unanimously approved and declared that his writings achieved a completeness of Dalit literature. Boyi Bhimanna was a favoured poet of the Congress during the 1930s and 1940s. His writings focussed on the need for the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society. He not only showed the struggle and suffering of the Dalits in the hands of the landlords in *Paaleru* (A Farm Boy) in 1940 but also argued for a casteless Hindu Society in his *Raaga Vasishtam* (1940). In this work, he wanted to prove that the Harijans are Aryans by writing about the marriage of Vasista and Arundhati.

The powerful Dalit literature in Telugu today is the reaction to and the result of the atrocities on Dalits in Padirikuppam (1983), Karamachedu (1985), Neerukonda (1987), Chundururu (1991) etc. Dalit literature produced after 1980s is revolutionary and militant in its presentation. The first Dalit Mahasabha in 1985 or after the Karamchedu massacre is the turning point in Dalit literature. The literature aims at Brahminism and its injustice towards Dalits. The protest against the hegemony of upper castes, anger, self-respect in search of roots, social exploitation etc., are the themes of Dalit literature. Certainly all the writers of this category are much influenced by Ambedkarism. Ambedkar perhaps, was the first Dalit to realise and come out openly against Hindu Dharma Sastras. In his book *Annihilation of Caste*, he said, “the Indian society was formed with an ascending scale of reverence and descending scale of contempt” (47). Though the lower castes are the basis for every manual work, they are looked down upon. Dalits now realise their importance in the society; they want to assert their place in the society. “From the socio-cultural and aesthetic points of view, this post-80s phenomenon needs to be studied seriously and deeply” (Jadhav 39).

In 1995, *Chikkanavutunna Pata* (Thickening Song), an anthology of about sixty poets created an upheaval in the history of Telugu Dalit Literature. Later, *Nisani*, *Gunde Dappu*, *Bhauvachanam* (Several Voices) etc followed the path. There are many powerful Dalit Writers who were instrumental in creating an important place for Dalit literature in mainstream Telugu literature. A few among them are Gaddar, Katti Padma Rao, Bojja tharakam, Satish Chander, Madduri Nagesh Babu, Jooluri Gowri Sankar, Masterji, Kolakaluri Enoch, Sky Baba, Challapalli Swaroopa Rani, etc.

Now Dalit writers are not only creating awareness about their miserable condition in the society but also demand political power, with which alone they would enjoy equal status and could hope for a better life in the society. It is not enough if the writers try to establish their rightful roots

in Indian soil; they have to prove that they are the shareholders of Indian economic and socio-political life. The Bhopal declaration in 2002 that seeks to achieve basic rights of Dalits through a 21 point action agenda perhaps was the first step towards this achievement.

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NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN TAMIL NADU - A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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History and Evolution of Voluntary Movements

Though the roots of voluntarism or voluntary action as a concept may be traced to the functioning of social institutions in the ancient period and even outside of social institutions in the medieval period, for the purpose of this paper it is confined to history from the 19th century onwards.

From the very first international voluntary work camp sprang the first modern voluntary service movement, an organisation known by its French name and acronym, Service Civil International (S.C.I.). Soon voluntary service spread in the 1920s and 1930s¹. At that time it was often seen as a means of building friendships among young people of different European countries. It was also used in countries as different as the U.S.A. and Bulgaria, during the severe economic crisis following 1929, as a means of giving unemployed young people something socially useful to do, as well as a bed and food. That it could be perverted and diverted from its internationalist, and often pacifist, ideals was, unfortunately, demonstrated by the Hitlerjugend Arbeitsdienst labour brigades in Germany, and similar schemes in other totalitarian countries².

In 1934, S.C.I. sent four European volunteers to work with the poorest of the poor in India — a 'pioneer' team that was the ancestor to the British Volunteer Programme, US Peace Corps, Deutsche Entwicklungsdienst and other such North-to-South long-term voluntary service programmes, which in turn preceded the UN Volunteers programme³.

Emancipation from colonial rule gave birth to national volunteer movements throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. One can understand what a volunteering effort can do for a country. In 1960, 15 to 18 year-old secondary school students formed the backbone of the volunteer force that virtually eliminated illiteracy in Cuba. Already in the 1950s, UNESCO had successfully used small teams of volunteers from the U.S.A. and Jordan at its regional adult education centres in the Arab States (Sirs el

Layyan, Egypt) and Latin America (Patzcuaro, Mexico). The 1970s dawned with the creation of the UN volunteers programme.

Need for Volunteering

Undertaking 'volunteer' assignments for various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are considered to be a constant source of satisfaction, learning, revelation and often joy. There is a saying in English, "Get something for nothing", which generally implies "gaining selfish material advantage without any personal investment". Volunteering should be able to "give something for nothing" i.e. to "invest personally for material advantage to others".

Voluntary organisations are charitable organisations, providing service and engaged in welfare-oriented, relief and rehabilitation type of activities. They primarily work at the grass-root level to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and the marginalised; to respond to failure in government services by filling gaps in social services delivery, and promoting the welfare of the weaker sections. It also goes on to explicitly state that voluntary organisations are those where people give of their time voluntarily and, therefore, do not receive any compensation. Such people are expected to earn a livelihood elsewhere. This is the old concept of philanthropy, charity and 'do-gooding', where the rich and the well-off occasionally, through some donation opened charitable clinics or schools or fodder camps or food kitchen etc.

The Concept of NGO

The term NGO has many complex implications, as it is an identity thrust upon the social-change sector in India. It is a strait-jacketing, artificial and very deceptive term, widely used and misused. Till the mid 1970s, we heard only about voluntary organisations, community organisations, social actions groups or rural development organisations. With the early 1980s came new words, phrases and jargon. They came from the regions of post-modern wisdom, Western Europe and the USA⁴.

More importantly, the range of activities covered by them is very vast, encompassing almost all areas of human life and endeavour. Several of their institutions have also been very innovative in their approach to tackling issues related to a wide variety of deprivations faced by the communities at large.

An NGO is essentially a human change agent and is different from business, in as much as it does not supply goods and services. It is also

different from government since it does not control. What it does is to change human beings. These institutions are known variously as Voluntary Organisations, Non-governmental Organizations, Non Profit organizations, Civil society organizations, Community-based Organizations, Self-help groups, etc.⁵. Self governing, and charity initiatives and non-governmental organizations engaged in or supporting development efforts focus on the poor, for their uplift and emphasize democratization, decentralization and popular participation.

The term non-governmental organization or NGO was not in general use before the UN was formed. When 132 international NGOs decided to co-operate with each other in 1910, they did so under the label, the Union of International Associations. The League of Nations officially referred to its “liaison with private organization”⁶, while many of these bodies at that time called themselves international institutes, international unions or simply international organizations. The first draft of the UN Charter did not make any mention of maintaining co-operation with private bodies. A variety of groups, mainly but not solely from the USA, lobbied to rectify this at the San Francisco conference, which established the UN in 1945. Not only did they succeed in introducing a provision for strengthening and formalizing the relations with private organizations previously maintained by the League, they also greatly enhanced the UN’s role in economic and social issues and upgraded the status of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to a “principal organ” of the UN. To clarify matters, new terminology was introduced to cover ECOSOC’s relationship with two types of international organizations. Under Article 70, “specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement” could participate without a vote in its deliberations”, while under Article 71 ‘non-governmental organizations’ could have “suitable arrangements for consultation”. Thus, “specialized agencies” and “NGOs” became technical UN jargon. Unlike much UN jargon, the term NGO passed into popular usage, particularly from the early 1970s onwards.

Many diverse types of bodies are now described as being NGO’s. There is no generally accepted definition of an NGO and the term carries different connotations in different circumstances. Nevertheless, there are some fundamental features. Clearly an NGO must be independent of direct control of any government. In addition, there are three other generally accepted characteristics that exclude certain types of bodies from consideration. An NGO will not be constituted as a political party; it will be non-profit

making and it will not be a criminal group, in particular, it will be non-violent. These characteristics apply in general usage, because they match the conditions for recognition by the United Nations. The boundaries can sometimes be blurred: some NGOs may in practice be closely identified with a political party, many NGOs generate income from commercial activities, notably consultancy, contracts or sales of publications; and a small number of NGOs may be associated with violent political protests. Nevertheless, an NGO is never constituted as a government bureaucracy, a party, a company, a criminal organization or a guerrilla group. Hence, an NGO is defined as an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis, for some common purpose, other than achieving government office, making money or doing illegal activities.

Growth of Voluntary Efforts in Ancient India

In ancient India although the responsibility of performing welfare activities and social services rested largely with the king and the religious institutions, social organizations of the people also played an evident role. There is historical evidence to show that in the *Chola* kingdom of Tamil Nadu, village and district councils functioned with considerable autonomy over local matters. The panchayat, or assembly, has been a social organization, which still continues to exert influence in rural areas⁷. Literature available shows that Tamil *Sangham*, an assembly of poets acted as a watch dog for the maintenance of literacy standards.

Voluntary movements in the Pre-Independent India

The initial period of the 19th century in Indian History has been marked by the initiation of social reform movements. Proceeding this period of history, trends suggest that the phenomenon of social reform movement was the culmination of a process of assimilation, stirred by the arrival of West Asian socio-political and socio-religious thought about four centuries ago. Introduction of western ideas and Christian faith by the end of 18th century has in a way precipitated the widespread emergence of social movements in this period. After 1813, the Christian missionaries expanded their service in a big way in the area already conquered by the British.

While raising voices against discrimination by birth and gender in the name of social practices, the focus of such social movements remained on reform of religion. For instance, *Brahmo Samaj* was established by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the year 1828. Another social reform organisation *Arya*

Samaj was founded by Dayananda Saraswathi in 1875 in Bombay. Mahatma Phule also founded *Sattya Shodhak Samaj* in 1873 for the improvement of depressed classes. Another important voluntary organization *Arya Mahila Samaj*, which worked for the emancipation of women, was established in 1880. A home for widows was started in Madras in 1898. Subsequently, Ramakrishna Mission, Servants of India society and Friends in Need Society emerged to take care of welfare of the women, children, downtrodden and depressed class people. The sum total of the influence of such movements during this period of history on the voluntary organizations was:

- a) recognition of access of untouchables to education, occupation and worship
- b) recognition of access of women to education and other aspects of social life

During the period 1850–1900, spread of nationalistic consciousness and self-help as the primary focus of socio-political movements influenced the course of voluntary action.

Establishment of Voluntary Sector in the Post-Independent India

The major change in the nature of voluntary action took place in post-independent India, when the Constitution declared India as a Welfare State and laid down the “Welfare” and ‘development’ obligations of the State in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Welfare of the people, especially those whose need were catered to by voluntary action groups, became the responsibility of the State. The State monopolised the social service sector and became its sole patron. Services of the State not only extended to larger areas geographically and socially but also issues like environment, health etc. were taken up, and the list grew.

The first 20 years of independence, till the mid ‘60s, may be termed as the phase of nation-building. Many from the stream of social reform voluntary action and the stream of constructive work came together to share government’s responsibilities and tasks of nation-building. This task focused on extension work in the field of agriculture, health and community development and so on. The extensive service of the missionaries and other charitable institutions also spread after independence with new institutions of education and health set up in different parts of country. In the 1960’s, India was caught up in a dual crisis of economic stagnation and political instability. The increased volume of social activities pushed

the State to utter helplessness, only to see its failure in not fulfilling even the basic minimum needs of the people despite a huge infrastructure and permanent personnel.

The contradiction between the rich and poor, and the divide between the urban and rural population had increased during. Consequently, the Naxalite movements also surfaced and gained momentum and peaked. In the early 1970, the idea about conscientization and people's participation began to emerge. This was the period when more focused work with target groups like landless labourers, tribals, small farmers, women, SC & ST etc., also became the basis for the programme or work of voluntary organizations. The work of voluntary organizations also began to get organized around issues and campaigns related to drought, floods, deforestation, land alienation, bonded labour, pollution and so on. The recognition and visibility of work of voluntary organizations also increased, and more professionally trained social workers from different academic institutions joined this voluntary sector during the 1980's.

In the era of globalisation and liberalisation, the State faced fiscal crisis was subjected to severe criticism by the international lending agencies such as IMF and the World Bank. Therefore, the Government instituted some form of a structural adjustment policy in the last decade of the 20th century. This forced the Government to reduce its expenditure and welfare activities. As a result, poverty, unemployment and underemployment increased because of the reduced spending on welfare activities. Government's role in health, education, housing, employment and social security was reduced. The structural adjustment has typically weakened the administrative capacity of governments for conducting welfare activities. Government activities in providing succour to the needy came to a grinding halt and, it was left to the voluntary organisations to compensate for the reduced role of the State in social service.

Voluntary Activities in Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, an important reform movement was the Samarasa Sanmarga Sangham established by Ramalinga Swamikal, an ascetic, who campaigned against the practice of animal sacrifice and social inequalities. The Ramakrishna Mission established voluntary institutions in various parts of the State for carrying out a variety of activities ranging from service for improving the poor, education, health and other development activities⁸.

The first known voluntary organisation according to the records maintained in the National Archives of India was the “*Friends in Need Society*” of Madras which applied for financial assistance to the Governor-General in the year 1858-1859 through the Governor of Madras⁹.

Tamil Nadu also witnessed the emergence of a number of social reform groups, caste based associations and women organizations. In Tamil Nadu, the dominant castes of Vanniyars and Nadars had formed their own caste associations. Vanniyars formed their association in 1888 known as Vanniya Kula Kshatriya Maha Sangam. Initially, the objective of the Association was to upgrade the position of Vanniyars in the social hierarchy and to provide better education for their children with a view to getting government jobs, and not to rely on the traditional agricultural occupation¹⁰.

Another association took shape in December 1910, i.e., Kshatriyaria Maha Sangam which was established as an association of Nadars. Ever since its inception, education became one of the primary concerns of the Sangam. The early activities of the Sangam consisted in providing financial aid to the needy students. In 1921, the first scholarship loans were awarded. By 1964, a total of 3024 students had received scholarships amounting to more than Rs. 4,00,000. The Sangam also assisted villages and towns in establishing the schools for their community and played an important role in founding new colleges¹¹.

After Mahatma Gandhi assumed leadership of the freedom movement, he strove to alleviate the suffering of the deprived sections of the society and to promote their socio- economic development. The constructive programme, which he formulated for the purpose, covered a wide range of issues like promotion of khadi and village industries, eradication of women’s illiteracy, and promotion of communal harmony. To promote these programmes, many Gandhian organizations were formed in all parts of the country. In Tamil Nadu, such programmes were implemented under the leadership of Rajaji and other leaders¹². The 19th century social reform movement perceived woman as handicapped, whose plight was a slur on society and therefore, they had to lead a life of dignity. The principle of gender equality of women’s rights was emphasized. In 1917, Annie Besant founded the Women’s India Association at Adyar in Madras. Its main aim was to help Indian women to realize that the future of India lies in their hands, for as wives and mothers, they were responsible for training, guiding and forming the character of the future citizens of India.

Some Gandhians, who resisted institutionalization, initiated individual voluntary action. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who set up the Bhoodan Movement in 1954, was a leading force among them. Another such movement was the Sarvodaya Movement, for commissioning constructive work. Sarvodaya Organizations in Tamil Nadu are still quite active¹³.

Significant changes were seen in the functioning of the non-governmental sectors especially after the emergency period (1975-77). Firstly, a new relationship between the State and NGO sectors emerged. It provided the government with grass - root level agencies, whose services were necessary for implementing the government-sponsored programmes all over the country. Many new NGOs came up to take advantage of this relationship and function with financial assistance provided by the government. In the mid nineties, in Tamil Nadu alone, there were 230 NGOs registered with CAPART (Council for Advancement of People's Action & Rural Technology)¹⁴. Secondly, towards the close of the '80s, India faced a severe resource crunch and a worrying level of fiscal deficit. In that situation, some foreign agencies began to show interest in financing social activities in the country. Thirdly, the frightful experience of the emergency led to the realisation that democratic ideals had to be safeguarded. Non-governmental activities spread too many new areas. These included civil rights, consumer interests, environmental protection, removal of illiteracy, AIDS awareness etc.

In Tamil Nadu, such activities took the form of organized protests against: police atrocities, employment of child labour particularly in hazardous industries like the match industries, female foeticide, illegal quarrying of stones and digging of sand in river beds, industrial pollution of rivers, aquaculture and similar activities inimical to common interests. Fourthly, a number of trusts and religious institutions began to start medical, engineering and other institutions of higher learning and also multi-specialty hospitals. Most of them have now grown and are recognized as Deemed Universities. Among these, many private professional colleges are now run by charitable trusts. Fifthly, there has been a trend where two persons or small groups of persons come together and form associations or societies to serve common interests. Such associations can be of persons belonging to the same occupation, same religion, professionals and the like. These associations are generally formed for specific purposes and represent the interests of people to government, educate their members, the public at large and the Government officials. They bring new issues into the political limelight through a process called 'agenda building'. They

also monitor the implementation of Governments' policies. They render significant service by supplying reliable and up-to-date information about policy requirements to the legislators and administrators and also to the general public.

The policies of liberalization and globalization followed by the country since 1991 have also had considerable impact on the mushrooming of NGOs in Tamil Nadu. During this period, the Governments, both at the Central and State levels, having over – extended themselves in the past faced serious and persistent fiscal deficits. Unfortunately, this period has also been the decade of political uncertainties and instability with a succession of coalition Governments at the centre since 1996. This fact was reflected in the State Governments also. Government's response to this trend had been to invite private investments, including foreign investment, by creating a conducive policy environment. This however, does not solve the problem of new investments in public welfare like health, education, environment, drinking water supply and urban service etc. Thus, Governments have tended to go for project assistance in the form of loans from multinational and bilateral agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, European Commission, and etc.¹⁵. Accordingly, a large number of Multinational Funding Agencies have also sponsored projects in different sectors like social welfare, education, health, etc. which have been also launched in recent years in different parts of Tamil Nadu. Most of the multinational funding agencies insist on involvement of NGOs either in mobilizing people's participation or in actual implementation. This also paved the way for mushroom growth of NGOs, small and large, in Tamil Nadu. Directories of NGOs brought out by different agencies provide varying figures of the number of NGOs. The Charity Aid Foundation India has attempted to build an NGOs directory (1999). A total of 2,350 voluntary organizations are listed in the Directory, of which 228 are in Tamil Nadu. A classification of these voluntary organizations in Tamil Nadu, according to the field of operations, shows that nearly two-thirds are engaged in the five major areas of Rural Development such as General Development, Health, Welfare of Women and Children and Welfare of the Handicapped.

It cannot be denied that voluntary organizations are becoming commercialized. NGOs have been used for business, as a cover for business; they also provide employment. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that a number of NGOs in Tamil Nadu have been set up for the

personal well-being of their founders. Family business and family voluntary organizations share similar characteristics in many respects. However, the new trend is that political parties set up voluntary organizations in certain geographical areas to reach a wider population. The NGOs are also set up by political parties to acquire funds from the government, so that their party workers could receive ongoing support on the basis of Government grants and projects. In other cases, several party leaders, after electoral defeat not knowing what else to do, move on to set up voluntary non-profit organizations for their sustenance.

Multiplicity and mass disappearing of NGOs may also be observed in Tamil Nadu due to the emergence of certain corrupt practices among voluntary organizations. Most of them are letter pad organizations created primarily to receive on - time grant from Government departments or foreign donor agencies to siphon off money for their own use. Moreover, there are also visible forces like casteism, communalism and favouritism within the voluntary organizations.

Another worrying trend is that the multinational funding agencies, through a network of NGOs, propagate the philosophy of 'Grassroot Democracy', 'Participatory Development', 'People's Planning', 'People's Governance', 'Capacity Building' and 'Gender Justice', etc. The local NGOs carry this philosophy to their sphere of influence and implement programmes like self help groups for empowerment of women, providing rural sanitation facilities, etc and providing alternatives for every social problem. Both Union and State governments also fund local NGOs towards the same end. This collaborative approach of NGOs not only obscured the reality but also hampered the possible emergence of people's initiatives. The funds flowing through alternative activities created a set of power brokers at the local level.

The reality of the voluntary sector in this new millennium in India should not be confused with volunteers. The latter concept defines those individuals who give of their time, skill and capacities freely, in the service of others in the community, without any expectation of return. On the other hand, voluntary initiatives are self-determined, self-organised, self-governed initiatives with independent mission. It is through the professional application of expertise in the voluntary sector that reforms in agricultural practices and waste land development, water harvesting, micro-credit, primarily health care and sustainable development, etc., have been achieved in India. It is through the work of research and training organisations that knowledge about rights of the indigenous people, women's development

issues, pollution and environmental degeneration, etc., have been brought to the attention of the public and the policy makers. Through sustained advocacy and lobbying voluntary organisations have been able to resist detrimental government policies and programmes and promote positive government policies. The latest of these has been exemplified in relation to the Cancun trade negotiations, where some of the inputs came from professionally organised voluntary initiatives.

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PAINTED WALLS, PAINTED TEXTILES: TRADITION AND CONTINUITY

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India has a long history of producing textiles for foreign markets in addition to production for its own markets. Kalamkari textiles are known to have a special place in contemporary usage by their allusion to indigenous Indian heritage, and yet, it is specifically the Kalamkari textiles from Machilipattinam that enjoy this status. Technically similar to the floral Kalamkari tradition of Machilipattinam is the stylistically expressive mode from Kalahasti, which has a predominantly figurative tradition of painting on cloth thus restricting its functional value. The pictorial representation is corollary to temple mural painting wherein the style of drawing, the linearity of the Indian mural tradition, is amplified. The use of the '*kalam*' or the pen has been dictated by the figurative and narrative content of the painted textiles of Kalahasti, which basically restrained the use of repeats, sequentially opposing the use of the block printing technique used at Machilipatnam.

Initially patronised by the temples and affluent local populace, the themes of the Kalahasti Kalamkari textiles were mainly mythological and religious, following an iconic or narrative pictorial format bound by borders. Traditionally from the Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and the Puranas, the illustrated subjects were in keeping with their purpose as wall hangings within the temple precincts and as a backcloth to the deity worshipped in the sanctuary. These painted cloths are undeniably an extension of the mural paintings in temples, for their function is essentially the same. With the rather utilitarian aspect of the illustration as a background for ritual, the paintings appear as though they have been directly transferred from the wall surface to the textile.

Traditions are characterised by their cultural function and of particular significance are those traditions with ritual, iconic or narrative ends. These cultural functions connect traditional paintings to the real-life needs of society and are generally understood by the creators and consumers to be more important than the aesthetic aspect of the paintings. While the

works are pleasing in colour and design, they are not “art for art’s sake” nor have they been created purely for visual pleasure.

Mimetic of the linear tradition with its beginnings in the fifth century frescoes at Ajanta these Kalahasti Kalamkari cloth paintings bear resemblance to the temple mural painting of the Vijayanagara and Nayaka periods, of which fragments remain at Kanchipuram, Kalahasti, Chidambaram, Kumbakonam and Srirangam among other places. However it is the fifteenth and sixteenth century Vijayanagara paintings at the Virupaksha temple in Hampi and the Virabhadra temple in Lepakshi respectively that are possibly the closest in stylistic terms. Similarities lie in the way narrative panels are divided into rectilinear spaces compartmentalised by decorative borders of flower blossoms, with importance given to the key incident by means of size, placement and the use of white. Further, the use of textual identification below a narrative panel is a distinctive feature of temple murals in South India. These similarities possibly allude to the awareness of the artisan and may be descriptive of the perimeter of his circle of experience.

Over time there has been a stereotyping of imagery in terms of aesthetic portrayal with regard to Kalamkari from Kalahasti, and the animated quality that had been sustained for centuries has begun to display signs of diminishing. In the last few decades, attempts have been made to remedy and revive the form with a change in the thematic range, allowing for contemporary representation. The tradition of mural paintings had extensively borrowed from the past, and now there is a need to return to this original source to restore vitality.

The figurative theme does not easily permit a broader variety of uses beyond the religious, and hence Kalamkari textiles from Kalahasti are mainly confined to their use as wall hangings. But contemporary taste has allowed for small changes, for, while still remaining figurative, the figures have been changed to Ajanta-type women, Radha Krishna and so on. This in turn caters to the production of handkerchiefs, tablecloths, bedspreads, door curtains and the like.

In most instances, the production by the artisan is merely as a means of livelihood, for want of a job. Perceived by the audience as a part of the Indian tradition, it provides an Indian identity and yet, in some instances, it is seen as derived from the populist image, and therefore considered prosaic. Economy has dictated the move towards the use of synthetic dyes producing colours such as light blue, which does not go well with the other colours, instead of the traditional indigo. The importance

of economical production is also evidenced in patterns being repeated almost as templates, where creativity is limited or stifled by market concerns and time constraints. This leads to the questioning of the conditions of artistic creation and whether the word 'creation' should be substituted with 'production'. Within this context the artisans' materials include technical resources, the pictorial tradition and the repertory of ideas and the means to give them form. (Clark 249)

The subjects of India's folkloristic art conform to the traditional such as that which has already been discovered and codified, and clearly remembered patterns, most of which are religious in subject. In the traditional manner of thinking, the boundaries between the religious and the secular are blurred. The vast folk art production by the artisan castes, which through the centuries served the ritual schemes of the millions in Indian villages, constitutes a rich and vital matrix; the refined craftsmanship that has materialised under elite patronage grew out of modest origins (Rossi 4).

The concept of beauty for its own sake is foreign to Indian traditional art for although the intrinsic and often decorative qualities are significant, its purpose is usually more important. Artistic motifs survive longer toward the bottom of the socio-economic scale than at the top. In remote villages, uninfluenced by the trendiness of courts and cities motifs, compositions and techniques continue to exist for longer periods. Popular painting traditions survive or have endured because they fulfil continuing cultural needs or have adapted to changing ones (Rossi 13, 19).

Paintings produced for audiences other than those they originally served may or may not remain true examples of their respective traditions; items produced for trade are sometimes subject to commercialisation and this inevitably alters the content and form of work, subtly or blatantly. Commercialised or altered products are sometimes disparagingly called 'tourist art.' On the other hand, new avenues created for the presentation and promotion of the work of folk and tribal artists in India have stimulated development of new expressions that may actually constitute entirely new art forms. As part of cultural ecosystems in centuries marked by great change, the popular painting traditions are both stimulated by, and vulnerable to, the twists and turns of events around them. Both contemporary temple mural paintings and Kalamkari have changed with the times as they both have new uses, new audiences, new materials and methods.

It is probably because these Kalamkari textiles are not acknowledged as belonging to the 'classical tradition' of Indian art that they have been

relegated to near extinction. Considering the use of technique, composition and pictorial elements it could perhaps be considered as art rather than textile design or craft. Consisting of full-fledged compositions these painting traditions are not included in the systematic study of painting simply because of our basic ideas regarding the separation of art and craft. It is indeed Western interpretation that has failed to acknowledge it as art, probably because it is not framed and hung for viewing or because the medium is mere cloth, not stretched canvas. It may still be viewed as a work of art, rather than as craft. Drawing heavily from the classical mural tradition in its borrowing of compartmentalisation from the Telugu Vijayanagara murals, in terms of function and space occupation these Kalahasti textiles are the same as temple murals, which are distinguished mainly by the absence of a permanent wall as support. It is in the appropriation of the visual from its place on the wall to the textile that its terminology submits to change, from art to craft.

Mural art is already dead in its 'classic' form, and of what remains very little is well preserved. It is only through these adapted motifs that it remains for posterity. In this instance, trying to clearly demarcate the lines between the contemporary and the classic becomes inconsequential for one grows out of the other. It is by sensitising and educating about the richness of India's traditions and creating an awareness of the currents outside the mainstream of Indian art that these traditions will stay alive.

American art historian Barbara Rossi has commented on the staying power of folk arts, noting that these "neglected areas of Indian creativity, the folk and the popular, are the real roots of the great, flowering tree of high classical accomplishments... [They are] far more extensive and pervasive than the tree... [and] more enduring and, fortunately, continuing to evolve, while the tree's life, alas, is over" (Rossi 8,9).

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VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO REGIONAL STUDIES

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M. S. R. Anjaneyulu, Nationalist Movement in South India - A Study of the Role of Vizagapatam District - [2004]

In the new millennium the freedom struggle which had paved the way for Indian Independence has almost become a nostalgic, or even a forgotten episode in our history. Even though much research has gone into the unfolding of this dynamic event, since Independence, the tendency has been to accept the versions of colonial, nationalist, or Marxist historians. Their focus has been, to a large extent, lopsided. Regional contributions have been barely taken into account. Efforts have not been made to present an all-India perspective, delving into interactive or contributory events in various parts of India.

British Colonialism in India found that the very transformation needed to make India a paying colony endangered colonial rule by producing at the same time, the social forces of Nationalism, which organised a struggle against Colonialism. British rule and its impact on India created conditions for the rise of a powerful anti-imperialist movement, and for unification of the Indian people into a nation. The changes brought by the British agrarian economy in India were exploitative and anti-peasant. The entire structure of economic relations between India and Britain involving trade, finance and technology made India dependent and under-developed. Besides the impoverished peasantry and the oppressed working class, the middle class felt constraints and restraints due to denial of opportunities and they became the backbone of the nationalist movement. To meet the growing challenge of Nationalism, the British increasingly followed the policy of divide and rule and actively encouraged communalism and casteism which, in turn, strengthened the reactionary social forces which led to the socio-economic oppression of the lower castes. In order to mobilise all the people in the struggle against imperialism, the national movement became committed to the goals of abolishing all distinctions and disparities based on caste, sex or religion. Participation in demonstrations, public meetings,

popular movements, trade unions and kisan sabhas weakened notions of caste and male superiority.

'Nationalist movement in South India' by M.S.R. Anjaneyulu attempts an assessment of the role played by the people of Vizagapatam District in the Nationalist movement from 1900-1947. He presents a vivid pen-portraiture of how the masses in general, and local leaders in particular, though hailing from an economically, educationally and socially backward area, respond to the clarion call given Mahatma Gandhiji. In spite of the twin oppressions of "British Raj and *Zamindari* Raj", the participation of this group of people in the Salt Satyagraha, Anti-War and the Quit India movements were noteworthy.

Chapter I on emergence and growth of national consciousness in this region gives a compact account of the topography, history and life of the people in the Vizagapatam District. Interestingly he focuses on a local leader Gurazada Venkata Appa Rao, a keen social reformer and founder of the library movement which conscientised the people of this region and awakened Nationalist and Telugu consciousness. Inspired by the visit of B.C. Pal the local people, especially the students, participated in the *Vandemataram* and Home Rule Movements. Though the activities in this region were not widespread, a beginning was made and Andhra consciousness also emerged as a strong force.

Covering the Non-Cooperation movement (1920-22) in chapter II, the author speaks about the definite dawn of political consciousness in the district and how the region got entwined into the mainstream of national politics led by Gandhiji. A new generation of committed leaders arose, who, replaced the moderate leaders and faced government disapproval with courage. They took the movement to the villages. The prominent leaders of this district during this period were Sundara Rao and Ramachandra Sastry. Though not yet a mass movement, in spite of the feudal grip, rigid government control and educational backwardness of the district, the role of the people was sincere and notable records the author.

A strong link to the Nationalist movement can be traced to the Manyam Rebellion of 1922-24 under Alluri Sitarama Raju, who became a legend in this period. Disillusioned with the lack of success of the Non-Violence movement, he led a spirited opposition against the alien rulers, targeting police stations to rearm him. He gave a tough two years' battle and finally became a martyr to the cause of Independence. His war cry "Gandhi Ki Jai", his strategy, and his sad end are engraved in the annals

of Andhra participation in the freedom struggle. Though he lacked the support of nationalists and the people of the plains, he and his band of soldiers from the hills bravely challenged the might of British bureaucracy. It was unfortunate that neither the contemporary society nor press appreciated his efforts.

In the chapter pertaining to Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience movement, the author graphically records the impact of Gandhi's visit to Andhra for the purpose of "Khaddar nidhi". He legitimately records with pride the fine variety of Andhra Khaddar since 1921. Vizagapatam district played a significant part in the Salt Satyagraha movement. The heroic courage of Yagnyanarayana Sarma, the virile leadership of Janaki Bai, the self sacrifice of Ramachandra Sastry, the surging patriotism of Madgole kshatriya women, the en masse *Sathyagraha* at Dimili were the highlights in the history of Salt Satyagraha in the district and Andhra. Compared to the earlier Non-Cooperation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Movement was more popular and successful in Vizagapatam District in terms of appeal and participation. Other noteworthy features were the heroism displayed by the Satyagrahais in the face of brutal repression, and the increasing participation of women in political movements.

The final phase of the freedom struggle includes the formation of the Andhra Socialist party which made a soft impact, the tour of Rajendra Prasad and the winning of the Congress Party in the 1937 elections. The leftists gained ground in the poverty stricken northern districts of Vizagapatam. Andhra Students Movement made its presence known through its demands for civil liberties. Anti-war agitations took the form of individual *Satyagraha* in many districts including Vizagapatam. The *kisan* movement was strengthened which protested against the war, the government and the *Zanmindari* system. The Quit India movement found a spontaneous response in Vizagapatam District, especially in the northern part, a strong hold of socialist leaders. Government took strong action arresting men and women including the fire-brand leader Gouthu Latchanna of Baruva. Freedom fighters in the north district even tried derailment of a military train, but on the whole there were no serious instances of mob violence in the district due to Gandhians.

The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny of February 19, 1946 found its echo in the sailors' mutiny on 21st February at Vizagapatam and other ports thus contributing to the withdrawal of the British from India.

In the concluding chapter, the author emphasises the impact of Gandhi and Gandhism in Andhra, including Vizagapatam. He presents the national, regional interlinks as the warp and woof of the canvas of the Indian national movement. He gives due recognition to women and students participation while emphasising the socio-economic turmoil due to the existence of the *Zamindari* system. Highlighting the contributions of the local and regional leaders, he takes pain to throw light on the participation of the masses-tribal, rural and urban.

A well-researched and documented work, the book would contribute to the understanding of the history of Andhra and so far unrecognised local histories. A lucid style augments the quality, and recognition of the contribution of the little known people adds depth to a meaningful narration. The work would be of immense value to researchers, lovers of history and the Andhras, but the general reader has to possess knowledge of the period to appreciate it.

The book truly signifies the statement,

“The Raj linked not only locality to province but also province to Nation”.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

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Tables

The tables accompanying the text should be numbered in Arabic numerals and the source of data, if taken from another article or publication, should be mentioned.

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