

**JOURNAL  
OF  
INDIAN HISTORY  
AND  
CULTURE**

**September 2013  
Nineteenth Issue**

**C.P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR INSTITUTE OF INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH**

(affiliated to the University of Madras)

The C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation

1 Eldams Road, Chennai 600 018. INDIA

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C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar Institute of Indological Research

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**ISSN : 0975 - 7805**

**Layout Design : D. Kavitha**

**Sub editing by : Mr. Narayan Onkar**

**Subscription**

Rs. 150/- (for 2 issues)

Rs. 290/- (for 4 issues)

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*printed on paper made from bagasse, an agricultural waste*

## **EDITOR'S NOTE**

The Journal of Indian History and Culture is becoming 'bulkier' all the time.

The attempt in this issue is not only to encourage young scholars but also those contributors who have been waiting patiently to get their papers published in this Journal that they respect.

I would like to hasten to add that senior scholars like Dr. K.G. Vasantha Madhava and Dr. P.N. Premalatha have been given due respect.

Before any further discussion on the papers, we would like to thank our referees Dr. V. Balambal, Dr. A. Chandrasekaran, Dr. S. Vasanthi and Dr. Chithra Madhavan for giving their valuable comments on the articles.

We have several well researched papers like Dr. S. Yashodhamani's "A Re-Appraisal of Tamilnadu's Commercial Contact with the Roman Empire", Dr. Babu's "Puducherry based trade as gleaned from the pages of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary (1736-61)", Vinod Vincent Rajesh's "Surplus Formation and Beyond: Understanding the Economic Life of the Parathavars before Conversation and N. Pramod's "Interrogating the practice of Medicine in Travancore".

We would like to thank Dr. Prabha Ravi Shankar from S.N.D.T. Women's University for sending a Book Review of My dear Babu – Letters from C. Rajagopalachari to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Devadas Gandhi and Gopal Krishna Gandhi.

I would like to place on record my gratitude to Dr. Nanditha Krishna, Hon. Director, C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, Mrs. Malathy Narasimhan, Mr. Narayan Onkar, Mrs. D. Kavitha and all the other staff members of the Foundation who have helped in bringing out the Journal.

**Dr. G. J. Sudhakar**



# **ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF AYODHYA ACCORDING TO THE KAMBA RAMAYANA**

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Ancient Indian cities are mostly known for their rich culture and diversity. Further, a glimpse of the history of ancient India can be obtained from the ancient Indian Epics. Ancient Indian cities reveal facts about the different levels of civilization in the country. The mode of daily life, customs, cultures, celebrations, festivals, religions, and architecture or any other possible facet of the past can be studied through the ancient Indian cities. Ayodhya is an ancient city of India. The city of Ayodhya may, undoubtedly, be reckoned as a classic example of early urbanization in India. It was both an administrative and religious centre. The date of the city can be fixed at C 1000 to 800 BC. (H.D. Sankalia). Sherds of PGW have also been discovered here.<sup>1</sup>

Ayodhya is located on the right bank of the river *Sarayu*, as it is called within sacred precincts. It is just 6 km from Faizabad, a town of Uttar Pradesh, and is one of the oldest cities of India. Ayodhya is a popular pilgrim centre. It has a central role in the ancient Indian epic, the *Ramayana*. Ayodhya is the birth place of the Hindu God Shri Ram, and was the capital of the Kosala Kingdom.

*Ayodhya Mathura Maya Kasi Kanchi Avantika*

*Puri Dvaravati chaiva saptaita moksadayikah* <sup>2</sup>

Ayodhya is one of the seven most sacred cities of India. It was the venue of many events in Hindu mythology. Today pre-eminently a temple town, Ayodhya is famous for its close association with the Epic, *Ramayana*. The *Atharvaveda* described Ayodhya as “a city built by Gods and being prosperous as paradise itself.”<sup>3</sup>

The earliest allusion to this city with eight palaces and nine gateways occurs in one of the later Vedic texts. It covered an area of twelve *yojana* (about ninety six miles) in length and three *yojana* (about twenty four miles) in breadth. Fa-hien visited the city of Ayodhya in the fifth century AD. He found it in an excellent state of preservation. The city was visited by Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century AD. According to him, the capital of *A-yu-te* (Ayodhya) was 20 *li* (or upwards of 3 miles) in circuit.<sup>4</sup> According to A. Cunningham, the city of Ayodhya was twelve *yojanas* or nearly a hundred miles an extent which the old city, with all its gardens, might once possibly have covered.<sup>5</sup>

Valmiki is said to have begun the writing of his famous devotional poem the Valmiki Ramayana, also called the Ramayana in Ayodhya. The opening chapters recount the magnificence of the city, the glories of the monarch and the virtues, wealth and loyalty of its people.

Other sages like Kamban also wrote versions of the Ramayana praising Rama and the magnificent city of Ayodhya. The *Ramayana* was an ancient Sanskrit Epic. *Ramavataram*, popularly referred to as the *Kamba Ramayanam*, was a Tamil epic that was written by Kamban during the 12th century. The book is divided into six chapters, called *Kandam* in Tamil. These are *Bala Kandam*, *Ayodhya Kandam*, *Aranya Kandam*,



*Kishkinta Kandam, Sundara Kandam, Yutha Kandam.*<sup>6</sup>

The ancient city of Ayodhya and its architectural styles have been beautifully described in the *Bala Kanda*. It had magnificent buildings, high mansions adorned with waving flags, ornamental gates, pillars, towers, beautiful gardens, markets etc. It was a large and densely populated city. It was also well fortified with strong walls, deep trenches, garrison of arches and well equipped with sophisticated weapons.

ஈரும் வாளின் வால் விதிர்த்து, எயிற்று இளம் பிறைக் குலம்  
பேர மின்னி, வாய் விரித்து, எரிந்து கண் பிறங்கு தீச்  
சோர, ஒன்றை ஒன்று முன் தொடர்ந்து சீறு இடங்கர் மா,  
போரில் வந்து சீறுகின்ற போர் அரக்கர் போலும்

(Bala Kanda - III, 18)

The moat was filled with crocodiles. The ferocious teeth in their wide open mouths look like a row of crescent moons. The furious crocodiles in the moat with their eyes emitting fire looked like *Rakshasas* fighting with one another in a fierce battle.

கல் அடித்து அடுக்கி, வாய் பளிங்கு அரிந்து கட்டி, மீது  
எல் இடப் பசும்பொன் வைத்து, இலங்கு பல் மணிக் குலம்  
வில் இடக் குயிற்றி, வாள் விரிக்கும் வெள்ளி மா மரம்  
புல்லிடக் கிடத்தி, வச்சிரத்த கால் பொருத்தியே.

(Bala Kanda – III, 24)

The walls of the fort were raised with marble stones. The gap between the stones was covered with gold plates and

precious gems. The beams were made of silver. The silver beams look beautiful, glittering with diamond studded pillars.

மரகதம் அத்து இலங்கு போதிகை தலத்து வச்சிரம்  
புரை தபத்து அடுக்கி, மீது பொன் குயிற்றி, மின் குலாம்  
நிரை மணிக் குலத்தின் ஆளி நீள்வகுத்த ஒளிமேல்  
விரிவு கைத் தலத்தில் உய்த்த மேதகத்தின் மீது அரோ

(Bala Kanda - III, 25)

The beams in the wall were made of emeralds studded with flawless diamonds and covered with gold. Precious gems, flashing like lightning, were embedded in the shape of lions in the beams. Over the rows of these beams, onyx (*komethagam*) slabs were laid. The architecturally exquisite towers of the city were totally covered with golden plates.

சூழ் சுடர்ச்சிரம் அத்து நல் மணித் தகம்பு தோன்றலால்  
வாழ் நிலக் குலம் கொழுந்தை மௌலி சூட்டி அன்ன ஏ.

(Bala Kanda - III, 26, 3-4)

The pinnacles of those towers which went up into the celestial world had gem studded domes. The pinnacles were made of ruby stones. The whole spectacle looked like the crown of the perennial princes of earth.

திங்களும் கரிது என வெண்மை தீற்றிய  
சங்க வெண் சுதை உடைத் தவள மாளிகை,  
வெம் கரும் கால் பொர மேக்கு நோக்கிய  
பொங்கு இரும் பால் கடல் தரங்கம் போலும்.

(Bala Kanda - III, 27)

The word *sanga ven suthai* means lime plaster made of white burnt conches. The palace of Ayodhya was white in color. It was plastered with lime made from white conches, made even the lunar disc appear dark, and resembled the ebullient waves of the ocean of milk struck by a stormy wind. The impregnable gold plates with which the palaces were firmly plastered shone like the bright white rays of the morning sun.

வயிர நல் கால் மிசை மரகதத் துலாம்  
செயிர் அறப் போதிகை கிடத்திச் சித்திரம்

(Bala Kanda - III, 29, 1-2)

The shape of the *bodegai* looked like banana inflorescence.<sup>7</sup> Each part of the pillars and beams was beautifully decorated. The pillars of the palaces were made of diamond. The pillars have different kinds of ornamental brackets forming part of their capitals and usually below the bracket was a pendant (*bodegai*).

சந்திர காந்தத்தின் தலத்த, சந்தனப்  
பந்தி செய் தூணின்மேல் பவளப் போதிகைச்  
செந்தனி மணித் துலாம் செறிந்த, திண் சுவர்  
இந்திர நீலத்த, எண் இல் கோடி

(Bala Kanda - III, 30)

The beams over them were made of emerald. A lifelike painting was drawn on the cross beams. Even the celestials wondered if such palaces which were a million in number were their own abodes. They had moonstone floors and pillars of sandalwood standing in rows. The beams raised over them were

made of corals and rubies. The strong walls of the palaces were built of sapphire.

பாடகக் கால் அடி பதும்ம் அத்து ஒப்பன  
சேடரைத் தழீஇயன செய்ய வாயின

(Bala Kanda - III, 31, 1-2)

The word *pathumam* means the shape of the lotus.

The pillars were lotus shaped at the bottom. The foundation laid was so deep that they reached the land of the serpents.

புக்கவர் கண்இணை பொருந்து உறாது ஒளி  
தொக்கு உடன் தயங்கி விண்ணவரில் தோன்றலால்,  
திக்கு உற நினைப்பினில் செல்லும் தெய்வ வீடு

(Bala Kanda - III, 32, 1-3)

The golden chariot was so splendid that the people were spell bound on seeing it. They compared it to the flying chariots of the gods.

அணி இழை மகளிரும் அலங்கல் வீரரும்  
தணிவன அறம் நெறி தணிவு இலாதன;  
மணியினும் பொன்னினும் வனைந்த அல்லது  
பணி பிறிது இயன்றன பாங்கும் இல்லை

(Bala Kanda - III, 34)

The palace made of gems and gold, spread to the heavens and eclipsed the brightness of the sun. The other decorations

flowed like streams of pearl chains, and were studded with precious gems. They looked like a palace of gold which glittered with glorious peacocks. The palace was constructed and was well ventilated with attractive bright lights.

துடி இடைப் பணை முலை தோகை அன்னவர்  
அடி இணைச் சிலம்பு பூண்டு அரற்றும் மாளிகை  
கொடி இடைத் தரள வெண் கோவை சூழ்வன  
கடி உடைக் கற்பகம் கான்ற மாலையே.

(Bala Kanda - III, 37)

Inside the palace, peacock like damsels with slim waists and breasts walked with their dancing bells tinkling. Pearl chains hung on the creepers in the palaces, looking like garlands of flowers from *karpaga* trees.

மன்னவர் தரு திறை அளக்கும் மண்டபம்  
அன்னம் மென் நடையவர் ஆடும் மண்டபம்  
உன்ன அரும் அரு மறை ஓதும் மண்டபம்  
பன்ன அரும் கலை தெரி பட்டிமண்டபம்.

(Bala Kanda - III, 62)

The city of Ayodhya was replete with numerous public halls meant for specific purposes, such as halls for measuring the tributes brought by other kings, dance halls for the swan like damsels, halls for reciting the great scriptures, and halls for debating on the finer points of the arts. The streets were decorated with festoons and their bright sunny entrances and it was very wide.

நானா விதமா நளி மாதிரி வீதி ஓடி,  
மீன் நாறு வேலைப் புனல் வெண் முகில் உண்ணுமா போல்,  
ஆனாத மாடம் அத்து இடை ஆடு கொடிகள் மீப் போய்,  
வான் ஆறு நண்ணிப் புனல் வற்றிட நக்கும் மன்

(Bala Kanda - III, 70)

The palace was very tall. It looked as though the clouds were kissing the palace. At the top of the palace a flag was fluttering. It looked like water waves from the celestial rivers.

வன் தோரணங்கள் புணர் வாயிலும் வானின் உம்பர்  
சென்று ஓங்கி மேல் ஓர் இடம் இல் எனச் செம்பொன்இஞ்சி  
குன்று ஓங்கு தோளார் குணம் கூட்டு இசைக் குப்பை என்ன  
ஒன்றோடு இரண்டும் உயர்ந்து ஓங்கின உம்பர் நாண

(Bala Kanda - III, 71)

The gateways of the palace were fitted with bright festoons. The walls were of glittering gold and rose beyond the celestial region. Even the heavens were ashamed to compare themselves with Ayodhya's gateways and walls. The height of these could only be equaled by the fame of Ayodhya Mountain.

ஏகம் முதல் கல்வி முளைத்து எழுந்து எண்ணில் கேள்வி  
ஆகு அம் முதல் திண் பணை போக்கி, அருந்தவத்தின்  
சாகம் தழைத்து, அன்பு அரும்பித் தருமம் மலர்ந்து,  
போகம் கனி ஒன்று பழுத்தது போலும்.

(Bala Kanda - III, 75)

The city of Ayodhya was an ideal place where the seed of education was sown and nurtured into a tree full of strong

and beautiful branches of endless knowledge. It sprouted leaves of wisdom based on hard penance and the buds of compassion blossomed into flowers of righteousness, resulting in fruits of blissful joy. It was surrounded by flower beds and raised forests and numerous waterfalls.

According to an Archaeological Survey of India report, during the excavation in 1969-70 there was unmistakable evidence of town planning in the fifth –second century BC.<sup>8</sup> According to the *Kambar Ramayana* the Ayodhya style of architecture flourished during the Epic Age. Architecture was filled with work of art and their treasures contained unsurpassed wealth. The Epic Age represented the apogee of Indian architecture. We do not see a replication of this until the Mughal age when the Taj Mahal was constructed of white marble and studded with semi precious stones. This style of architecture with gold plating is found only in the temples of the medieval period, for example the temple tower in Tirumala. The use of gemstones, gold and silver evolved only during the Epic Age. The city reached its high water mark during the Gupta period and continued to flourish in post Gupta times.

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## **A RE-APPRAISAL OF TAMIL NADU'S COMMERCIAL CONTACT WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE**

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In ancient times the coast of Tamil Nadu played a vital role in overseas trade. It appears that the Tamils had been trading even with earliest civilized peoples namely the Sumerians, Babylonians, Hebrews and the Phoenicians. In recent times, two urn burials were unearthed by an American archaeologist near Alexandria in Egypt and on these burials Brahmi letters are inscribed. The inscription on one of these urns can be read as Kanara identified with Cattan and Kannan of the Sangam Age. Moreover, the papyrus discovered at Oxythynchus<sup>1</sup> in Egypt is the first evidence of South India's contact with the Roman world. It is concerned with a Greek lady named Charition who had been stranded on the coast of a country bordering the Indian Ocean. The Indian language employed in the papyrus is Kanarese and it follows from this that the site of Charition's adventure is one of the numerous small ports on the western coast of India between Karwar and Mangalore ruled over by the Kanarese princes. It follows from this that the unknown author of the papyrus could have acquired his knowledge of the Kanarese words either from a native of the Coast of Kanara who resided in Egypt or to a Greek who had learnt the vernacular during his stay in India. From this it may be assumed that there was commercial intercourse between Africa and India by way of sea

trade for we find an echo of this presumption in *Periplus* and Ptolemy's account.

The knowledge of Tamil Nadu's close contact with the Roman west during the early centuries of the Christian era is based mainly on the comments of the classical scholars of the western world and Tamil Sangam literature.<sup>2</sup> Indigenous literary sources like *Ahananuru*, *Purananuru*, *Pattinapalai*, *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekhalai* and foreign literary sources like the *Periplus* of Erythraean Thalasses<sup>3</sup>, the *Naturalis Historia*<sup>4</sup> of Pliny, *Historical Memoirs* of Strabo<sup>5</sup>, the *Tabula – Peutingeriana*<sup>6</sup> talk much about the trade contacts of ancient Tamilakam with the ancient Roman Empire. Extensive archaeological excavations on the coast of Tamil Nadu confirm the statements of both indigenous and non-indigenous texts.

The *Periplus* describes *Dachinabades* in Sections 50 and 51 and also alludes to it in Sections 53, 56, 59 and 60. Ports and towns of Tamil Nadu as mentioned in indigenous and Tamil literature are *Naoura Tyndis*, *Mouziris*, *Bakare*, *Nelcynda*, *Red Mountain*, *Balita*, *Komara*, *Kolkhoi*, *Madoura*, *Pudukotta*, *Kaverippadinam* or *Puhar*, *Kamara*, *Podouke*, *Sopatma* and *Argalou*. Many of these market-towns are mentioned in *Periplus* and Ptolemy's account also.

About sixteen of the coastal towns are singled out by the author of *Periplus* round the coast of India and Ceylon from the Indus to the Ganges as emporia like *Muziris emporion* and *Podouke emporion*. These were definitely trading ports in some special sense. However, the word *emporion* in Ptolemy's treatise has a restricted connotation for the term in question is not

attributed to all possible market-towns in or near littoral India. It denoted an oriental market-town lying in or near the sea coast and beyond the imperial frontiers of Rome in the commerce of which entrepot a Roman subject like Ptolemy might be at least academically interested. Such an explanation is perfectly in agreement with the discovery of a Roman trading station near Pondicherry identifiable with the Podouke emporion of Ptolemy.

The Periplus also reflects upon the business – like and amicable relation between Greek merchants and native traders. The Greek traders or *Yavanas* spent three months annually awaiting the return of the monsoon. The *Silappadikaram* speaks of the houses of the prosperous *Yavanas* located near about the harbour area around Maruvurpakkam in Kaverippadinam.<sup>7</sup>

The *Yavanas* were originally traders, but in course of time they were employed to perform miscellaneous duties. This apparently happened when the *Yavana* trade had completely died out and when some of the *Yavanas* who stayed behind sought employment with kings and the local rich.

During the years 1963 and 1964 S.R. Rao surveyed the site of ancient Kaverippadinam or Puhar (Kamara) and brought to light a large water reservoir of the early historical period at Vanagiri and a brick – built jetty at Kilaiyur datable to 300 B.C. At the zenith of its prosperity, this port-city extended over an area of 9 sq.kms, and could boast of a number of wharves and warehouses built to handle cargo brought from distant lands.<sup>8</sup>

That Kaverippadinam was an important centre of Indo Roman trade is attested to by statements made in the

Silappadikaram, “Close – by were the settlement of the Yavana merchants where many attractive articles were always exposed for sale”. The Silappadikaram also refers to *Yavanas* being employed as guards. Kovalam’s entry into the city of Puhar through the forest – gate has been described graphically this gate is protected by the ranks of the *Yavana* swordsmen. In the same epic (XIV, 66-67) there is a specific reference to *Yavana* guards placed at the gate of Madurai, the capital of the kingdom of Pandyar.

It is evident from references in literature that Muziris, Tondi and Kaverippadinam were the important ports to which these ships brought their cargo and sailed with the produce from there. As stated in the Periplus, it was the Greek merchants from Egypt who brought wine, brass, lead, glass etc., for sale to Muchiri (Muziris) and Vaikkarai (Bacare) and who purchased from these ports pepper, betel ivory, pearls and fine muslins. From other itineraries it may be surmised that the chief articles of export from India were spices, perfumes, medicinal herbs, pigments, pearls, precious stones like beryl, iron, steel, copper, sandal woods, animals skins cotton cloth, silk yarn, indigo, ivory, porcelain and tortoise shell. The principal imports were cloth linen, perfumes, medicinal herbs, glass vessels, silver, gold, tin, lead, pigments, precious stones and coral. The Tamil elite enjoyed the wine brought by the *Yavanas* the poet Nakkirar addresses the Pandyan prince Non-Maran in the following words.....,

“O Mara whose sword is ever victorious! Spend thou the days in peace and joy drinking daily out of the golden cups presented by their handmaids, the cool and fragrant wine brought by the *Yavanas* in their good ships”. The choicest Mediterranean

wine was brought in large corrugated amphora – jars with their elongated body, tapering peduncular bottom, tall, narrow - neck and two flattish strap handle loops on either side of the shoulders and neck. There had been considerable remains of these amphora jars at Arikamedu, and other Roman marts of the east coast, which by their resinous residue at the bottom of the interior give evidence to the wines they had held, in those distant times. The Italian and Laodicean wines were imported into Muziris and Nelcynda.

The artifacts recovered from the ancient port-towns provide some clues regarding the articles exported from the eastern coast of South India. The favourite item coveted dearly by the Romans was undoubtedly “muslin”. The author of the *Periplus* was familiar with the muslin produced at Uraiyur. The discovery of dyeing vats and cisterns at Arikamedu and Uriayur clearly attest to the provenance of this industry in those areas during the period of Indo-Roman trade. The edict of Diocletian shows that stuffed mattresses and pillows were made from Indian cotton.<sup>9</sup> This clearly indicated that raw cotton besides woven and dyed fabrics was also an item of export.

The *Periplus* has noted the operation of pearl – diving (in the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Straits) in the coast of Colchi(Korkai) in the Pandya country or Chola mandalam. The discovery of oyster shells in the excavations at Korkai indicates pearl- fishery.<sup>10</sup> Conch-shell cutting and bead-making were two other flourishing industries at Arikamedu, at Karaikadu and Alagankulam. There were factory sites of conch shell products here and considerable quantities of chank-bangles, armlets, rings and other jewellery have been unearthed. Bead – making from semi- precious stones and glass was yet another industry at the

port towns of Arikamedu, Karaikadu, Alagankulam and Kaverippadinam. At Karaikadu (Kudikadu)<sup>11</sup> even terracotta pipes, crucibles and waste- slag used in the manufacture of glass have been found. Probably the semi- precious stone-beads were exported. Malabathrum, as well as indigo, cinnamon, cardamon, originated in Malabar.

The Roman trade with the Tamil land was carried on in such a large scale that, as stated by Pliny, there was no year in which India did not drain the Roman Empire of at least fifty - five millions sesterces, sending in return wares which was sold for a hundred times their original value..... “So dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women”. During this period Roman gold poured largely into the Tamil country and this is attested by the numerous Roman coins, dating from the reign of Augustus to that of Zeno (B.C. 27-A.D.491) which have been found buried in different parts of the Tamil land.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler’s excavation at Poduke (Arikamedu) revealed that the place was an Indo-Roman trading centre an entrepot, as earlier stated. At this ancient Roman fortified town was found a large ware house built about A.D.50. A warehouse 135 m long, 8 m wide opening into four levels of successive structure which included a courtyard with small tanks believed to have been dyeing vats, used for the preparation of muslin exported outside India, were exposed. The occurrence of abundant pottery and cut-timber below the sea-level may indicate remains of ships and their cargo.

The Periplus indicates that a large number of Roman gold and silver coins were imported in the market-towns of Barygaza,

Muziris and Nelcynda. The import of these coins in the markets of Muziris and Nelcynda was in a larger quantity than at Barygaza. Literary sources point out that imported gold coins were brought into India in exchange for pepper. Silver coins were used for small exchange. It would seem that the aquamarine oeryl, as mentioned in the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny was processed and sold in the vicinity of the Padyur mines of Coimbatore itself, as a number of Roman coin – hoards have been discovered at a rough radius of 30 km around the ancient quarry site.<sup>12</sup>

It is known from the distribution of coins that Roman trade was actively carried out in Tamil Nadu for nearly eighty years. The recent excavation at Kodumanal supply evidence in support of the opinion that Romans had come to Tamil Nadu primarily to buy aquamarine. The coins from Augustus to Nero are uniformly distributed in the districts of Madurai, Pudukkottai, Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli. But the coin of Theodosius (379-385 A.D), the later ruler found in the Coimbatore collection indicates that the Romans must have brought it to Coimbatore during their trade and transit contact. The occurrence of copper coins of a later period of Velitian, Theodosius and other in Alagankulam, Velliyan Iruppu, Mahabalipuram and in Madurai district is still a mystery to be solved. Fine imitations of Roman coins were also current along with the genuine coins. These imitations are so finely accented that they hardly differ with the original Roman coins so far as the portrait of the emperor and figure of the goddess on the reverse is concerned. It is only the legends where the imitations have failed. On the obverse, the legend meaning less scribblings and on the reverse the inscription is erroneous.<sup>13</sup>

The site of Arikamedu yielded a store house of Mediterranean pottery like amphora sherds, Rouletted ware and terra sigillata or Arretine ware. Arretine ware at Arikamedu bear impressions or stamps like VIBII (or VIBIE or VIBIF) CAMVRI and ITTA on the base. About half of the total number of Arikamedu amphora fragments studied so far, belong to a category of Mediterranean wine - jars with twin-ribbed or double handles. All strata of the excavated site at Arikamedu have yielded rouletted Black ware sherds. The Rouletted pattern first appeared at Arikamedu as early as the first century B.C or the beginning of the first century A.D, while its terminal date is determined by the latest occupations in the southern sector of the town corresponding to A.D 200.<sup>14</sup>

To complete the list of imported objects from Arikamedu, mention may be made of the Chinese Celadon Ware which can be occasionally picked up from the surface a Greco-Roman gem with the head of Augustus in intaglio picked up by Jouveau Dubreul, a Roman lamp of fine red ware fragment of a pillar moulded bowl of whitish iridescent glass and a bowl of blue glass with horizontally ribbed sides.

The whitish iridescent glass fragment is of a type which originated in Italy and spread all over the Roman world from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. All these evidences, no matter how great, they may be in favour of a Roman settlement. But it is pertinent to mention white-house's observation when he states "until we find distinctive colonial architecture or a Greek or Latin inscription. I think we would do well to regard the possibility of a Roman community at Arikamedu as a hypothesis that cannot at present be tested".<sup>15</sup>



The bulk of glass from Arikamedu consists of beads and remains from bead-making. There are large quantities of waste from actual bead-making industry such as slag and unfinished specimens, which indicate a flourishing lapidary industry at this site. It was easier to import slag and rework it. It would seem that the colours from Arikamedu belong to the specialized glasses so common in the region around the Mediterranean. Specimens of beads from OC- eo resemble those found at Arikamedu. The trading station at Arikamedu flourished between 23 B.C and 200 A.D and OC-eo commanded a large sea trade towards the end of the period or a little later preponderantly in imports from India or bought over by Indians. Sir Ronald Bradde<sup>16</sup> also says that merchants from India settled at OC-eo and it may not be unlikely that they came from the ports of South India as suggested by N.K.Shastri in Pliny's work there is an allusion to trade with South- East Asia.

In recent years explorations and excavations conducted by the Tamil Nadu Archaeological Department has brought to light some important sites in Tamil Nadu having contact with the Roman world. The important sites are Vasavasamudram<sup>17</sup> and Alagankulam<sup>18</sup>. The important finds from Vasavasamudram are conical vases rouletted ware of both Mediterranean and indigenous origin and other assemblages, which point to Indo-Roman contact. The imported wares discovered from Alagankulam consist of Rouletted ware, amphora, late African Red slipped ware and stamped pottery. The Roman coins found at Alagankulam at a depth of 95cm indicates a 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. level. The coins belong to the reign of the emperor Valentinian.

The occurrence of Valentinian Roman coins of 380 A.D throws fresh light on the economic and social history of Tamil

Nadu for in the light of the present finds it is difficult to accept the theory that trade had terminated with Rome and South India by 200 A.D.

Thus, it appears from the account given above that Tamil Nadu and the far South had a flourishing trade with the Roamn West from the time of the reign of Augustus onwards right down to the fourth century. That the Tamil Nadu coast played a vital role in Indo-Roman trade is firmly established by the existence of Indo-Roman trading stations not only at Arikamedu but also at Muziris (Muchiri), Kaverippadinam and Kudikadu. There was a Templum Augusti at Muziris for worship of the local Romans residing there. In the beginning probably the Romans participated in this lucrative trade but towards the end, during the Byzantine period the trade passed on into the hands of the Egyptians and then it may be that the trade assumed a separate character.

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Madura or the Madura known to us.

3. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Going around or Navigation of the Red Sea) is an account of the navigation in the Erythraean Sea and deals with the commercial transactions (mainly maritime) between the countries of the Erythraean Sea which were partly occupied by the Roman Empire.
4. The *Natural History* of Pliny is an encyclopaedic work reflecting on market – town of Bacare in Travancore, Nelcynda, Celobotras (Keralaputra) Modoura (Madura), Cottonora which was famous for pepper and several other harbours and emporiums.
5. Strabo was an Asiatic Greek who lived in the time of Augustus and derived much of his information from Eratosthenes (240 – 196 B.C).
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## **ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICAL THOUGHTS UP TO SUSRUTA (450 A.D)**

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### **Introduction**

Ancient Indian medical developments have a long antiquity, stretching over thousands of years. This subject is known from a variety of sources. These sources are the Vedic literatures, substantiated by other literary works, archaeological monuments, the manuscripts especially Bower Mss<sup>1</sup> and other documents. The period of this study starts from the earliest times to the commencement of the age of Susruta i.e. 450 A.D. The subject of study touches of the following points - the assembly of the sages for discussion on the medical science, the names of the sages involved in the subject of study, the nature of the medical science, their conceptions on diseases and their remedies and their medical works. The study also brings out the point that the sages performed the role of physicians.

### **Assembly of the Sages and their discussion on Medicine**

One of the interesting points in connection of our study is the assembly of the scholars of the medicine in the Himalayan region. This is cited in the Vedic literary works. According to these works, the sages (*risis*) assembled to study and interpret

the *Vaidya Sastra*. Those who assembled were Brghu, Angirasa Atri, Vasistha, Kasyapa Agastya Pulastya Vamadeva Asita and Gautama.<sup>2</sup> Here the assembled the *Risi* Vaidyas viewed all the aspects of the *Vaidya Sastra* prevalent at that time. The diseases that attractions were diabetes, fever, eye pain, etc. It is also stated that the *Vaidyas* made some improvements in the practice of their profession. A systematic treatment of diseases was in vogue. However the details of their medical practice are not very clear on account of the absence of the relevant sources.

### **Vaidyas and their Works**

The prominent sources for our study are the Vedas. Their literature refer to the names of the *Vaidyas*. According to the sources the *Vaidyas* showed interest in their works and profession. Their interests centred on the origin, nature and eradication of the diseases. Further, they opined their views on the nature of their subject, the *Vaidya Sastra*. The details of these are cited below:

According to the *Rig Veda*, Agni has curative power and eliminator of all ailments. We are also informed from the same source that Agni saved the blind Dirghatamas, son of Mamata, from all tribulations.<sup>3</sup> He prayed for longevity. There are many verses attributed to Agni. These refer to keep the sinless in health and wealth, for remedy to the toxic effect of *vandana* (a poison sprouting out from the branches of trees which causes oedema in the knee and ankles) and for preventing old age.<sup>4</sup>

The next sage connected to the *Vaidya Sastra* is Brhaspati. He is mentioned as a physician in the *Atharva Veda*. In one of the hymns of the same work, there is reference to his efficiency to give health that enhanced the power of Asvins.

According to the Bower manuscripts Brhaspati formulated *Asvagandha* (*Withania somnifera*). Brhaspati opines that one who consumes the *Asvagandha curna* for twenty one days becomes sturdy and well developed.<sup>5</sup>

### **Usanas**

He was the son of Bhrgu was also known as Sukracharya. He was the master of the *Sanjivini* technique of reviving the dead. He formulated *Indrapriya*. This is known from the Bower manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> It is also believed that Usanas and Brhaspati jointly formulated many medical preparations. According to the *Mahabharata* both of them were the authors of many *Mayamantras*. Further, *Usanastoma* is a *mantra* having destructive power. But there is no reference to Usana as the author of medical works.<sup>7</sup>

### **Agastya**

Renowned sage, composer of many hymns, Agastya is also associated with many medical works. But none of them are traceable now. There is a reference in the *Rudantikalpa*. It is prayer of Agastya to Vasistha for the advice of medicine for the well being of humanity. Further, Agastya is credited with the composition of twelve medical formulations. Some of these are *Agastyavirecona*, *Agastyaharitaki* – *avaleha*, *Agastya rasa*, *Suvarnavatika*, *Brhadvisnu taila*, *Bhimavataka* etc.<sup>8</sup> Surprisingly, none of these works of Agastya are traceable now.

### **Bharadvaja**

He is a renowned sage and associated with the medical works of ancient India. According to tradition quoted by Carak,

the sages deputed Bharadvaja to Indra for studying Ayurveda. He learnt it and instructed it to other sages. One of his disciples who learnt the Ayurveda from him was Atreya.<sup>9</sup> The most important work of Bharadvaja concerning the medicine is *Bharavajiya*. It deals with diabetes. Another work of his is *Bhesajakalpana*, which deals with various medical formulations concerning for various types of fever.<sup>10</sup> The version of *Brahatphalaghrita* in Vrandamadhava and *phalaghrita* in *Sarngadharasamhita* are considered to be the formulations of Bharadvaj. He is also known as Vitatha. There is a story that King Paurava adopted him and thus Bharadvaja became Paurava.

## Narada

He was renowned musician but contributed his own ideas to ancient medical science. He is said to have composed *Dhatulaksana* that deals with the theory of *Tridasa* one of the fundamentals of the basis of the Ayurveda. Further two medical formulations such as Mahalaksmivilasasara and *Lakshmivilasa rasa* are ascribed to him.<sup>11</sup> But these works are not traceable now.

Kaca, the son of Brhaspati, was a preceptor of Dhanavas (Asuras/demons). He formulated medical formulae for the remedy of urinary obstruction. This is mentioned in the *Carakadatta*. He learnt Sanjeevini on the art of reviving the dead, from Sukarcarya.<sup>12</sup>

The discussion on *Vayu* (air) and its usefulness is done by Marici. He opines that Agni (fire) is the significant factor in health and ailments.<sup>13</sup>



The next important sage associated with the ancient Indian medical tradition is Visvamitra. It is believed that he learnt Ayurveda from Bharadvaja. His views on the ancient medical system are found in the works, namely *Nibandhasangraha*, *Vyakhyakusumavali*, *Madukosavyakhya* etc.

His contemporary, Vasistha, was also a sage of reputation. He is one of the ten *Prjapatis* and *Saptarisis*. He participated in the Himalayan assembly. His medical work is *Vasisthasamhita*. Further, the formulation of *Vasisthaharitaki avalha* is ascribed to him.<sup>14</sup> However details of these are missing. Vamadeva, another Vedic sage, wrote a medical work known as *Gadanigraha*. It is concerned with the formulation of a pill for diabetes.<sup>15</sup>

Sanatkumara, discussed ophthalmology in his work. *Sanatkumarasamitha* in chapter ninety four. It is in the form of his oration to Narada. It is said that he effectively treated Bhadratha, the son of the King of Kasi.<sup>16</sup> Gautama, one of sages is said to have approached Indra to learn the formulation of *Aindriyarasayana*. Indra taught him the *Ayurveda* and *Rasayana* - the rejuvenation treatment.<sup>17</sup>

According to *Carkasamhita* Pariksi participated in the discussion on the origin of ailments with other scholars on medicine. Further he opined that the basic and causative factor of body and ailment is the soul. It means that he stressed on the character and behavior of the individual (*Jeevatma*) in his previous birth and the mental state at the time of leaving the previous body. He viewed *Rasa* on food.<sup>18</sup> He is also known as Maulgalya and Pariksimaulgalya.

Dhanvantari has unique place in the history of ancient Indian medicine. The *Susrutasamhita* stresses of his role in the surgical instruments. It is also believed that Dhanvantari learnt Ayurveda from Indra. In the study of the *Ayurveda* he initiated surgery. He had a hundred disciples. The most prominent among them was Susruta One of the important points to be noticed in his works is that in many medical formulations of his, Dhanvantari's name is only notional. For instance, *Dhanvantaram gulika*, originated in Kerala.<sup>19</sup>

Nimi, the king of Videha is known as an expert in curing eye diseases. This is evidenced in the work of *Astangahrdaya* of Vaghbata I. Some scholars are of the opinion that Nimi was an authority on *Salakayantra*. According to Caraka, Nimi, along with other sages participated in the discussion on *Rasa*. Further, he asserted that the number of *Rasa* is seven, including *Ksara*. According to Bower's Manuscripts, Nimi formulated medical works on cataract. These medical formulations of him are *Traiphalagharta*, *Mahatraiphalagharta*, *Triphala* and *Curnanjana*.<sup>20</sup> Although many *Vaidyas* quote Nimi as an authority on remedy for cataract, none of his works are available. Nimi is also mentioned as renowned *Vaidyas* in the Buddhist works.<sup>21</sup> In the present state of knowledge it is difficult to state whether both of them are the same person.

Atreya, generally known as Atreyapunarvasu, has a unique name in the medical history of Ancient India. According to Caraka there are three Atreyas - Atreyapunarvasu, Krsnatreya and Bhiksurateya. Among these Punarvasu is the original preceptor. According to tradition he learnt the science of medicine from Indra. Agnivesa, Bhela, Jatukarna, Parasara, Ksarapani and Harita were disciples of Atreya. The *Atreyasamhita* is ascribed

to Atreya. His disciples mentioned above have composed their own works. The works of Agnivesa, Bhela and Harita are known. But the works of the others are not available.

The *Atryasamhita* is one of the earliest works on ancient Indian medicine. Its study reveals the prevalence of the ancient medical conception of that period. The first three chapters of this work narrate a general description *Ayurveda* i.e. the assemblage of Atreya with his disciples on the northern slopes of the Himalayas, classification of diseases etc. The fourth chapter of this work is devoted to the study of flora and fauna and their influence on age and human nature. The next chapter is concerned with the six tastes and their physical response. The therapeutic value of water is viewed in chapter six of this work. The seventh and eight chapters discuss the properties of milk of all mammals including human beings and also buttermilk. The study of sugarcane is studied in the chapter nine. The next chapter is on *Kancika* and other similar liquids. The eleventh and twelfth chapters deal with liquid preparations of rice and barley etc. The oils from castor and other seeds are dealt in the next chapter. The next three chapters are on various grains and their medical properties and then next one on various kinds of greens with flowers leaves and fruits and roots. Chapter eighteen describes variety of fruits and the next two chapters are on wines and meats. The dietary code and the change that occur in mixing and processing are mentioned in the 21st chapter.

The second part of this work, known as *Aristaka* has eight chapters. The first chapter of this section expounds the theory that all the ailments result from moral degradation. Further it states that the hell like diseases are the results of one's own

action. It indicates that some mistakes produce baffling consequences. Dreams is viewed in the second chapter. And the remaining six are on incidental indications.

The third part of this work is on treatments. Further, it contains a detailed study of diseases. The final part concerns toxicology.<sup>22</sup>

Besides the above mentioned work of his, there is strong view that Atreya formulated five medical works and seven medical formulations. Some of his medical formulations are *Agniharta*, *Rajavallubhatailagharta*, *Mahamayauragharta* etc.<sup>23</sup> But little is known about the medical formulations and other medical works of Atreya.

### **Comments on Atreya and his works**

From his work we infer that Atreya was one of the renowned *Vaidyas* in ancient India. His date and composition of his works cannot be exactly ascertained. However, he seems to have lived and worked prior to the first century A.D and prior to Caraka, renowned Vaidya. The study of his works particularly *Atreya Samhita* reveals that Atreya had a comprehensive knowledge of the Indian medical set up especially diseases and their treatments. He expresses his own viewpoints on these aspects. For instance he opined that ailments are the result of one's own moral degradation. Further he states that that hell like-diseases are caused by the action of the patients themselves.

Another point to be noticed in the context of the study of the *Atreya Samhita* is that it prescribes a dietary code. Further, the author of this work opines that the dietary code varies in mixing and processing. Thus Atreya was aware of the medical

conception of ancient India. His conception became, the basis for the further development of the medical knowledge in India.

In the course of the study of the ancient medical science of India we come across the name of Krsnatreya. There is a riddle regarding his exact identification. But he is more associated with surgery. For instance, Srikanthadatta refers to Krsnatreya in several context in medical works. Sivadasa refers to him along with Caraka. Some of the medical works namely *Vyakhyaakusumavali*, *Nibandhasangraha*, *Sarvangasundra* and *Tattavacandrika* contain quotations from Krsnatreya. Twenty medical formulations are said to have been composed by him. Some of his works noticed are *Kutajaputapaka*, *nagaradyacurna*, *Katukaghrta*, *Rohitakaghrta*, *narayanataila* *Yogendrarasas* etc.<sup>24</sup> However, none of these works in detail are available.

Hiranyaksa is known in the medical works as an exponent of the views on the origin of the disease. According to Caraka, he refuted the view point of Varyovida on the nature and the origin of the diseases. For instance he opines that the diseases originate from five elements. Further he classified tastes into four - tasty and favourable, tasty and unfavourable, not tasty but favourable and not tasty and unfavourable.<sup>25</sup> He is also known as Kusika in the medical work of Cakrapani, *Ayurvedadipika* Badisa, Dharmagava <sup>26</sup> is known for his views on tastes, and foetus he classified taste (*rasa*) into eight. He discussed the properties on *Vayu* (air). He also opines that hands and legs are first manifested in the foetus.<sup>27</sup>

## Sankrtyana

He expressed his own views on the properties of *Vayu* and it is quoted in the *Carakasamhita*. He enumerates six-rough, light, cold, violent, and hard and clear.<sup>28</sup>

Saraloma another renowned vaidya is known for the views on the nature of diseases. He refutes that soul cannot be the causes of the diseases, the soul never allows to be inflicted by pain. It naturally evades from distress. It never tries to be afflicted itself. It is mind influenced by *rajas* and *tamas* that creates the body and diseases.<sup>29</sup>

We get a few interesting features on the nature of diseases and the dietary system from Kapya or Bhadrakapya. He refutes the view of Saunaka. The latter opines that diseases are inherited. Kapya asserts that man owes his diseases to the deeds of his previous life. Further he expounds of only one *rasa* felt by the tongue. With reference to diet, Kapya opines that milk and fish should not be taken together. "If taken with milk this may lead to sickness or sometimes death". With regard to the development of foetus he is of the opinion that the navel is the first organ to grow. It is due to its getting nourishment from the mother.<sup>30</sup>

The next ancient medical thinker to be considered here is Kanakayana. Caraka describes him as an ancient and greatest physician of Bahika. He formulated his own views on *Rasa*. He is said to have discussed the nature of *Rasa* with other renowned sages, well versed in the *Vaidya sastra*. One such sage was Nimi. Kanakayana opines that the *Rasas* are innumerable to be explained only in terms of their location number and function. With regard to health and disease, he asserts that Brahma is the root cause. In this context, he refuted the view of Kumarasirabharadvaja in this aspect. Regarding the development of the foetus Kanakayana states that the first part to develop in this process is the heart, the base of life and consciousness. It seems that he was the first to put forward this view. The Arabs recognised his scholarship in medical science. This is inferred in their medical works which mention Kankha or Kataka.<sup>31</sup>

The medical formulations attributed to him are – *Paittikavirencanam*, *Vyakhyakusumavale*, *Kakakayana Gulika* and *Kankayanavatika*.<sup>32</sup>

Jabali, figured in the *Ramayana*, was not only a revolutionary thinker but was also said to have been a scholar in the *Vaidya sastra*. According to the *Brahmavaivartapurana*, he is ascribed to the work *Tantra Sara*, one of the medical works. A few sources cite that Jabali also wrote *Brhat Jabalopanisat* and *Rudraksajabalopanisat*. However all these works of him are not traceable in any medical library available now. At the same time it is interesting to note that his view on the origin of living which is mentioned in the *Ramayana*. According to it, the father is only remote cause for the birth of a child and the union of the sperm and the ovum is the real cause.<sup>33</sup>

Kumarasirabhadradvaja views on the medical works deserve our attention. First he asserts that the diseases are caused by one's own action in the previous birth. Second, the nature has its own role in causing the diseases. Third the *Rasas* are five based on the principal of elements. Fourth with regard to foetus Kumarasirabhadradvaja opines that the head develops first since it is the pedestal of all expereince.<sup>34</sup>

We come across another to medical knowledge is that he initiated discussion the origin of diseases in the learned assembly of the sages. Further he called upon the sages to find out whether man and ailments emerge from the same cause.<sup>35</sup>

We get a few more interesting points on the subject of our study from Varyovida. According to Caraka, he was a renowned physician. He expresses his views on the nature of *Vayu*, its nature, and its functions inside and outside body in

the normal and abnormal status. Marici one of the contemporary physicians of that period, questioned the views of Varyovida on *Vayu*. For that he replied that the knowledge of the *Vayu* would benefit the physicians in regaining the abnormal *Vata* by medicines to its normal state. He opined that the *Rasas* are six in numbers. These depended on the physical properties of substance i.e. heavy, light, cold, hot, unctuous and dry. Further Varyovida was of the view that, *Rasa* caused diseases, indirectly water is the basis cause. Finally he states that “the basic cause of diseases is not mind but the body.”<sup>36</sup>

Saunaka, son of Sunaka is an Acarya of *Atharvaveda*. He is known in ancient medical study for his views on the origin of the diseases, development of the foetus and the origin of man. As regards the origin of the diseases he differed from Hiranyaksa and asserted that the diseases “are inherited from parents.” For instance diseases like diabetes are inherited. His argument is that none is born from sixth *dhatu*. With regard to the foetus Saunaka states that the colon, the seat of *Vata*, is what develops in the foetus first. He is said to have written many medical works including *Brhaddevata*, *Anukamalika Saunaka tantra*. The last is on toxicology. This work attracted the attention of the Arab scholars and they translated this work into their language Arabic. It is also stated that the work, *Grahajananasanti* is a work of Saunaka.<sup>37</sup>

Kanada, an exponent of the *Vaisesika* philosophy, is known in the ancient medical world as an expert in *Nadisatira* (science of pulse). He is said to have documented the work *Nadivijnana*. This work consisting of sixty- three stanzas is about the reading of the pulse. It is also the work on the etiology and treatment



of the diseases. According to this, pulse beats indicate the nature of the diseases and also the approach of death. There is also a chapter here on the examination of the tongue. However, the work is incomplete.<sup>38</sup>

With regard to the efficacy of medicines in curing ailments, we get a few interesting informations from Maitreya, another renowned physician. According to Caraka he discussed with Atreya regarding the medicines and their application in the eradication of diseases. The contention of Maitreya is as follows:

Some patients succumb to diseases despite the best treatment provided, while, some others seriously afflicted get along without treatment. For that Atreya replies “There are curable and incurable diseases. Medicines are futile against incurable diseases, but are helpful in the case of the curable ones. One may recover without medicines, but if it takes medicines, they certainly help. One may rise after a fall, but helping hand eases his efforts. Medicines are very useful as aids.”<sup>39</sup> This dialogue gives a hint that medicines are not the cause for recovery, they are more of an aid, this fact is relevant even today. Finally, Maitreya classified diseases into three categories namely, curable, incurable and manageable.<sup>40</sup>

Sakuneya (Sakunteya), one of the sages assembled in the Himalayas is known for his views on *Rasa*. He classified *Rasa* into, moistening and pacifying.<sup>41</sup> Paila wrote a work on etiology as mentioned in the *Brahmavaivartapurana*.<sup>42</sup> He was one of the six disciples of Badaryana or Vedavyasa, learnt Ayurveda from the sage Bharadvaja. However his work is not traceable now. Markadeya is one of the disciples of Bharadvaja and the

latter instructed the *Ayurveda* to the former. According to the Bower Manuscript he earned long life by means of Amrita tails. Markandeya is ascribed to the work *Nadipariksa*. According to the *Nadisastra sangraha* he was an exponent of the *Nadisasta* along with Kasyapa, Kausika, Vasistha, Kumarasambhava, Parasara Bharadvajaj and Markandeya. The last condensed the works of the scholars in his work.<sup>43</sup>

We get stray reference to Asvalayana Sandila and Kapila in the ancient Indian medical developments. However we know very little about the first two persons. Whereas the last one figured in the *Devipurana*. The latter refers to him as a sage, proficient in medical science. Whereas Caraka mentions the name of Kapila among the sages, who had assembled to learn *Ayurveda*.<sup>44</sup>

Nakula and Sahadeva twins of the Pandavas, figured in ancient Indian medical history. It is said that they had intimate contact with the Asvini deva, one of the deities of *Ayurveda*. According to the *Brahmavaivartapurana* both Nakula and Sahadeva composed medical works, *Vaidyakasarasattva* and *Vyadhisindhuvimarddana* respectively. But none of these works are traceable now. However a work *Asvaikitsa* also called *Sulihotra* ascribed to Nakula is available.<sup>45</sup>

Ravana, the king of Sri Lanka wrote *Kumaratantra* – a work concerning the method of curing children's ailments through incantation. Quotations from it are mentioned in Carakadatta. There are other works of Ravana known as *Balatantra*, *Arakaprakasa*, or *Rajamartanda* and *Nadipariksa*. Among these the second is in the form of Ravana's narration to his

queen Mandodari. The last work was brought to light in the year 1912. V.P Joshi edited and Acharya Yadavji published this work.<sup>46</sup> According to one of the sources Ravana wrote *Udisthantra* or *Urishthantra*. Paulasa taught him the *Vaidya Sastra*.<sup>47</sup>

## Conclusions

I. The study of the medical thinkers surveyed here indicates that medical science in ancient India had a perennial growth.

II. The growth of the medical science witnessed many new ideas. The newly emerged ideas are the outcome of discussion and their incorporation has given a new vista to our subject of study

III. It is interesting to note that the ancient Indian medical thoughts expressed different views regarding conception of diseases and note of their classifications. Further, the development of the foetus and other relevant matters have to be taken into account by the thinkers. Finally, the ancient physicians were also concerned with the eradication of the diseases by adapting different techniques.

IV. The diseases that haunted the ancient physicians as revealed in their works are as follows - types of fever (*Jvaras*) diabetes, urinary obstruction, loss of vigor (*Dhatu khaya*) eye pain pregnancy trouble and causative factors for body ailments and diseases affecting children. Besides they also formed opinions on the diseases. One such opinion that deserves our attention is that the disease is not of the mind but the body. They also put forward a view. The view is that the *Rasa* causes disease and indirectly waters are the basic cause. With regard to the

role of medicines in maintaining health, one of the scholars expressed the opinion that they are not the cause for recovery, they are more of an aid. Further, it is also observed that the medicine should be administered according to the strength and age and nature of the sickness and to the kind of medicine as specified in the *sastra*. It is also very necessary in preparing medicine to take into account the different ingredients.<sup>48</sup>

V. Flora, fauna that influence on age and human nature, properties of different medical products dietary codes etc attracted the physicians of that time. With regard to the dietary *Okasatyam*<sup>49</sup> (one should not replace the existing food habits) should be observed.

The whole study reveals that there prevailed a favourable atmosphere for free observations based on experiments and discussions. These induced a systematic evolution of the different trends of the *Vaidya Sastras* in ancient India.

VI. Finally, in the course of study we come across several medical works composed by the sages' experts who were in the *Vaidya Sastra*. However, detailed information on these are scanty.

## References

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20. Bower Mss p.161, Varier *Ibid.*, p.55.
21. Varier, *Ibid.*, p.55 Note No.10 see Jyotir Mitra, *A critical appraisal of Ayurvedic material in Buddhist literature with reference to Tripitaka* (Varanasi 1985) p.359.
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26. He supports the view of *Kumarasirabharadvaja* regarding the properties on Vayu see Varier, Note No. 45b.
27. Varier, *Ibid.*, p.57, Note No. 45b, p.70.
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31. Reinand Mem Su plude, p.314, Varier, *Ibid.*, p.58-71.
32. Varier, *Ibid.*, p.58, Note No. 50, 55b, p.71.
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34. *Ibid.*,
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36. *Ibid.*,
37. It seems that there are many Saunaka we come across in the investigation of our study. Therefore it is difficult to identify Saunaka the renowned the Ayurvedic scholar. Further detail, Varier, *Ibid.*, Note No. 62, pp.71-72.
38. Varier, *Ibid.*, p.60.
39. *Ibid.*,
40. *Ibid.*,
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42. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, p.260, Varier, *Ibid.*, p.60-61.
43. Varier, *Ibid.*, p.62.
44. *Ibid.*,
45. *Ibid.*, pp.65-66.
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## **RISE AND GROWTH OF VAISHNAVISM IN ANDHRA – A CASE STUDY**

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The *Srimad Bhagavatam* is a treasure house of Indian culture. It is many things combined: a manual on ethics, a work on social and political philosophy, a study of duty and human relationships, a book on religion and the attainment of the truth.

The epic, *Bhagavatam* is an important and sacred epic of India. Probably, no literary work in its origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on Indian life and culture as this epic. In this paper an attempt is made as to the origin and development of *Bhagavata* cult in Andhra Pradesh.

Members of the earliest recorded Hindu sect, the beginning of the theistic, devotional worship and modern Vaishnavism. The sect originated in the Mathura region and spread throughout India and Andhra was too came under its sway. The faith centers on devotion to a personal god, variously called Vishnu, Krishna, Hari or Narayana. The Bhagavad Gita is the earliest exposition of the system but its central scripture in the *Bhagavata Purana*. The *Bhagavata Purana* also known as *Srimad Bhagavatam* or simply *Bhagavatam* is well known among all the *Purana* and is an important literature of Hinduism.

After the four *Vedas*, the *Puranas* form the most sacred texts of the Hindus. The highest philosophy found in *Vedas* and *Upanishads* was difficult for the commoners to understand and hence the *Puranas*, which were recited at the time of sacrifices, became popular. The eighteen *Puranas* deal with eighteen different deities: Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Siva, Garuda, Narada, Bhagavata, Agni, Skanda, Bhavishya, Brahmavaivarta, Markandeya, Vamana, Varaha, Matsya, Kurma and Brahmanda.

The Bhagavata Purana is popular because it focuses on *Bhakti Yoga* (devotion to the supreme Lord expressed through love) Vishnu or Krishna is understood as the Supreme lord. Bhagavata Purana consists of eighteen thousand slokas, distributed amongst 332 chapters and divided into twelve cantos (skandhas). It is named *Bhagavata* from its being dedicated to the glorification of Lord Vishnu. Though original written in Sanskrit, the *Bhagavata Purana* has been explored and translated in many vernacular languages of India. An epic philosophical and literary classic, it holds a prominent position in India's voluminous written wisdom. Bhagavatam exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any other of the Puranas. History suggests that the text was written in the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century. However, Hindu religious tradition holds it to be one of the works of Vyasa written at the beginning of *Kali Yuga* (about 3100 BC).

The epics and *Puranas* refer to Vishnu, Narayana and Vasudeva Krishna<sup>1</sup> as almost one and his devotees are called either as Vaishnavas of Bhagavatas<sup>2</sup> or Sattavatas<sup>3</sup> or Ekantikas<sup>4</sup> or Pancharatras.<sup>5</sup> But these are found to be three different cults

fused into one during the Upanishadic period. The first important step in the evolution of Vaishnavism is the Vasudeva cult developed around Vasudeva-Krishna the leader of the famous epic race the Yadus with its branches the Sattavatas and Vrhshis.<sup>6</sup> Vasudeva-Krishna was the disciple of Ghora Angirasa of the Chandhyogya Upanishad who laid the foundations of the monotheistic religion, independent of the Vedic tradition and with emphasis on ethical requirements such as *dana*, *arjava* and *ahimsa*.<sup>7</sup>

It is generally agreed that Vasudeva-Krishna played a prominent part in the events recorded by the *Mahabharatha*.<sup>8</sup> Buhler thinks that the worship of Krishna “dates from the time long anterior to the rise of the Jains in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.”<sup>9</sup> By the time of Panini (5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) the Vasudeva cult became an established religion among the Sattavatas and Vrishnis.<sup>10</sup> In the course of time Vasudeva Krishna came to be identified with Narayana and Vishnu who were held supreme among the Brahmanists. Narayana was *yogisvara* and he became supreme through the Pancharatra, sattra.<sup>11</sup> Slowly Vasudeva was identified with him and the Vasudvaka and the Pancharatrakaas got mixed up<sup>12</sup> and came to be known as the *Bhagavatas*. Soon afterwards the god of the *Bhagavatas* was identified with Vishnu as a result of a double pronged move. On the other hand the Brahmanists found in the popular *Bhagavata* cult an effective means of checking the progress of atheistic Buddhism. Therefore “Brahmanism claimed as its own this popular and powerful representation of the deity (i.e. Krishna) and transformed it into an incarnation of Vishnu. In this way Brahmanism succeeded in gaining over the entire community of the *Bhagavatas* and the latter (still existing sect) were merged in Brahmanism”.<sup>13</sup>

Thus by the time the Mahabharata and the Bhagavad Gita were composed “three streams of religious thought - the one flowing from Vishnu the Vedic go at its source, another from Narayana the cosmic and philosophic god and the third from Vasudeva, the historical god mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaishnavism.<sup>14</sup>

The *Bhagavata Purana* claims that the Andhras, like many other uncivilized tribes, were purified by their adherence to Vaishnavism.<sup>15</sup> Vaishnavism entered Andhra sufficiently early. Many of the Andhra ruling families showed preference to Vaishnavism till it became predominant after it was activated by Ramanujacharya in the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The early Satavahanas appear to have been influenced by Vaishnava Bhagavatism. The second king in the Satavahanas<sup>16</sup> according to Matsya list, is Krishna or Kanha and the mane must have been the result of that influence. On the basis of the Chinnaganjam inscription<sup>17</sup> of Yajnasrisatakarni's reign, D.C. Sircar concludes that the “Vasudeva cult spread up to the east coast by the close of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. The Saptasati which is generally attributed to the 17<sup>th</sup> king in the Satavahana dynasty contains many *gathas* with Vaishnaaite themes. They are: Krishna and the churning of the ocean of milk<sup>18</sup>, Yasoda, Gopikas and Krishna<sup>19</sup> Vamana<sup>20</sup> and Trivikrama.<sup>21</sup> Recently a large panel of sculpture was discovered at Kondmotu in the Paland Taluk of Guntur district.<sup>22</sup> It contains from the left, the images of Pradyumna, Vishnu, Narasimha, Vasudeva, Sankarshana and Aniruddha. On stylistic grounds, the panel is assigned to the late phase of the Ikshavaku sculpture or to about the close of the fourth century A.D.<sup>23</sup> In the time of Ehuvala Chantamula an image of Ashtabhuja Narayana on the Sethgiri<sup>24</sup> was consecrated. This event took place in the

30<sup>th</sup> year of his rule i.e. about A.D. 270.<sup>25</sup> This amply proves that Vaishnavism was introduced into the Nagarjunakonda valley; where there had been Buddhism and Saivism. The name Ashtabhuja Narayana of Vishnu indicates the growth of Vaishnavite mythology at such an early date as A.D. 250. According to Bhagavata Purana<sup>26</sup> Daksha, after he was revived to life, invoked Vishnu as Asthabhuja-Narayana. This image might have inspired the sculptors at Undavalli to produce Trivikrama with eight arms.<sup>27</sup> The Pallavas who destroyed the Iskhavakus of Vijayapuri might have carried this conception of Narayana and built for him a temple at Kanchi. One of the early Alvars Pey makes references to “Attapuyakaram” (Ashtabhuja) at Kanchi.<sup>28</sup> Most of the early Pallava kings were Vaishnavas as indicated by their very names. Nandivarma of the Salankayana dynasty was a Paramabhagavata and he made gifts to Vishnugrahasvami.<sup>29</sup>

The early members of the Chalukyan dynasty, who replaced the Vakatakas in the west and the Vishnukundins in the east were devotees of Vishnu. Pulakesin I who proclaimed the Chalukyan supremacy by performing the Asvamedha took the title Sri Prithvi Vallabhya,<sup>30</sup> which means the Lord of the goddesses of wealth (Sri) and Earth (Prithvi). His successors continued the title. During the time of Kirtivarma I—Mangalesa<sup>31</sup> took the title Parambhavagavata.<sup>32</sup> Kubjavishnuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chalukyan line also had that title and he named his son Jayasimha. Varaha the sacred Boar was the crest of the Chalukyas.<sup>33</sup>

During the Pallava-Chalukya period, Tirupati and Nellore became important centres of Vaishnavism. Though the earliest inscriptional reference to Tirupati comes from about the middle

of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, there is plenty of literary evidence about the existence of Tirumala-Tirupati from very early times. In the compositions of the Alvars collectively known as the “Nalayira Divya Prabhandham”, there are nearly 300 references to Tirupati.<sup>34</sup>

Hence it can be surmised that Andhra Desa was much influenced by Vaishnavism from early times. It housed many Vaishnava temples and *mathas* which imparted education and teachings of the Vaishnava philosophy.

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## UNVEILING THE ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES OF THE TAMILS

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### Introduction

Roads are mentioned in several inscriptions from all parts of the country where the boundaries of lands and villages are described. Two classes of roads may be distinguished, namely the *vadis* and the *Peruvali*. The *vadis* were only slightly better than footpaths and apparently not suited to wheeled traffic and one such *vadi* in Uttaramerur was washed away by the floods and the path became unfit for use even by cattle. Hence, the *sabha* decided to widen it and purchased the adjoining lands from the ryots to whom they belonged. The better class of roads was called *Peruvali*, (the great road) in the inscriptions. These were the trunk roads leading from one large division of the country to another, as is seen from their names like the Andhra road, *Vadugapperuvali* or Andhrapatha, was the great road to Kongu (*Kongupperuvali*), the big road to Pennadam. The Tanjavur-peruvali mentions in an inscription that there was a road from Aduturai and most significant of all, the great road leading to Kalyanpuram is mentioned in an inscription from the Thanjavur district. The breadth of one of these roads is stated to have been two rods (kol), or about twenty four feet (Nilakanta Sasthri, K. A. 1955:594).



Numerous roads connected important centers. Some of them were called the king's highways (Rajapatha). Kings are praised for building roads. Some of the inscriptions state also the width of the roads, that is 10 cubits, or 4 rods of 18 spans i.e. 72 spans and so on (Appadurai, A. 1936 (1990rp):424-25). The Chola inscriptions mention roads which describe the boundaries of gifted land. There were two types of roads, namely, *Vali* - only for foot travelers and *Peruvali* or trunk road leading to various divisions of the kingdom.

Pedlars moved about the streets vending their articles for sale. It appears that streets existed except, perhaps, in the distinctively *Kuruinchi* and *Palai* regions. The streets, however, appear to have been sandy on account of the frequent movement of people, animals and vehicles (*Perumbanarrupadai* :397). Mention is made of the beaten paths in the hilly tracts and arid regions, which were used originally by animals like elephants, deer and cattle. The tracts were arduous; moreover; passing through them was often risky on account of dacoity from wayside robbers. The traders used to proceed to the various villages in small groups called *Vanikach chattukal* (trade guilds).

The commodities were carried in carts or on the backs of donkeys. The weight and measurements were indicated on the bags of articles. The traders were just and fair in their dealings. At the same time, there existed highways connecting the villages and towns. They were known as '*Peruvali*'. It is learnt that tolls were levied at the entrance to towns and cross roads.

*Uru porulum ulgu porulum tan onnarth  
tan porulum vendan porul*

(*Kural* :756)

That is, the wealth unclaimed, the wealth obtained through customs and taxing, and tributes from the conquered foes, made up the wealth of kings.

In south India in the Sangam age, trade and transport was by means of vehicles. *Puram* literature (100BCE-100CE) speaks of the use of various vehicles by the salt merchants to transport their merchandise from one place to another. The work goes on to mention that the women of the *Parambumalai* region stood on mounds to count the number of such vehicles passing through their village. It is interesting to note that there were long lines of bullock carts in which the salt dealers travelled with their families, as also caravans of asses carrying sacks of pepper. The toll-gates were guarded by soldiers, the villages were inhabited by hunters, shepherds and farmers, and the seaports were crowded with ships or catamarans and country-craft in the capital city of Kanchipuram (Kanakasabai, V. 1956:193).

The *Silappadikaram* (5th-6th CE) says that Madavi went in a vehicle called *Vangam* also called *Kottapandi* and *Koodarapandi*. Further *Cintamani* a medieval Tamil work says that the vehicle (*vandi*) was called *Pandis*. But there is no information regarding the decorations given to the means of transport (Bag, A. L. 1997:601-03). The early Tamil society is believed to have been ignorant about the use of animal-drawn carts as well as horses. At Kodumanal a potsherd having a cart is represented as graffiti with other implements (Ravi Varma, K.T. 1998:39).

*Vali* Minor roads were called *vali* (*SII* Vol-II, 4, sec 16). *Peruvali* The Great road or high way. The roads from one village to another which formed the boundary of the village were granted to temples or brahmanas. In Tamil inscriptions the road

is called *Peruvali* (Appadurai, A. 1936(1990rp):97). Further, it is attested in the Sangam literature that the *Peruvali* is called the high way (*Perumbanarrupadai*:81).

“*vada yellai vindanur peruvalikku terkku*”

### High ways or Trade routes

The main roads and markets were called (*perangadi and angadi*). Big and small markets were similarly named. The markets which were located at central points attracted traders from *managarams* (large and complex *nagaras*) like Kanchipuram and royal ports like Mamallapuram as well as from the distant Chola and Pandya regions. It is interesting to mention that there were four important trade routes in those days. Highways linked them to other *nagarams*, *managarams*, and royal centres. They are *Vadugaperuvali*, *Tanjaiperuvali*, *Melapperuvali* and *Kanchipperuvali*.

*Vadugaperuvali*, (*ARE* 131 of 1912 & 1892 of 106). This road begins from Andhra Pradesh via Chennai. It is a coastal land route and it ends in Puducherry. *Tanjaiperuvali*, (*ARE* 363 of 1907). It is mentioned in an inscription from Aduthurai. Another inscription from Tanjore (*ARE* 203 of 1908) records the road leading to Kalyanapuram that is the capital of the western Chalukyas. The kingdom of the Bana chiefs was known in inscriptions as *Vadugavali* during the successive reigns of the Pallava kings of Kanchi from Nandivarman II to Nripatunga. It is interesting to mention that the territory was known as *Vadugavali*. Their territory was called ‘Perumbanappadi’.

*Melapperuvali* (*SII* Vol -3:4). *Kanchipperuvali* (*SII* Vol-3:68 & *SII* Vol- 4:133). *Kongapperuvali* (*ARE* 233 of

1915); (363 of 1907); (203 of 1908); (281 of 1911). There is also a reference in a Chola inscription to a big road passing through Kongu called ‘Kongapperuvali’, perhaps from the Chola country to the Chera country (Vaidiyanathan, K. S. 1983 :66). Hence, Kongu came to be called S’ola-Kerala mandalam.

It is interesting to note that there are twenty highways especially in the Kongu region. They are *Rajakesari peruvali*, *Asuramalai peruvali*, *Chozamadevi peruvali*, *Viranarayana peruvali*, and *Adiyaman peruvali*. *Rajakesari peruvali* was one of the important highways of those days because it connected the Chera and Chola country. It begins from Karur and runs through Sulus, Vellalur, Perur and it ends at Palakkadu. Further, the inscription states that this route passes from Perur via Sundakamuttur to the west of Dharmalingamalai, and the east of Aiyyaswamy malai, that is Timilimalai to Cherrimalai between Pachaimalai enroute to Sundakamuttur. It thus connects *Ettimalai* of this region. Apart from this, the Tamil literature *Perumpanarrupadai* mentions.

‘*Ulkutai peruvali*’

‘*anaar cevi kazhutai cattodu vazhangum ulkutai peruvali*’

(*Perumpanarrupadai* :80).

Hence it is stated that this highway was specifically used for trade activities and traffic for public use. It was also a convenient route for invasions also. During the time of *Aditya Chola* (CE 871-907) a thirty feet road called *Rajakesari peruvali* was reconstructed. The west coast road from up to Pumbuhar was used. From this route the Greeks and Romans were trading with this region. This is attested to from the coins available from the Perur region (Dinamalar 25.3.2012).

From Palani an inscription of the Vikrama Chola period of the eleventh century AD mentions the “Kolumam Highway”. This connected Madurai and Calicut. It started at Madurai and ran through Palani and Kolumam to Calicut. Then it took the sea route which extended up to the Persian coast. From there, it took the land route to Rome and the sea route to Greece. Through this highway the Tamils had maintained trade contacts with foreign countries (The New Indian Express 19.7.2012).

In those days, there were so many travellers’ bungalows or rest houses or *vazhi pokkumandapam* in Tamilnadu. For example, from Mamallapuram to Kanchipuram via Chengalpattu we can see many rest houses. Further, on the way from Kanchipuram to Vedal a *mandapa* was located at Konerikuppam near Enathur (now partially ruined). Besides, on the route from Kanchipuram to Mylapore which was a trade route, via Sriperumbudur and Kundrathur we can see the ruins of several rest houses. Mylapore was an important trade centre and also a harbour. It was famous for cotton, silk cloth, and muslin of a fine variety. Many trade routes are still used for transportation e.g. Chennai to Arcot (via Kundrathur, Sriperumbudur, Kanchipuram en route to Arcot (The Hindu, Nov 3, 2012:3).

Streets were called *teru* (street) (Silap X: 110,116), *Perunderu* was the big street or trunk road (*Mani* XV: 58). The term *teru* and *perunteru* refers to big street or trunk road. Many streets of the city were named according to the profession of the people who lived in them, for example, *Saliyatteru* (weavers quarters), *Villigal-teru* (quarter of the bowmen) and *gandharva-teru* (the quarter of the muscians) (Appadurai, A. 1990:349-50). *Dharaniciintamani- perunderu* at Gangaikonda solapuram (ARE 454 of 1912), *Dinacintamanip perunderu* (ARE 129 of 1896), *Arapperunjelvi-salai* at Perumbarrppuliyur (ARE 266 of 1919),

*Arunmolidevapperunderuvu* of Kanchi (ARE 5 of 1921) are some of the roads mentioned in the inscriptions. *Raja vithi* or the King's highway which generally means a public road was named after the ruler of the area or territory. Another instance that can be cited is that of a new street formed in Tiruppugalur in the tenth year of the reign of Kulottunga III which was called as Rajakkal-tambiran-tiruvidi.

## Road Signs

It is interesting to note a mile stone or an indicator mentioning directions belonging to the thirteenth century AD which have been discovered in north Arcot district. Further, a tenth century road sign was found at the Rajakesari Peruvali. High road at Sundaikkaimuthur, in Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu.

## Road Tax

A tax was imposed on road users. This was called *carikai-vari* (*road-cess*). Besides, fines were also levied on the unruly elements of the society. In 1219, at one instance, a fine of one *ma* was imposed on the persons who committed robbery on the highways (Shanmugam, P. 1987:99). *Vazhichariyai* : A duty was collected on those who carried the goods by animals or head load going to other areas. This was levied on the basis of amount per head load per person and paid into the government treasury (Govindarajan, C. 1987:594).

## Sumaitangikal or Rest stone

Generally, the trade routes were provided with *sumaitangikal* or rest stone. Such a stone was provided for the travellers to keep their heavy luggage or head load and also for taking rest

for some time. Those who planted the stone also mention the name of the person who donated or planted it for public use. We can see more rest stones in the Kanchipuram region.

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## **TRIBAL ELEMENTS IN RELIGIOUS TRADITION - A STUDY ON ORISSA**

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Religions are created by men. Religious concepts are governed by the psychological needs towards satisfaction, political needs towards the legitimisation of status and establishment, economic necessities towards co-operative participation and social needs towards solidarity and cultural aspirations towards better human understanding. These necessities have considerably affected the religious notions of the people variously since ancient times.<sup>1</sup> The geographical situation of a land is obviously of a compelling character in shaping the forces and circumstances which rear up culture. Sprawled along the eastern coast line, boarding the limped waters of the Bay of Bengal, endowed by the bounty of nature, clean and virgin beaches, serpentine rivers, breath taking waterfalls, the verdant mountains of the Eastern Ghats, lush green dense forests, cute wild life, colourful tribal life, the state of Orissa is like a bridge between the northern and southern halves of India where the Vindhyan mountain range did not hinder the pre-historic and proto-historic migratory movements, but instead, the plains of the coastal belt as well as the river belts of diagonal directions made human contact easier.

Orissa has a rich cultural tradition right from the time of the Mahabharat till the beginning of British administration. The

socio-religious political development in Orissa and in its sub-regions is the grand synthesis of the cultural waves of the north and the south. As such in an assimilation of the Dravidian and Aryan ways of life Orissa provided the best situational opportunities. The tribal and non-tribal interface is perhaps more glaring in this region of India, where the culture is better construed as an amalgamation of tribal and non-tribal elements, represented in its religious beliefs and practices, rituals, myths, folklores, emotions and in everyday behaviour of Oriyas. This paper aims to identify or locate the tribal heritage in the culture and society of Orissa, particularly in the field of religion.

Physical features also contributed immensely to the historical growth of Orissa. The hill tracts of Orissa were the abode of India's original tribal population, who in their sylvan isolation continued to maintain primordial cultural traits of much human significance. On the other hand the river valleys proved conducive to the growth of wider and pervasive cultures in consonance with general Indian trends of different epochs. Since pre-historic days the land of Orissa has been inhabited by various people. Stone Age remains have been discovered along the Burhabalanga, the Brahmani, the Mahanadi and its tributaries like the Tel. Later, pre-historic remains have also been found in the interior of Western Orissa and in the river valleys and plateau of Southern Orissa. Although the pre-historic communities cannot be identified, it is well known that Orissa had been inhabited by tribes like the *Saora* or *Sabar* ('*Suari*' according to Pliny, the Roman historian) from the Mahabharat days.<sup>2</sup> To this day, the Saora in the hills and the Sahara and Sabar of the plains continue to be an important tribe distributed almost all over Orissa.

## Tradition of Mother Goddess and Gram Devata

From the very ancient times the Mother Goddess was the beloved deity of the primitive people. The cult of the Mother Goddesses prevailed in different parts of India as early as the days of Harappan civilization.<sup>3</sup> The Harappan people worshipped the Mother Goddesses both in their iconic and uniconic forms.<sup>4</sup> While the iconic representations of these Mother Goddesses are found in the shape of terracotta figurines of different sizes and iconographical features, their uniconic representations are found in the form of ring stones of different sizes with a hole in each of them. Several ring stones of this nature are found in different parts of western Orissa, particularly in the Kalahandi district, and are preserved at the Sambalpur University museum and at the museum at Khariar.<sup>5</sup> As the ring stones were worshipped as the symbolic representation of yoni and the unicon of the Mother Goddesses, it appears that the *lithic yonis* carved with most natural appearance and traceable from the Maraguda valley and other parts of Kalahandi were the real marks of sculptural development in course of the evolution of the cult of Mother Goddesses in different parts of ancient Kalahandi. The aborigines of Orissa built circular stone enclosures in huge forms in different parts of their domiciles. These huge stone circles are popularly called *Sindibors* which were considered as tribal shrines for the worship of the earth goddess named as *Burusung*.<sup>6</sup> As in the tribal language 'Bur' means precious wealth and 'sung' means store house, the word *Burusung* may be conceived as synonymous with *Vasundhara* (Earth).

The Mother Goddesses were worshipped with great veneration and love by the non-Aryan tribes like the Savaras and the Pulindas who belonged to the Proto-Australoid ethnic group and lived in the Vindhya as far as Mahendragiri in the

south-eastern parts of Orissa.<sup>7</sup> The *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*<sup>8</sup> informs us that the Pulindas and the Savaras were associated with the Vindhya and the eastern mountain Mahendra. In Vedic texts, there are references about the tribal people, and the post-Vedic literature has referred to their cults and beliefs. There is description of Mother goddess being worshipped by Sabaras, Barbarians and Pulindas in 'Harivamsa', and in Mahabharata.<sup>9</sup> Varangacharita<sup>10</sup> also refers to the worship of these Mother Goddesses by the non-Aryan tribes. In Kalika Purana we come across the Savaras as the worshippers of the mother Goddesses. The Kalika Purana, significantly enough, forbids a Brahmana to make offerings of blood and flesh from his own body though the same is allowed to other castes. This evidently suggests the aboriginal character of the Mother Goddesses.<sup>11</sup>

The tribals have, from the dawn of civilization had close ties with neighbouring village communities. In course of time many tribes have become Hinduized, transformed from the state of hunting and gathering to agriculture. The so-called tribals of the past started living in the settled villages. However, in most of the cases the tribal deities remained as before. Several totem deities sacred to tribals are acknowledged village deities. Even though, the local peasant and Hindus propitiate them because of their power, the rites or rituals remained the same and they were to be propitiated by the tribal priests or non-Brahmin priests. *Gram devata* (village goddesses) worshipped in most villages in the shape of a stone placed under a tree, was originally a Tribal Goddess.<sup>12</sup> Other village goddesses *Bansamata* (Goddesses of the bamboo grove) and *Bagdeo* (goddesses of the tiger) are also of tribal origin. The village deities, with very few exceptions, are females and are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifice. The priests are not Brahmanas, but are drawn from all other castes. The names of the village deities

are legion, some of them having an obvious meaning and many quite unintelligible to the people themselves. They differ almost in every district and often the deities worshipped in one village are quite unknown in other villages five or six miles off. The functions of the different goddesses are not at all very clearly marked. In many villages the shrine is simply a rough stone platform under a tree and in many cases there is no permanent shrine at all. In some villages there is no permanent image or symbol, a clay figure of the goddess being made for each festival. Very often the goddess is represented simply by a stone pillar like that of Stambhesvari by a brass pot filled with water. There is no ecclesiastical calendar regulating the festivals or forms of worship. In many places, however, there is a fixed annual festival which generally takes place after the harvest.

Among the tribes of Orissa, the tradition of “*Grama Devati*” worship is greatly valued. Even the local caste people also offer sacrifices to the tribal goddesses. The caste people consider both the tribal sorcerers and goddesses as very powerful entities. They maintain a very high sense of regard for the both. The, “*Sarna Burhi*” among the Oraon, “*Jahira Era*” among the Santal and Munda, ‘*Thakurani Maa*’ among the Bhuiyan etc. are some such Mother Goddesses in tribal Orissa.<sup>13</sup> In some cases the tribes are also found to appropriate some Hindu goddesses for getting their blessings. Among the Hinduized tribes in Orissa like the Bathudi, Bhuiyan, Hill Kharia, the worship of Hindu goddesses like Laxmi, Kali or Durga is very much popular. Even among some of the non-Hinduized and primitive tribes goddess ‘Mahamaya’ and ‘Hanuman’ (the monkey-god) are propitiated for the common well-being and successful forest expeditions. However, as discussed earlier, some of the goddesses in tribal

Orissa have had tribal origin although they are at present propitiated in the name of Hindu goddesses. In the tribal dominated areas although in some cases the tribal and non-tribal deities are worshipped separately by their own priests, in respect of their rituals, their shapeless stone idols, offering of the sacrificial blood, and intoxicating liquor, not much difference is found among them.

### **Hindu Gods and Goddesses and traces of Tribal Features**

Shiva and Vishnu, two of the greatest gods of the Hindu pantheon exhibit strong traces of tribal origin. Vishnu's incarnations as *Varaha* (boar) and *Narasimha* (lion) bear the strong impress of the forest and reinforce tribal inputs into classical dharma. The tribal belt is to this day dotted with temples dedicated to Shiva and Shakti, both closely linked with tantra and magic that are widely practised by tribal communities. The wild natural environment in which the tribals live possibly accounts for the uniconical forms of their deities, and their frequently fierce disposition. Durga's awesome power is well known. Shiva also had an ugra form, as did Vishnu in his *Varaha* and *Narasimha* avatars. Legend states that *Narasimha* burst forth from a pillar to kill the demon Hiranyakasipu. The pillar is a uniconical image widely worshipped in tribal areas today? This cannot be explained as the permeation of Brahmanical influence. Orissa abounds with instances of *Narashima* depicted in wooden pillars symbolizing the goddess *Khambeswari* (Goddess of the pillar). *Narasimha* is believed to his power from the *shakti* have required residing in the pillar. Similarly, tantrism bears a strong tribal impress. The worship of the female counterparts of *Varaha* and *Narasimha*-*Varahi* and *Narasimhi* common in tantrism is widespread among Orissan tribals.

## Nature worship

Thus, one cannot deny the existence of tribal elements in a caste-society in the tribal dominated area, either in the form (idol or name) of the goddess or in the ritual practices. For millennia tribals and caste Hindus alike have worshipped the powers of the universe in the form of the Sun or fire (*Savitur*, *Agni*) forest powers (*Vandevi*, elephant, lion, eagle), plants (*Tulsi*), Sacred trees (*Pipal*), river waters and natural springs. The tribals of Orissa worship the Sun in their own ways either as the Supreme Being or as a powerful God regulating their agriculture. The changes of weather, the day-breaks and the night falls, and the germination, growth and decay of plants and their effect on human beings led the tribal mind to the worship of this god. Moreover, they invoke this deity to protect their fields, to help them hunt in the wilds and to help them of the debts and other unpleasant aspects of life. This is the cause of the tribal conception about this aspect of nature as the Dharma or the Supreme power. This Sun-worship has been reflected in Mahima Dharma resulting in an important religious sect of Orissa. So it is not strange to find that Bhima Bhoi, the blind poet of the Khonds, as the exponent of this religious cult has many followers in the tribal and other underdeveloped classes of Orissa. Gradually the caste Hindus incorporated this system into the Hindu fold. Along with it both the tribal's and non-tribals also commonly propitiate the Earth Goddess or '*Dharani mata*'. In addition to the worship of the Sun God and Earth Goddess by the caste people, which is originally considered a tribal element, the animistic beliefs and nature worship are also considered to be other such elements similarly practiced by the caste people. In some Hinduized tribal societies like Bathudi, Sounti, Hill Kharia etc. the Earth Goddess is named as *Basumata*, or *Basukimata*. Generally speaking, the worship of the Mother

Goddess or Shakti cult has been conceived as a very popular cult or tradition and it was primarily promoted by the so called primitive tribal communities.

### **Patronization of tribal deities**

A few examples from the legendary accounts of the origins of the princely dynasties of early Orissa and the feudatory states of later Orissa illustrate their relationship with the various tribes. The Eastern Gangas who conquered the area south of the Mahendragiri shortly before 500 A.D. acknowledged a deity of the Saora tribe on the Mahendragiri mountain named Gokarnasvamin as the tutelary deity of the family (*Ista-Devata*). The tradition concerning the early relation between the conquering Hindu kings and the local tribes had been preserved for centuries. The Vizagapatnam copper plate inscription<sup>14</sup> of Chodagangadeva of the year 1119 AD reveals that the founder of the dynasty, Kamarnava, after his arrival in Kalinga climbed up the Mahendragiri and worshipped Gokarnesvamin. Bestowed with grace by Lord Kamarnava climbed down the mountain, killed the chief of the Sabara tribe (Sabaraditya) and conquered Kalinga. The Gangas accepted the dominant deity of the Saoras, i.e. Gokarnasvamin who remained the tutelary deity of the Gangas till the 12<sup>th</sup> century when they moved the capital from Kalinga Nagar to Cuttack.

Similarly in the north of the Mahendra mountain the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kangoda linked their origin with the Pulinda and Sabara tribes of their mountainous hinterland and accepted Gokarnsvara as their tutelary deity. The kings of Dakshina Toshali and later the feudatory kings of Ranpur worshipped tribal goddesses Maninagasvari (lady of the Jewel serpent). Another example of the ritual relationship between



Hinduised rajas and tribal deities is the royal patronage of Goddess Stambhesvari (deity of the post) who until today is worshipped in various parts of Orissa. King Tushtikara, who ruled around 500 AD in a predominantly tribal area south of Sonepur, was her first known royal patron.<sup>15</sup> The Sulki dynasty ruled between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries in Kodalakamandala (Dhenkanal-Talcher- Angul regions) worshipped Stambhesvari as their tutelary deity.<sup>16</sup> The Sulkis were most probably members of the Saulika tribe. It is, therefore, quite apparent that the kings of the Sulki dynasty had acknowledged and royally patronized the dominant autochthonous deity of their own region as their tutelary deity. The Bhanja dynasty which ruled during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries over Khinjali Mandala, a tribal belt in Sonepur-Boud area also worshipped Stambhesvari as their tutelary deity.<sup>17</sup>

Some rulers of feudatory states of Orissa were of tribal origin. They were worshipping tribal goddesses who were later on considered as the state goddesses. Mention may be made here about the *thatrajas* of Bissam Cuttack. The attempt of these *thatrajas* (of Bissam Cuttack) to give legitimization to their rule among a population predominantly of tribal origin consisted mainly of the patronage of a number of local deities. The most important of these is represented by the goddess 'Markama', the village deity or 'grama devata' of Bissam Cuttack, whom the *thatrajas* adopted as their tutelary deity. Some of the important temples in Bissam Cuttack are dedicated to Thakurani, Durga, Bhairava and Niamraja (a Dongria Kondh god), this being a group of deities which suggests a strong 'Sakti' and Tantric religious orientation of the region.<sup>18</sup> Whatever intention may be (of the 'thatraja'), ultimately the tribal deity 'Niamraja' was given a place outside his tribe premises and thus became a part of the patronized Gods of Bissamcuttack.

## Magical practices and ancestor worship

In addition to the tribal elements like the worship of village Mother Goddess (*Grama Devati*), the rite of animal sacrifice, the worship of cosmic bodies like the Sun and Moon, the worship of Earth Goddess etc. a few more tribal elements are also seen in the cultural traditions of the caste people in rural Orissa. Some such remarkable features of tribal religion are the magical practices in day-to-day life, spirit possession; ancestor worship and worship of every useful object in nature.<sup>19</sup> In tribal Orissa, for most of the afflictions of the body, starting from the common illness to the serious types, people strongly relate them to the wrath of their gods or goddesses. People instead of going to the hospital, take the help of their shaman or sorcerer who are believed to have greater connection with the world of spirits or deities both malevolent and benevolent. First of all, through a traditional method of diagnosis either by examination of oil, water or stick, the tribal specialists identify the disease causing spirit or deity or then for the cure, the concerned spirit of deity is to be satisfied by offering animal sacrifice alongwith liquor. In almost all rituals tribal people always believe in direct interaction with the supernatural entities through a human medium known as shaman or diviner. In this practice, the spirit is often invoked through the human medium to inform about the present or future suffering or well-being. Sometimes, the spirits are also believed to come as per their own choice through the diviner to give a caution to the people about their wrong-doings, either at the family or village level. Thus, spirits possession is a very popular practice among the tribals. In rural Orissa too, this practice along with the former one, is very much prevalent. In Oriya, the caste people call the diviner as Kalisi. The Kalisi may be a man or woman who is periodically possessed by the spirit of a deity and pronounces inspired oracles. In the stage of possession, the

Kalisi begins to trample with disheveled hair and expresses the wishes and decrees of the deities. In crisis situation (natural calamities etc.) also this practice is performed to know the consequences and remedies. Ancestor worship is another essential element of the tribal religion which is also similarly practiced by the local caste people although not so elaborately. In almost all rituals, the tribals first of all worship their ancestors for the common well-being of the lineage members. The tribals worship a lot of natural objects which are useful for them and believe in numerous gods and goddesses. They also deify every hill, forest, stream, river etc. and consider them as the abodes of numerous benevolent and malevolent deities.

### **Life cycle rituals**

In the field of life cycle rituals too, both the tribes and caste people have a number of similarities. Although most of the rituals in connection with agriculture and some other calendric festivals are said to be accepted by the tribals from the caste societies or Aryan culture, it is considered that in respect of the life cycle or crises rituals tribal elements must have influenced the Aryan culture in Orissa.<sup>20</sup> In such life cycle rituals, incidences like birth, sexual maturity, marriage and death are considered as important stage of life. Every life cycle or crisis ritual includes three important phases, namely, separation from one particular social status, transition from one social status to another and finally integration into a new or higher social status. In the event of birth, all the tribal societies observe certain period of pollution which varies from tribe to tribe. The family members observe certain taboo in the day-to-day life and in interaction with kin members. The observation of ritual pollution or segregation, taboos and re-integration into the society or purity rites are common to all the tribes. Among the caste-Hindus too, inspite

of some minute variations, all these major rites are similarly performed. However, some Hinduized tribes like Gond, Savara, Deshia Kondh, Rajkuli Bhuiyan, Bhumij, Bathudi etc. have also imitated the Brahminical concepts of purity and pollution.

### **Aryanised Tribal Goddesses**

In the discussion of the tribal elements in the religious traditions of Orissa, another important factor is the location of Aryanized tribal goddesses in different parts of Orissa, such as *Stambhesvari*, *Bhandaragharani*, *Majhi Gharani*, *Pendrani*, *Vyaghradevi*, *Kandhuni*, *Kuresuni*, *Bankesvari*, *Hingulai*, *Budhi Thakurani*, *Narayani* etc. Prior to the influx of Brahmanical thoughts and concepts to the heart of Kalinga the aboriginal tribes of Orissa worshipped originally a number of aboriginal deities. The later invaders who had settled amidst the tribes, in course of time, adopted and worshipped these deities in order to enjoy the confidence and seek the co-operation of the tribals in their settlements. Gradually these deities were Hinduised or Aryanized being transformed from formidable nomadic cult into various Brahmanic cults and worshipped both by the Aryans and the non-Aryan sections of the society. This process of transformation was made by the invaders who, in the meantime, split up themselves into several ruling dynasties and ruled over the tribals, having established kingdoms of their own. Therefore, to keep the tribals in good humour they Aryanized, worshipped and patronized their gods and goddesses and accepted their religious beliefs and concepts. Thus the Hindu religion became a blending of heterogeneous cults embodying the precepts of different tribes in different times. In the process of Aryanization and patronage of the tribal goddesses, Brahmanas have played a vital role who defined and codified the duties of the tribes.<sup>21</sup> The 'Shanti Parva' in 'Mahabharata' also refers to this. According to Mahabharata,

they are to lead a “recluse living in the forest... and serve their king ..., dig wells, give water to the thirsty travellers, give away bed and other reasonable presents to Brahmanas”. The Brahmanas who settled in forest tracts through rent-free land grants came into contact with the tribals and with whose help they could cultivate their lands. Gradually there developed harmony amongst the Brahmins and the forest tribes which led to the interaction of their respective cultures. So much so Mother Goddesses worshipped by the non-Aryan tribes entered the Brahmanical pantheon.<sup>22</sup> In course of time they were Aryanized and transformed into the Shakti Cult. The aboriginal origin of these Goddesses is suggested by horrible practices involving human sacrifices.<sup>23</sup> The Yupas or sacrificial posts in front of the temple of these goddesses bear testimony to this practice. None of these Goddesses who are worshipped as Mothers, has a male consort. This indicates their origin in the matriarchical society and thereby proves their aboriginal origin.<sup>24</sup>

The worship of Shakti or the Mother Goddess like that of Siva in the form of a post or a pillar appears to have emanated from primitive tree-worship. In some of the early inscriptions of Orissa<sup>25</sup> we find the reference to Siva as *sthanu*, i.e., branchless trunk. In a later literary source of the Mukhalingam Ksetra Mahatmya which is a part of Skanda Purana, we notice an anecdote which supports the hypothesis that some of the major religious cults were associated with primitive tree-worship. It is no wonder that the Siva was worshipped in the form of a log of wood or a post, i.e., *stambha* or *khamba*. In fact, the tradition of the worship of the Mother Goddess in the form of *stambha* or a post has come down through the ages to the present time. In different parts of Orissa, particularly in the tribal-based areas, the Mother Goddess is worshipped in the form of a log or wood or a pillar made of stone and is popularly known

as *Khambesvari* or *Kandhunidevi*.<sup>26</sup> A close observation of many of the images of the Mother Goddess in Orissa, a critical analysis of Aryastave and a study of the inscriptions of Orissa of the Gupta and the post-Gupta period lead us to conclude that in the history of Saktism in Orissa the origin of the cult is indicated by a fusion of primitive tree worship, proto-historic Yoni-worship and worship of the Upanisadic concept of Uma. The Savaras and the Pulindas living in the hills and forests of Orissa, influenced by the Brahmanical faith of Hindusim during the process of their Aryanisation, identified the worship of the Brahmanical Mother Goddess Uma with their sacred tree.

This led to the emergence of the cult of Stambhesvari in Orissa. It is a Sanskritised name of Khambesvari given by the Sanskrit *panditas* who were responsible for Aryanising these aboriginal tribes and their deities. The Terasinga copperplate<sup>27</sup> discloses that about the fourth fifth centuries AD, a local king named Tustikara worshipped Stambhesvari who is also known as Bhagavati. This is the earliest record in Orissa where we find the mention of the Goddess Stambhesvari. Though the Mother Goddess of the Aryans was worshipped in her anthropomorphic form, the cult of Stambhesvari continued to exert an overwhelming influence over the people living in the nook and conner of Orissa. As stated earlier the cult of Stambesvari was so popular in Orissa that the members of some royal dynasties of Orissa also patronized and worshipped the Goddess Stambhesvari as their family deity. The Sulkis of Kodalka Mandala<sup>28</sup> the Bhanjas of Khinjali Mandala<sup>29</sup> and the Tungas of Yamagarta-Mandala were all devout worshippers of the deity *Stambhesvari*. With the rise and development of the *Stambhesvari* cult if Orissa, a number of places like Aska and Suruda in Ganjam district, Tel Valley in Kalahandi district, Gopal Prasad located near Talcher in Dhenkanal district, modern Suvarnapur, Boud etc.

developed as centres of the Stambhesvari cult where we find the Goddess worshipped by the people with great veneration either in the form of a wooden pillar or stone pillar.

In south Orissa, *Vyaghradevi* (the tiger goddess), the guardian deity of the Bhanjas of Ghumsar, has also a similar story of tribal origin. She was said to be the goddess of the Khonds and Savaras of Ghumsar. On the bank of Rushikulya, the famous deity of Tara-Tarini is located near Purusottampur. The shrine is found in a tribal environment and worshipped by a non-Brahmin priest. The deities are said to have a shift from a tribal type to 'Shakti' cult possibly by the process of Aryanization. These deities do not possess any iconographic features.<sup>30</sup> These original forms of the deities were stones which were converted into anthropomorphized images later. The goddesses were worshipped in an open space under the bushy groves and in subsequent periods, the temples have been built over them. It is also said that the tribals were satisfying the deities by the offering of animal or human sacrifices and because of this, the temples of these goddess are generally found in secluded places. The priests of these goddesses are also non-Brahmins. They belong to the tribal communities. The male priests call themselves as 'Sudra Muni', 'Muni', Jani, Mali, Dehuri, Devata, Raula, Suara etc. while the female priests are known as Janiani, Naliani etc. There are several examples of this sort available in Orissa. At Kanika on the Kerandimala hill, the goddess Mahuri Kalua, the deity of the Mahuri Raj family since the 18<sup>th</sup> century is also worshiped by a tribal priest. The Budhi Thakurani, the presiding deity of Berhampur is also mentioned as a tribal goddess incorporated in Hinduism later.<sup>31</sup> In the famous pilgrim centre Chandikhol, of undivided Cuttack District, the famous goddess Chandi was only Hinduised in the first half of the present century by Bhariav baba. Prior to it, the goddess was worshipped by the local

Sabaras. The famous goddess 'Brahmani' at Belaguntha has been also propitiated by a non-Brahmin Koli priest. The Goddesses Tarini of Ghatagaon in Kenjhar district is also said to belong to the aboriginal tribes. A similar story of tribal origin is also heard in case of another famous deity of Orissa Marjakeshari in Nrusinghanath temple of western Orissa. It is needless to mention that several similar tribal deities must have been Aryanised into Hinduism in different parts of the state.

### **Tribal origin of Jagannath Cult**

In addition to the above-mentioned Aryanised tribal goddesses, the most famous or well known example of this sort is the cult of Jagannath at Puri. Jagannath's tribal origin is undeniable, though the god is today inseparable from the high Hindu panorama and is a key constituent of Orissa's regional identity. Scholars like B.M. Padhi,<sup>32</sup> R.Geib,<sup>33</sup> A. Eschmann,<sup>34</sup> G.C. Tripathy,<sup>35</sup> H. Kulke,<sup>36</sup> have dealt with the tribal origin of the Jagannatha cult. Though many arguments and counter arguments have been put forth by the scholars to support their own views regarding the origin of the cult no one has been able to deny the intimate association of the Savaras or the tribals with the cult of Jagannatha from its inception. Even scholars like Gurudas Sarkar,<sup>37</sup> K.N. Mahapatra,<sup>38</sup> B. Mohanty,<sup>39</sup> and K.C. Mishra<sup>40</sup> have accepted the tribal influence in the cult of Jagannatha. The legends of the Puri temple and the Purusottama Mahatmya of the Skanda Purana, the Musali Paroa and the Vanaparva of Sarala Das's Mahabharata, Deula Tola of Sisu Krishna Das and Nilambara Das refer to the Savara or tribal origin of Lord Jagannath.

Orissan myths and oral traditions are enriched by the stories of sincere endeavour and devotion of the kings and nobles in



ordaining the status of this principal deity to this tribal shrine. Not only the myths, but also the temple ritual and terminologies have all proved the tribal origin of the Lord. Moreover, the images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra at the Puri temple are crude and have “a tribal look”.<sup>41</sup> The post, representing Stambhesvari is also crude and sometimes the figure of Nrusimha (an aspect of Jagannath) is carved on the post in a very crude form. All the similarities between the Puri Navakalevara ritual and that of the tribal deity Stambhesvri lead us to suggest a close resemblances between the Hindu God Jagannath and the tribal deity. The Sabaras also play a distinct role in the daily worship of Lord Jagannath at Puri. Even today a section of servicing people (Sevayatas) of the deity namely “Daitas” claim themselves to be of tribal origin, which has been established and endorsed in many scholarly writings. During the Anavasara<sup>42</sup> (sickness of the deities) ceremony of the deities, it is not the Brahmanas but the Daitas who take-up the worship. During this period the Vedic offerings and rituals are stopped. The Daitas also play important roles at the beginning of the Car festival. During this period the deities are worshipped not in Vedic lines but on tribal lines. Even the deities are dressed in the Sabara costume. The influence of Dravidian terms on the temple terminologies is very clearly marked. It is said that the words like Telenga Merada (Navi-kata Mandap), Teingi Samprada (One group of Maharis), Lanka, Tera, Bidia, Koili, Mudala Kota etc. which are very much used in the temple, or Dravidian words. Some scholars are of the opinion that the very popular words connected with the Jagannath cult like Daru, Kudua are all belong to the Saora language. Thus, tradition as well as present practices very clearly indicate the tribal origin of Lord Jagannath.

Orissa abounds with such instances of tribal-high Hindu linkage. It's most *svayanbhu linga* the Lingaraj in Bhubaneswar,

has a class of tribal priests, Badus, who alone are allowed to bathe and adorn the Lingaraj. Indeed the state has a plethora of important tribal gods and goddesses.

Thus the tribals have made an enormous contribution to Orissa's cultural heritage and religious traditions; all major gods and goddesses of the Indic traditions have tribal links. The British claimed that Adivasi population lay beyond the pale of mainstream Hindu societies. Yet even a cursory mapping of the spiritual-cultural landscape reveals a deep symbiotic relationship between tribals and non tribals which is amply reflected in ancient literature and in inscriptions. The tribal stratum of culture only ostensibly runs parallel to Hindu main stream; in reality the two are deeply enmeshed through an unseen osmosis. It may thus be appropriate to recognize tribal dharma as an intrinsic component of the ancient Sanatana *dharma*. On the whole tribals and elite castes alike have honoured and preserved our autochthonous traditions, though the tribal contribution towards our cultural and spiritual heritage remains largely unacknowledged. Indeed, the tribal society constitutes the key note and bedrock of our Hindu civilization and culture and tribal elements can be traced to the very core of Hindu dharma.

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## **SOCIETY IN KADAPA REGION DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD 1000 AD - 1300 AD**

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In the medieval period the Kadapa region was ruled by the Telugu Cholas, Vaidumbs, Chalukyas of Kalyani - Imperial Cholas, and Kayasthas. Kadapa lies 13°41' and 15° 15' middle of the northern latitude and 77° 55' and 79° 30' middle of the eastern longitude. It is bounded on the north by Kurnool district, on the east by Nellore district, on the south by Chittoor district and on the west by Anantapur district. It has an area of 15,373 Sq Km. According to the 2011 census it has 28, 84,524 lakhs population. At the beginning of the Kaliyuga period Kripacharya visited this region. So, it was known as Kripanagara, i.e, the town of Mercy. After that, it was changed as Kadupayi and Kadapayi. Gradually, it was named as Kadapa. Ptolemy visited this area in the second century AD and named it as Karipe. The famous Chinese traveller Heiun-Tsang recognized this area as Chiriya-Chola region. After the downfall of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Senapati of Golkonda Nawab named it Nek-nam-khan on expanded Kadapa town.

The social stratification in the Kadapa region was characterized by large-scale social mobility affected mainly by the political motivations of the ruling groups, who tried to control society through the mechanism of patronage. Social conditions of this period were within the normative framework of the four-

fold division of society based on *Varna* ideology. According to *Dharmasastra* the main duty of the king was to protect the *Varnasramadharmas*. They encouraged the proliferation of caste *jati*, through opening the channels of social mobility at different levels of the *varna* system.

In this section the focus is on the social mobility of various social groups apart from discussing their functional role. Among the social groups were included the ruling groups, the religious groups, agrarian groups, mercantile groups, artisans and women who figure in inscriptional sources, as donors, recipients, witnesses and executors of the grant. Besides these various groups, the social structure during the medieval period also constituted administrative group appointed by the ruling groups to dispense law and order in the localities under their jurisdiction. The *Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra* inhabited the farming zone. *Brahmanas* adhered to the duties assigned to them by the *Dharmasasras*; some undertook certain vows in order to lead a simple and exemplary life and were honored for the same by the kings. With the consent of the king, even the administrators of small regions made such gifts, thereby foregoing revenue. Unless the *Brahmanas* really reserved such endowments, administrators and rulers would not have made such gifts and forgone precious revenue. Some *Brahmanas* who held important positions in royal services gifted lands, and villages to temples. The *Kshatriya* denoting the ruling class was appropriated by different communities who were able to assume power over the land. The third section of society was the *Vaishyas*. Their main occupation was trade and commerce. Being skillful in commercial activities, these successful merchants amassed wealth. By virtue of their qualities, they commanded respect in society. Agriculture was the chief profession of many *sudras*; almost all people in

different professions received some stipulated share in agritultural produce from the villagers as remuneration for the services rendered by them.

The pastoralists *gollas*, *lambadis*, *erukalas*, *chenchus* and *boyas* were spread over the pastoral landscape and forests. *Sugalis* formed another group - hunter-gatherer community inhabiting the Palakondas and Seshachalam hills where large hamlets located like Sugaliipalli, Sugalitanda, and Sugalimitta. The tribe *erukalas*, who tended pigs and cattle, also formed part of the population as *yanadis* hunter-gatherers and fishermen, found mainly in the GunjanValley. The *Chenchus*, hunter-gathers were concentrated in the Nallamalas, Seshachalam and Erramala hills.<sup>1</sup> *Gollas* or *Yadavas* belonged to *Adavi gollas* and *Uru gollas*. The *Adavi gollas* inhabited remote settlements closed to the forest. The *gollas* were actually pastoralists and cattle keepers. The four inscriptions from Rayavaram<sup>2</sup>, Jillavaripalle<sup>3</sup> in Rayachoti taluk and Ramapuram<sup>4</sup> and Chagaleru<sup>5</sup> in Pulivendla taluk of Kadapa district mention, the cattle keepers. The social base forming chiefly the hunter-gatherer-pastoral community is rarely mentioned in the inscriptions. The interaction between these tribes and the settled communities formed a continuing factor in the evolution of the society. Social relations and advancement in the medieval society can be inferred from prefixes and suffixes added to indicate status. People, other than *Brahmanas*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* belonged to the *Sudra* community, which consisted of several endogamous groups of communities. Different communities comprising people practicing various professions viz. carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, stone-cutters, oil-mongers, weavers, potters, basket makers, shepherds, barbers and a host of other thus making it the largest section of society.



Some inscriptions refer to the *Reddis* or *Raddis* as agriculturists, businessmen and administrative officials. They were also known as *rattadu*, *rattodi*, *ratagullu*, *reddi* etc. *rattarudi* or *rattagudi* seems to have been made up of two words *ratta* and *gudi*. Two inscriptions<sup>6</sup> from Ramesvaram in Proddatur taluk of Kadapa district and four inscriptions from Chilamakuru<sup>7</sup>, Malepadu<sup>8</sup>, Veldurthi<sup>9</sup> and Kalamalla<sup>10</sup> in Kamalapuram taluk of Kadapa district mentioned about *reddis*. The inscriptions referred another important community in the society was *panchanamvaru*. It consists of five groups; named as goldsmith, carpenters, braziers and stone-cutters which collectively played a very important role in the society. They were engaged in the construction of temples. An inscription at Nemalladinne in Kadapa district refers to a grant of land to the *panchanamvaru* for the preparation of icons of metal, ivory and wood. Another inscription<sup>11</sup> at Peddamudiyam in Jammalamadugu taluk of Kadapa district mentions two names of stone-cutters *menthe vaddavi* and *brammavaddavi* at that time who were working digging a well and ditch.

Land tax was one of the primary sources of income to the Government. There were many sources of revenue i.e. profession, property and on trade. Tax on lands was generally levied in two forms, kind and cash. An inscription<sup>12</sup> at Kalakada in Chittoor district of 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. refers to the fact that Irigeya Maharaja on his coronation granted to certain farmers (*kapus*) of Renadu the remission of all the minor taxes. It is important to note that the exemption was granted in respect of minor taxes. Another inscription<sup>13</sup> from Nandaluru in Kadapa district dated 1309 A.D. states that Kakatiya Prataparudra exempted some taxes i.e. *sunkamu*, *saadamu*, and *madalu* from the villages of Nandaluru, Andavuru, Mandhadamu Mannuru and

Astapuramu. An inscription<sup>14</sup> at Proddatur in Kadapa district of the 10th century A.D. mentions that the Chola Maharaja collected land tax in the name of *siddhaya*. Another inscription<sup>15</sup> from Velpucherla in Jammalamadugu taluk of Kadapa district mentions that the Telugu Chola king Gilageya made a grant of *pannasa* of 50 *marturs* of land, the *siddhaya* of the *pannasa* is stated to be *pasindidrama* of 15 *rukas* and 5 *puttis* of adlu (grain). The above two inscriptions were mentioned the *siddhaya* and *putti* and taxes. Kings granted lands to the *Brahmanas* and other persons with the exemption of taxes on some particular occasions. This exemption of taxes reduced the royal revenue. The word *siddhaya* is used in the records of the earlier period to indicate the fixed levy both in the shape of grain monetary tax. The words *panga* and *pannu* are used to indicate the levies in kind and coin respectively.

An inscription<sup>16</sup> at Madduletigadda in Sidhout taluk of Kadapa district dated 1231 A.D. records that Tirukalatideva Chola Maharaja made a gift of some lands and also mentioned the tax i.e *koluchu*. *Koluchu* means share by measure, in some parts of the kingdom collected on all cultivated lands other than the king's lands, *deva-vrttis* and *brahmadeyas*. The *koluchu* was collected by the government officers. As the grain collected in the form of *koluchu* was usually very large in quantity, the government could not maintain public granaries in all the villages. The cultivators were asked to sell the grain in public markets in their presence and pay the proceeds to the government. An inscription<sup>17</sup> from Varikunta in Sidhout taluk of Kadapa district dated 1304 A.D. refers to the fact that Kayastha Tripurarideva Maharaja collected taxes like *sada*, *sunkana* and *shashtaya* during his reign. Another inscription<sup>18</sup> at Chanduvayi in Sidhout taluk of Kadapa district dated 1319 A.D. refers that Juttayalenka,

the subordinate of Kakatiya Prataparudradeva, imposed taxes like *rachasrotriyamuari*, *ari*, *goru* (koru), *pannulu* and *kanikalu*.

The term *koru* is applicable to the king's share of the yield in the government land in any village which was not assigned on a permanent basis to the cultivators, but only leased out on the basis of partnership in the produce. Such land which was called *racha-bhumi* or *racha-polomu* was not subjected to monetary taxation. Another inscription<sup>19</sup> at Chadipirala in Kamalapuram taluk of Kadapa district belongs to the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. mentions a grant of land in which one *putti* of paddy field could be sown. *Putti* tax was fixed levy in some cases, particularly on the wet lands, depending on their extent. The variety of the crop was also considered as one of the factors in assessing the levy of monetary tax. Some taxes are not mentioned in the inscriptions of Kadapa district. The taxes like *Angadi*, *Aridhilavadi*, *Kanika*, *Addavattu sunkamu*, *Appanamu*, *Ellari*, *Revasunkamu*, *Pangayamu*, *Thota Sunkamu*, *pasulapullari*, *Darisenamu*, *Bogarapannu*, etc. were imposed in other parts of Andhradesa. So, these taxes may, have been be collected from the people of Kadapa region.

## Food-Drink

Food habits generally in the Kadapa region depend on the indigenous crops. Whatever is available in plenty it forms the chief food. This is of two varieties; vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. Kadapa region, as the rest of the Andhra is both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The chief crops were rice, wheat and sajja. The nature of the food to be a measure assesses the prosperity or the difficulty of a society in which they live. The majority through non-vegetarian took meat occasionally because they could not afford it often. Rice was rarely consumed by the poor

as they could not afford it. It was the staple food of the rich and the higher castes. Intoxicating drinks, toddy etc. were taken by the working classes, claiming that hard labour needed such a stimulant.

## **Dress**

Tradition considers adornment (*alamkarina*) which includes dress decorations and ornamentation as one of the sixty four arts meant for learning and practicing by both men and women. Adornment is the medium of distinction and identity by which the people and their hierarchies are recognized by merisight. The adornment patterns are generally sacred. It is determined by tradition and common to all section of the society irrespective of class or gender.

The people of the Kadapa region during the medieval period used silk and cotton garments. They were very familiar with different kinds of silk and fine cotton clothes were used much. It seems ordinary people usually wore cotton clothes where as the rich and aristocrats commonly used silk. The people used plain and printed clothes also. Sari was the common dress of women. In Basavapuram; we find fifty seven varieties of saris. Different kinds of silks like *ratna-pattu*, *veli-pattu* were used to make saris. Men used to wear a *dovati*, and an upper cloth known as *uttariyam*. Turban was the common head dress of man.<sup>20</sup>

## **Ornamentes**

The Hindu women in general are fond of ornaments made of gold and silver which they wore on their heads, ears, noses, necks, arms, fingers, waists and anklets. There were ornaments

meant for particular part of the body such as ornaments, meant for decorating the body. The neck ornaments are *ratnala peru*, *ratnala hara*, *navaratna mala*, *bangaru golusulu* etc. the bangles referred as *kadiyas*, *golusulu* etc. There are numerous references and representations of finger rings, chest bands, waist bands etc. Men and women bestowed attention on the beautification of the hair.

### Games and Amusements

People engaged themselves in games and amusements. Some of the games were *ragunju-pogunjulata*, *gudi gudi gunjulata*, *appala vindulata*, *sarigunjulata*, *chital-potlu*, *dagudumuthalata* etc. The other games were *gummadikayalata*, *cheruku pandemulu*, *bantulata*. *Mesha yudda*, *tamrachuda* (cook fight), *gaja-vyaghra* (elephant-tiger) and *turaga-vyaghra* (horse-tiger). Hunting was a popular amusement of the royalty.<sup>21</sup>

### Education

Temples and *agrahara* villages were the main centers of education. Rulers granted lands for the maintenance of *Vidyamandirs*. An inscription<sup>22</sup> at Pondaluru in Rajampet taluk of Kadapa district dated 1260 A.D. mentions, that Jannigadeva the ruler of Kayastha granted the villages of Purundaluru and Pottapinadu to his spiritual guru Santasivadesika for maintaining the *Vidyamandir* (education institution) and feeding *atithis* at Sivalingamatha. Another inscription<sup>23</sup> from Peddamudium in Jammalamadugu taluk of Kadapa district dated 1124 A.D. refers to the fact that Chiddana Chola Maharaja made a gift of the village Mudivemu for the maintenance of a *Vidyamandapa*. An

inscription<sup>24</sup> at Somireddypalle in Badvel taluk of Kadapa praises Srimat Aghora Sivacharyalu who possessed great qualities of *yama*, *niyama* etc, and who bore the title of Rayarajaguru (the preceptor of the rayaraja). Another inscription<sup>25</sup> from Tallaprodatur in Jammalamadugu taluk of Kadapa district dated 1323 A.D describes that Gangayadeya Chola (Telugu Chola) Maharaja as *vivitasakala sastranvaya*. From the above said records we know that the *gurus* and the rulers were also educated in different *sastras* (subjects).

### Position Of Women

In the medieval period women enjoyed equal status with men. The ideal womanhood was *grihalashmi* and *ardhangi*. The role of women in society varied at different times, in various places, and under changing conditions. The history of the period reveals ideal wives, mothers, lady ministers, generals, administrators and benefactors. Some princesses and ladies undertook works of public utility, built temples and endowed them with gifts. Some women were learned in the fine arts. Women in general participated along with their husbands in religious ceremonies, festivals etc. Some women occupied the highest posts and proved themselves equal to men.

An inscription<sup>26</sup> at Ramesvaram in Proddatur taluk of Kadapa district mentions the grant of three *marturs* of land and two gardens in Viripariti to the god Vasantisvara by the queen Vasanti Pori-Chola Mahadevi. Another inscription<sup>27</sup> at Nallacheruvupalle in Pulivendla taluk of Kadapa district states that while Erigallu Mutturaju was ruling from Kagaluru, the queen of the Chola-Maharaja Manchiporri made a gift of Pannavisa

to a Brahmana at Ujjayini. An inscription<sup>28</sup> at Chilamakuru in Kamalapuram taluk of Kadapa District states that while the Chola Mahadevi (the Chola queen) made a gift of garden (*Vanamu*) of one *marutundu*. Another inscription<sup>29</sup> at Bedusupalli in Sidhout taluk of Kadapa district dated 1231 AD states that Mahamandalesvara Kantapanayaka granted a village as *Agrahara* with lands of several *Vrittis* to the *Grama-Mukhyas* in the name his wife Chiyasani with the consent of Mahamandalesvara Kamaraia. Women of the age played key role in political affairs.

We find a few instances of the practice of *sati* in this region. The inscription<sup>30</sup> at Tallaproddatur in Jammalamadgu taluk of Kadapa district mentions about *sati*. This inscription belongs to Telugu Chola Ganagayadeva. Evidently the life of a widow was not made intolerable for her to see redemption in *Sahagamana*. However, it was not a general rule that every widow should commit *sati* on the funeral pyre of her husband. By and large in the medieval period this practice seems to be voluntary and not forced on women.

The women who had lost her husband, had lost with him her only support in life, her dignity, and status in life. He was irreplaceable and so her sorrow could have no end. There is not much evidence regarding the marriage of widows. Though the man could take another wife, yet this does not allow the women to marry another person. A woman could divorce her husband if he was of bad character but if he had committed *prayascitta* and repented for his earlier mistakes. Widow did not enjoy in the society. An inscription<sup>31</sup> at Rameswaram in Proddatur taluk of Kadapa district describes the sufferings of widowhood. However the widow position was not good during the medieval period in the Kadapa region.

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## **SURPLUS FORMATION AND BEYOND: UNDERSTANDING THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PARATHAVARS BEFORE CONVERSION**

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### **Introduction**

The economy of the early Tamil country was viewed from various angles. Specifically from what was called the Sangam period, the interdependence of the geographical units namely Tinai formed the chief subject matter. In such studies predominance of agricultural output and cattle wealth were projected. This made even the study of Indo-Roman trade an adjunct to agricultural economy. Thereby the actual capacity of the coastal region and its economic resources that went in the shaping of the socio-political life was relegated to background. In the one hand, historians interpreting the past have dealt the subject very limitedly. Even as great a historian as K.A. Nilakanta Sastri himself was of the view that it was the agriculture and not trade which formed the mainstay of polity and war.<sup>1</sup> Noburu Karashima in his discussions on Valangai and Idangai communities related to trade – of the early medieval period – did not give any place for the Parathavars.

On the other hand, scholars of other social sciences who made observations on the contemporary life of the people chiefly through field visits generalized the economy of the coast as

merely fishing enterprise. Some of them also believed that the life-style of the coastal people came close to primitive communism.<sup>2</sup> Contentions like these were made chiefly on the grounds that, since fish tended to perish quickly, it cannot be stored for longer duration and had to be essentially distributed. Such assumptions logically led towards understanding the coastal village economy as self-sufficient that depended on the outside world only for the supply of food-grains as the vice-versa happened in the villages of the plains, hills and forests wherein isolation marked by self-sufficiency was broken by the supply of salt from the coast. However, an approach of viewing the coastal economy independently or its effects on the agrarian economy was hardly attempted. This may possibly infuse an epistemic change in the understanding of the early Tamil economy.

The present paper seeks to merge the gap between the perceptions of historians and other social scientists. At the same time, it intends to place the economic life of the Parathavars within the framework of social history which can render inter-disciplinary justice. In an approach of this kind, a general outlook of the major shades could be arrived at than sketching of particular issues. Therefore the interplay of political and social systems has been viewed through the prism of economic determinism. It is also an attempt to liberate the history of the Parathavars from the general understanding that the dynamics in their economic life is the product of their conversion to Christianity. Since Indo-Roman trade has been a constant subject matter at the text book level chiefly dealt by archaeologists handling of it in the present study would violate the ethic of a researcher and may even cause the danger of attributing the achievements in that segment to the Parathavars alone. Therefore

that is being ignored in favor of observations made through field visits and discussions have been used to trace the seeds responsible for causing the evolution of coastal economy and the link among the variable units of the coast.

The approach of the study starts with the tracing of surplus formation and its impact. Further it indirectly seeks to compare the coastal economy with the agrarian economy and tries to identify whether there was present any scope for feudal formation or class division. It also takes into purview the elements of local governance within which economic aspirations of individuals are placed. An attempt has been made in the later-half of the article to write the economic history of the coastal people through ethnographic method. For the present study, evidences other than anthropological come from Sangam literature and foreign accounts such as that of Marco Polo. Supporting secondary works are those of D.P. Chattopadhyaya, Edgar Thurston, Rajan Gurukkal, A. Sivasubramanian, N. Athiyaman, S. Lazarus, R.N. Joe d'cruz and others.

### **Formation of Surplus**

The idea of self-sufficiency in the economic front was theoretically linked to social stagnation for the reason that it denuded the possible interaction with the outside world. In the case of the Tamil coast in general, if even fishing had been the only economic activity, still there was sufficiently present scope for progress. That may be explained even from a period before advancement in tool making wherein life was certainly difficult and physical might remained the order of time both in the plain and the coast. Particularly, basic life challenges unleashed by famines during summers considerably reduced the availability of fish in the sea. In such situations, pattern of economic life

necessitated plundering raids<sup>3</sup> modeled in the format of that existed in the plains. The plunder raids of the time were performed by big and small chieftains independently and at times by forming a confederation.<sup>4</sup> Movement of any kind, either from the coast towards the plain or vice-versa would have definitely disturbed the isolation of the coastal settlements. This was mooted the point that 'the isolation of the coast from other economic zones' was only a preconceived notion without adequate evidence. Possibly since the coast maintained a level of autonomy in its social life it gave rise to a suggestive notion that they had nothing to do with the overall progress of the larger Tamil society. In any case, while studying the economy of the coast the overall impact of the agrarian economy should be considered.

The question of the possibility of surplus production in the coastal context arose because; from the historic period fish was known to be only a supportive food, the main food being grains of various kinds and paddy. The coastal stretch that included both sea and land was but another ecological sphere with its own wealth potentials with limited projections into other land forms.<sup>5</sup> With the gradual development of tools the nature of land was explored and learnt whereas in the case of land in the plain the potentials were always observable without special effort.

The impact of developments in the agrarian economy on the coast was indirect. The discovery of better methods of water management<sup>6</sup> that resulted in the improved production of food crops had its impact in the coastal life. Surplus produced in fertile lands beyond the need of local subsistence liberated a set of people from being directly involved in food production.<sup>7</sup> A section of such people definitely had a share in the development of the coastal economy for they contributed in the field of ship-building, transporting of imported goods from the coast to the plain,

treating and taming of pack-animals and importantly shaping the understanding of the people on their beliefs on the external element.

The fishing economy that was basically characterized by uncertainty and insecurity of life entered a new phase of economy with the advancements as mentioned above. Particularly, the discovery of buoyancy and pressure of water bodies as well as learning of other related features of sea water came to alter the socio-economic aspects of the coastal region. This in turn culminated in the discovery of boats, the common salt and valuables like the pearl and chank. The discovery of boats by 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.<sup>8</sup> as postulated by D.P. Chattopadhyaya for the general history of the world would have entered the Tamil Society much later.<sup>9</sup>

By the beginning of the Sangam period we find references to boats of several kinds including that usable in fresh water.<sup>10</sup> The common varieties of boat are categorized into Ambi, Pahri, Odam, Padagu and Timil.<sup>11</sup> N. Subrahmanian says Ambi and Padagu were ferry boats for crossing streams and rivers and Timil was a fishing boat.<sup>12</sup> In the harbour of Puhar there were rows of large boats, Pahri which had returned laden with grain obtained in exchange for the white salt they had sold; and other boats were seen in the backwaters of Puhar, “tied to rows of pegs and looking so many destriers”.<sup>13</sup> The nature of the wood employed in these boats was resilient to the ferociousness of the sea and at any cost they did not sink.<sup>14</sup> A sea-farer who could stick to the boat in storms and high tides would safely reach the shore. The frequent loss of lives was prevented by these boats what checked the shortage that would arise in man power and reduced the unwarranted fear over sea ventures.

With advancement in boat making technology several varieties of net were also introduced. These enabled exploration into sea further easier. The man who hesitated to cross a limit in the sea was now able to not only move quicker in the surface of the water but also explored the depth with less effort. He went to areas close to Sri Lanka and identified the sand bars within the sea where reproduction of fish took place and their availability had been in large numbers. Tools required for catching bigger fish was also available and their use beyond the kitchen was also learnt. Huge fish of the cod family and their variables were caught for their medicinal value and oil was extracted from them. However, his way of life was not in violation of the laws of nature and was very much within the limit of sustainable development, for the nets that they employed prevented small fish and eggs from being caught.<sup>15</sup> The thread used in the nets did not make scratches on the fish causing them to spoil soon.<sup>16</sup> The fish after entering the net was also allowed with life for longer duration so that it could reach the shore afresh and from there reached the interior faster. The total enterprise was planned in such a way to suit the requirements of time irrespective of the way they worked.<sup>17</sup> These developments suggest not only greater interaction between the mainland and the coast but also the occupational specialization that emerged along with that.

In the coastal context the discovery of salt as food was a clear symbol of surplus economy. Salt was manufactured in the coastal area not with the same level of pain that otherwise was required for agricultural production. With time certain tools and techniques of easy and mass production was also evolved. Since rain and humidity in wind were the major challenges, it had seasonal strings attached to it. In a simple proportion the use of salt to grain can be fixed even in a liberal calculation

at 1:100. But the only source of salt was the coast and everywhere food was cooked with salt. The production in the coast had to cater to the need of all the people living in plains, hills, forests and deserts. Subsequently, other religious and political uses of salt were invented which increased the demand and value of it.<sup>18</sup>

With the learning of preservative qualities of salt, dry-fish came into use. It was clearly made out of the extra produce, while at the same time otherwise easily perishable product was preserved. Naturally its importance to good health was widely publicized. By and large, the Pearl Fishery Coast addressed the demands of a wider world through the multitude varieties of dry-fish. It became an important article of trade and was both exported to foreign lands as well as supplied to places in the plain, hills and forests. It possibly caused the early wave of Parathavar migration from coast to plain and as sine-qua-non settlements of stockiest evolved along the trade-route. The traders were from diversified background and did not always trace their origin from the fishing community though a predominant number of them were from within.<sup>19</sup>

If salt was a produce that came from the coast cutting across all boundaries including geographic and social, pearls were another produce that also came from the coast chiefly derived its value from the demands from abroad and catered to the needs of people of the higher stratum of society. The importance of pearls in a society had to be understood in an economic context that was far ahead from the subsistence level. Together with chank, pearl processing also evolved into a regular industry since it involved a substantial strength of work force in correspondence to the demand it generated from within and elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>



## **Impact of Surplus Production**

The diversified articles of utility that were available at the coast impacted the overall living condition. That can be viewed starting from the production of salt although catching of fish remained the major occupation of the coast. The producers or the controllers of the salt-making mechanism were the Parathavars.<sup>21</sup> But they did not directly seem to have established effective linkages for the distribution of the produce. This surplus produce of the coast always awaited the service of the Umanars,<sup>22</sup> who constituted a significant part of the socio-economic life of the coastal region. They travelled in bands loading salt in carts and donkeys' back. Its value on sales was fixed on the basis of measure equivalent to grain.<sup>23</sup> Probably this included the profit margin they fixed for the article which was suggestive of lesser purchase value at the place of production. The need for grains and other vital needs of life not wholly available in the coast but found in abundance elsewhere would have possibly come through these Umanars. But they regulated their method of transaction by establishing a guild namely Umanchathu. As far as the business motive of the Parathavars was concerned their general value could be stated as one of that which did not always spin around profit making. They easily derived satisfaction with what they got at a time.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from supply of salt, pearls and chanks were available in the Pearl Fishery Coast. Pearl and chank diving required skilled personnel ranging from those who located areas in the sea where pearls and chanks were found to those who controlled the sharks from attacking the divers respectively called adapans and kadal kattis.<sup>25</sup> Apart from these, there were also the divers themselves who were believed to be despised criminals forced into punishment for the sake of the state which probably monopolized the pearl

and chank diving activities. Unlike pearls that were valued for its rarity, chanks were cheaply available and its use was more on decorative and ritual purposes. Their availability in large numbers caused the development of chank cutting into an industry that required persons to handle them from beyond the coast.

By passage of time, industries based on exports were developed, they continued to possess the industrial character despite fall of the demand for a product. Because industrial centers were developed by skilled people who created chance for many to participate in the activities of production and when a group of people were relegated to the background other people filled the gap and contributed for the vibrancy of the locality.<sup>26</sup> The spirit of industrial development was in itself founded on such principles. Similarly, the nature of trade and articles that determined the character of the market varied from time to time but trade continued.

Overseas trade tended to develop with the availability of diversified articles of trade and development of industry. The improvement in the quantum of articles of trade impacted the technology of ship-building on one hand whereas on the other it attracted the attention of foreign countries. Simple fishing boats were evolved into larger ships usable for diverse purposes. There were references about powerful navy belonging to the Cholas which occupied a part of Sri Lanka in the II century B.C. As a matter of logic, ships had not been used for military purposes far earlier than they were utilized for trade. Also the fact that constructing a naval ship needed improved skill and technology compared to a merchant vessel should be accounted. Therefore, there must have been an active maritime trade much before II century B.C., on the basis of coastal shipping at the least with other parts of India and Sri Lanka. Subsequently, there had

been some trade of mentionable nature with Malaya and other South East Asian countries, China, Assyria, Palestine, Egypt etc. Specially, Arabs as middlemen were said to have dominated the domain of trade before the discovery of monsoon winds by Hippalus. After the discovery of monsoon winds Romans were believed to have established direct trade with the sub-continent for which plentitude of numismatic evidences are available.<sup>27</sup>

The strengthening of economic activities in the coast together with the enhancement of agricultural production and supportive artisanship provided for the development of the cities and kingdoms from time to time. In the very early times it might have been Adichchanallur and sometimes later it could have been Korkai<sup>28</sup> and in the medieval periods it could have been Tuticorin. In the coastal front, the only possible threat via sea could be from Sri Lanka. But in case of the Pearl Fishery Coast the parallel region in the Sri Lankan Coast was also seemed to have remained under the influence – direct or indirect – of the Tamil people.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast to sea, land was a stable unit with definite boundaries. It provided scope for unrestricted movement of people. Under the kings, land became a source of economic value. The surplus that was generated by land was basic for maintaining a kingdom. Therefore, within the Tamil country fertile regions became the bone of contention among rulers, both major and minor. As a result on one hand cities like Madurai and Uraiyur became strongholds from where agrarian economy was secured and on the other coastal towns like Korkai and Puhar were maintained as significant ports.

It in no way means that the economic importance of the coast was replaced by the agrarian economy. Rather it was all about bringing a balance between the two regions. In order to

strike a compromise among the divergent citizenry and accommodate dissent, certain symbols were evolved. In case of the Pandyan kings, despite their shifting the capital to Madurai owing to the importance of the Pearl Fishery Coast, they adopted fish as their symbol of the flag. Similarly, the Cholas shifted their capital from Kaveripattinam to Uraiyur.

The shifting of capital was reflective of the expanding demand and supply and consequently the widening of commodity markets with increase in the number of items for trade. The capitals emerged as the life line of the economic activities of the time. References in Madurai-kkanci vividly depict the picture of the market activities at Madurai. Eminent historian N. Subrahmanian inferred Madurai-kkanci and stated that “in the evening bazaar in Madurai, the following persons were busy selling and buying; the grocers, the sellers of conch-bangles, goldsmiths, appraisers of gold articles and dealers in foreign cloth like Kalingam,<sup>30</sup> and other textiles and dealers in perfumes, flowers and sandal paste.”<sup>31</sup> Similar references were also available in Pattinapalai, and therefore, N. Subrahmanian’s description would fit for all the markets in the capital. Not only products like conch-bangles originated from the coast, but also other articles of trade that were not available locally could also have come via sea routes.

Apart from the markets located in the capital, there were also peripheral markets wherein Parathavars would have played a key-role.<sup>32</sup> When activities of exports and imports were to be undertaken, capitals physically situated away from coast could have played only a marginal role. Parathavars were known to have purchased merchandise from these markets mainly to play the role of intermediaries. They carried these items bought in the peripheral markets for sale to Ilam, Sri Lanka, South East

Asia and other distant lands.<sup>33</sup> These markets seemed to have diversified their interests and increased their participation in coastal trade. Apart from the comparatively larger peripheral markets there had been multitude of weekly markets in the trade route mentioned above wherein Parathavars played a significant role as retail and wholesale traders.<sup>34</sup>

Migration of traders from the hinterland – chiefly from unfertile regions – towards the coast took place as also the movement from the coast towards hinterland as it was with the case of the Umanars.<sup>35</sup> In the western direction of the Pearl Fishery Coast, trade routes<sup>36</sup> towards Kerala developed and settlements of the Parathavars along the route evolved with it.<sup>37</sup> The emergence of traders with adequate manpower and support base also provided impetus for agriculture. Traders most often converted their savings into agrarian wealth and became absentee landlords. In some cases successful fisherman also directly carried out agricultural activities.

Foreign trade altered people's life – if not for all for a major section – and provided with improved living condition.<sup>38</sup> Both villages and towns emerged in the coastal area. But it had been always difficult to distinguish between the ordinary fishermen in both the places in their life pattern. At the most it can be stated that there had been better quantum of demand in the towns in reciprocity to the population. But with higher density of fishermen in the coastal towns, this advantageous position was also doubtful. The class difference was reflected in the settlement pattern. In a situation wherein traders with secured economic base coexisted with fishermen who lived their everyday life, these differences tended to exist. Suggestive of this, Kaveripattinam was said to have had two parts, namely Pattinapakkam and Maruvurpakkam.<sup>39</sup> Pattinapakkam was the residential area

whereas Maruvurpakkam was the coastal area where merchants and fishermen had their separate settlements.<sup>40</sup>

### **Rise of Hierarchical Structure**

The class difference that emerged in the coastal life owing to the inroads made by surplus and markets at various levels sought to undermine the tribal nature of economic life. Skill specialization contributed towards the rise of individuals in the sphere of trade and warfare. Such individuals moved out of the common fishing folk, formed a separate class and segmented their class interest. A socio-economic life characterized by definite hierarchy emerged. In such a context, with the support of available sources, a five-dimensional projection could be observed in the coast. At the first category can be located the leadership of the Parathavar people that was appointed by the ruling monarchs. The leadership of this kind was important insofar their being associated with the residential life of the Parathavars. As a class, they stood at the top of the hierarchy and were represented in the Sangam literature by individuals portrayed as 'Serpan' and 'Palamban' moving in large chariots.<sup>41</sup> In the later periods, officials like Arayans and Kanakapulais who remained part and parcel of the coastal life seemed to have been viewed by the people as representing the government for the purpose of tax collection and related works for the State. Possibly the governmental support strengthened the hands of this segment of people in consolidating their economic position.

Similarly there were also references from the Sangam sources about persons like Konkan, Thuraivan and Parappan.<sup>42</sup> These officials seemed to have had a role in the administration of the ports.<sup>43</sup> The Parathavars never claimed monopoly over the wealth of the sea. They did not hinder access for other people

to explore the resources of the sea to carve out a living.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, the officials who were depicted in the context of the port may not be necessarily belonging to the Parathavar community and constituted by diverse caste category. As far as the residential settlements pertaining to these officials were concerned, they lived with their respective caste people. Parallel to the officials mentioned in the Sangam texts belonging to this category were the later officials such as Sammatties,<sup>45</sup> Mandradies, Tandals and etc.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, all these officials also contributed for the crystallization of the hierarchy – both in the internal and external facets of caste – and directly shook the foundation of the tribal mode of life.<sup>47</sup>

Thirdly, the need for marketing the surplus produce created a class of intermediaries and traders in the fishing and related enterprise that formed a vital part of coastal economy. These intermediaries were also from diverse caste groups – though a dominant section was from the Parathavar caste – and were responsible for linking the coast with the mainland in a greater way.<sup>48</sup> They in a way ensured assurance of livelihood by way of purchasing the total produce. However, the value was fixed by them not always in favor of the producer. The transactions between the fishermen and the middlemen were not directly regulated by the state unlike that happened in the agrarian economy of the Northern India characterized by infuedation and sub-infuedation. However, as the system was reflective of absentee-landlordism, it was not difficult to ascertain that the intermediaries hardly had any interest in the overall socio-economic development of the coast than their personal profit.

It can also be assumed that these intermediaries with their ability to control the demand and supply mechanism would have gradually occupied other related fields of surplus production

including salt manufacture, trade in pearls<sup>49</sup> and processing of dry-fish in large scale in order to meet the requirements of export. They had the ability to employ human labor required for such purposes. As far as dry-fish was concerned, the Tamil country had the special advantage owed to constant sun-shine throughout the year that was not the same with countries in the West. Dry-fish processing was an every home enterprise which gave opportunity for the female-folks of the community to participate in the production process and strengthened their position within families.<sup>50</sup> How far the intermediaries networked with the women was not clearly known. But what can be assumed was the fact that, by virtue of their all pervasive economic character they emerged as the cornerstone of hierarchy.

The dominant class thus constituted by the officials appointed by the government and the intermediaries were mostly the owners of the cattle needed for transportation and supply of milk.<sup>51</sup> Their settlement often was not close to the sea, if at all near the sea it was located in elevated planes. Near their settlement, adequate grazing land required for the maintenance of cattle was always available. For both of these requirements, persons who thoroughly relied on sea resources must have depended upon them. During periods of crises – both at the individual and group levels – the humble fishermen was expectant of support from this dominant class of people. With their command in the overseas trade, particularly with Ceylon, they were believed to wield the capacity to determine the fortune of ordinary families.

Fourthly, the possibility of the overarching growth of the dominant class within the caste was checked by the caste leader who later came to be known as Pandypathy. His very position



as caste leader was suggestive of the fact that the Parathavars over a period of time constituted a separate category separated from other administrative divisions based on land such as Mandalam, Nadu and Valanadu. He was privileged with the right to hereditary succession. Possibility of his family having entered into matrimonial alliance with the Pandyan kings cannot be ruled out. Because during their heydays, the leaders were identified at par with the king and became subject matter for eulogy in the religious literature such as Periyapuram.<sup>52</sup> His position was secured by his knowledge on oceanography pertaining to the abode of pearls which he maintained in secret and transmitted to his successors. He evolved his own emblems and symbols of authority<sup>53</sup> to which he allowed access to every male individual during specific occasions.<sup>54</sup> This was not to mean that there was total absence of disaffection.<sup>55</sup> In fact, the Parathavar people were thought to be freedom lovers who hated the weight of individual authority and governance.<sup>56</sup>

Loyalty remained the hallmark of administration in the political history of the Tamil country before colonization through which leadership at various levels made subtle networking. The king during the Sangam period derived unflinching loyalty and in turn he recognized the sovereignty of the elements of local governance. In the subsequent periods also there was no evidence or hint for possible change in the political ethos and values.<sup>57</sup> However, during the rule of the later Pandyan kings with Varman title, differences emerged between them and the Parathavars.<sup>58</sup> Whether that was directed against the leader of the Parathavars and his followers or Parathavars outside the command of the particular leader under focus is not clear. Nevertheless, what can be said for certain was the limitation of the caste leader to exercise military powers.

Finally, it was the importance of the Ur organization.<sup>59</sup> The Caste leader had judicial powers over his people who lived in a territory spread over several villages known as Urs. He supervised the administration of the village through the Ur organization and recognized the elected members known as seethathimar of a village. The occupational diversity of the Parathavars found expression in the constitution of the body of seethathimars.<sup>60</sup> The qualifications required for the members of the Ur were the same throughout the Tamil country.<sup>61</sup> It laid more stress upon the individual character of the members over their economic attainment. However, notable was the presence of multiple layers of power that ranged from authoritarian to republic denuding the possibility of concentration of power at a few hands which characterized feudalism.

### **Life in the Peripheral Regions**

If the authority of Pandypathy contained the domination of a class of people above him at the local level it was the Ur which checked the phenomenon. In general the everyday life of the coastal people was one of a community life. To manage the affairs of the community, the Ur took the responsibility. In its outlook the Ur reflected one of a tribal oligarchy wherein the chosen elders managed the everyday activity of the village. In case of the Parathavars the membership of the Ur and of the jati were one and the same. All the married men were members of the Ur and in exceptional cases bachelors senior in age were given membership. Those who did not belong to the jati but resident of the village cannot become member of the Ur although the term reflected a strong geographical connotation. At the same time, those natives belonging to the jati who migrated and left the village can continue to be members until a signal contribution was made by way of yearly presence

during festival occasions or by undertaking certain expenditure of the Ur.<sup>62</sup>

The Ur elected a signal head although it worked only collectively. The position of the headman was not one of hereditary. He derived his strength from his personal skills and the image he developed among his fellowmen both within and outside the village. The head was constantly watched and the growth of his authority was checked through criticism.<sup>63</sup> A successful head was one who ensured the solidarity of the people in matters of common cause. He shall not expect any special treatment or status than what was permitted by conventions and traditions.<sup>64</sup>

Those who opposed the authority of the Ur – particularly the activities of the persons in responsibility – splintered and found new settlement in the vicinity.<sup>65</sup> They sought to establish an administration in the shade of the erstwhile Ur in which they were members. With time, they were either subsumed as a satellite village or the division became permanent. In case of the former, dependence on certain matters continued to exist whereas in the latter enmity became permanent. Therefore, the community attempted to neutralize differences that emerged over the overarching growth of the authority of the Ur.

The Ur had the power to inflict punishments upon the violating members. It maintained link with the Urs of other villages and updated itself with the events that occurred around. The important elders and individuals were known and they made acquaintance with all people. Common issues of the wider jati often became subject matter for discussion when elders of different Urs happened to meet. This was significant in shaping the dispute resolving mechanism beyond the village. The Ur took the responsibility of the safety and security of the lives and

properties of the members. At times, when differences emerged between villages either through direct confrontation or on account of embarking upon one's area of work in sea, it was expressed by way of abducting the property or attacking and capturing of persons. At a situation like this, the Urs gave unto themselves the duty of negotiation. The general rule followed during such occasions was that the members were allowed to assault a person in the sea. But once they planted their legs in the land, the Ur came to protect the person and treat the abducted with grace.<sup>66</sup> If this was violated then the problem went beyond control.<sup>67</sup> Hence, the Urs have to ensure greater sense of justice to avoid ethical criticism that often turned satirical.<sup>68</sup> On account of that as stated above, among the villages one could see traditional friends and enemies for generations, and therefore, matrimonial alliances were entered into only after seeking the permission of the Ur.

The external agents of power operated through the Ur and never trespassed without their cooperation.<sup>69</sup> The autonomy of economic life as well as confrontation that invited external agents were identified and avoided. One important article that required them to go out of the village was intoxicants often where problems crept out. The coastal landscape was known for grooves of palm and coconut trees both of which yielded toddy. The Nadars controlled the toddy-tapping enterprise. The Nadar community and the Parathavars were traditionally opposed to each other although they formed dichotomous organs of the coastal life.<sup>70</sup> The Parathavar people preferred to buy even jaggery one of the fond produces of the Nadar community only in an indirect mode than entering into direct transaction. Nevertheless, since consuming of intoxicants was not uncommon,<sup>71</sup> it was procured directly from the sellers and sold out for higher

rate to the needed members by the seniors of the 'Ur'.<sup>72</sup> It prevented excess use and the profit was used for public purposes.

The Ur also performed, to a certain extent, the functions of a professional Guild. It evolved certain rules and regulations in accordance with tradition and law of the land and maintained order and peace. It attempted to control the middlemen and tried to have a say in the price fixation and marketing of the produce as also maintained contact with castes of people who depended upon the retailing of seafood for livelihood. It took into view the factors of demand and supply while deciding on price fixation. In transactions, the Ur never compromised on the possible profit chances of the retailer. It also supported the destitute women by way of allowing them some role in the sales of seafood. During off-seasons, it took the responsibility of feeding the people.<sup>73</sup>

The Ur also organized and headed the temple festivals.<sup>74</sup> The properties of the temple were constituted by the contributions of the people maintained by the Ur. Hence it was limited in nature when compared to the properties of the Brahmnical temple. Therefore the people who were benefitted from the proceeds of the temple were only a rare phenomenon. Ur also declared the role of every family in the peaceful conduct of the festival. Personal enmities were glossed until smooth conduct of the festival was attained. It was a creative occasion for expressing the group solidarity.<sup>75</sup> Unlike in the cases of non-tribal societies, the conducting of the festival was not used to express the position of leadership.<sup>76</sup> This was not to say that there remained only a single group in the village. Most often there were factions. But every faction registered its presence collectively.

The Ur also had the power to declare menakadan and therippu. Unlike agriculture where every day the farmer had to at the least shed water to the crops, in the coastal life it was not compulsory on the individual to enter the sea every day. Halting of the economic activity at sea on occasions did not hinder the economic life. Rather it became symbolic of the group solidarity. The concept of menakadan was established on that count.<sup>77</sup> Most often occasions of misery like death were causes for the declaration of menakadan. Similarly, therippu was also a collective gesture by which the coastal community offered either a part or the total output of their labor for a collective cause. Possibly it was a popular method of collecting the taxes. The Ur may call for therippu any day in a week or month and auction the total produce of the village and utilized the generated value for a public cause – predominantly a religious cause.

The Ur in its unconscious function as guild also undertook the duty of training of young people who intended to opt for sea bound life. It also maintained service personnel including the barber, the carpenter, the lime-maker, medicine-man etc. Certain differences based on the physical spread and economic strength of the village determined the employing of service personnel. In case of the barber – also known as kudimagan – in big villages with strong economic base, there were more persons who hailed from the particular caste of maruthuvar.<sup>78</sup> In such villages, a kudimagan served only a few families for which his ancestors performed service. He had the right to claim a share on the produce. Through him the honorific symbols of the caste such as the umbrella and the carpet were used in public during wedding ceremonies.<sup>79</sup> During such occasions they were duly honored with valuable gifts.<sup>80</sup> In small villages, the duty was performed by a person of the Parathavar caste.<sup>81</sup> In both kinds of villages, if the Ur approved, they got direct access to sea

resources. The maruthuvars, as a community were also physicians at local level. Popular family of physicians emerged only in certain villages. They often moved out of the village for the sake of treating the people.

The Ur also recognized the services of the carpenter who designed and repaired the catamarans. There were some carpenters who were also known fishermen. Those who emerged from within were locally called as Odavy. But the carpenters belonging to the caste of Viswakarma were more skilled in the selection and handling of wood. By virtue of either being located in the plains or through kinship and professional contact, they also possessed knowledge about availability of suitable wood. The Ur sought to project a favorable image to derive the services of the carpenter. It was most important because the aspiration of every individual within society was to have a strong fleet of boats in the village.

## **Conclusion**

The tools and methods of fishing that included pearl diving required greater co-operation and interdependence among the coastal people. It maintained the tribal nature of life characterized by sharing of both income and loss. The breakthrough in the technological front – such as that in the art of boat-making – caused surplus production. The periods of scarcity together with surplus production caused the movement of people from the coast to mainland and vice-versa as well as from across the sea. The cheap availability of articles such as salt, dry fish, pearls and chanks maintained the vibrancy of movement and generated income to a considerable number of people. This together with the other causes of surplus production such as emergence of cities and introduction of a system of governance gave signals

of eroding the basic premise of tribal life because it created hierarchical structure within the coastal life in which the trading class formed a vital component.

The hierarchical structure was not formed exclusively from the Parathavar community but by all the beneficiaries of the trade. One of the reasons for scholars like Noburu Karasimha for having included other communities over Parathavars in their discussions on trading classes possibly owed to this reason. The caste structure in the coast was also fluid in nature which was in itself marked more by alliances and enmity among the people of various castes than purity and pollution. In the case of the Parathavars of the Pearl Fishery Coast, the hierarchical structure was reflected in their domains of settlement conditioned by internal class division and external caste division.

Despite production of surplus and rise of hierarchical structure, the tribal elements of life were maintained. The Ur organization was chiefly responsible for that. Though the Ur gave its allegiance to a central head known as Pandypathy, at the local level it had concrete powers upon the members. It prevented the clash of interests with other castes and stemmed the assertion of individuals or group of individuals over the community. For that purpose it established control over not only the production mechanism but also over the service personnel of the locality.

## References

1. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar* (New Delhi: Oxford University, 1958) p.119.
2. In a national seminar on the topic *Folk Traditions of Sankam Age* organized by the Department of Folklore,



- St. Xavier's College, Palayamkottai, between 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> February 2007 a scholar with anthropological moorings named Bhakthavatchala Bharathi expressed these views.
3. Rajan Gurukkal et. al, *History of India: Earliest Times to 800 A.D.*, Booklet – 7 (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Open University, 1990), p 14.
  4. *Ibid.*,
  5. The nature of the soil should be classified. In the field visits conducted at places like Oovari and Idinthakarai plant species observable at severe cold regions such as *Pinus Sylvestris* are also grown. At Manapad and Vembar near the sea stand pipal trees found in large numbers in the forests and in few numbers in plains.
  6. The construction of the Kallanai by the Chola King Karikala could be cited as an example for development in the ideas of water management.
  7. D.P. Chattopadhyaya, *Madhamum, Samugamum* (Tamil), (Chennai: New Century Book House, 2009) p.40.
  8. *Ibid.*, p.30.
  9. K. Rajan, *Situating the Beginning of Early Historic Times in Tamil Nadu: Some issues and Reflections*, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 36, Nos. 1-2, Jan – Feb 2008, pp.40-78; He fixes the period of similar developments in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.
  10. It was generally believed that the Parathavars were associated with the sea, and therefore, they could only form a coastal fishing community. But field visits conducted at a place called Maramangalam located near Korkai provided evidence for Parathavar fresh-water fishermen.
  11. *Pattinapalai*: 90.
  12. N. Subramanian, *Sangam Polity: The Administration and Social Life of the Sangam Tamils*, (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1966) p. 241.

13. *Ibid.*,
14. Interview with Mr. Parabaran (22), Fisherman of Manapad on 8-01-10.
15. *Ibid.*,
16. Interview with Mr. Chandrasekharan Fernando (55), Founder member of Parathavar Welfare Association, Tuticorin on 11/03/10.
17. In most families food was cooked for the whole day in the morning. Therefore the surplus fish that remained after self-use was supplied to the nearby region in the early morning itself and the fishing enterprise was planned accordingly. Similarly, fishing ventures targeting rare variety of fish had middlemen for procurement. In such a case, the middlemen awaited the arrival of the fishermen regardless of time. However, such activities were only performed by a few fishermen.
18. Salt attained a sacred status and constituted part of offerings to gods. Similarly it was also part of taxes levied by the government.
19. Field visit conducted at Idinthakarai on 24-09-2011; as far the retail business of fish was concerned Nadars, Maravars, Padaiyatchis and others have formed important part of it. Apart from these groups Vania Chettiars seemed to have taken active part in overseas trade.
20. N. Athiyaman, Pearl and Chank Diving of South Indian Coast (A Historical and Ethnographical Perspective) (Thanjavur: Tamil University Press, 2000) p.35.
21. A. Sivasubramanian, Uppittavarai (Chennai: Kalachuvadu Pathipagam, 2009) p.33.
22. Field visits conducted at various places identify people like the Nadars (earlier known as Shanars), the Arayars, the Parayars etc. constituting a significant part of the coastal

life. There must have been similar communities forming part of coastal life beyond the Pearl Fishery Coast. One or more than one of these communities must have been identified as Umanars. In the opinion of the present researcher, with their access to sea and entrepreneurial values, Nadars most probably would have been known as Umanars. This indigenous group of people was not known through any other nomenclature in the Sangam literature.

23. Akananuru 140: 7-8.
24. Interview with Mr. Chandrasekharan Fernando of Tuticorin on 11/03/10.; he spoke out of experience gathered in his service at Tuticorin harbour. In actuality the share of the Parathavars as investors in salt manufacturing enterprise has come to a marginal level. Particularly in Pazhyakayal almost they do not have any individual opinion in the business. Persons from Nadar community dominate in the field.
25. N. Athiyaman, Pearl and Chank Diving of South Indian Coast.
26. H.R. Pate, Tinnevely District Gazetteer (1916), (Tirunelveli: Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, 1993) p.227; there existed a conch-bangle industry in Korkai. After its decline wax-bangle industry emerged in Maramangalam near Korkai. But it was developed by Kavarai Nayakkans who also took the chetti title.
27. Rajan Gurukkal et. Al, History of India: Earliest Times to 800 A.D., p.30.
28. H.R. Pate, Tinnevely District Gazetteer (1916), p.40; the author records a tradition according to which the origin of the three monarchs namely Chera, Chola and Pandya was traced from Korkai.
29. Kandhiah Arundhavaraja in K.A. Manikumar and Vinod Vincent Rajesh (eds.), Southern Tamil Nadu through the

- Ages, (Tirunelveli: Dept. of History, M.S. University, 2011) pp.164-176.
30. Kalinga was the early name of the State of Odisha. There were contacts with the region through the indigenously built Toni with Bengal and Kalinga.
  31. N. Subramanian, *Sangam Polity*, pp.233-234;
  32. R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation: South India 300 B.C. to A.D. 1300* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996) p.104.
  33. *Ibid.*
  34. Interview with Mr. Joseph Irudhaya Xavier, Resident of Palayamkottai (Asst. Prof of Tamil, St. Xavier's College, Palayamkottai) on 22-11-2011; the interviewees ancestral native was informed to be Idinthakarai. But his great grandfather and grand-father migrated from there targeting the weekly markets that were organized in places like Karungulam, Chingikulam, etc.
  35. A. Sivasubramanian, *Uppittavarai*, pp.39-43.
  36. L.F. Benedetto (ed.), *The Travels of Marco Polo*, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994) p.304; Marco Polo discusses the security provided to the travellers in the trade routes and that security can be inferred as part of security arrangement provided for the settlements nearby.
  37. Places like Alwarthirunagari, Karungulam, Palayamkottai, Pettai, thirupudaimarudhur on the Tamiraparani Coast carry traces of Parathavar settlements and influence.
  38. R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Urbanisation, Ideology*, p.104.
  39. Akananuru 73:10.
  40. *Ibid.*,
  41. Akananuru: 140.

42. Narrinai: 4:4, 38:5, 72:5, 138:5, 145:4, 149:8, 163:12, 175:5, 187:9, 194:4.
43. The term *Thurai* in Tamil denotes port. Similarly *parappu* means expanse. Therefore, there is more possibility for the term *Parappan* to give out a meaning related to the administration of port.
44. Sailing in small boats was more challenging that required apart from support and training, childhood socialization from the family whereas sailing in ships was more technical that required collaboration of many people like the carpenter, trader etc.
45. D. Henson Jebamani, *Ohlzindhu Kondirukkum Manidhargal*, Unpublished M. Phil thesis in History submitted to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, 2011, p. \_; the scholar identifies *sammatties* as a sub-caste of *vanniars* which is suggestive of the possibility of convergence of several castes within broader *Parathavar* category.
46. R.N. Joe d'cruz, *Korkai (Tamil)*, (Chennai: Kalachuvadu Pathipagam, 2009) pp.717-719.
47. Uniquely in the coastal context, caste alliances and caste equality based on each caste claiming superiority over other marked by rejection of the claim by the subjected caste that in turn claimed superiority over the former was very common. The *Maravars*, *Vanniars* and *Parathavars* seemed to have formed an alliance whereas the *Nadars* were subjected to domination which they rejected and claimed superiority.
48. Interview with Mr. Parabaran of Manapad on 08-01-10.
49. L.F. Benedetto (ed.), *The Travels of Marco Polo*, pp.303-304; he explains how young boys were trained in selling pearls.
50. In general fishing communities were believed to have elements of matrilineal society owing to the scope available for them

to express in the economic front.

51. Interview with Mr. Joseph Gregory Babylaus Fernando (72), Retired School Teacher of Veerapandianpattanam on 02/01/10; in some of the families in the lower stratum, goats sheep and hen were grown. Particularly women seemed to have taken the responsibility of herding them. These women who went to the nearby regions for selling fish possibly took the goats and sheep along with them for grazing.
52. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, (Madras: Government Press, 1909) pp.142-148;
53. Unpublished Manuscripts of Capt. Berchmans Motha, Grandson and Successor of Parathar Jati Thalaivanmor, Tuticorin: 21/04/2010.
54. R.N. Joe d'cruz, Korkai, p.446-450.
55. Though Parathavars were depicted as inhabiting the entire coastal stretch of Tamil Nadu and Kerala in the Sangam literature, their leader was identified to have settled near Rameswaram in later literature. However, by the time of their conversion only a section of the community that inhabited seven coastal villages seemed to have recognized the authority of the caste leader. It cannot be surely ascertained as to when the internal divisions started.
56. L.F. Benedetto (ed.), *The Travels of Marco Polo*, p.299; Marco Polo as well as British ethnographers in the subsequent periods considered the Tamil people including the Parathavars as poor soldiers. The parameter for the latter to declare martial character of a people took into purview discipline as a major criterion than physical exploits. In the perception of the Westerners in general, discipline stood on the premise of self-surrender to the established hierarchy. Since the Tamil people were thought to be lacking in it they were not considered as good soldiers.

57. *Ibid.*, p.296; he refers about persons who died with the king on the latter's death. The same kind of ethics existed during the Sangam period also.
58. Velvikudi Copper plate of Pandyan King Nedunchadaiyanparanthakan; he seemed to have ruled between 765 and 790 AD. In this copper plate he has mentioned his suppression of the Parathavars.
59. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, Pandyar Varalaru, (Chennai: Nam Thamilar Pathipagam, 2007) pp.120-128; he discusses the Ur administration based on the converging information collected from Uttiramerur and Sankarankoil inscriptions.
60. Unpublished Manuscripts of Capt. Berchmans Motha,
61. *Ibid.*,
62. Interview with Mr. Alangara Michael Nallathambi Fernando (67), President, Parathavar Vadakku Ur, Kottar on 27-11-08.
63. It's a kind of 'everyday forms of resistance' discussed by James Scott. Pessimistic criticism within the community was very common and there was hardly any marriage or funeral without it.
64. He surrendered his personal ambitions and emotions for the sake of the welfare of the community. In that way, he lost his personal freedom comparatively than gaining anything else.
65. Interview with Mr. Amaladas, (65), Fisherman of Alandalai on 02/01/10. In a confrontation among the fishermen of Alandalai a splintering group founded the Amalipuram settlement and separated itself.
66. R.N. Joe d'cruz, Aazhi Suzh Ulagu (Tamil), (Chennai: Tamizhini, 2004) pp.325-326; the person thus taken in custody shall be given food and new clothes and freedom of restricted movement within the village.

67. *Ibid.*,
68. Interview with Mr. Alangara Michael Nallathambi Fernando (67) of Kottar on 27-11-08; every village or town was known with certain values. While matrimonial alliances were made these values became the deciding factor.
69. The experience during field visit inform that when visitors cross residential area and try to go beyond it, somebody immediately ventures and makes enquiry about the person trespassing. Usually a youth while observing visitors voluntarily takes the responsibility of vigilance.
70. In places like Kallamozhi, Tharuvaikulam etc. the Nadars take to sea as fishermen. They also control the salt industry and the marketing of fish.
71. Britto Vincent (ed.), Thooya Saveriar Kadithangal (Palayamkottai: FRRC, 2002), Letter of Francis Xavier from Manapad dated 14-03-1544.
72. Interview with Mr. Joseph Gregory Babylaus Fernando of Veerapandianpattanam on 02/01/10
73. Interview with Mr. Parabaran of Manapad on 08-01-10.
74. Unpublished Manuscripts of Capt. Berchmans Motha; what can be inferred from his manuscripts was the division of great tradition and small tradition in worship pattern. In small tradition there were temples for lesser divinities such as Kizhavan and Kizhavi, male and female respectively. Festivals were organized for these divinities annually.
75. According to some traditions the Parathavars were believed to be Palanquin bearers. In the coastal area, owing to sand wheeled vehicles for gods were not preferred. Particularly, in the temple of Tiruchendur they had the right to lift the palanquin. Similar practice at smaller scale they seemed to have had in every village temple.



76. It was the research finding of Arjun Appadurai and Breckenridge. Earlier when the seat of the leadership was located at Uttarakosamangay the temple festival was reflective of the status of the caste headmen. After conversion into Christianity the headman was relocated at Tuticorin where the same kind of practice continued. In ordinary villages collective expression was in view.
77. R.N. Joe d'cruz, Aazhi Sul Ulagu, pp.147-148.
78. Interview with Mr. Chandrasekharan Fernando of Tuticorin on 11/03/10.
79. Interview with Mr. Parabaran of Manapad on 08-01-10.
80. R.N. Joe d'cruz, Korkai , p.620
81. Interview with Mr. William Villavarayar (34), Tea Stall Proprietor of Pazhyakayal on 10/09/10; a person of Pieris family belonging to the Parathavar caste performs this duty not only in Pazhyakayal but also in a few other coastal villages.

**PUDUCHERRY BASED TRADE AS  
GLEANED FROM THE PAGES OF  
ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY  
(1736-1761)**

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The demand for the exotic commodities of the East brought a number of European countries to gain a share in the profits of the eastern trade. Following the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the Danes and the French had reached the shores of India for commercial enterprises. The European companies were dependant on the indigenous merchants for their trading activities. The French East India Company was gifted with the services of Ananda Ranga Pillai, who was the Chief Dubash and courtier (broker) of the French East India Company during the Carnatic wars fought for supremacy between the French and the English in the South of India in the eighteenth century. Apart from his multifarious functions for the Company, Pillai had maintained his diary in Tamil on a daily basis, a marvellous task, noting down with meticulous care all he saw and heard for twenty-five years from 9 September, 1736 to 12 January, 1761, till he took his last breath. This Diary is an immense source of native information on diverse aspects of society especially on trade and commerce, which is very much useful for reconstructing the history of eighteenth century India. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this paper to throw light on, "PUDUCHERRY BASED TRADE AS GLEANED FROM THE PAGES OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY".<sup>1</sup>

The French East India Company was originally founded for trading in the East with Puducherry as the headquarters and settlements at Karaikal, Yanam, Chandranagore and Mahe. The Company and the native merchants had been vigorously involved in the export and import of wide varieties of commodities from Puducherry. Cloth was the major item of export of the Company from Puducherry to different destinations apart from spices procured from Mahe.<sup>2</sup> The location of Puducherry enabled the French Company to enter into external as well as internal trade. Ananda Ranga Pillai has described in detail the system of trade at Puducherry in his diary. For the convenience of discussion, it is divided into coastal trade, Asiatic trade and oceanic trade.

### **Coastal Trade**

From Puducherry there were better trade links with all the major ports of the Indian subcontinent. Generally, food-stuffs and other commodities which were in great demand were carried from one port to another depending on the surplus. Both the French Company and the indigenous merchants were involved in the coastal trade or port-to-port trade.

### **Puducherry-Chandranagore**

There was an intensive exchange of commodities between Chandranagore and Puducherry. The items of import from Chandranagore were rice, sugar, silk, silk thread and other merchandise.<sup>3</sup> In times of natural calamities, rice was imported from Chandranagore.<sup>4</sup> In return for imports, Puducherry exported textiles especially the famous *chintz*<sup>5</sup> and other items like spices and aromatic goods brought from the Southeast Asian region.<sup>6</sup> Salt was despatched from Devanampatnam to Bengal by ship.<sup>7</sup> According to Pillai's narrative there was considerable exchange of commodities between Puducherry and Chandranagore.

### **Puducherry-Yanam**

Yanam was a temporary port between Bengal and Puducherry. Cloth bales from Yanam were shipped to Puducherry before shipment to France.<sup>8</sup> Long cloth from Yanam was the most demanded product.<sup>9</sup>

### **Puducherry-Masulipatnam and Pulicat**

There was a regular exchange of commodities between these places. Usually food grains were shipped in anticipation of war or political upheaval.<sup>10</sup> *The Chintz* of Masulipatnam fetched a good demand among the French merchants. Besides textiles, tobacco was the most demanded item brought from the Andhra region via Masulipatnam.<sup>11</sup>

### **Puducherry-Chennai**

In times of peace there was a regular flow of commodities between the two places both by land and sea. For land traffic bullock-carts were used. The commodities were food grains, textiles like *chintz* and tobacco. During the Anglo-French hostilities food grains became scarce and became dear due to the blockade of the British. The public were panic stricken and the French Government took steps for alternative arrangement for bringing food products from Pulicat.<sup>12</sup>

### **Puducherry-Alambarai**

There was a regular traffic for bringing commodities and minted coins from the port of Alambarai. For transporting goods the French Company permanently had the ship *Marie Gertrude* at Puducherry. It was used to ply between Alambarai and

Puducherry to carry salt, lime and other goods.<sup>13</sup> Alangkuppam was another source of place for *chunnam* (lime mortar) for the French.<sup>14</sup> In 1748, Pillai was asked by Dupleix to manage the kilns at Alangkuppam and elsewhere within the Company's limits.<sup>15</sup> *Chunnam* shells were taken from Marakkanam to other ports by boats.<sup>16</sup> The beach near Alambarai too offered the most plentiful supply of *chunnam* shells.<sup>17</sup>

The ship *Marie Gertrude* was sometimes used to spy on English ships and when on such missions, it flew a Muslim flag as though owned by a Muslim of Parangipettai but had a French captain or pilot to avoid British suspicion.<sup>18</sup>

### **Puducherry-Cuddalore**

Regular shipping was carried on between the two places carrying bales of cloth and other food materials.<sup>19</sup> From Cuddalore and adjoining places Pillai procured paddy and other grains on the direction of Dupleix in anticipation of hostilities between the French and the English.<sup>20</sup> Nearly 150 bullock-carts of paddy were procured at one instance.<sup>21</sup> In June 1748 Pillai arranged for the supply of rice from Cuddalore as a large number of European soldiers had arrived at Puducherry.<sup>22</sup> It illustrated the importance of trade from Cuddalore.

### **Puducherry-Ceylon**

The close proximity between the two favoured prosperous commerce. The ships sailing to Ceylon were often piloted by native men from Puducherry.<sup>23</sup> The principal commodities imported from Ceylon were spices, palmyra, coconut-beams, rafters, coconut, coir and Colombo arrack. The diarist owned the sloop *Anandapuravi* which sailed between Puducherry and Colombo

and his agents Mir Marakkayar and Muthu Kumara Pillai were stationed there.<sup>24</sup> Pillai had a liquor retail shop at Puducherry where he sold Goa arrack, Colombo arrack and native ones too.<sup>25</sup>

### **Puducherry-Mahe**

Ships coming from France to Puducherry enroute touched Mahe. Similarly, ships going to France from Puducherry passed through Mauritius and Mahe.<sup>26</sup> The arrival of a ship was announced by a gun salute of 7, 13, or 21 gun shots, which were acknowledged from the port. The departure of a ship, too, was similarly greeted.<sup>27</sup> Ships from Puducherry and Chandranagore touched Mahe before proceeding to Mocha in Yemen.<sup>28</sup> The ships carried goods such as sheep, swine, fowls and water before sailing either from Puducherry or Mahe.<sup>29</sup>

### **Puducherry-Surat**

Apart from the land route, there was a regular flow of commodities between the two places by sea. Cotton bales and Goa arrack were brought from Surat to Puducherry.<sup>30</sup>

### **Puducherry-Mauritius**

Throughout the diary Pillai refers to Mauritius as Mascareigne.<sup>31</sup> There was a regular flow of commodities between these two destinations. The Governor informed Pillai that the consignment sent by him to Mascareigne had been disposed off and he could work out the particulars of his share.<sup>32</sup> There was a great demand for cotton textiles such as *lampasses*, coarse blue cloth, *chintz* and *lungies* from Puducherry.<sup>33</sup> Criminals from Puducherry were transported to Mauritius. In return, Mauritius supplied considerable quantities of cowries to Puducherry where

these were used as coins. The development of the brick industry led the Council to import firewood chiefly from here. Ships coming from France to Puducherry touched Mauritius invariably.

### **Natives in Coastal and Asiatic Trade**

Many native merchants had their own vessels and were vigorously involved in both coastal and Asiatic trade.<sup>34</sup> Indian *Chetti's* and *Pillai's* too had small vessels which engaged European captains.<sup>35</sup> The diarist himself owned the sloop *Aandapuravi* which sailed between Colombo and Puducherry.<sup>36</sup>

### **Puducherry-Hinterland**

There was a regular transit of goods from inland centres to Puducherry. They were food grains, tobacco, areca nut and betel leaves.<sup>37</sup> The sale of tobacco and betel was government monopoly which was farmed out.<sup>38</sup> Mostly tobacco was brought from northward (Andhra) via Mylapore.<sup>39</sup> The government regulated their selling price by proclamation at the warehouse and the retail price at the market.<sup>40</sup> The price of wheat was announced by tom-tom.<sup>41</sup> Pillai was the wholesale dealer for betel and tobacco. There was a regular flow of different commodities from the inland centres like Parangipettai, Chidambaram, Sirkazhi, Villupuram, Cuddalore, Arcot, Lalapettai, Kanchipuram, Vandavasi, Kaveripakkam, Chinglepet and Mylapore to Puducherry.

### **Asiatic Trade- Trade with Southeast Asian region**

In the Asiatic waters there was a lively commercial contact between Puducherry and the Southeast Asian region. The important markets for the Indian products in the said region were Tennasserim and Perakh (Malaysia), Achin (Sumatra), Manila (the Philippines), Pegu and Mergui (Burma), and Siam(Thailand).<sup>42</sup>

Cotton textiles were the major items of export especially blue piece goods which were in great demand in the Indonesian archipelago. Flowered clothes and *chintz* fetched a good demand in Manila.<sup>43</sup> Apart from textiles occasionally sugar, sugar candy, rice, indigo and other items were exported also.

In return the imports from Manila were camphor, frankincense, benjamin, Brazil-wood, resin, bales of cotton and horses. Oranges from Achin were considered the best quality and mostly given as gifts to political authorities.<sup>44</sup> Pillai states that Dupleix sent baskets of them to the family of the Arcot Nawabs as presents. Regular trade was carried on between Siam and Puducherry.<sup>45</sup> The chief commodities were elephants, ingots of tin and other aromatic goods. From Perakh and Tennasserim elephants, tin, rice, mergui wood, gold ingots were brought to Puducherry as cargo.<sup>46</sup>

### **Puducherry-China**

There was a regular trade contact between China and Puducherry. Macao was the centre for both import and export of commodities. The supplies from China were tin, mercury, china-root, camphor, borax, porcelain crockery, rolls of silk, different kinds of silk goods, diverse Chinese goods, tea and gold are recorded in the diary.<sup>47</sup> From Puducherry white sugar, sugar candy, jaggery, some amount of pepper, cardamom and other spices brought from Mahe or bartered from the Southeast Asian region were exported.<sup>48</sup>

### **Puducherry-Red Sea**

The long distance trade with the Red Sea was developed centering at Mocha (Yemen) because coffee drinking became popular among the Europeans and ships laden with coffee berries



from Mocha sailed for France.<sup>49</sup> At one instance, the diarist says that one ship was so fully laden with coffee that there was no room for any other cargo.<sup>50</sup> This statement signifies the rising demand for coffee as a beverage among the Europeans. For procuring this commodity, the French exported from Puducherry diverse types of textiles such as blue clothes, printed clothes and commodities like sugar candy, rice, tobacco, diamonds and opium.<sup>51</sup> The return cargo consisted of silk, horses, dried fruits and almonds which fetched good demand at Puducherry.

### **Puducherry-France**

From Puducherry the trade with France was the sole monopoly of the French East India Company. The textiles sent by the Company consisted of different kinds, which differed in size, quality, texture and colour.<sup>52</sup> For example in 1739, up to October 3, ships had left Puducherry to France and their cargoes were 2,600 bales of piece goods and 3000 packets of coffee and pepper embarked at Mahe.<sup>53</sup>

Different types of textiles were sent by the Company to France as narrated by Pillai. They were piece goods, coarse cloth both striped and ordinary, and the *chintz* of Puducherry, flowered clothes, shirts made of bleached long cloth and blue cloth and sheet printing with flowers. Shirts made out of bleached long cloth and blue cloth were in great demand at Ile de France and Bourbon islands (Reunion).<sup>54</sup> In addition, Masulipatnam *kerchiefs*, Pachchakadai muslins and Tarangambadi *kerchiefs* were also sent to France.<sup>55</sup> Mostly cloth bales bound to Europe came from Yanam, Puducherry and Parangipettai.<sup>56</sup> Usually pepper and other spices found their way from Mahe.<sup>57</sup> When

the demand for piece goods from Puducherry found a good market in Europe, the importance of Puducherry increased in the history of the French maritime trade and it began to emerge as the principle supplier for West European markets.

Besides textiles, a large number of goods such as indigo, saltpetre, sugar, turmeric, coffee, pearls, sugar candy and spices like pepper, cardamom, cloves, mace and ginger were sent to the markets of France. The French Company earned huge profits on the sale of Indian commodities in the French market especially cotton textiles. As there was no demand for European goods in the East, precious metals (bullion) occupied first position among the imports from France. To avoid criticism of the drain of wealth from home the Company brought diverse varieties of commodities to Puducherry from France. On the nature of merchandise brought from France to Puducherry the diarist has made frequent references. The main articles were gold and silver, ivory, gold laces, copper bar, coral, woollen bed sheets, broad clothes, iron and wine, besides less valued goods such as hardware, glass items, clocks, watches, scissors, nails, anchors, carbon and materials for war like guns, gunpowder, grenades, munitions, double barreled guns and pistols.<sup>58</sup> From the imported goods, luxury items were given as gifts or *peshkash* to the local rulers or merchants for winning their support.

The signing of agreement for supplies with merchants was honoured by firing guns around 11 times at the warehouse as a mark of respect and honoured with some yards of red broad cloth in accordance with the custom. Another interesting incident was that when the Marathas were camping at Vazudhavor, the General was pacified by giving a popular drink called 'Nancy'. This strategy prevented the Maratha attack on Puducherry.

## Role of Company Merchants

In Puducherry it was the practice of the French Company to have a Chief Agent from among the non-European citizens of the settlement, who was to serve as the intermediary between the Company and the Indian merchants in all the commercial transactions of the former. This agent enjoyed a commission paid on all their transactions by the buyers of the goods imported by the Company and by the suppliers of goods to the latter for export. He was entitled '*Mudaliar*' in the sense of word which signified 'the first' (derived from the word 'Mudal'). As such he enjoyed the honours due to persons of high rank, like the privilege of going into the fort in a palanquin and having a white umbrella, the roundel, carried before him.<sup>59</sup> He was also a judge of the Tribunal of the choultry (court) and helped to decide cases arising among Indians.

Ranga Pillai entered the service of the Company as in charge of the Company's trade at Porto Novo, which was then a prosperous weaving centre. Pillai had already established a small agency for himself at that place and got from its Muslim Governor the personal privilege of exemption from 50% of the duty on goods that he might export from that port. The company also profited from that privilege. The diary states that the Company's merchants were seven in April 1755.<sup>60</sup> But the total number varied from time to time. *Pillais* and *Mudalis* held official position at medium level. Most of the Telugu *Chettis* were involved in the inland trade supplying commodities from the production centres to the head quarters (Puducherry).

Ranga Pillai was the Chief Dubash and courtier of the Company from 1746-1756.<sup>61</sup> The office of Chief Dubash gave him much wealth, prestige and influence, emoluments of the mint,

lease of villages and great credit in the matter of borrowing and lending in all business transactions.<sup>62</sup> He performed multifarious functions on behalf of the Company which included signing agreements, settling out the terms, supply of goods and disposing of imported goods of the Company and including private trade of the merchants.<sup>63</sup>

With the increased demand for the supplies of the Company, Ranga Pillai emerged as courtier or Chief Native Merchant for the supply of commodities and the sole dealer for imported goods.<sup>64</sup> The chief merchant entered into contract with the Company for the supply of specified commodities and received advance and in turn paid advance to the weavers for supplies. At a time there were a number of merchants who entered into annual contracts.<sup>65</sup> Whenever a contract was signed, eleven or thirteen guns were fired, some yards of red broad cloth and some novelties were presented to the merchants.<sup>66</sup>

As a mark of respect the merchants were given leave from the Government House as far as the warehouse accompanied by *dasi*-girls and *tom-tom* bearers.<sup>67</sup> Normally 50% of the contract amount was paid as advance to the merchants and, in turn, they paid advances to the weavers through brokers at an auspicious time.<sup>68</sup> Pillai had brokers at Palaiyur, Pilyarkuppam, Pattambakkam and Chennamanayakkanpalayam for the supply of piece-goods.<sup>69</sup> For a considerable time, Pillai was the foremost Indian merchant in an essentially mercantile community and the main intermediary between the Governor and the Indians whom he governed. It was his duty to know all that was going on in the Indian quarter to learn the news that bankers agents received from their correspondents, to watch the course of trade and feel the pulse of sentiment. For a considerable time too he played the part of Foreign Secretary to the Governor, translating

letters or getting them translated, suggesting approximate answers, settling the disputes with the local lords and himself corresponding with distant ministers.<sup>70</sup>

## **The class of Merchants**

Pillai referred to two types of indigenous merchants who supplied goods to the French Company. (a) The urban based chief merchants who made contracts directly with the Company, (b) those engaged by the urban merchants, known as brokers or middlemen who had direct contact with the producers in the rural areas.<sup>71</sup> The agreement between the Company and the chief merchants were renewed annually.<sup>72</sup> The merchants thus played a dual role in the production process. On the one hand, he represented the Company's interest in supplying the commodities as per specifications and on the other he represented the grievances of the artisans with regard to the price, payment and delivery on time.<sup>73</sup> When the merchants failed to comply with the contract or agreement they were fined or imprisoned until they cleared their dues.<sup>74</sup>

## **Banking**

There were *shroffs* who were bankers, money-changers and experts employed to assess and exchange rupees and *pagodas*. For example, Kaviraj Venkatesa *chetti* was the *Shroff* of Mir Asad, and Gujarati Kasi Das Bukkanji was Nawab Safdar Ali Khan's banker.<sup>75</sup> They weighed money in Ranga Pillai's godown where it was counted and kept.<sup>76</sup> The *Chetti* merchants at Puducherry issued bills of exchange to other *Chetti's* in Salem or other places.<sup>77</sup> In fact the whole banking was controlled and dominated by them and this period saw the growth of money

lenders who substituted for the bankers of Europe.

### **Private Trade**

A considerable amount of private trade was carried on at Puducherry. All Governors, Councillors, Priests, Europeans and Indian merchants carried on private trade which was unofficially permitted by the French Company.<sup>78</sup> They shared the profits from the sale of goods to local merchants.<sup>79</sup> Private trade too was largely financed on a joint stock basis. Each individual subscribing a certain sum and the profits were divided and returned along with the stock at the end of the voyage.<sup>80</sup> For example, Madam Albert (mother of Mrs. Dupleix) also engaged in private trade and sent goods to Mocha and other places. Frequently, she took loans for the purpose from Pillai at 18%.<sup>81</sup> There was a regular private trade between the Governors of Puducherry and Devanampattanam. The trade between them continued even when the war was continued between the companies.<sup>82</sup> The whole private trade of Dupleix was taken care of by Pillai and he ensured supplies in time. He signed an agreement, setting out the terms for supply of cloths to Dupleix for his private trade with Mocha.<sup>83</sup> It was a most lucrative and thriving business as attested by Pillai.

### **Disposal or Sale by Auction**

The merchandise brought from Europe were disposed by auction for which notices were posted in the Fort, at the cloth godown, fort church and Court House.<sup>84</sup> The native merchants purchased wide varieties of European goods through auction.<sup>85</sup> Once Dupleix accused them of quoting prices lower than the market price to make high profits. Pillai was asked by Dupleix to speak to them.<sup>86</sup>

## **Production Centres**

The increasing demand generated by the French Company especially for textiles paved way for the emergence of a number of production centres in and around Puducherry. The *Kaikkola* weavers were actively involved in the production of cotton textiles at Parangipettai (Porto Novo), Chennamanayakanpalayam, Lalapettai, Arcot, Kanchipuram, Panruti, Bahur, Salem, Arni, Udayarpalayam, Kunrathur, Saidapettai, Tiruvadi, Tiruvotriyur, Chidambaram, Sirkazhi, Masulipatnam, Taragampadi, Palaiyur, Pattambakkam.<sup>87</sup> The Company's merchant's procured cloth from the weavers in the production centres through advance payment.<sup>88</sup> A kind of stout long cloth was woven at Udayarpalayam and it was used in the hospital at Puducherry.<sup>89</sup> When the cloths were delivered by the weavers they were sent to washermen for bleaching and pressing. The merchants first paid the washing charges and then collected the same from the Company.<sup>90</sup>

## **Communication (Mail)**

When the sea was stormy, especially in the rainy season, the ships could not proceed. Letters were sent by Brahmin messengers on foot.<sup>91</sup> Letters from France came overland via Persia, Surat, Tellicherry and Mahe. It took six months to reach Puducherry.<sup>92</sup> The mail from Mahe to Puducherry took 12 days in transit. The Brahmins were asked to carry the bags expeditiously.<sup>93</sup>

## **His Last days**

He earned lakhs of *pagodas* by foreign trade but lost much in bad debts to big men like Nawabs, Subedars, and merchants

both native and foreign.<sup>94</sup> After that his relationship with the Company got strained due to long standing debt. So, Leyrit removed Pillai from the office of the Chief Dubash in 1756.<sup>95</sup> However, as the head of the Tamils, Pillai was consulted by the Governors and Councillors on diplomatic and political matters.<sup>96</sup>

Foreseeing the third Carnatic war (1756-1763), he sent away all the members of his family out of Puducherry on 24<sup>th</sup> September 1760 and he remained back.<sup>97</sup> He was proud to work for the French and was very optimistic that the French would win the Carnatic war. But the unexpected turn of events brought down the French flag, hoisting the British on the ramparts of the Fort Louis. Fortunately, he passed away on 12 January, 1761, before the fall of Puducherry at the hands of British on 16 January, 1761.<sup>98</sup> Extensive information can be gleaned from Pillais diary on the trade of the period.

## **Conclusion**

Pillai stated that the objective of writing his diary was recording the arrivals and departures of ships as the foremost than the political and other aspects. The diary clearly throws light in detail on the Puducherry based trade. He possessed a remarkable sense of history and noted down with meticulous care all that he saw and heard for about twenty-five years. He has provided much information on the city, dwelling areas of the people, minting, weaving and allied activities, colonial rivalry and the political conditions of India during the mid-eighteenth century.

The diary is a valuable source of information besides trade, on polity, economy, society and other aspects of mid eighteenth century India. Thus, the diary is a mine of information and it



is the duty of the historians and other scholars into the bring to lime light the treasures of this unique account in the various Indian languages.

## Notes

1. The diary was originally written in Tamil and the English Translation was carried out by the order of the Government of Madras, Ananda Ranga Pillai, *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai 1736-1761*, in 12 Volumes (Vol-I to Vol-III ed. Rev. J. Fredric Price and K. Rangachari; Vol-IV to Vol-XII ed. H. Dodwell), Asian Educational Service (reprint), New Delhi, 1985 (Henceforth Diary).
2. *Diary*, Vol. I, pp.33-34.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.410.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.411.
5. Painted goods; *Diary*, Vol. I, p.217.
6. *Diary*, Vol. III, p.276.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp.168-170.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.111.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.208.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.302.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp.164-165.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.135.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.105.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.371.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp.54, 456.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.105.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.105
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.143.

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.14.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.319.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.260.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp.88-89.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.153.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.126,201.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.210.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 35, 259; Vol. III, p.367.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.19.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.81.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.25.
30. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 228.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.296.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp.161-162.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp.272-273.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.118.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.116.
37. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.48.
38. *Ibid.*,
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp.164-165.
40. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.151.
41. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p.324.
42. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.145, 184.
43. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.217.
44. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.296.
45. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.173.
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.33-35.
47. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.16; Vol. IV, p.173.

48. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.38.
49. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.65, 104.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.60.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.200-201.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.33-34.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.104.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.172.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp.429-430; Vol. VIII, p.230.
56. Parangipettai was the French Company's ware house; Governor Lenoir(1726-1735) appointed Ranga Pillai as the native Chief, Vol. I, pp.11-12, 60; Vol. II, p.205.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.104.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp.367-368.
59. C.S. Srinivasachari, *Ananda Ranga Pillai the 'Pepys' of French India*, Asian Educational Service, Delhi,1991, p.XI.
60. *Diary*, Vol. IX, p.284.
61. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.11-12; Vol. II, p.205.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 205.
63. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.224.
64. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.205.
65. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.224.
66. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.4-5.
67. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.39-40.
68. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.86.
69. *Ibid.*, Vol. III p.40.
70. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. XVIII-XIX.
71. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.224.
72. *Ibid.*,

73. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.86.
74. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.399-400.
75. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.203.
76. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p.317.
77. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp.361-362.
78. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.54.
79. *Ibid.*,
80. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p.112.
81. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.241.
82. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.187.
83. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp.160-161.
84. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.89.
85. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.70.
86. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.406; Vol. IV, p.116; Vol. V, pp.100-102.
87. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp.55,99; Vol. VII, p.245; Vol. VI, p.52; Vol. XII, p.201.
88. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.334.
89. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.241.
90. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.334.
91. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp.165-166.
92. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.114.
93. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 302; Vol. IV, p.178.
94. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp.248-249.
95. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp.99.
96. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp.345-347.
97. C.S. Srinivasachari, *op.cit.*, p. XX.
98. *Diary*, Vol. XII, pp.407-408; C.S. Srinivasachari, *op.cit.*, p.XXI.

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## **THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF BRAHMO SAMAJ IN ANDHRA REGION**

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### **Introduction**

The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed social and religious reform movements. On account of these movements many important changes were felt in the Indian society. Those reform movements helped in the modernization process of the country. They brought about cultural awakening in the country. During the British rule the country began to witness the impact of western ideas and culture. The Christian missionaries strongly condemned social evils such as “sati (Self immolation)”, child marriages, polygamy, dowry system, untouchability, female infanticide etc., in our country. Their contribution motivated the educated Indians to work for the elimination of social and religious evils, English education was an important cause for the reform movements. Indians who were benefited by English education came to know

about modern social religious practices in the west. They thought that similar conditions should be created in India.<sup>1</sup>

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the foremost reformers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He knew 12 languages and studied the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Quran*, the Bible and the Buddhist and Jain religious texts. To obtain spiritual knowledge he studied Hindu philosophy in Kasi and the Quran in Patna. He was considered as a representative of the confluence of Eastern and Western Philosophical thoughts. He desired to eliminate social evils of those days. He made continuous efforts to develop rational and scientific attitudes among the people. Raj Ram Mohan Roy, who studied the texts of all religions, wrote that there is only one god and that the essence of all religions is one and the same.<sup>2</sup> He condemned vehemently, the social evils like sati and child marriages of the hindu society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy with the help of educated youth, established “Atmiya Sabha” in 1815 at Kolkatta. Later on 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1828 Roy founded the Brahmo Sabha which was again renamed as *Brahmo Samaj* (the society of God). Bramha mandir was built to offer prayers for people of all religious faiths, without any rituals. *Bramho Samaj* became the center for preaching rationalist faith and Hindu social reforms.<sup>3</sup>

### Teachings of Brahmo Samaj

God is one. He is omnipresent. He has no form and no name. Hence he should not be worshiped in the form of an image. Idol worship is not accepted by the *Vedas*. All men are equal in God’s view. Casts is artificial. All the principles of the *Brahmo Samaj* have been compiled in the ‘Vedantasara’ by Roy.<sup>4</sup>

After the death of Roy, Brahmo Samaj was divided into two branches such as *Bharathiya Brahmo Samaj* and *Adhi Brahmo Samaj* in 1866 under the leaders Kesav Chandra Sen (1838-1884) and Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905) respectively. Sen encouraged inter-caste marriages, widow-remarriages, women education and abolition of child marriages and he gave importance to social reforms. With his contribution the *Bharathiya Brahmo Samaj* entered South India particularly in the Andhra region. In the Andhra region, social reformers like Kandukuri Veerasalingam, Raghupathi Venkata Rathnam Naidu and Munnavu Buchaiah Panthulu etc., contributed to its progress. They established centers for Brahmo Samaj at several places such as Rajahmundry (1878), Bandar (1882), Kakinada (1888), Guntur (1898), Vijayawada, Bapatla, Chirala, Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam and Nellore.<sup>5</sup>

### **Establishment of Brahmo Samaj in Andhra Under Madras Presidency and its Activities:**

The social reform in Andhra went hand in hand with religious reform. The urban-based educated middle class who spearheaded the social reform movements took the initiation in the field of religious reform too. In its essentials, named the *Prarthana Samaj* like Bhrahmosim or *Brahmo Samaj* in Bengal State, The *Brahma Samaj* in Andhra as well as in Maharashtra was established in 1878 at Rajahmundry by Kandukuri Veerasalingam. He was supported by his friends. The main object of the *Prarthana Samaj* was propagating the practice of worshipping one God or monotheism. This was the beginning of the *Brahmo Samaj* in Andhra. But Andhra under the Madras presidency had seen the establishment of *Brahmo Samaj* in 1864 by Keshubchandra Sen the disciple of Raja Ram Mohan Roy the founder of the Brahmo Samaj (1829) in Bengal.



The reformers endeavored to achieve the restoration of Hinduism to its original purity based on the tenets of the 'Upanishads' and the 'Brahmasuthras'. So, a beginning was made in this direction in Madras City in 1864 when Keshub Chandra Sen, the follower of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy visited Madras in the course of his missionary tour of India.<sup>6</sup>

He delivered lectures on Brahmoism and established the '*Veda Samaj*' in Madras in the same year. The '*Veda Samaj*' held weekly prayers, meetings and started a monthly journal called '*Tatvabodhini*'.<sup>7</sup> The leaders of the '*Veda Samaj*' were V. Rajagopalacharyulu and P. Subbarayulu Chetty (Secretary), the two leading members of the Madras Lawyers Bar. The members of the '*Veda Samaj*' spread Brahmoism in Madras State and delivered speeches about discarding caste distinctions, boycotting nautch parties, promoting remarriages of widows, encouraging female education and liberally contributing to the publication of tracts and prayer books in vernaculars.

Around 1869, Chembeti Sridharlu Naidu of Cuddalore (Madras), a devoted Brahmo trained at Calcutta, became the secretary of the '*Veda Samaj*'. According to Miss Collect, Brahmo Samaj of Southern India, Chembeti Sridharlu Naidu prepared the new covenants, in the true spirit of Brahmoism, these replaced the old ones.<sup>8</sup> Sridharlu Naidu began to actively propagate the activities of the South Indian '*Brahmo Samaj*'. He brought *Brahmo* literature within the reach of his countrymen. He translated Debendranath Tagore's standard work, the '*Brahmo Dharma*' into Telugu and Tamil.<sup>9</sup> He also published a Tamil translation '*Tatvabodhini*' of Keshub Chandra Sen's model form of divine worship. He considered the work, as the organ of all the Brahmoists in Southern India.

Sridharlu Naidu was the first '*Anushtanic*' *Brahmo* in South India. He undertook missionary tours of Banglore, Manglore, Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli and many other towns in South India. He died in an accident in 1874. Later on, the South Indian Brahmo Samaj in Madras was affiliated to the '*Sadarana Brahmo Samaj*' and was formally inaugurated on June 17, 1882. Its secretary was Munnava Butchaiah Pantulu who imbued the 'Samaj' with life and dynamism.

He started the journal, the '*Brahmo*' and published it in English, Telugu and Tamil. Butchaiah Pantulu was helped in his efforts by people like Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu who was a student in Madras and was actively drawn towards the '*Brahmo Samaj*'.<sup>10</sup> Through the efforts of Butchaiah Pantulu, Sivanathasastry became a member of the Madras '*Brahmo Samaj*'. In addition to the Madras '*Brahmo Samaj*' the *Brahmo Samajas* were established in Bangalore in Karnataka, in Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu and a few places in the Andhra region.

Butchiaiah Pantulu also translated the '*Brahmo Dharma*' of Debentranath Tagore in Telugu. He also took up the laudable work of translating the '*Upanishads*' and the '*Dharmashastras*' (legal Text)<sup>11</sup> into Telugu and published them.<sup>12</sup> As in Maharashtra, in Andhra region also the *Brahmo Samaj* took the name '*Prarthana Samaj*'. In Maharashtra the *Prarthana Samaj* was launched in 1887 by Mahadeva Govinda Ranade a Social Reformer of the state. Similarly, in 1878 the first '*Prarthana Samaj*' was started at Rajhundry by Veeresalingam. The same year witnessed the second split in the '*Brahmo Samaj*' and Sivanathasastry led the group which formed the '*Sadarana Brahmo Samaj*'.<sup>13</sup>

Kandukuri Veeresalingam and Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu condemned idolatry and criticized the worship of animals,

birds, trees, snakes, stones and other inanimate objects.<sup>14</sup> Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu wrote a tract on idolatry and in that he condemned the worship of idols. Even before Veeresalingam started the 'Prarthana Samaj' in 1878, he wrote articles in 'Vivekavardhini' right from its first issue, opposing idolatry and in support of monotheism (one God). Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu also expressed the same idea about God when he stated "God is one, creation is one, and thus every integral part of creation is one with god and the universe. In his household there is no other enumeration than 'one'.<sup>15</sup>

The 'Brahmo Samajists' had no faith in the incarnations of God. They also condemned polytheism and 'Varnasrama Dharma'.<sup>16</sup> The spread of the 'Brahmo Samaj' in the Andhra region and the activities of its branches are worth noting in detail.

Activities of the Brahmo Samaj particularly in Andhra region:

(a) Godavari District

The earliest *Brahmo Samaj* named '*Prarthana Samaj*' in Andhra, was established at Rajahmundry in 1878 by Kandukuri Veeresalingam, and supported by his followers with, the main object of worshipping one God (monotheism) and practice of pure theism. The '*Brahma Samaj*' initially met at Veeresalingam's residence until it had a building of its own.<sup>17</sup> The visit of Pandit Sivanath Sastry at Rajahmundry in 1881 and his lecture on '*Brahmo Samaj*' inspired the young men of the place and to become members of the '*Prarthana Samaj*' to practice monotheistic worship. They numbered thirty in the year 1892 - 1893.<sup>18</sup> Besides this, the '*Brahmo Samaj*' conducted night school to provide free education to the poor and the illiterate.

In these activities, Kandukuri Veeresalingam was supported by Desiraju Padabapaiah, a member of Madras '*Brahmo Samaj*'. In 1891 the '*Brahmo Samaj*' started an Anglo-Telugu monthly journal, '*Satyasamvardhini*'<sup>19</sup> which was mainly devoted to socio-religious, and moral topics.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam started a high school at Rajahmundry and it finally took shape in 1908 with the financial support of the Rajah of Pithapur. The Rajah donated seventy thousand rupees (Rs.70,000/-) to the school for the construction of a permanent building.<sup>20</sup> The new High school building was opened by Herambachandra Mitra, the Principal of City College, Calcutta. The Andhra leaders of the Madras Brahmo Samaj, Butchaiah Pantulu and Raghupati Venkatratnam, Desiraju Pedabapaiah gave up the sacred thread and became *Anustanic* (One who practices religious rites) *Brahmas* in 1905. This incident had a significant impact on Veeresalingam. Pedabapaiah after becoming an *Anushtanic Brahma* performed his mother's obsequies (*Sraddha*) according to the system of *Brahmo Samaj*. The ceremony was conducted by Veeresalingam and was followed by an inter-caste dining, which Veeresalingam attended.<sup>21</sup>

Later on, Kandukuri Veeresalingam followed the foot-steps of Pedabapaiah and became a *Brahmo Anushtanic*. He performed his father's '*Sraddha*' according to Brahma '*Paddhati*' (ritual) and arranged an inter-caste dining and gave up his sacred thread. As a result, the two Brahmin widows of the Home left it.<sup>22</sup>

#### (b) Kakinada (East Godavari District)

After the establishment of the Rajahmundry '*Brahmo Samaj*' (1878) it took ten years to start a similar *Brahmo Samaj*, at Kakinada. The students played a major role in the activities

of Rajahmundry *Brahmo Samaj*, which was the motivating factor for the establishment of Kakinada Samaj in 1888.<sup>23</sup> The Kakinada Samaj members visited the surrounding villages and preached the Brahma faith. In addition to this, *Brahmo Samajas* in 1897, were started at Pithapuram and Peddapuram (Godavari District) which were more active than the Kakinada *Brahmo Samaj* in the 'Social Purity' movement.<sup>24</sup>

The year 1905 was very significant in the history of the *Brahma Samaj* Movement in Andhra. It was in that year Raghupati Venkataratnam became the principal of the Pithapur Rajah's College at Kakinada. The year also witnessed the return of Veeresalingam to Rajahmundry after his stay in Madras. From then onwards till 1919, when Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu retired from his principalship, Kakinada became the centre of the Andhra *Brahmo Samaj*. Like this, the *Brahmo Samaj* at Rajahmundry, Pithapuram under the leadership of Veeresalingam became a centre for Brahmas. The Brahmo Samaj at Pithapur, named after the Yuvaraja R.V.K.M. Surya Rao Bahadur of Pithapur, established *Prarthana Samaj* with B. Pavakeswara Rao as the secretary and it held 14 (fourteen) meetings.<sup>25</sup>

Night school library and reading room magic lantern, Ladies *Prarthana Samaj*, Youth *Prarthana Samaj* 'Social Purity' Association attached to these *Samajas* functioned regularly at the time. In addition to this, the Rajah of Pithapur (1885-1965) rendered invaluable services to the *Brahma* Movement in Andhra. He was influenced by his Dewan Mokkalapati Subbarayudu who was earlier a disciple of Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu at Machilipatnam and drew him closer towards Brahmoism. The Maharaja came to know about Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu, through Mokkalapati Subbarayudu. Later on, the Rajah appointed Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu as principal of the Pithapur

Rajah's college at Kakinada. From that time (1905) till the death of Venkataratnam (1939), The Rajah of Pithapur was drawn in to his magnetic fold and virtual filial – parental love existed between the two of them.<sup>26</sup>

The Rajah of Pithapur was responsible for initiating the Andhra '*Brahma Pracharakas*' trust at Kakinada. He also donated one lakh of rupees and trained the workers of the Samaj to translate Bengali-Brahmo works in to Telugu. He was also responsible for the construction of a Brahma 'Mandir' at Kakinada, spending a few lakhs of rupees on it.<sup>27</sup>

#### (c) Krishna District

The first '*Prarthana Samaj*' to be started in Krishna District was at Machilipatnam in 1882. It had, to start with, 8 members of whom Koka Venkataratnam Naidu was the founder-member. The Samaj grew in strength and its membership exceeded twenty (20) by the year 1886.

Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu's services to Machilipatnam Samaj are worth noting. He was a member of the *Samaj* during 1887. He left for Madras in 1888. But he returned in 1894 to work as a lecturer in the Noble College at Machilipatnam and stayed there till 1899.<sup>28</sup> His stay was an eventful period in the history of the *Samaj* at Machilipatnam. He made efforts to propagate the *Brahma* ideas among the people at Machilipatnam and set a personal example. With his charisma, Venkataratnam left a lasting impression on the minds of a number of young men who were drawn towards the *Brahmo* ideas and turned Brahmas. Among them were a few prominent persons like Pattabi Seetharamaiah, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Vemuri Ramakrishna Rao, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Desiraju Pedabapaiah and

others.<sup>29</sup> During this period a new *Samaj* was started at Balaramunipet near Machilipatnam, which was totally organized by students.

The Machilipatnam *Brahmo Samaj* had contacts with the Brahmo Samajas at Rajahmundry and Kakinada and other Brahmo Samajas. These *Samajas* were visited by Brahmos like Veeresalingam, Butchaiah Pantulu and also by Sivanatha Sastry, Hemachandra Sarkar, Amritlal Bose and Bipin Chandrapal from Bengal.<sup>30</sup>

Besides the Machilipatnam *Brahmo Samaj*, the two other major Brahmo Samajas that existed in Krishna District were at Gudivada and Vijayawada. The Vijayawada *Brahmo Samaj* was started in 1881. It had a library named after Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and its main activities were to conduct a night school for the 'oppressed classes' and to run a free dispensary for them.<sup>31</sup>

#### (d) Guntur District

In Guntur town the Brahmo Samaj was started in 1898 under the leadership of the Pillarisetty Seetharamaiah, a voluntary worker and *Bhagavatar*. He started the *Brahma Samajas* at Epurupalem, Vetapalem, Chirala and was to uplift the weaving community in these areas.<sup>32</sup> In his efforts Pillarisetty Seetharamaiah was assisted by Akurati Chalamayya a Brahmo and student of Tatore at Santiniketan (West Bengal) and also by P. Narasimham. With the combined efforts of Pillarisetty Seetharamaiah, Adipudi Somanatha Rao and Desi Raju Pedabapaiah, a *Brahmo Samaj* was founded at Bapatla and it contributed to its development. In addition to this, *Brahmo Samaj*, a *Balabhakta Samajam* was organized for the youth here.<sup>33</sup>

(e) Nellore District

Similarly the Nellore *Prarthana Samaj* was started by R. Venkata Sivudu when he was the principal of a local college at Nellore.<sup>34</sup> There the *Brahmo Samaj* functioned regularly. However, the *Prarthana Samaj* Movement was not active in Nellore District.

(f) Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Districts (Presently Ganjam District is situated in Orissa state)

Berhampur in Ganjam District (the Orissa State was formed in 1947) until the Ganjam District was in Andhra Pradesh, became an active centre of *Brahmo Samaj* in the first decade of the nineteenth Century. Jayanti Venkata Narayana, Brahma Missionary, was the founder of the Brahmo Samaj at Berhampur. The other members associated with the Samaj were V. Jogaiah Pantulu, W. Venkayya, K. Ramamurthy, N. Jagannatha Rao and so on. Sir A.P. Patro built a Brahamandir and Rokkam Balakrishna Rao was made incharge of it.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, to this another Brahmo Samaj at Chatrapur was founded by Hemachandra Sarkar, and a house was given by W. Venkayya for its use. Similarly, the Visakhapatnam *Brahmo Samaj* was started by Namassivaya in 1904. Besides this, the *Brahmo Samajas* were established at Vizianagaram, and Bhimilipatnam in Visakhapatnam District.<sup>36</sup>

### **Spread of the movement**

According to Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu almost all *Brahma Samajas* are comparatively small in size, and many of them rested on single individuals. The members formed as a



small band of young men, consecrated to the Gospel work of the *Brahmo Samaj* and acted as connecting links among the several *Brahma Samajas*. Their field of work ranged over a fairly large area between Ganjam and Nellore Districts.<sup>37</sup>

Again the movement was fairly well spread in Godavari, Krishna, and Guntur Districts, whereas in Nellore District it had no influence. The movement was largely confined to towns like Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Peddapuram, Narasapur, Bhimavaram, Ellore, Pithapur (Godavari District),<sup>38</sup> Vijayawada, Machilipatnam and Gudiwada (Krishna District). Those who embraced the movement came mainly from professions like teaching, public service and law. They were inspired by the speeches of Veeresalingam and Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu. The movement in the Rayalaseema area had not gained popularity and spread only in Bellary and, to a lesser extent, at Anantapur.<sup>39</sup> They were drawn closer to the *Prarthana* and *Brahmo Samaj* ideals which suited their new approach of breaking with the past, through conscious and guarded manner.

## Conclusion

All the social reformers aimed at the well being of mankind. They preached that all religions should work for human welfare. The reformers believed that religions were created by man and it was not good to torture people in the name of religion. They believed that service to man is service to God. All that resulted in promoting humanism. Kandukuri Veerasalingam, Raghupathi Venkata Rathnam Naidu and Munnava Buchaiah Panthulu and many more dedicated their life to spreading of the ideals of the Brahmo Samaj and for the promotion of women education, widow-rehabilitation and eradication of social evils. To promote

women education, they established high schools for girls. They relentlessly worked for abolition of the superstitions, beliefs and Devadasi system. The *Brahmo Samaj* opposes casteism and untouchability. It taught 'Gayatri Mantra' to the lower castes and allowed them to do *Yagnas*. The *Brahmo Samaj* was unwilling to desert Hinduism but it was willing to follow western faith also. It had improved the social values and unity among the people. These social and religious reforms helped in the renaissance of Hinduism helped in the spread of Hindu religious ideals in the world.

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## **ELIHU YALE IN THE CHANGING OF THE FACE OF MADRAS**

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Elihu Yale (1649-1721), the President and Governor of Fort St. George, was one the founders of the fortunes of the English East India Company in the formative years of the erstwhile Madras Presidency. He was also a benefactor of the famed Yale University. The battles he fought and the treaties he negotiated, the territories he annexed and the forts he seized, the causes he supported, the charities he helped, and the administration he organised, changed the face of Madras, and will remain as foot prints in history for years to come. Madras was his home for twenty-seven years (1672-1699), and he was a part of its moments of glory and grief. He lived and worked here, socialized with the elite of the town here, traded in textiles here, worshipped in the only church here, became the arbiter of the destinies of tens of thousands of people here, fell from power and was disgraced here. He touched the lives of the natives in reforming the local government, in improving their health and hygiene, in increasing trade and commerce, in relieving the poor of their distress, in making the St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George the celebration of Christ. But now and then he erred-like many of his countrymen both before and after him. He was accused of flouting the rules laid by the company, of diverting public funds for private gain, of inflicting inhuman punishments on the natives, of immorality unbecoming of a Governor, and was unceremoniously relieved of his office.

The St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George contains a reproduction of the painting of Yale. An alms dish of silver (weighing three lbs and two oz and seventeen inches in diameter) with his hands embossed on is preserved as a treasure in the Fort Museum across the Church. H.D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* reproduces a photograph of the painting of Yale painted by Enoch Zeenman in 1717.

Yale was born in Boston, Massachusetts, to migrant parents, and moved with his family to England at the age of three and was educated at a private school in London. He became an employee of the English East India Company, reached India in 1672, and rose to the rank of President and Governor of Fort St. George (1684-85, 1687-92). He married Catherine Hynmers, a widow of means. The marriage was solemnized on November 4, 1680 in the historic St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George. The Church preserves with pride the register in which an entry has been made of the marriage. Yale's only son, David Yale, died in infancy "to the great grief and sorrow of his desolate parents". A granite slab with an inscription was set on the northern wall of a mausoleum in the campus of what is now Dr. Ambedkar Law College, George Town, Madras. When I read this inscription my heart bled for the child, and I consoled myself quoting a great Greek philosopher saying "whom the God loves, die young." The little monument is being protected till this day by the Archaeological Survey of India. (A.S.I)

Yale returned to England in 1699 with a huge fortune, and lived his last years at Plas Grano (near Wrexham, Wales), a mansion bought by his father. He died in London in 1721 but was buried in Wrexham. His tomb contains the following epitaph composed by him:

*Born in America, in Europe bred  
In Africa travell'd and in Asia wed  
Where long he liv'd and thriv'd; In London dead  
Much good, some ill, he did; so hope all's even  
And that his soul thro' mercy's gone to Heaven*

Thanks to the foresight and vision of Francis Day and Andrew Cogan, the English gained a foothold on the Coromandel coast, built a factory around 1640 in a fishermen's hamlet, and called it Fort St. George. The fort prospered, its population multiplied, its trade and commerce increased, and its power and prestige reached new heights in about half a century. The needs of the life of the people in and around the Fort could no more be governed in a haphazard manner; a better management of its affairs was called for, and the result was the institution of a municipal corporation - a corporation weathered by time and tide and still going strong.

The scheme of the corporation for Fort St. George and its environs was mooted for the first time by Josiah Child, the Governor of the Board of Directors of the English East India Company, and whom Talboys Wheeler, the chronicler of the company, calls 'a genius and a statesman'.

Child claimed to have drawn his inspiration from the Dutch governments in the East; but he himself confesses that it was Yale who furnished him with books and papers on the Dutch Constitution and methods. Therefore, in a sense, the corporation of the town of Fort St. George and the city of Madraspatanam was the brain-child of Yale himself.

Child further forwarded a copy of the charter granted by the English sovereigns to the Borough of Portsmouth to serve

as a model for Fort St. George, suggesting that the latter may make changes to suit the place and the people, their laws and customs. The constitution of the charter was approved by King James II and the Cabinet Council, and the Corporation was inaugurated on 29<sup>th</sup> September 1688, the President, the Mayor, the Recorder, the Aldermen, the Burgesses and the chief of the inhabitants meeting at the Fort Hall before whom the charter was publicly read and oaths of office administered. The events of the historic day were rounded off when “the whole Corporation marched in their several robes, with the mace before the Mayor to the Town Hall.”

The Charter made provisions for a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and sixty Burgesses. The Mayor was to hold office for a year and the Aldermen during their lives; the former was elected from the Aldermen, and the latter from the Burgesses. The Burgesses were to be elected by the Mayor and the Aldermen. The Charter itself nominated Nathaniel Higginson, the second member of the Governor’s Council, as the first Mayor, nominated the first batch of twelve Aldermen and twenty-nine Burgesses. Josiah Child desired that the composition of Aldermen should be broad based:- accordingly the first team consisted of three Englishmen, one French Merchant, two Portuguese, three Hebrews, and three Gentu merchants. Even the first Mace for the Mayor and the ceremonial robes of office for the Aldermen made in England and brought to Madras.

The Mayor and the Aldermen were authorised to levy a tax “for the building of a Town Hall or Guild Hall . . . , of a public Gaol for the detaining in prison such criminals and Debtors, of a convenient School House or House for the teaching Gentues or Native Children to speak, read and write the English



Tongue, and to understand arithmetic and merchants' Accounts and for such further ornaments and Edifices as shall... be thought convenient”.

The Charter did not earmark any revenues or allot any funds for the works they were expected to carryout; therefore the Council remembered that the existing “Paddy Toll, measuring and weighing duty and brokerage” should be assigned to and collected by the Mayor and the Aldermen.

The Charter created a Mayor's Court with power to try civil and criminal cases. The court was authorised to deal with offences, levying fine and inflicting corporal punishment. Right of appeal lay to the litigants in civil cases when the value of the award exceeded three *pagodas*, and in criminal cases if the offender was sentenced to lose life or limb.

The Armenians “the great merchants and brokers in the eastern world” appeared in Madras for the first time in the time of Yale. Talboys Wheeler, the historian of Madras, describes this event as “one of the great events in the domestic history of Madras”. He claimed to have discovered a copy of the contract made between some representatives of the Armenians and the Directors of the Company “granting them some privileges and rights”. The historic contract by Josaiah Child is dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1688.

The contract provided that “the Armenian nation shall... have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this company have... granted to any of their own Adventurers or other English merchants, that they... shall have the liberty to pass and repass to and from India on any Company's ships, to live in any the Company's cities, garrisons, or towns in India, and to buy, sell,

and purchase land or houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born,” and that they shall always have “the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion”.

The Company agreed that “when forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall also be allotted to them a parcel of ground to erect a church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also at their own charge cause a convenient Church to be built....” The Governor and Company further promised to allow £ 50 per annum for seven years for the maintenance of priests. This kind of religious freedom is quite remarkable in the context of the general intolerance of the age.

Coja Panous, the leader of the Armenian community, who negotiated the treaty with the Company, took advantage of his position, and obtained “a nice little monopoly” for himself. He and his family were granted “the sole trade of Garnets, etc”. The Company undertook that they would neither trade in the said commodity themselves nor suffer any other persons, English or strangers,... to trade or traffic in that commodity”. Coja Panous may have done infinite good to his Armenian community but he should have refrained from obtaining personal favours. Even Josiah Child, “the wide awake Londoner”, does not come out of this deal without a black mark. He persuaded the Armenian leader to agree that “his countrymen should pay a considerable number of duties even on goods belonging to the overland trade.” The contract prompts one to say that, as in war and love, every of action is fair in empire building too.

Exploring the Coromandal coast, and walking on the seashore of what was to become Fort St. George, Francis Day and Andrew Cogan may not have contemplated anything more than trade— trade in textiles, in spices and scent, in silk and satin, in pearls and precious stones. They would not have dreamt of trade in slaves but that is what happened in the 1680s.

Though buying and selling of human beings - especially children, was prohibited for some time, it was sanctioned under certain regulations - a duty of one *pagoda* was collected for each slave sent from Madras by sea. Trade in slaves appears to have been very lucrative; in September 1687 alone above 663 slaves were exported from this Presidency. The Company too resorted to the buying of slaves. We have a record of one Frazer, the Land Customer, issuing an order to buy “forty young slaves for the Respected Hon’ble Company”. When complaints of young and innocent children being stolen from their parents for export to far-off places to be sold there as slaves became numerous, the Company ordered in 1688 that “no persons inhabited of this place... buy or transport slaves from this or any adjacent Port.” Persons found to be transgressing this order were liable to pay a fine of 50 pagodas for each slave bought and transported. Even children kept waiting for export were delivered to the parents free of charge.

Thus in Yale’s time an iniquitous practice, an inhuman trade, a dark and disgraceful chapter in the Company’s early history, was terminated. Before trade in slaves snowballed into a scandal, the Company was saved in time to resume its journey.

The erection of a Post-Office was suggested for Madras for the first time in its history in 1688. It was hoped that such

an office would bring in a vast revenue to the Company, and much greater convenience to merchants and trade in general. It was desired to arrange “fitting stage and passage boats to go off and return on certain days . . . to convey letters with great security and speed”. The establishment of a Post Office in Fort St. George may be said to have caused a revolution in its communication system.

The building of a Church “for the Protestant black people and Portuguese, and the slaves who serve them” was yet another charitable work commenced by the Court of Directors before Yale left India. The Directors promised to send to Madras “the Protestant Doctrines and the prayers of the Church of England” translated into Portuguese which the above people understood.

The authorities in London assured the Governor and his Council in Fort St. George that they would collect and send whatever benevolence they could “for the ornament of the church”, and also despatch a couple of ministers - “sober, able and learned men”- to preach in the Portuguese language. It is a sign good Government for a trading company of merchants and adventurers to come forward to cater to the spiritual needs of the people for whose welfare it felt responsible.

The earliest hospital in Madras meant for soldiers and sailors was bought from the St. Mary’s Church by the Company to accommodate its servants. Yale built a new hospital around 1690, his own contribution amounting to 1700 pagodas. It was a handsome edifice built ... in the Tuscan style”; it was from this that the present Government General Hospital developed into a mammoth medical facility. Men and women who are in physical pain will remain thankful to Yale for his noble and generous gift.

In the time of Yale, the Company proposed a plan to relieve the poor of their distress, but it would not approve of the Company spending any money out of its coffers for that noble cause. It suggested that it would raise a fund which it may “in trust into the hands of two or three of our council, and two or three of the best, most charitable, and ablest of your inhabitants” and call them “Fathers of the Poor”. They were authorised to ask and receive upon all pay days, and every Lord’s Day, or once a month at church, what shall be freely contributed towards the relief of the poor”.

The above arrangement seems to be quite satisfactory but what mars the scheme is the reluctance of the Company to share the burden with the public. It would have been ideal if the Company gave a lead by contributing a share to such a noble cause.

If Yale rose from the position of a writer of the English East India Company to the rank of Governor, it was due to his industry and enterprise; in this respect he joins the line of well known Governors and Governors-General like Robert Clive and Warren Hastings both of whom have put down their names for ever in the annals of history.

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## **RESIDENTS' IMPERIAL ECONOMIC INTEREST IN THE PRINCELY STATE OF MYSORE 1799 TO 1900**

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The British Empire established itself and expanded largely through its incorporation of existing indigenous political structures. A single British Resident or political agent controlling a regional state through advice given to the local princes or chiefs became the norm throughout much of the Empire. Micheal H. Fisher says that the Indian Princely States began to be controlled by Residents from the mid eighteenth century onwards. The British first employed and developed this system of indirect rule as the conscious model for later imperial administrators and political experts for direct annexation.

The policy of the British Government in India can be classified under two heads, one, that related to the native States and the other with respect to the countries immediately adjoining the Indian frontiers. The first question which naturally demands an answer at the very outset is “what a native state is? And for the benefit of the uninitiated a definition is necessary. Sir William Lee Warner in his work entitled “The Native States of India” says “A native state is a political community occupying a territory in India, of defined boundaries and subject to a common and responsible ruler who had actually enjoyed and exercised as belonging to him in his own right, duly recognized by the supreme authority of the British Government, any of the functions and attributes of internal sovereignty”.

With the outbreak of 1857 Mutiny the Company's policy of territorial expansion was changed with the new policy enumerated through the princes, who, in spite of Dalhousie's annexations, was one of perpetuating and not of extinction. The Queen's proclamation as well as Canning's Adoption of Sanads were the instruments through which the result of the Mutiny was expressed. As Dr. S. Chandrashekar says the same policy was extended to South India with some changes. South India has been violently annexed relatively early by the British. Its annexation was in installments spreading over roughly one hundred years. However, the period between 1792 and 1809, from the third Anglo-Mysore war to the defeat of the Travancore-Cochin armies, was the most bloody. By far the most formidable encounter was with Mysore under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan who fought valiantly in vain. That was not enough nor did it completely ensure the British hold. There were wide spread revolts till 1859 when the last of anti-British resistances were quelled in the South.

In this article an attempt is made to analyze the structure of British Imperialistic attitude in Mysore by introducing the system of Residents and Political Agents. The aim here is to expose the dimensions and significant features as they developed over a period identifying the personalities who served as agents for indirect rule. The state of Mysore as it existed was created by the British after the fall of the Muhammadan Kingdom ruled by the adventurers Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan. Eventually, after much fighting in Srirangapattanam, Tipu's capital on an island in the Cauvery was stormed by the British army under General Harris. On 4<sup>th</sup> May 1799, the Sultan was killed at the gateway to the fort and with his death, the short-lived Muhammadan dynasty ended and the British decided to restore the last Hindu Wodeyar family whom Haider Ali and his son



had dispossessed. The whole of Mysore lay at the feet of the victors, but the British Government felt that it was a case for generous treatment of a much injured family. Mysore was the first of the many Indian states which owe their existence to the British and it has always been loyal to the British.

On the day after the fall of Srirangapattanam, Harris was put in command of the city, still in a state of wild chaos with both troops and inhabitants intent on plunder – replacing an exhausted Major General David Baird. A day later he was confirmed in the position of Governor. It was not until early July, however, that he was appointed to the military command of Srirangapatnam in and Mysore, leaving a rump state of landlocked territory. On the throne of the reduced Mysore, they placed Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, a five year old child and descendant of the erstwhile ruling Hindu dynasty, from whom Tipu's father Haider Ali had seized power in the early 1760s. As Diwan and Regent they appointed Purnaiah who had been Tipu Sultan's most senior Hindu official (the sovereign prince of the empire bound to govern his State with the help of Residents stationed in his territory. The native Princes were at the mercy of the Residents stationed in this capital and moved as mere "puppets" in their hands. They were being watched by the Resident stationed at the capital. Colonel Barry Close became Mysore's first British Resident.

### **Emergence of Residency in Mysore**

Under the Subsidiary Treaty of Srirangapattanam in which set out the Company's relationship with the Kingdom, Brittlebank says Mysore was to have no independent foreign policy and was required to support a subsidiary force of British troops. The treaty also contained a clause that gave the Kingdom, in whole

or in part if it appeared that the subsidy due to it could not be paid. Close was instructed to supervise the Raja's officials in order that the subsidy be paid punctually and the Kingdom's resources improved. He had orders to see that Purnaiah did not become too personally powerful and to monitor the Raja's correspondence with neighbouring rulers.

The Resident thus was intimately involved in the running of government and in this he was aided by his military counterpart, Col. Arthur Wellesley. Brittle Bank is of the opinion that the island of Srirangapattanam was not included in the Raja's territory and remained under direct British control. It was, in effect, company territory's and Wellesley, in addition to his military duties was responsible for its administration. Secondly it is one thing to instal a ruler on the throne and another to have him acknowledged as such. Almost for two hundred years since the elevation of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III, the position of the incumbent Maharaja of Mysore was unchallenged. Thirdly, while the British had ostensibly formalized arrangements through the treaty, on the ground as will be seen the situation was a great deal more confused – and would remain so for some time. Part of this confusion sprang from different British and Indian conceptions of political power.

Barry Close was regarded as the ablest man of the time in diplomatic service in India and his knowledge of languages was extra-ordinary and superior to that of any other European in the country. With regard to the expenditure required for the Raja's household, the Governor General while bearing testimony to the care with which Hindu households were generally managed emphasized the need that existed on the part of the Resident to keep a constant eye on such expenditure and inculcate the propriety of practicing due economy. Regarding alienation of land

to individuals or to be careful that no embarrassment arose by allowing any profusion and that every augmentation in that direction was to be strictly maintained, so that none of the family should ever have any just cause for complaint afforded to them on the score of personal displeasure or on any other account.

Colonel Close, the British Resident although had powers of unlimited interference in all the internal concerns of the State was sagacious enough to perceive that where limited authority was not upheld by influence of public opinion such authority was likely to fall into disrepute by frequent interference on his part, and therefore, maintained a discreet forbearance allowing Purnaiah generally a free hand in the execution of administrative measures which he deemed necessary to adopt. The Dewan and the Resident frequently made tours in the State with a small body of troops and readily gave redress to the grievances of the people, thereby tending also to restore peace. In a letter to Colonel Close, the Governor General had borne testimony to the wisdom of Purnaiah's administration in these words – "The Dewan seems to pursue the wisest and the most benevolent course for promotion of industry and opulence, the protection of property and the maintenance of internal tranquility and order in Mysore, which illustrates the Governor General's apprehension about the native State in view of subsidy and payment.

Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar attained the age of sixteen years in 1810 and was considered to have reached the age of discretion to assume the Government of the country. Krishnaraj Wodeyar expressed his wish to do so and the British Resident the Hon'ble A.H. Cole who considered the time opportune to enlist the young Raja's interest on the side of the British

Gouvernement by complying with his wish. Purnaiah, who expressed his readiness to resign, continued to serve the Raja on the advice of the Resident. Later, Purnaiah resigned the Dewanship.

### **Mysore was Indolent and Prodigal**

The Madras Government at the suggestion of the British Resident Cole sent a letter of congratulations to the Raja on his assumption of the administration of the State. Cole informed the Madras Government that the conduct of the Raja was everything that could be expressed from a sensible and grateful mind, that his attention to business was almost indefatigable and that his attachment and devotion to the British Government were not to be improved upon or surpassed. Cole was a man of extremes, however, and of a confiding nature. Being prohibited by the Madras Government from interfering in the internal affairs of the State, he began to act on the secret information received from untested private sources to represent the Raja as extravagant and indolent. Even Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, was led away by these accounts and in writings to the Marquis of Hastings on the affairs of India generally in 1817, mentioned that the Raja of Mysore was indolent and prodigal and had already besides the current revenue dissipated about 60 lakhs of *pagodas* of the treasure piled up by the Dewan. Munro himself came to feel doubts later. Cole the Resident almost from the beginning of the Maharaja's direct rule, addressed to the Madras Government alarming reports regarding the financial conditions of the country. But when explanations were offered by the Maharaja's Government, the Madras Government in May 1815 expressed complete satisfaction. The Resident, however, depending on private information continued to repeat his accusations and in October 1822 in a private letter to the Governor of Madras informed him that the public servants and

troops were in arrears and in the preceding month there was even trouble about the payment of installment of the subsidy. Again in July and August 1825 Cole in his letters to the Madras Government urged that the right of interference in the Management of the Raja's affairs might be exercised as the only means of correcting the abuses which he supposed to exist.

Sir Thomas Munro who was Governor of Madras at this time deemed it advisable to personally verify the accusations contained in the letters of Cole, and he, accordingly, reached Mysore on the 16<sup>th</sup> September 1812. The two succeeding days were occupied in visits of ceremony. On the 19<sup>th</sup> a business interview took place between the Governor and the Maharaja at which Cole also was present. Sir Thomas Munro himself expressed, the business with the Raja was to draw His Highness' attention seriously to the terms of the treaty and to point out to him in a friendly but firm way the consequences which would certainly result from a failure in their observance. On examination of the finances the instability which had so much alarmed the Resident revealed that the annual revenue till then from the beginning of the Raja's assumption of power was on an average 26 lakhs of Centeroi pagodas and the expenditure about 27 lakhs. During this period, the Mysore Government had also incurred extra military charges due to their co-operation with the British Government according to the terms of the Subsidiary Treaty and had passed through periods of severe depression. It did not, therefore, appear strange to Munro that under the circumstances the surplus left by Purnaiah of little over 7 lakhs of centeroi pagodas was exhausted. It was found at the same interview that with a few improvements an annual revenue of 29 lakh pagodas could be raised and the disbursements as revised could be reduced to a little over 24 lakh pagodas, leaving a surplus of about 5 lakhs, which was regarded as not extravagant.

Munro impressed that it was the desire of the British Government to avoid interference as much as possible in the internal affairs of Mysore. If, however, the revenue declined, if the disbursements exceeded the receipts, if the troops for not discontented, would not be able to fulfil his obligations and the Company's Government, must for their own security give effect to the fourth article of the treaty. Munro also pointed out that the best way for His Highness to prevent such an occurrence was to cause annual statements of receipts and expenditure to be furnished regularly to the Madras Government through the Resident. The Maharaja accepted the observations of Sir Thomas Munro as tending to the convenience of both the Governments.

### **Malafide Administration of Mysore**

Shama Rao is of the opinion that on 5<sup>th</sup> January 1831, the Maharaja was forced to spill the blood of his subjects having been prevailed upon to exercise his legitimate authority. Peace and order had been restored, the insurrections had been put to an end and that the ryots had begun to pay their taxes willingly and quietly. S.R. Lushington, the Governor of Madras visited Mysore on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1831. In the mean while the Resident and the Dewan interviewed a large number of ryots and came to a settlement with them that taxes should be collected only on cultivated land, while remissions were to be allowed on all waste land that no 'Bitty' or unpaid work was to be executed by the officials for their private purposes.

Lord Lushington had written to Bentinck on the 12<sup>th</sup> April 1831 that the payments of the subsidy had been delayed beyond the appointed period and consequently the troops and establishments were ready to mutiny for want of subsistence, although the

Accountant – General's books later showed that no failure in the monthly payments had ever occurred. On the 8<sup>th</sup> June 1831 the Governor General intimated to the Governor of Madras that though he would wait for the promised report, the Governor before issuing final instructions on his views as they then were led to agree to the necessity of taking over the management of the Raja's country into British hands, and to govern it by a commission of British officers. Bentick the Governor General of India appointed Junior and Senior Commissions to administer Mysore. Colonel Briggs as the Senior Commissioner and C.M. Lushington was the Junior Commissioner. On 7<sup>th</sup> September 1831, the Governor General addressed a letter to the Maharaja, which he called a formal and final notice under Article IV and V of the Subsidiary Treaty for the transfer of the Mysore territory to the management of the Company.

The Governor General's decision that it was desirable that the Commissioners were to act the part of the Resident. The position of Briggs became intolerable, the Junior Commissioner including J.M. Macleod the successor of G.D. Drury, and who was also a Madras civilian more or less always opposing Briggs. Briggs tendered his resignation of his office expressing himself in these words – "in the enjoyment of the confidence of the Madras Government and of the Resident, in the full exercise of power with which I am forbidden to interfere, with all the public servants of the State, from the Foudjar of a district to the messenger of an office, looking up to him for subsistence and promotion. The Dewan keeps upon an active system of espionage and maintains an extensive secret correspondence. Instead of my being able to transact public business with composure, my whole time has been taken up in endeavoring to counteract the plots of the Dewan to keep me in the dark". In November 1832 he was transferred to Nagpur as Resident,

his place being given to Lt. Col. W. Morison who was Resident in Travancore. Lt. Col. Morison joined his place as Senior Commissioner in February 1833. The Residency was abolished on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1843, Colonel R.D. Stokes was Resident and Commissioner and his duties were thereafter combined with those of the Commissioner.

### **Colonial Model of Development**

The direct administration of British over Mysore lasted for fifty years from 1831 to 1881. After 1831 Mysore was administered by a Senior Commissioner appointed by the Governor General of India. He was assisted by a Junior Commissioner appointed by Madras Government. It was soon found that a board of two Commissioners who constantly differed in opinion was not suited for effective administration, and in the year 1834 Col Mark Cubbon was appointed the Chief Commissioner of Mysore. During this period the native institutions were carefully maintained and allowed to function effectively. The ryotwari land revenue system introduced by Cubbon conferred the right of ownership of land to the ryots and land revenue payment was fixed in terms of cash. The period also saw the growth of roads, ports, railways and new impetus was given to the growth of commercial crops like coffee, tobacco, sugarcane, silk and cardamom, essentially to meet external demand for these products. Under Borrowing's administration, the conservative financial policy of keeping cash balance in the treasury followed during the period of Mark Cubbon was given up and money was spent on restoration of irrigation work expansion of road network, telephone and telegraph facilities were extended, education was given priority and a number of departments were established to undertake these functions. During this period State administration was restructured on the model prevalent in the British provinces.



The Maharaja of Mysore Krishnaraja Wodeyar III who had been dethroned in 1831, petitioned through an expensive agency in England, in order to redeem himself from the dishonor and be restored to his rightful position. In 1844, the Maharaja addressed a letter to the Governor General, Lord Harding, urging the restoration of his kingdom. The Court of Directors of the Company replied in 1847 that “the real hindrance is the hazard which would be incurred to the prosperity and good government which the country now enjoys by replacing it under a ruler known by experience to be thoroughly incompetent”. The Queen in her proclamation of 1858 had assured the Indian Chiefs that the right to their future throne and succession would be protected by her. Lord Canning, then Governor General of India in his dispatch of 1860 assured the continuance of the Indian States and had accorded the right of adoption to all princess. But in the case of Mysore, Lord Canning adopted a different policy and held that the Maharaja was not personally governing his territories at the time of the proclamation. There was another proposal in 1860 to transform the Superintendent of Mysore affairs to the Government of Madras. The Maharaja protested this move and the proposal was dropped.

The Maharaja, who had no children addressed a letter to the Government of India in 1864 seeking permission to adopt a son and heir to inherit his kingdom. The Governor General wrote back saying that Maharaja had no authority to adopt a successor to the Kingdom of Mysore. Even when the Maharaja adopted Sri Chamaraja Wodeyar a child of two and half years, the British Government acknowledged him as the successor of the ruler in respect of his private property, but refused to recognize the adopted by as the heir to the Mysore throne.

The Maharaja sent another request to Sir John Lawrence, Governor General 4<sup>th</sup> July 1866 requesting that he be reinstated as the head of the Government of Mysore under such conditions and such securities of British interest and for the welfare of the subjects as might appear sufficient to the paramount power. After a long discussion, the House of Commons took a positive decision on the petition of the Maharaja on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1867. The Maharaja held a special *darbar* in his palace to celebrate the joyous occasion of recognition of Chamaraja Wodeyar as the future Maharaja of Mysore. On 8<sup>th</sup> March 1881 Sri Chamaraja Wodeyar Bahadur attained the age of 17 years and the rendition of the state took place on 25 March 1881. The Maharaja of Mysore signed the instrument of transfer which contained 24 articles elaborating the conditions upon which the administration of Mysore state was transferred to him by the British government. The fifth article of the instrument of transfer provided for the enhancement of subsidy from 24 lakh rupees a year either to be paid to the British to 35 lakhs. However, keeping in mind the famine conditions in the state the paramount power remitted for a period of five years the enhanced subsidy due under the Instrument of Transfer.

### **Native Rule with Residents**

Lord Lytton left Mysore greatly impressed with the Commission's second ranking man the Judicial Commissioner Colonel James Gordon. Gordon "an officer with special tact and commanding influence" had come to Mysore in 1868 after serving as private secretary to the Viceroy. Gordon was named guardian of the young Maharajah. In April 1878, Gordon took his place as Chief Commissioner. Later he was appointed British

Resident to observe and advise the young Maharaja. The former Revenue Commissioner, C. Rangacharlu, was recognized as the Dewan.

Despite the impact of the famine the Mysore economy had shown tremendous resilience. During the first year after Rendition State revenue amounted to over 108 lakhs of rupees, a figure almost equal to the record set in 1872-73. Yet the Durbar had immense financial difficulties. There was a famine debt of eight lakhs owed to the Government of India. The administration inherited from the commission was excessively expensive. In addition, Rangacharlu was determined to find funds from expanding the railways of the State and the Dewan attempted to meet the financial difficulties by continuing the administrative retrenchment begun by Gordon. In 1882 he abolished two districts and nine taluks by absorbing them into other units, also he closed five of the State's jails. These measures proved only small savings and increased his own unpopularity. The specter of famine also hung over the Rangacharlu's successor. Rangacharlu died unexpectedly in January 1883, after serving as Dewan for only twenty months. The Maharajah informed Gordon that he had selected K. Seshagiri Iyer as the new Dewan, Seshadri Iyer began his Dewanship. Cautiously, in fact Sir James Lally who came as resident a few months later wondered "whether he will prove strong and energetic enough to carry on the administration effectively for any length of time. Lally's doubts proved completely false and within a few years, Mysore had a Dewan whom the British feared was too powerful. A cordial relationship existed between the Durbar and the Residency in Bangalore. The Residents almost without exception commented on the ease and freedom with which they could approach the Durbar and on the willingness of the durbar to consult them.

The openness of the durbar to the Residency was often reciprocated in kind, to the horror of the foreign department, whose members looked upon the “traditional laxity” of the Mysore Residency with grave misgivings. One of the members of that department, William Lee Warner who himself later became a resident and the Maharaja’s government appeared “to live as a happy family”. Gustapson is of the opinion that it appears that no major decision or policies were made without long discussions between the Dewan and Resident. Even on matters that were strictly internal affairs were outside the limitations of the instrument. There were discussions regarding proposed legislation, the adoption of a revenue code, the creation of a post of Revenue Commissioner, lease granted to European gold mining interests, state finances, appointments within the Durbar, the touring responsibilities of the Dewan and administrative reports. It is difficult to assess the actual impact of the Resident in these discussions, as it seems that he was generally careful to appear only as advisor and not as initiator or decision maker. The foreign department repeatedly warned Residents to avoid interfering with internal administration.

In 1890 Colonel Henders, on the Resident from 1892 to 1895 asked the Durbar to employ his son who had come to financial grief as a coffee planter.

The construction of railways in Mysore was a more crucial sentiment and prestige, and railway construction carried weighty financial implications. The government of India had seriously questioned Rangacharlu’s rail building schemes. While it had not prohibited extension of the railways, it had done nothing to encourage the projects. The foreign department was irritated when Seshadri Iyer had approached the Resident to ask for a major loan from the Government of India. The Dewan insisted

that the projected railway was immediately necessary as protection against famine. In order the Darbar might have sufficient funds to construct the railway, the Dewan asked that the annual subsidy be postponed for three years.

With the death of Chamarajah Wodeyar X the Government of India formally announced its recognition of his eldest son Krishnarajah as the next Maharajah. But since Krishnarajah was only ten years old, he could not assume the responsibilities held by his father for almost eight years or until 1902. Paramount power normally looked upon a minority in a Native State as an opportunity for greater involvement in the internal affairs of the state. A Resident assumed greater power during a minority and thus he had a chance to remodel and develop the administration to make it conform more closely to the standards of the British Raj.

The Resident was aware that the machinery of administration was gradually slowing down. Both Krishnamurthy and Madhava Rao were only too eager to point out to him the accumulating items in arrears. The Resident, Sir Donald Robertson, considered him to be reprehensibly lazy and weak. Initially, the Mysore Durbar depended almost entirely on Robertson, the Resident for direction. The Government of India hindered rather than helped the Resident by rescinding some of his orders and by requiring him to enforce certain rules which he felt were not applicable.

The Dewan eagerly supported De Lotbiniere's scheme as did the Resident and the Government of India. The chief engineer was immediately sent to the United States to inspect the installations at Niagara Falls. He returned by way of London. The Durbar drew up an agreement with the gold mining companies regarding

the use of power. In 1900 contracts were signed with the General Electric Corporation of the United States and with a Swiss company for the necessary equipment and personnel to install it. In 1903, the Resident ecstically reported that there was no electrical undertaking in the world of a similar nature approaching the Cauvery scheme in magnitude has ever shown such brilliant success during for the first twelve months of its existence. Seshadri Iyer died in September of 1901; almost a year before the Cauvery project was completed. A native Mysorean Krishnamurthy was appointed Dewan of the Mysore.

The British colonial economic interest in the princely State of Mysore clearly indicates that the Imperial economic exploitation with the policy of expansion made Mysore suffer a greater extent in administration and economic outlook. The native administrators became puppets in the hands of the colonial masters. The Dewans and Rajahs acted according to the convenience and advice of the Residents and Governors, and nowhere in the entire period of princely Mysore administrative structure, the voice of the native administrators were considered to formulate new laws, rules and regulations. These native administrators were also behaved servants due to the fear of losing their territory. Thus the economic interest of the British has raised several questions against the administrators and economy which has further scope for the new research on the economic development of the Mysore State during the British period.

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## **INTERROGATING THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE IN TRAVANCORE**

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Colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the new comers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history. The process of ‘forming a community’ in the new land necessarily meant ‘unforming’ or ‘reforming’ the communities that existed there already, and involved a wide range of practices including trade, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide, enslavement and rebellions.<sup>1</sup> Not to forget the Cultural transgressions of the newcomers. Colonialism had unity and contradictions, directions and ambivalence, power and weakness. It involved a set of structures as well as a set of discourses which, when taken together, may provide an imbricated spectacle of domination in its myriad forms.<sup>2</sup> Colonialism won its great victories not so much through its military and technological prowess as through its ability to create secular hierarchies incompatible with the traditional order. Ashis Nandy claims to have identified colonialism, which colonizes minds in addition to bodies and produces cultural and psychological pathologies of such intensity that they have endured far beyond the formal termination of colonial rule.<sup>3</sup>

The exercise of power and its praxis are cardinal to an understanding of the historical problem. Power does not emanate

from some central or hierarchical structure but flows through society in a sort of capillary action. According to Foucault ‘power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but it comes from everywhere’.<sup>4</sup> Foucault argues that power does not manifest itself in a downward flow from the top of the social hierarchy to those below but extends itself laterally in a capillary fashion and it is part of daily action, speech and everyday life.<sup>5</sup>

Hegemony is power achieved through a combination of coercion and consent. Playing upon Machiavelli’s suggestion that power can be achieved through both force and fraud, Antonio Gramsci, a great Italian Marxist thinker, argued that the ruling classes achieve domination not by force or coercion alone, but by also creating subjects who ‘willingly’ submit to being ruled. Hegemony is achieved not only by direct manipulation or indoctrination, but by playing upon the commonsense of the people. Gramsci thus views ideologies as more than just reflections of material reality. Rather, ideologies are conceptions of life that are manifest in all aspects of individual and collective existence.<sup>6</sup> As Peter Ekeh has pointed out, the successful colonization of any country was achieved more by the colonizer’s ideological justification of their rule than by sheer brutality of arms.<sup>7</sup>

Daniel R Headrick has listed medicine among the several ‘tool of empire’ that enabled or facilitated western penetration and domination of the non- European world.<sup>8</sup> Institutionalized medicine has acquired legitimacy because of its scientific credentials based on dominant ideas, methods of validation and textual sources. This legitimacy is further justified on the basis of the patronage from two sources – one from the state and the other from civil society.

The huge colonial empire of Britain was kept under her hegemony partly by force, concession and partly by the constant intervention of new scientific technologies to deal with the growing difficulties of colonial rule. Western medicine, initially introduced for the benefit of the European community in India and later made accessible to the Indian population, was a 'tool of the empire'. It was also a cultural force 'acting both as a cultural agency in itself, and as an agency of western expansion'. Western medical discourse occupied an important place in the colonization of India. It functioned in many ways; as an instrument of control which would swing between coercion and persuasion as the exigencies demanded, as a site for interaction and often resistance. In its former it served the state and helped ensure complete dominance.

From the earliest times man has been actuated by the instinct of self- preservation and the natural impulse of life interest and life protection in India. The occurrence of disease in individuals led him to evolve certain empirical rules of personal hygiene, and the urge for herding together induced him to evolve and utilize health services according to the concept of the times. The term 'indigenous medicine' in the colonial context was defined in various ways. It oscillated between the large compendium of health care practices followed locally, regionally, in caste and in ethnic minority specific contexts and also the dominant health care tradition that traced its lineage from the *Samhita* texts. 'Under colonialism, the later form of knowledge was deemed to indicate the entire corpus of indigenous medical knowledge under the name of Ayurveda'.<sup>9</sup> In the modern social situation, in India, all forms of indigenous knowledge of medicine in common parlance came to be called Ayurveda.

Within the colonial system, the western medical episteme ensured its hegemony over the indigenous and local practices with its clinical precision, universality of scientific reason and rationality along with the supportive network of colonial political power.<sup>10</sup> The new discourse on science, modernity and medicine placed Ayurveda as the representative of the entire corpus of indigenous medical knowledge and health care practices. One cannot overlook the fact that in reality indigenous society was neither homogenous in terms of its culture, geography or social modes, nor did the subcontinent have a single health care method and practice. It however had an ensemble of local practices followed by innumerable caste and social groups.

The place of preventive medicine in colonial India is analyzed with respect to its role in consolidating British domination, its place in disputes over how best to govern India and its significance for relation between the rulers and the ruled. Medicine has also been viewed as an instrument of ‘social control’ in the colonies, providing means of ‘knowing the indigenous population’ and relation for social segregation. ‘Public health measures have been viewed as powerful tool for domination over indigenous people’.<sup>11</sup>

For many 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century European administrators, reformers and physicians, the hazards and depredations of diseases were an established part of a hostile and as yet untamed tropical environment. Africa, Asia, and the Americas, were all seen to have their fatal and incapacitating diseases, and only through the superior knowledge and skill of European medicine was it thought possible to bring them under effective control. In this view European medical intervention represented progress through a ‘civilized’ social and environmental order.<sup>12</sup> The health of

European Soldiers and civilians could not be secured through measures directed at their health alone. Bengal's sanitary commission observed in 1865 'Even if we look no further than the protection of the health of European soldiers, it will be evidently insufficient if we endeavor to improve the condition of our cantonments alone, and ignore the existence of the masses of the native population by which our troops are surrounded'.<sup>13</sup> The Report of the Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the Army in India revealed in 1863 that the main cause of death among British soldiers in India between 1830 and 1846 were dysentery and diarrhea 32%, fevers 23%, disease of the liver 10% and cholera 10%. Only six percent of European soldiers were killed in action or died because of their wounds.<sup>14</sup>

Like colonialism itself, colonial science is more than a set of institutions or structures; it is an economic as well as cultural intervention. The term non-scientific refers to the absence of western science. The determining factor depends upon the established scientific culture of the west. The condemnation against Indian science may as well be part of the process of hegemonization. Without criticizing Indian science and technology they could not have justified colonization.<sup>15</sup> British rule was founded on the 'right of conquest', but its continuance depends more upon how much acquiescence and consent it was able to elicit from its subjects. The Raj was more than just the army or the bureaucracy; it represented a culture and a way of life substantially different from the way of life of those it had subordinated.<sup>16</sup>

However, various premises of western medicine were at the same time seen as hegemonic truths which had to be integrated into the traditional knowledge systems in order for

it to be called scientific. Western scientific medicine has been imposed both as an ideology and practice in Kerala and hence it became the state imposed health care system during the days of the colonial establishment. In its attempt to mould a modern society, the ruling classes of Travancore and Cochin accepted the western bio medical system leading to the gradual marginalization of the traditional medicinal system.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century an Indian State is defined as ‘any state in India which is under the protection or political control of Her Majesty or of which the government has acknowledged the supremacy of the British crown’.<sup>17</sup> There was a British army, paid by the Princely States, established in their territory. This force was for the purpose of internal as well as external defense and it gave to the Company a handle wherewith to influence the internal affairs of the State.<sup>18</sup>

The former princely state of Travancore was situated in the southern most tip of India. Now it forms the political entity of the Indian Union known as the State of Kerala. The other parts of Kerala were formerly smaller princely states of Cochin and the former British Malabar, which was part of British India. Travancore itself included, in the south, a small Tamil speaking area which was merged after independence with the mainly Tamil speaking State of Tamilnadu.

The European hegemony over Travancore started with the British aliens in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1723 English directly negotiated with the head of the ruling combination of Venad and a treaty was signed, which is described as the first treaty negotiated by the English East India Company with an Indian Princely State, by Prince Marthanda Varma and Alexander Orme, Chief of

Anchuthengu. In August 1723, Orme communicated to the Raja the Company's willingness to render all help in suppressing the power of the Pillamar and other feudal nobility.<sup>19</sup>

Though Travancore, as a Princely State was not strictly a colonial province, it became so following the treaty of 1805, for all 'practical purposes'.<sup>20</sup> The treaty, as modified further by a new treaty in 1809, compelled Travancore to surrender its independence and become a dependent vassal.<sup>21</sup> The State lost the right of self-defense, of maintaining diplomatic relations, of employing foreign experts and of settling its disputes with its neighbors. The ruler lost all vestiges of sovereignty in external matters and became increasingly subservient to the resident, the imperial agent of the British. Real power was vested in the Resident who controlled political, administrative and economic affairs of the State.<sup>22</sup> This control over the administration of Travancore helped the British to hegemonise the State through various aspects. They tried to introduce Western ideas, religion and culture, science, education etc, through their control. The British got great support from the native rulers. The acceptance of colonial modernity by the ruling classes was the major cause for the penetration of western ideas to the common people. Medicine becomes one of the better 'tools' in Travancore for the establishment of British hegemony.

Before the spread of Sanskrit *Ayurvedic* medical books in Kerala, there existed an indigenous medical system which was their own. Kerala's indigenous treatment was totally different from that of the rest of India. In Kerala, medical practice was never a monopoly of any community. A wide category of low caste peoples of Kerala like *Velan*, and *Mannan*, practiced medicine. The communities like *Velan* and *Mannan* considered midwifery as their family profession. Communities like

*Velapanikan* and *Ganaka* or *Kanyan* are experts in pediatric treatment. *Kurupans* are experts in *Uzhichil* and *Marama* treatment.

*Hortus Malabaricus*, a multi volume compilation of medicinal plants by the Dutch Governor of Malabar, Van Rheede, in the seventeenth century points out that the identification of plants, their classification and detailed description of their medical properties were provided by Itti Achuthan who was a *Chovan* (*Ezhava*) by caste and belonged to a family of physicians for generations. The early popularity of Sree Narayan Guru, a great social reformer of Kerala, was built on his knowledge of medicine and ability to cure diseases. *Tholkapiam*, the grammatical work of *Sangam* literature, describes six different occupations of Brahmins, but medical profession was not one among them. There was a general belief that these physicians had obtained mastery in diagnosing disease and in the cure. More than ninety percent of the public depended upon them till the early years of the nineteenth century. Kerala's medical tradition was fairly strong and logically epistemic dissimilar to those of the Europeans when they arrived. Though Kerala society was strictly caste ridden, a particular caste or any one of the higher castes did not monopolize *Vaidyam* (medical treatment).

### **Western Medicine in Travancore**

Rani Gauri Lekshmi Bai ( 1810-1815 ), the ruler of Travancore introduced the western medical system into Kerala. In 1813, as advised by Munro, Resident and *Dewan*, the Rani created a special department to check *Vasuri* (small pox) under the guidance of Dr. Brown. Under his guidance many hospitals were opened and the people got a kind of familiarity with the western medical system. The hospitals established by the State



formed the nucleus from which colonial medicine sought to establish its hegemony to marginalize and delegitimize the indigenous systems. In the beginning the people looked at the new mode of treatment with fear. In order to wipe out the fear from the people, the members of the royal family and the inmates of the palace underwent vaccination against small pox as per the directions of Rani Lekshmi Bai.<sup>23</sup>

The system of vaccination implied a dependence on the ruling class, since it was felt that, if persons of influence supported the western system of medicine, it would make thing easier for the colonial people to hegemonise the native society. The members of the royal family and the Rani herself were under the treatment of Dr. Brown, the British physician. Certain wrong notions prevailed among the public and in the royal family about socializing with foreigners. This attitude towards the foreigners had been changed during the reign of Rani Parvathi Bai. European doctors were allowed to treat even the women members of the royal family.<sup>24</sup> In 1819, Dr. Brown was appointed as the palace doctor by Rani Gouri Parvathi Bai, with the salary of Rs. 900/- per month.<sup>25</sup>

Through small pox vaccination the western medical system entered into the consciousness of people of Travancore during the early decades of nineteenth century. The accumulated substance in the vaccinated part of the patient was transmitted to the other patients; this unsophisticated method was in existence for a long time. People feared vaccination more than the disease. In 1865-66, a new vaccination department came into existence. By the order of Durbar Physician, a Madras practitioner Palani Andi took charge as the Superintendent.<sup>26</sup> The vaccination department was put in charge of a medical officer with European qualification, who was designated Superintendent of Vaccination

and placed under the order of the Durbar Physician. The crude system of arm to arm vaccination which was formerly in vogue was abandoned.<sup>27</sup>

The western medical system was introduced firstly for the European people and the ruling class in Travancore. In 1816, a charity dispensary for the public was started in the palace. Dr. James Rose took care of the patients of this dispensary and the inmates of the Jail as well. The Durbar physician was an officer in the Indian Medical Service duly appointed by the government for a period of five years. His responsibilities included the treatment of the royal family and supervision of the Medical Department in the State. The Brigade hospital, which extended its service to the military department, was supervised by the Brigade Command.<sup>28</sup>

The rulers of Travancore and the royal family followed the colonial 'modernity' in their ideas and practices and marginalized native knowledge. His Highness Swathi Thirunal Rama Varma established a charity hospital under the responsibility of the Residency Surgeon at Thycaud in Travancore to provide free treatment to the people in 1837.<sup>29</sup> Formerly, this hospital was a *Vaidyasala* (native medical center).

In 1847, Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma became the ruler of Travancore. He gained some knowledge of medical subjects. Soon he started practicing medicine in the palace itself. He had a big collection of medicines.<sup>30</sup> Later he constructed a new building for inpatients and some people were trained to dress wounds. The Maharaja knew the basics of surgery as well. As he attained fame in the medical field, Hindus from far off areas also sought his help. Though the upper caste considered Western medicine unholy, they approached the king for medical.<sup>31</sup>

In the early days people didn't go to government hospitals most often. So the rulers of Travancore arranged some food and some privileges for them. It attracted the people. During the period of Uthrm Thirunal, modern medical centers in Kollam, Changanassery, Nagarcoil, Neyyattinkara, Alapuzha, Peerumade and Kottayam were started.<sup>32</sup> These stations were military centers, trade center or plantation areas. While addressing the people at an opening ceremony of a Civil Hospital on 10 November 1865, King Ayillyam Thirunal Ramavarma said, 'My wish is to make modern treatment available to all the people. It is also the responsibility of the administration'.<sup>33</sup>

In those days ladies rarely came to the hospital for treatment. In 1866 an entirely new building was constructed in the hospital premises of Trivandrum by General Hospital for the complete treatment of women. Due to the increasing number of child deaths, eight *Nair* ladies were given training to treat the women at the time of pregnancy.<sup>34</sup> In 1887, the Victoria Jubilee Medical School was started at Kollam for midwifery and nursing.<sup>35</sup> Rs. 50,000/- was contributed by Sri Moolam Thirunal Maharaja to this school. He also contributed Rs. 5000/- to the Lady Dufferin Fund.

While giving enormous support to the western medicine some measures were taken by the rulers to 'modernize' native medicine. In 1868, an Ayurvedic doctor was appointed in the Civil Hospital.<sup>36</sup> His duty was to determine the quality of Ayurvedic medicine and to prepare a list of quality medicines. In 1868, the Durbar Physician Dr. E M Rose submitted a request to execute a special scheme to train health workers in the village areas. Thus in 1869, a medical school for the training of employees of the Medical Department was established in Travancore.<sup>37</sup> The King Ayillyam Thirunal Rama Varma issued a proclamation that

made small pox treatment a must among all people including government servants, teachers, students, lawyers and prisoners.<sup>38</sup> This was the earliest attempt by a native ruler in India during that time.

During that time caste was very rigid in Travancore. So the downtrodden people were not included in the State vaccination program. In 1871 two *Pulaya* youths were given training to take vaccination among the *Pulayas*. In those days the low caste like *Pulayas* were admitted in separate buildings at the hospital. For a very long time even in the Thiruvananthapuram General Hospital these communities were admitted in a separate building. The upper caste patients were reluctant to be admitted along with the lower castes.

According to the Durbar Physician's opinion in 1870 a lunatic asylum was established in the new Civil Hospital. In 1897, it was shifted to Oolampara, near the capital.<sup>39</sup> A separate maternity wing at the General Hospital was started and a hospital for women and children was also established adjacent to the *Zanana* Mission hospital under the leadership of Miss. Branford.<sup>40</sup> In 1897 the maternity hospital was solely run by women doctors under the guidance of Miss. Yastly was started at Thiruvananthapuram.<sup>41</sup>

The regular outbreak of smallpox and cholera in India affected the British trade in the second half of the nineteenth century. The European nations considered India as the 'factory' of these epidemics which spread all over the world. The sanitary meetings decided to adopt some measures in India for protecting the British trade interests. This idea was followed in Travancore by the native princely rulers. A sanitary department was organized in 1895 with a sanitary commissioner as its head. Till 1894, there

was no regular agency for the registration of vital statistics in Travancore, though the village officers were expected to keep a register of births and deaths known as '*Jananamarana Kanakku*', which was neither accurate nor exhaustive.

These were some of the measures undertaken by the Travancore rulers for the introduction and development of 'modern medicine' in the state. Modern medical treatment spread all over the state and the foundation was laid by the Travancore rulers. During the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the native rulers accepted the foreign ideas for strengthening the relations with the British, later the rulers became the promoters of these ideas. The popularity of native ruling class becomes a major strength for these 'modern' ideas. The upper class and educated middle class viewed these measures as the part of 'modernity'. 'The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas', this Marxian concept was aptly right about colonial Travancore. The native rulers accepted the foreign medicine and introduced it as state medicine with the concept of 'Charity State'. Vaccination was made compulsory for entering schools, government job, Court etc., in Travancore through Royal proclamation. The rulers of Travancore were influenced by 'colonial modernity'.

Christian missionary activities also played a vital role in the penetration of western ideas in Travancore. Kerala society had always favoured a fair play in religious matters. Different religious denominations could enjoy considerable freedom in projecting the principle of their faith. Though not an indigenous faith, Christianity had received ample patronage from the local rulers and a large number of people were converted to fold.<sup>42</sup> However, with the advent of colonialism and European missionaries, especially Protestant missionaries, religious motives were mixed with colonial ideology and the commercial spirit.

The advent of the western powers in Kerala and their mercantile ascendancy resulted in the extraordinary activities of the Christian missionaries and the consequent mass conversion of the native population to their faith. This made the Hindu rulers and their caste subjects turn hostile to Christianity. The mass conversion was one of the reasons for the revolt of 1809 – Veluthampi and Paliyathachan. After the suppression of the revolt of 1809, the condition was changed. The resident, who was stationed in the states, came to have a powerful say in political matters as the British dominance in South India became an established fact.<sup>43</sup>

Hence, the activities of Christian missionaries had gone on for centuries without attracting any serious opposition. An entirely different dimension was introduced, however, during the course of the nineteenth century. Although Christianization was not officially on the colonial agenda, a nexus between government officials and missionaries came to be established during the nineteenth century. They believed that evangelization would help ensure loyalty.<sup>44</sup>

The Company's officials started thinking generally that the introduction and spread of Christianity and the diffusion of its doctrines in India might cause among the natives a new attachment to Britain, and that such an attachment would in turn generate better Indian fidelity.<sup>45</sup> Most of the Company officials like Charles Grant, Colonel Munro and Macaulay held the view that colonial domination was to be supplemented by Christianization. In other words, the diffusion of Christian doctrines among the natives was seen as the most effective means for legitimizing colonial control over them. The colonial ideologues realized that political conquest would not be lasting without the conquest over the mind. They wanted to accomplish the conquest over the mind through

the diffusion of colonial ideology, of which Christianization and modern education were two significant concepts.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the Charter Act of 1813 relaxed government control over the missionary activities in India.<sup>47</sup>

It is quite significant to note that in this context that by and large men appointed to the post of Resident in Travancore were closely associated with the church of the England and Protestantism. The first two Residents, Colonel Macaulay and Munro, were not merely the representatives of Great Britain but also the guardians of Protestantism. Mar Dionysius, the Syrian Metropolitan, in a letter addressed to Lord Gambier as the President of L M S in London in 1821, compared Col. Macaulay to Moses and Col. Munro to Joshua.<sup>48</sup>

When Velu Thampi, Dewan of Travancore, who looked upon Protestant Christianity as a symbol of British political power and a means to put across the Cross and Christian flag<sup>49</sup>, denied permission to Ringultaube, the first L M S missionary in Travancore, to build a church at Myladi and Col. Macaulay waged a war against Velu Thampi.<sup>50</sup> Macaulay's special interest in the growth of Protestantism in Travancore is very graciously acknowledged by Ringultaube, who wrote: 'our society is indebted alone to Col. Macaulay, without whose determined and fearless interposition, none of the missionaries would have been able to set foot in Travancore'. The successor of Col. Macaulay, Col Munro, who also functioned as *Dewan* (1811- 1814) very frankly admitted that his duty as a Christian was to "afford all the assistance in his power to the diffusion of Christianity."<sup>51</sup>

The period of Resident Rule (1810-1815) or direct rule by the British Resident is much more important in the scheme of colonial consolidation than normally given credit. Munro's

intervention in power was unlimited because throughout the period of his Residentsip, and of the *Dewan* ship in Thiruvitamkur at least, two young princes were in *Gaddhi*. Using his powers Munro struck effectively at the social premises of possible *Nayar* revolt in Thiruvitamkur, by taking over the properties of all important temples of the State.<sup>52</sup>

The Christian missionaries who were active in Travancore played an important role in the popularization of western philosophies in the social domain of the state. Here the western influence upon society was much more widespread and complex. The religious and cultural composition of the society in Travancore had a major role in deciding the nature of the encounter with western ideas. Unlike British Malabar, where the debates were limited to the sphere of the social elites, colonial debates in Travancore were more mass based and they were acceptable not only to the Christians but to the society at large, irrespective of their religious and caste denominations. Western science, especially medicine, ensured its presence in Travancore primarily through western theology. Thus, the logic of western biomedicine and science became receptive to new ideas.<sup>53</sup>

The ideas of 'disease affected body and mind is the fertile place for the spread of Christian faith' led the missionaries to introduce medical activities among the lower strata of the society in Travancore. The work of the Medical Mission in Travancore may be compared to a man growing from the feeble effort of childhood to the vigorous activity of healthy manhood. The head and body may be regarded as the Church- in the widest sense of that word- the right arm to the education department, the left arm to the medical department, and the legs by which he stands and walks to the industrial work of the mission.<sup>54</sup> In 1838, medical missionary Archibald Rouse with his wife came to



Travancore as a preacher.<sup>55</sup> In 1838, the South Travancore Medical Mission started functioning in Neyyoor as its head quarters. This Travancore Medical Mission was one of the largest medical missions in the world during that time. It was common in those days that medical treatment and evangelism went hand in hand. Dr. Ramsay, one of the L M S medical missionary, not only distributed medicine but also gave spiritual guidance to the people.<sup>56</sup> However, the medical mission works started on a firm basis only in 1852 under Dr. Leitch.<sup>57</sup>

During the period between 1853 and 1875, the Neyyoor Mission Hospital appealed a number of times for financial assistance from the Travancore rulers. The government gave a contribution for the establishment of a hospital at Nagercoil.<sup>58</sup> According to Dick Kooiman, “The missionaries sought out the poor and depressed in India not only because they were most easily converted (which was true) but simply because they were poor and depressed and in need of help”.<sup>59</sup> It is remarkable that the Christian population of Travancore, which attained the maximum strength of only 8 to 10 percent during the thousand years they were under Hindu rulers, should have doubled or trebled itself during the short space of 80 years, covering the period of British supremacy in Travancore.<sup>60</sup>

A general conclusion is that the introduction and dissemination of western medicine in Travancore in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was an undulating process that produced intended results within a short span of time. Native ruling classes accepted modern medicine and assimilated it into the state system. Rulers gave enormous support to the new system and marginalized the native medical systems through a famine of funding. *Vaidyans* and *Vaidyasalas* were replaced by modern doctors and hospitals. According to

K N Panikkar ‘The decline of indigenous medicine was due to both internal and external causes. The internal causes rested on three sectors (1) stagnation of knowledge (2) ignorance of practitioners (3) non- availability of quality medicine. However good the classical texts were, the knowledge contained in these had remained stagnant, as there was no substantial efforts to improve upon them through research and by relating knowledge to new experiments. The classical texts were either not easily available or if available, most practitioner did not have the necessary language skills to assimilate their contents. Medicine in processed form was unavailable and hence the patient had to prepare them on the basis of the ingredients prescribed by physicians. Consequently, there was a wide gap between what the physician intended and what was actually administered to the patient. The major external causes were the lack of support from the rulers and educated classes’.<sup>61</sup> Through ‘modern’ medicine British established their cultural hegemony over the Travancore state.

Christian missionary activities, on the other hand, accelerated the social acceptance of ‘Modern medicine’ by the lower strata of society. *Ayurvedic* treatment was cumbersome, nonsubsidised and concentrated on the caste Hindus of society. The non-caste Hindus who did not patronize modern medicine depended more on local physicians and witchcrafts. Through the hegmonising tool of modern medicine for the ailments of the body and missionary interventions to salvage the blighted ‘Spirit’, the British intervention had succeeded in negotiating lasting socio-cultural and religious space in this part of the Indian sub continent. Modern medicine had assisted the Empire in subordinating the natives by disseminating its merits through its native ally the ruling classes largely assisted by zealous missionaries.

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## **LITTLE ENGLAND, AN URBAN MINING SETTLEMENT IN THE PRINCELY STATE OF MYSORE – KOLAR GOLD FIELDS**

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Urbanization is a process of intense city growth due to the profile of economic activities around the city. Often at the expense of the rural or agricultural hinterlands it is largely a product of the industrial revolution and automobile industry. The word urban or urban living can be traced to the original Latin word “urbs”, a city. The township or city is a fairly sophisticated concept and cities were in the existence even five thousand years ago, mainly in the river valleys. Urbanization means a radical transformation of the society a deep-seated change in human psychology. The increasing urbanization of the countryside is a process which all advanced societies are experiencing, and usually the urbanization of rural communities is considered to be the process of intensification of typically urban behaviour which is a result of diffusion of ideas and behavior patterns from the towns and cities.<sup>1</sup>

India is often portrayed as a land of villages. But in reality, it is a land of towns and cities. These urban centers have acted as focal points in the cultural landscape of India for nearly five millennia, though with some significant breaks in between. These urban centers continue to play a major role in India's emergence as a premier industrial and political power in the world. It is unfortunate that historians have neglected the role for urbanization in the process of economic growth and social change in India.

Emphasizing the need of urban studies M.S.A. Rao had observed “our understanding of Indian social institutions has been largely based on knowledge of village communities. Hence it is necessary to promote urban studies which would supplement the rural view and thus provide a balanced picture of Indian social institutions.”<sup>2</sup>

Economic historians generally agree that the Indian economy during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was on the decline. The land and taxation policy of the British Government had ruined the economy of the Indian villages, and its commercial policy had destroyed the Indian artisans and its industrial policy had thwarted whatever beginnings there were of an indigenous industrial development. The country had been made totally subservient, to the colonial methods of appropriation and exploitation. Export of raw materials to foreign markets and import of goods produced in Britain had become the salient characteristics of the Indian economy. The colonial urban centers constituted the apex of the spatial system which emerged to organize and operationalize the colonial process of the appropriation of the surplus.<sup>3</sup>

Britain’s rapidly growing imperial interests in the nineteenth century required her to tighten the network of dominance and control over her distant colonies. Urban centers had to be developed and better integrated within the empire. Urban topography is a socially created geographical location and physical resources provide the actual use of space which is determined by economic and political considerations. Recent research by political geographers and sociologists has added much to the historians understanding of cities. Ongoing research on the intellectual history of British India has brought to light Indians who were increasingly critical of the British rule and actively publicized the detrimental effects of colonialism on Indian policy. The study of the urban structure of little England in the princely



State of Mysore is an attempt to analyze the socio economic structure of a colonial town.

### **Emergence of an Industrial Mining Town**

Kolar Gold Field the principal gold mining center in the country came to fame by that name since the prospecting for gold commenced in an organized manner in the 70's of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is situated in Bagarpet Taluk of Kolar District. Kolar Gold Fields was like the surrounding country, a windswept and for the most part treeless and stony tract interspersed with "Tumbe" or Avaram or other tenacious and often thorny shrub, over which some indigent ryots attempted to grow a crop of horsegram or ragi or herds of sheep or goat to eke out sustenance.<sup>4</sup> And few among the hundreds of thousands that lived or had passed by the field reflected upon the romance that would bring the Midas touch to this unattractive area, Capt. B.D. Plummer, a mining engineer who came to India on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1882 reached Kolar Gold Fields stated that it was nothing but a barren waste land covered with jungle scrub. There were three or four bamboo huts where he took up his residence but they were neither wind nor water proof. They were built on a bad part of the property and the soil was known as "black cotton soil". This was the most feverish soil in India. These huts were low-lying near the tanks; it was simply referred to as mining as a camp. The origin, name and growth have a direct bearing on the gold mining industry of the area.<sup>5</sup> Therefore there are no myths or legends associated either with the origin or growth of K.G.F but it was a natural off shoot of the origin and development of mining activities in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the region. In this case the phenomenon of mining activity itself was instrumental for the origin of this township in the form of settlements for mine workers and the management.

The study of the origin and growth of K.G.F would, therefore, be the study of the gold mining industry in the area. The fast development of mining activities was making rapid strides deep into the earth's crust in search of gold with the help of advanced mining technology, while on the surface simultaneously the settlements of the mine-workers and other categories of persons sprang up with equal speed and tenacity. Horizontal and vertical expansion of mining activity attracted more and more labourers from neighboring regions. The vast influx of such people caused the swelling up of the K.G.F settlement area which, within a short span, developed into a township. However its phenomenal growth was conspicuously felt by its size as one of the most populous towns right from 1901.<sup>6</sup>

The present K.G.F urban spread is made up of eight villages, the area of gold mining activity was generally referred to as "Bangarada gani" and, in the earlier census, records no specific reference has been made in presenting its population figures separately.<sup>7</sup>

#### **POPULATION OF THE VILLAGES INCLUDED IN K.G.F IN THE EARLY YEARS.**

VILLAGE	POPULATION				
	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Ooragum	1410	824	1540	4082	3135
Sonnakoppa	-----	299	470	1229	495
Gonimakalahalli	122	157	558	1089	1014
Gangadoddi	195	193	544	1904	2096
Masikaam	275	239	633	1825	2982
Pottepalli	-----	147	396	158	170
Nachakapalli	-----	68	105	556	118

**Source** - village population table 1911 census part-5

The population of the villages remained unaffected till 1881 and thereafter accretion to the population took place with the limits of these villages. The Census of 1891 has recorded significant increases in the population of these villages. After that there was considerable accretion to the population in all the above mentioned villages except Sonnekoppa and Pottepalli.

The discovery of Champion lode led to the expansion of mining activity and consequently added to the growth of the township after 1885. The first mining camp perhaps was set up nearby and the first shaft was sunk in this region. Subsequently more and more colonies camped up elsewhere also. The 1891 epidemics was the major killer in the mining fields. This forced the management to pay serious attention to sanitary and hygienic conditions in the mining camps. The epidemics knew no racial barrier and took a toll of emperors too. A special body, the K.G.F. Sanitary Board, was created for regular monitoring and maintenance of sanitation and hygiene.<sup>8</sup> In 1899 Kolar Gold Fields Sanitary Board was established to manage the affairs of this mining township in the year 1895-95 and the idea of a new town was first mooted by one Mr. Madaiah to the west of the Ooregam village known as the Loganatha Chatram site. About 10 houses were erected at this spot. But later it was found to be an inconvenient scheme and the scheme was subsequently abandoned. Mr. Madava Rao the councilor and Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar the Deputy Commissioner of Kolar in 1897 finally decided upon the existing site for the new town.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most pressing needs of the new mining town was proper roads and communication. The government in September 1898 sanctioned a very liberal allotment of Rs. 72,000/- towards the carrying out of this work. The main road was finally completed in 1901-1902. It ran from the Balghat

railway station to the Kempikote mine north of Marikuppam Village and parallel to the mine gold field road through the village of Oorigum, Soonakoppa Nachipalli, Maskam, Soorapalli and Balaganhalli and the intersecting new town railway feeder sections to the Oorigaum and Champion stations which were also connected.<sup>10</sup> Most of the miners were dwelling in huts put up and maintained by mining companies. The rest lived in huts of various sorts owned or rented by private persons in the neighboring villages. These huts are masonry huts with tiled or sheet roof, made out of Thatti (stiff bamboo matting) walls and corrugated sheet roof. The standard size of a single room hut in Balaght mining Sanitation was the major challenge. The mining companies maintained a large staff of sanitary inspectors and overseers mines tries, Conservancy cart-drivers, sweepers, scavengers etc., There was expenditure on disinfectants and white-washing, maintenance of carts and incinerators etc. The hoops of the huts are periodically dug up to catch and exterminate rats. On an average over 50,000 rats were destroyed every year.<sup>11</sup>

### **Imperial life Style- Raj Romance-Down South**

The essentially mining town of KGF came to have every trapping of the life in a typical British Raj Settlement. On the elevated part of the mining region were the palatial bungalows with their well laid out gardens and bougainvillea hedges where the British managers lived. Only slightly more modest quarters of the Italian engineers, the two storied quarters of the Anglo-Indian supervisors that hanked the British residencies exclusive officers clubs with ladies rooms bars, card and billiards rooms, swimming pools and lawn tennis courts, and the expansive emerald green golf course. The interior spatiality of the dwelling of the two classes revealed different worlds. European houses were furnished with rose wood and mahogany furniture and their

walls were adorned with stag heads sideboards filled with company issued crockery and cutlery etc.<sup>12</sup>

Robert Elliot who published his work *Gold sport and coffee planting* “in Mysore in the year 1898 was interested in knowing the quality of life of the K.G.F. region and requested one of the European ladies residing there to furnish him some information of her observations on the life of the inhabitants residing in the mining area. She said “you ask me for some notes on the mining area and I may begin by telling you that we usually rise about half past seven. Breakfast is generally at about eight and the Managers commonly have their breakfast sent down to the office.”

“In the afternoon that is to say when the 5 o’clock whistle blows we play tennis, or else go down to the Gymkhana ground to watch cricket. Sometimes there is a gymkhana in which we all take great interest particularly in these races called ladies events, when the winners present their prizes to the ladies who have nominated them. The great drawback of the Gold Fields at present is the absence of some general meeting place or club; but it is hoped that by next year this demand will be supplied as the Ooregaum Nandidurga, and Champion Reef Company have combined to build a hall, which is to contain a billiard room, card room, library etc. Also there is to be a tennis court in the compound.”

“One of the great pleasures is gardening. The plants that grow best are Jalaps, sunflowers, roses, corn flowers nasturtiums, verbenas and geraniums, all of which with the exception of the first two names require water constantly. The creepers that grow best are passion flower and a small kind of green creeper with convolvulus flowers, the name of which I do not know. The

honey suckle also grows though but slowly. Trees have recently been planted in the various compounds and also along some parts of the road leading to the bungalows.”<sup>13</sup>

### **John Taylor and Sons of England**

The main object of the British firm was to speedily exploit the yellow metal and ship it to England. Towards this end they heavily invested in machinery and imported technical staff but not in their blue collar work force. G.N. Ramu in his “Institutionalized Inequality in Kolar Gold Fields” says that four different groups of employees were recruited. The managerial and technical personnel were imported and clerical staff was recruited from Kerala the erstwhile Madras and Mysore States and the underground coolies mainly from North Arcot district of Madras. Therefore, the entire labour force was immigrant in character varying in racial, linguistic religious caste and class backgrounds. Disparity between workers and officers was more due to careful design than due to accident. British owners lived in fully fenced and landscaped bungalows with servant’s quarters and exclusive clubs were provided for their managerial and technical staff. But the caste Hindu white collar employees were not given such preferential treatment though they were provided with relatively adequate housing and other facilities.<sup>14</sup>

### **Imperial Civic Amenities**

The schools and hospitals for future Europeans were exclusive. The KGF school at Oorigaum admitted only European and Anglo Indian children, and the St. Joseph’s School at Champion Reef had two branches, the so called private section for white children and St. Mary’s Anglo Vernacular School at Andersonpet. The government school at Robertsonpet and various mission schools admitted only native children. The K.G.F. Hospital near

the Champion Reef, started during the early 1880's with 10 beds, which was subsequently increased to 60 which was meant for the treatment of "sick and injured" employees of all races. By the first decade of twentieth century, however, a separate isolated hospital was set up for European and Anglo Indian employees. On the other hand the civil hospital at Robertsonpet received native patients.<sup>15</sup>

During the 1890, the gold mining companies realized that labour and fuel costs were the highest in production of gold and they constituted about 80% of the total working cost. The companies realized that the profitability of gold mining operation mainly depended upon substantial reduction in labour and fuel costs. The attempt towards development of Hydro electric power in Mysore was another classic example of successful use of foreign technology and collaboration with European mining companies towards exploring the resources of the Mysore state. In June 1899 Capt. A.J. De-Lotbiniere the Deputy Chief Engineer of Mysore visited America to study the working of Niagara Falls and concluded that the power generation from Shivana Samudram could be profitably utilized for running mining machinery at Kolar Gold fields. It was decided to utilize the Cauvery falls for the production of electric power and to transmit the same to various industrial undertakings of the state including the K.G.F. mines.<sup>16</sup>

A new Railway line to meet the requirements of the new mining town of Bangarpet which was an important railway Junction on the broad-gauge line connected to the K.G.F mining area, which was built. The Bangarpet Marikuppam railway line ran about sixteen kilometers and involved a total outlay of 12.45 lakh rupees. The new railway line was built by the Government of Mysore and was operated by the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway Company.<sup>17</sup>

Thus the Kolar Gold Field was purely an industrial establishment. A neglected area before the 1880s, became a highly potential and economic outfit. In flux of labour population, and European technicians transformed the barren land into a model township, and a highly sophisticated urban centre in Mysore State. The European culture of dining club, play ground, meeting hall, language and literature made the local population to become highly skilled and educated. K.G.F. not only attracted the people of Mysore State it also attracted the interest of the entire world. The urban dwelling was an example of two different cultures. Highly elite atoned and uncivilized uneducated and rude on the other. The dichotomy of two different cultures. The economic interest and natural resources of the area led to the establishment of a new industrial town in then princely Mysore State.

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## **PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN TAMILNADU: AN IMPORTANT ACTIVITY OF THE CONGRESS DURING THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT**

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Prohibition movement was the agitation for the State prohibition of intoxicants so that no one might manufacture or deal with them except for strictly medicinal or industrial purposes. The work of the Congress was to make the people keep away from intoxicants and also to bring pressure on the Government to pass laws prohibiting them. But the real intention of the Congress was not only to further temperance, but also to hit the akbari revenue thereby to cripple the resources of the Government. It was especially the case in the Madras Presidency where nearly a quarter of the Government revenue came from alcohol sales.

An attempt is made in this article to explain about the various steps taken by the Congress to bring into effect total prohibition such as prohibition campaigns, picketing of liquor shops as part of the Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements and a novel method of Caste Compact. It concludes with the passing of the Madras Prohibition Act of 1937 by the Government of Madras headed by the Congress Party.

From the beginning, the Indian National Congress viewed with much concern the growing consumption of intoxicants. The

Allahabad Congress session held in 1888 passed a resolution urging the Government of India to adopt an improved system as would discourage drinking.<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent Congress annual sessions as well as in the provincial and district conferences, the same was discussed and passed as resolutions against the use of it. Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century there began a prohibition movement. The Congress and its conferences passed a lot of resolutions demanding the Government to eradicate the evil of drinking. However, year after year more shops were opened for the sale of intoxicants.

In the Madras Presidency in 1920, the number of coconut and palmyra trees tapped for toddy was 12,47,841 and the number of toddy shops 10,729.<sup>2</sup>

The details of income and expenditure incurred by the Government of Madras through the sale of intoxicants are indicated in table 1.

It is apparent from the table that the income derived from the sale of intoxicants also increased year after year.

The total revenue from country spirits in excise tracts of the Madras Presidency for the year 1919-20 amounted to Rs.22,60,905 while it was Rs. 18,89,630 in 1918-19. The increase occurred under both excise duty and rentals.<sup>3</sup>

It was the Non-Co-operation Movement which gave a momentum to prohibition and thus the prohibition movement was launched throughout Tamil Nadu. But the original Non-co-operation resolution did not contain any provision for prohibition campaign. It was not planned or anticipated by Mahatma Gandhi or the

TABLE 1

Year	Income Rs.	Excise Duty Rs.	Total Income (2) +(3)	Expenses	Excess (4)-(5)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1880-81	31352260	3798360	35150620	954040	34196580
1885-86	41521320	4198100	45719420	1243720	44475700
1890-91	49477800	600900	55486800	1749810	53736990
1895-96	57224170	6625860	63850030	2079570	61770460
1900-01	59088030	6938205	66026235	2417640	63608595
1905-06	85317300	9740000	95057300	3871740	91185560
1910-11	10545475	12053394	122598969	5089904	116508965
1915-16	129483132	11790000	141273132	7061095	134212037
1917-18	154425590	10996886	165422476	7300000	158122476
1918-19	173552770	11065351	184618121	8200000	176418121

Source: Navasakti, 18 March 1921.

Congress. It was purely a spontaneous move by the masses, but the Congress encouraged it once it had read the pulse of the masses and included it in the Non-co--operation programme.<sup>4</sup> From then onwards, prohibition was made a major item in the Congress programme. Most of the resources of the Congress had been utilized in carrying out this message to the people.

As early as 1920, the Madras Provisional Congress Committee in its election manifesto included prohibition as one of its legislative programmes. Under diarchy, the transfer of the excise portfolio to air Indian Minister brought prohibition within the realm of practical politics. The Justice Party also claimed that prohibition was one of its aims.<sup>5</sup> The Congress took it as an easy way to provoke the Government to order arrest and imprisonment thereby earn mass support and sympathy for the Congress cause.

Prohibition movement had spread in almost all the districts of the Madras Presidency before the end of February 1921. The sale of arrack and toddy shops had been boycotted in many places.<sup>6</sup> The campaign reached its zenith at the time of the auction sales of toddy shops in August 1921 and lasted till the end of that year. C. Rajagopalachari, E.V. Ramaswaini Naicker and N.S. Rangaswami Iyer organized volunteers corps known as *thondur padai* to picket liquor shops throughout Tamil Nadu.<sup>7</sup> Picketing took place in innumerable pans of Tamil Nadu. The volunteers induced the workmen employed in the liquor shops to leave their masters, prevented the cart men from carrying liquor to the depots and shops, burnt down few arrack shops, persuaded the owners of the coconut trees not to give the trees to the renters for tapping or where such persuasion failed, they instigated the breaking up of pots on the trees and cutting of

the spathes. All these naturally affected toddy sales so much, that in several places resale of shops was ordered.<sup>8</sup>

In Erode E.V. Ramaswami Naicker along with other volunteers organized picketing before arrack and toddy shops. When Mahatma Gandhi, ordered the Congress to cut the spathes in order to prevent the tapping of toddy, E.V.Ramaswami Naicker felled down 500 coconut trees in his garden. The campaign succeeded in reducing the Government's excise income, and the sale of toddy fell by thirty percent.<sup>9</sup>

The Government of Madras placed substantial reliance on its income front excise duties and the prohibition campaign put it under serious pressure. Prosecutions were started on a large scale. E.V. Ramaswarni Naicker, C.Rajagopalachari, M.V.Subramanya Sastri and others were imprisoned and the government thought that the movement would die in the absence of leaders. During E.V. Ramaswami Naicker's imprisonment his wife Nagammal and his sister Kannammal along with many other women were drawn into it. They pursued passive resistance to make it a success at Erode.<sup>10</sup> The campaign succeeded in decreasing the Government's excise revenue. But the sudden suspension of the Non-co-operation movement led to the decline of the prohibition movement also. Due to that the excise revenue of the Government of Madras also showed a tremendous increase.

Though picketing was suspended, the "Congress No-changers" who concentrated on the constructive programme of the Congress assigned a place of honor to prohibition.<sup>11</sup> Having lost the control of the Tamilnadu Congress Committee, C.Rajagopalachari, the leader of the Congress No-changers retired from politics and founded an ashram at Thiruchengode in Salem district to encourage both hand weaving and temperance among

the local weavers and Harijans.<sup>12</sup> C.Rajagopalachari carried out prohibition propaganda and was successful in converting a considerable number of drunkards.<sup>13</sup> He asked the Swarajists also to make prohibition their major issue in the 1926 election. The Tamilnadu Swarajist Party accepted his suggestion and included total prohibition in their programme.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the sustained effort of the Congress, the consumption of liquor increased tremendously in the Madras Presidency. The number of toddy and arrack shops opened and the number of trees marked for toddy tapping also increased. For the year 1928-29 alone there was an increase of eightccii percent in the consumption of liquor and the consumption of beer also doubled. The number of licenses issued for sale of foreign liquor, imported or locally manufactured also showed air increase". This compelled the Congress to take stern action.

The Civil Disobedience Movement further gave a fillip to the prohibition movement. In Tamil Nadu it was very vigorous in Madurai, Tinnevely, Coimbatore and Salem Districts and in many cases it resulted in violence. In Madurai district, the Congress volunteers began picketing of liquor shops on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1930. A crowd there stoned the toddy shops. Police intervened and dispersed the crowd by opening fire and lathi charges.<sup>18</sup> Again on the same day evening, they started picketing at Madichiyam and Kosavapalayam. The picketers resorted to hustling people who wanted to drink and they were arrested by the police.<sup>19</sup> On 6<sup>th</sup> August 1930 picketing was begun at Bodinaickanur. A mob attacked the police and the local police station. Firing was resorted to by the police and two members were shot dead and several others were injured and three volunteers were arrested before the situation was brought under control.<sup>20</sup>

Picketing in Tinnevely district was very peaceful. When volunteers started picketing at Tuticorin on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1930, police arrested fifteen of them.<sup>22</sup> Picketing in Coimbatore district was accompanied by violence. On 28<sup>th</sup> July 1930, a crowd gathered and began to throw stones at the shop. They were dispersed by the party of reserve police after a lathi charge. At Pollachi and Udumalpet also the picketers were dispersed by using lathi charges by the police.<sup>23</sup> Congress volunteers picketed liquor shops in Salem and Trichinopoly districts. Hence, orders under section 104 Criminal Procedure Code were passed at Trichinopoly town. Unmindful of the orders, volunteers continued to come in every day to disobey them. Finally the Congress office in which the volunteers took refuge was raided.<sup>24</sup> Many volunteers who did peaceful picketing were also arrested. The government issued counter propaganda leaflets to encourage drinking.<sup>25</sup> It is obvious that though the Government constituted the temperance committees, it was not serious in enforcing prohibition. Whenever the Congress volunteers began any serious attempt to put an end to the evil of drinking, the Government of Madras began to suppress them.

By Gandhi-Irwin Pact published on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1931, the Congress was permitted to undertake peaceful, non political and non aggressive picketing. The Government in turn had instructed the Commissioner of Police, Madras to take no notice whatever of picketing unless and until it threatened serious disorder or danger to the public peace.<sup>26</sup> The police or the toddy and other liquor shop keepers or the public should not do anything to the picketers as long as the latter did not adopt violent methods.<sup>27</sup> The pact conceded the right of peaceful picketing that had not existed before. During the months after the signing of it, picketing of liquor shops in Tamil Nadu was intensified. April, May and



June being school holidays, there were much recruitment of students to picket liquor shops.

In accordance with the pact, the Koilpatti Taluk Congress Committee first made propaganda about the evils of drinking for a month and passed a resolution to commence picketing on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1931. R. Guruswami Naidu, its President issued the following instructions to the volunteers to be observed strictly:

- ❖ The volunteers should do their picketing at a distance of sixty feet front the shops.
- ❖ They should not obstruct any addict by falling across his path
- ❖ They should request persons to give up drinks by words only.
- ❖ They should not touch anybody in their picketing.
- ❖ They should not touch any vessel carrying toddy or any intoxicants to the shops.

The government was also requested to enforce strictly the rules of sale of intoxicants. Then picketing was commenced on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1931 at Koilpatti as planned and it went on very peaceful until 12<sup>th</sup> instant. It was so effective that it affected the sales of liquors to such an extent that the sales of liquors which was two gallons per day was reduced to two drams per days.<sup>28</sup>

On 12<sup>th</sup> May there was a police raid on the volunteers and their camp. Their umbrellas, flags and placards, stools and other articles were either taken away or destroyed. The same day, the volunteers were arrested along with their leader N. Somayajalu, the President of the Picketing Committee. Then a strong body of reserve police was posted. It was desirable that where the picketing was peaceful, there should be no

demonstration of police force. Hence C. Rajagopalachari asked the government to withdraw the reserve police or to instruct them not to interfere with the peaceful picketers.<sup>29</sup> From 1<sup>st</sup> June 1931 seven lady picketers stood at a distance of twenty to thirty yards and started picketing. However, there had been no report of police high handedness after 12<sup>th</sup> May 1931.<sup>30</sup>

Picketing of liquor shops was commenced at Sankarankoil on 20<sup>th</sup> March 1931 under the auspices of the local Congress Committee. It was reported in *The Hindu* that the picketing was a complete success. A vast majority of the local Adi-Dravidas had decided to give up drinking. But on several occasions, Congress volunteers were subjected to violence by the agents of the renters. Toddy was thrown at the volunteers and was taken in pots outside the village for being distributed to the Adi-Dravidas, to encourage them to drinking.<sup>31</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> June 1931, one arrack and two toddy shops were picketed by nineteen Congress volunteers in three batches at Rajapalayam, K.V. Desingu Raju, leader of the volunteers visited the shops to watch picketing. The Police Circle Inspector asked him to stop picketing for a period of two months so that the then contractors might not incur loss. On his refusal, the Circle Inspector began to preach the good effects of evening drinks to laborers and promised to give protection to those who wanted to come there for drink. But most of the people replied that the volunteers were doing good service for them and they would not drink.<sup>32</sup> Such was the impact of Congress propaganda on the masses. Vigorous and persistent propaganda was carried on in and around Thiruchengode ashram. As a result, a large number of shops were closed by the government during the years 1930-32. This completely weaned the Adi-Dravidas from drinking.<sup>33</sup>

The Congress organized picketing of liquor shops at Madurai city on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1931 with nine volunteers and on 4<sup>th</sup> October it was increased to sixty four.<sup>34</sup> It was suddenly disturbed on 5<sup>th</sup> October by the police who attacked the volunteers with lathis and the bullet of guns injuring several of them.<sup>35</sup> In Coimbatore, picketing tended to become aggressive and the District Magistrate issued certain restrictions in consultation with the local Congress leaders and limited the number of picketers to six at each shop. Picketing then became peaceful.<sup>36</sup>

Picketing at Ranipet in North Arcot district was prohibited by passing an order under section 144 by the Sub-divisional Magistrate.<sup>37</sup> C. Rajagopalachari wrote to the Governor of Madras that peaceful picketing of liquor shops at Ranipet had been prevented without justification and was against the terms of Gandhi-Irwin Pact. He also wrote to the District Magistrate of North Arcot, requesting him to take action to have the prohibitory order withdrawn.<sup>38</sup> But the government refused to withdraw it. Peaceful picketing of toddy shops at Thirukattupalli by the volunteers standing at a distance of sixty five yards from shop which had been conducted for fifty days, was prohibited by police insisting on volunteers to stand at a distance of 100 yards. Picketing was thus made futile as shops were not within the sight from that distance.<sup>39</sup> Conflict developed between the Government and the Congress over the drink issue. Almost daily C. Rajagopalachari sent letters to the Governor asking for details of confidential instructions supplied to local officials regarding picketing.

The Government was opposed to getting rid of toddy immediately. It was deriving a large income from trade in liquor and prepared their budget relying mainly upon the toddy sale. Because of the Congress propaganda, there had been a decrease

in income. The income from toddy for the year 1930-31 was Rs.5.25 crores but after intensive picketing in 1931-32, it was reduced to 4.25 crores. The trees licensed to get toddy and the total toddy shops bided also decreased. In 1930-31, there were 9,916 toddy shops and it came down to 9,797 in 1931-32. The trees licensed to get toddy also decreased from 22, 21,570 to 20, 90,118 in 1931-32.<sup>40</sup> The total number of arrack shops sold and the revenue derived from that also diminished. As soon as the income from toddy began to decrease, the government took severe action. It declared an assembly of five or more persons as unlawful if gathered for an unlawful purpose such as picketing and could be dispersed after warning, by force if necessary.<sup>41</sup>

It is obvious from the incidents at Koilpatti, Madurai, Ranipet and other places, that the police action were in transgression of the pact placing obstacles in the way of picketing carried on by the Congress volunteers. Police should not at all come to the places where picketing was carried on in accordance with the pact. In certain places police themselves beat the volunteers, who were picketing or caused them to be beaten by the toddy shop keepers. Many were arrested and sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment.

### **Caste Compacts (*Oorkattupadu*)**

When the picketing became futile, C. Rajagopalachari introduced a new method to eradicate the evil of drinking that was through caste compacts. He issued a pamphlet entitled *Oorkattupadu* (Village compact) through which he made an appeal to all the people of Tamil Nadu to improve their status socially as well as economically by adopting the practice of total abstinence from drink.<sup>42</sup> He advocated social boycott to enforce prohibition saying that the authorities could not interfere if a

drunkard was out casted and had to pay a fine in order to be reinstated.<sup>41</sup> He emphasized that a pledge of total abstinence was neither a crime nor a violence nor it was opposed to public policy, though it might affect the government's revenue so as to render it illegal for institution or a caste to adopt it.<sup>44</sup>

The discouragement of drinking by social boycott and caste penalties had spread in many parts of the Presidency. The scavengers of Arantangi had been compelled to give a verbal undertaking not to drink, while the Pattukottai union had also threatened the union sweepers that unless they stop drinking, they would be dismissed.<sup>45</sup> In Tuticorin, the fishermen community promised to give up drink.<sup>46</sup> The Congress Party also announced at Tuticorin, that people should not give alms to professional mendicants as they spent the alms on drink. On 14<sup>th</sup> September 1931, as a result of that notice, the professional medicants undertook a pledge not to drink. Alms were then freely distributed. At Tirupoondimarudur, some Brahmins invited the Adi Dravidas to a feast paid by the Congress and at the feast they were asked to boycott the members of their own community if they continued to drink.<sup>47</sup> The Congress volunteers asked the vegetable market dealers at Tanjore not to employ Adi Dravida women as coolies unless they secured a written undertaking from their husbands not to visit the toddy shops.<sup>48</sup> At one meeting at Arcot on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1931, Congress volunteers exhorted the merchants not to sell any articles to drunkards. Volunteer, induced the people to form caste panchayats and fine the drunkards and reward the informant.<sup>49</sup>

The Devanga Mahajana Sangam, a local caste association imposed a social boycott on members of that community who continued to visit the toddy shops. The Saurashtras of Salem also boycotted their own community people who drank.<sup>30</sup>

C. Rajagopalachari, strongly advocated using caste system to enforce prohibition saying that the authorities could not interfere if it drunkard was out caste.

Rajagopalachari wrote how an excommunicated person should be treated

- ❖ Enquiries should be open, fair, just and impartial; the authority of caste panchayats and village communities could not go beyond refusing the offender the help and communion of the caste;
- ❖ His living could not be prevented or ask him to leave the village or give up his business or his occupation;
- ❖ Invitation for marriage or funerals might be refused, but water or medical assistance could not be refused;
- ❖ A fine might be inflicted on him so that the offender might express his repentance by paying it and remain in the fold, but the fine should be paid voluntarily;
- ❖ Barbers, washer men and others who sympathize and co-operate with the movement against intoxicants and who do not like rendering of service to those who would not give up that habit might refuse to render such service. But this is their own rights.<sup>51</sup>

As a result, the discouragement of drinking by social boycott and caste penalties spread everywhere, especially among the communities which had till then been kept apart as low castes. It was only the members of that caste who were subjected to great suffering and loss by toddy and liquor shops. Their leaders, who were hopeful of improving the social status of their community by abstaining from intoxicants, adopted the system of caste compacts. M.C. Rajah, one of their leaders, supported prohibition and wrote that he would not lend support to anything that his

community might do prejudicial to the prohibition movement. He encouraged his people also to render help to prohibition movements.<sup>52</sup> This movement also did not escape government repression. It issued a police circular to village mastiffs to take necessary action to prevent caste boycott.<sup>53</sup> Pamphlets encouraging prohibition through caste boycotts were forfeited by the government.<sup>54</sup> Despite the fact that the Congress had obtained widespread and unexpected support for its prohibition campaign throughout Tamil Nadu, the government had successfully resisted its carefully organized campaigns and brought about its gradual diminution of the excitement and enthusiasm which had hitherto prevailed.

It was calculated that the total amount paid by the consumers for toddy, arrack and other intoxicants in the Madras Presidency was Rs. 17 crore every year. The land revenue collected in Madras was only Rs.7.5 crore. The amount spent by government on education was Rs.2.5 crore. Madras drank about twice as hard as Bengal and Bombay, taking the population and the total quantity of alcohol consumed into account. The total drink bill of India was estimated to be no less than Rs. 100 crore per annum.<sup>55</sup> In the Madras Presidency itself eleven lakh of coconut trees were tapped every year for making fermented toddy not taking into account the date and palmyra trees. The toddy tapping therefore destroyed an annual estimated yield of no less than eleven crore of food coconut fruits.<sup>56</sup> As against that nothing was gained except an alcoholic drink with no food value but with high poison index of destructive energy in regard to health, public orders, good morals, family happiness and economic prosperity.

The Congress would have succeeded in its effort of prohibition long before if the real difficulty had not come from the side

of Government. The Government which mainly depended on the income of liquor shops did not make any legislation in favor of prohibition in spite of the sustained efforts of the Congress.

The Congress in Tamil Nadu was able to intimidate the Government of Madras before 1937 cutting at the excise revenue base and was able to act as the spokesman of a large number of groups who came to see the Congress as their national mouth piece. It helped to popularize temperance in a way that made local caste and community goals a part of wider political goals and assisted in the identification of the Congress as a provincial and national spokesman for local communities. Thus, the Congress was able to obviate the danger of alienation from the mass of people through the prohibition movement. It helped the Congress to win an overwhelming majority in the 1937 provincial elections.

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## **ROLE OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE IN CREATING AND TRANSMITTING CULTURE: A STUDY BASED ON LEATHER TECHNOLOGY OF MADIGA COMMUNITY IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

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### **Introduction**

Local knowledge refers to the traditional knowledge system of any community, which transfers from one generation to another by imitation and practice. All techniques related to traditional agriculture, engineering and medical practice, pottery, architecture, textiles and aspects likewise could be included in local knowledge system. It varies temporally and spatially. This paper mainly deals with the local knowledge system related to Leather Technology practiced mainly by Madiga Community in Andhra Pradesh.

### **Madigas**

The community of leather workers of Telugu Country corresponding to the Chakkilians of Tamilnadu, the Madigas (Madiga) are found in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. During Pre-Independence Indian era, the Madigas are considered as one of the out-castes, living outside the frame of Varna system. They are treated as Panchama Varna and hence untouchables. The Madigas along with their counterpart community known as Males

lived outside the main village habitation site. Usually their settlements are formed as hamlets to the village and their services are rendered for certain works connected with purity and pollution. With respect to village their chief profession had been disposal of the dead carcasses etc. They perform all the lowest kinds of services to the upper caste people, especially bearing burdens and working in leather. The present paper summarizes the local knowledge system developed by Madigas in association with skinning, tanning and manufacturing of leather goods.<sup>1</sup>

### **Ladda: The Process of Tanning**

Dead cattle's skin is removed and stretched on the floor, by keeping inside out and it is dried in the sun, after applying lime (Calcium Oxide). Later the skin is folded and kept in an earthen pot, which is called 'Gabu' in native tongue. A stone is kept on the skin as a weight, and extra limewater is poured in the 'Gabu' so that the entire skin is soaked in limewater.<sup>2</sup> The system is kept as it is without disturbance for a couple of days. To enhance the speed of the chemical reaction in the pot, after two days the whole content would be whirled with a long stick. This is continued for 5 to 6 days. Because of the chemical reaction in 'Gabu' the hairy part of the skin is removed. A long stick is used to remove the slippery outer layer by a knife. After this whole process, which is called as 'Ladda' the skin, appears in pure white.

### **Gala: The later process**

In the second stage of the tanning process the skin is made harder. For this the dried acacia barks are used. A wooden Gutam (wooden rod) will be used to remove the upper cover

of the acacia bark. These barks are then spread at the bottom of an earthen pot, for about two inches thick, and the skin is kept on these barks. Pressing the skin into the gaps of the barks and folding the four sides to the center and keeping barks in each fold, a compact package is made with skin and barks. Water is poured on this whole package so that the skin is lightly pressed between water and acacia barks. It will be kept like this for 5 to 6 days. Every day the tanner would whirl the skin inside water for about one hour and finally the skin would become brownish red and hard in nature. It is now ready for manufacturing various articles.<sup>3</sup> This secondary process of fanning is locally known as 'Galla'.

### **Tools and Implements**

Essential tools and means required to a Madiga shoe maker can be listed as follows:

- a) Panrayi - It is a stone, used for smoothing the leather
- b) Magnium - The dried fat of the cow mixed with charcoal, which will be applied on the needle while stitching.
- c) Are - The needle used for leather stitching.<sup>4</sup>
- d) Gootam - An iron rod used to soften or levelling the skin by thrashing.
- e) Kati - A knife used to cut the tanned skin.

### **Leather implements in Folklore**

- a) Kapila or mote

Leather is used to make a carrier, which resembles a bucket, which is called 'Tolu Bokkena'. It is used to lift water from deep wells to irrigate the agricultural fields. Tolu Bokkena

has a tube attached to the bottom part and it is known as tondam in regional dialect. (Leather tube attached to the bottom of the Bokkena, is called as 'tondam' in regional dialect). This Kapila is prepared by Madiga and is used by farmers throughout the villages of Andhra Pradesh. Bullocks or buffaloes are made to pull Kapila from the well.

b) Patella – The Ornamental leather belts

Ornamental leather belts are one among the ritualistic material culture of the village folk. They are used to decorate the animals, on special occasions. After the 'Eruvaka' festival, the agricultural season starts in Andhra Pradesh. As a beginning, the natural fertilizers will be carried to the agricultural fields in a cart, which is pulled by a bullock, which is decorated by ornamental leather belts. These belts are made out of leather, on which small bells are fixed. The same sort of decoration will be made for the animals, which pull, the bride or bridegroom's can in marriages.

c) Vodisela – a sort of catapult

Vodisela is a leather strip used by the watchman of the agricultural field at the time of harvest to drive away the birds and animals which come to eat the crop. He uses this strip to dart small stones at animals. The Madiga Community also makes it.

d) Thitthi - Air blower, Furnace, Fire pit

Thitthi, air blower used by blacksmith to blow the furnace is also made of leather. There are references for this instrument from the time of the Vedas.<sup>5</sup>



e) Kalapa – The Leather bag used by barber

According to the Jambava Parana, earlier times, the barber in the village used to do door to door service, and he had to carry his tools along with him. A leather bag prepared by Madiga, which is called 'Kalapa', is used for this purpose. A leather piece, which is made rough by pasting sand on the surface, will be kept in the bag to sharpen the tools.<sup>6</sup>

f) Bantam - A belt used by Toddy Taper

A Toddy Taper has a leather belt tied to his waist. He keeps knives and other tools in a pocket attached to the belt. The Toddy Topper climbs the tree with the help of a belt, which is called 'Bantam' made of creepers but covered by leather. The entire system used by Toddy Taper is known as 'Mustadu'.

g) Maggam and Kaipidi

Maggam, the spinning system, has attached two leather rings, to fix the rods. Maggam and Kaipidi are used by the Weavers.

h) Patteda

Cultivators while trilling their fields, using plough and bullocks, and the animals are tied to the yoke by leather belts which is known as 'Patteda'.<sup>7</sup>

i) Cuta Gudda

The head covering leather is used by the tank or well diggers who use a piece of leather on their head while carrying mud, for various constructions.

j) A Leather Cushion

Potter while working with his wheel has to sit for long in the same position; he uses a small stool called 'Pita', on which a leather piece will be used as a cushion, to make the seating more comfortable.<sup>8</sup>

k) Antram

'Antram' is magical amulet. Unhealthy children are taken to the village sorcerer and he would tie antram, the magical amulet made of leather to the waist or neck of the child to cure the disease. This amulet encloses a small piece of dried palm leaf, on which the sorcerer scribes the magical script.

l) Patti

A 'Putti' is a small boat, in the shape of a round basket made of creepers, which is covered by leather. Leather cover stops water entering inside. They use Patti <sup>9</sup>, to cross the river or for fishing.

m) Neela Titti

Neela Titti (Water bag) is a leather bag to carry water in travel. The stored water in this container would be cool. Since the bag is very strong, it will last for a long time.

n) Stuffed Calf

If the little calf dies, the mother cow won't let out Milk to the udder. Then to console the mother cow and to milk her, the owner would approach a Madiga to make a stuffed calf.

He would take out the skin from the corpse of the calf and stuff it with grass or hay. The stuffed calf would appear as a real one and once it is kept near to the mother cow, it would start milking. This technique is still in practice in villages.<sup>10</sup>

o) Churning belt

The churning stick and pole, which is used to churn the curds, would be connected by leather bands above and below. It is a culinary technique used in villages.

p) Shoe Making

Madiga identifies four parts to a shoe a) Achu b) Patteda c) Ungatam and d) Eduruvaru which is the sole of the footwear. The height of the sole could be adjusted by using varied number of layers of leather. The footwear is prepared as per the need of the individual consumer. Asking the consumer to keep his foot on the leather sheet, the shoemaker will take the measurement of his sole and cut the sheet accordingly. Patteda is the strip of leather, which would be fixed to the opposite sides of the sole, to fasten the foot with sole. Patteda will be decorated with designs. Ungatam is the adjustment made at the front side of achu, to insert the toe. Here also a small leather strip is fixed at both ends to the sole. The narrow leather strips, which connect ungatam and patteda, are called Eduruvaru.

Stitching makes all fixings. <sup>11</sup> They make separate models for male and female. Earlier times, footwear was made as per the social status. For example 'Kivu chappulu', footwear, which makes sound while walking, was prepared for the head of the village. Here small-crisped leather pieces are kept in between the layers of the sole. They are made crisp by drying in the

Sun with coconut pieces and lemon juice. It will lie dried for 3 to 4 days.

In war fields many kinds of leather instruments are used including drums, twirls, sword covers, horse reins, kuilt etc.

### **Types of skin and usage**

A madiga identifies three different skins for various purposes. He knows that from buffalo skin, he could get stronger leather to prepare 'Kapila', 'Titti', 'Footwear' etc. The skin of the cow will be used to get the leather to prepare 'Neela titti' and footwear. The calf's skin is used to prepare 'Dappu' or 'Teppcia'.<sup>12</sup>

### **Making the 'Dappu'**

Dappu or Tappeta (a kind of drum) has been used in rural Andhra Pradesh from very ancient times. It is used to spread any information to public at large; it is also used during festivals, fairs, and marriages and also during the death ceremony. So it is considered very important instrument in rural Andhra Pradesh. It is also interesting to note that this Tappeta should be played only by the people belonging to Madiga caste. This Mastini (also Mavati dependent sub-caste of Madiga) and Madiga relations can also be seen in manufacturing of this drum. It is the Mastini who makes the rounded wooden frame and also the two drumsticks, which are used to beat the drum. Now it is the duty of the Madiga to tie and stitch the leather sheet to the rounded wooden frame. It is in fact a very difficult job.

The fresh skin that is removed from the dead calf is applied with lime and dried up under sunlight, on the skin (upper part) applied by dry ash, afterwards hair is removed by knife, where

some wooden nails are pierced into the leather so that there would not be any wrinkles. After drying it for a couple of days the Madiga worker enjoins this leather on to the rounded wooden frame made by Mastini. The paste made up of tamarind seeds is applied to the rounded wooden frame and now the leather sheet is attached covering one side of the wooden frame and on the other side the leather is lightly drawn to the iron ring which is dept in the centre and both are joined by systematic stitches.<sup>13</sup> Now the drum is dried up again for a couple of days. Meanwhile the Madiga leather worker often tests the drum until it produces a ringing sound. Once he is satisfied that the drum is ready for utility, he removes the stitches as well as the supporting iron ring and carefully cuts the extra leather on the margins that will prop up after through drying. Now his job is finished and the drum is ready.

Charmakara (hide) is a common expression in Vedic literature from the period of Rig-Veda on wards. Hide, particularly Ox-hide had many uses, such as the making of bowstrings, slings, reins, lash of a whip and were also made into bags. The art of tanning leather was known as early as the Rig-Veda, which uses the word charmanna meaning 'a tanner'. Details of the process of tanning is not known, but a Satapada - Brahman (11.1.9) passage indicates that hides were kept stretched with pegs and Rig-Veda (1.8.55) mentions the wetting of the hide shoes (rather Sandals) for use, though the word upanah occurs in the later Samhitas; from the Satapatha - Brahman (V 4.3.9) it appears that boar skin was used as one of the materials from which shoes were made and the Non-Vedic vratyas also used Sandals.

In the Rig-Veda, tanning, like weaving and other crafts, is looked upon as a quite dignified occupation, but in later literature

they were placed low in the social scale. Particularly the tanners and shoemakers. Manu (IV 210-221) stigmatizes many persons as impure, including those of a blacksmith, a stage-player, a goldsmith, and a dealer in weapon leather, cutter, artisan and physician. This was bad enough, though the grouping shows that the position of the leather workers was not yet as low as it became later.<sup>14</sup>

The Chaddanta Jataka (No. 514) shows that during this time leather, was used to make sacks large enough for holding a hog's head's weight, ropes and traps, shoes big enough for an elephant, and parachutes. From the Mahavagga (V.I 28 and V.6) it appears that, while Buddha had forbidden the monks to wear wooden shoes, they were allowed to use leather shoes with a single lining, except when they had been cast off by others.

The Matanga – Katanga (No. 497) and the Maha - Ummagga- Jataka (No. 546) speak of golden slippers used by princes. According to Panini (V.2.9) the compound anupadāna would mean 'a kind of shoe', and indicating 'length' or 'likeness' that is 'a shoe of the measure of a foot', in other words a shoe 'made to measure'.

In the Kuttanimitam (11.64) a young boy dressed in the height of fashion wears shoes highly. Polished with wax from Turuska and the commentary adds that it was painted with Sihlaka (benzoin) and studded with iron. The seats in the theatre where the men sat were made of leather straps.

Leather was also used as water bags and to store; besides there were very beautiful leather mats in red and blue, painted with figures of beads and birds and mostly delicately sewn in Gold and Silver thread, which were known to have been exported

during the 13th century. Marcopolo, who gives this information, states that these mats were so beautiful, that it was a wonder to see them. He also speaks of beautiful leather cushions sewn with Gold thread and exclaims: 'They are the best and the finest leather goods in the world and the most costly'.

The horses have but two bands in their headstall. But when the spike (behind the jaw) is intended, the headstall has three bands, one passing over the nostrils, another beneath and a third above the eyes. The horse is having the reins going plainly to the back of the jaw.

The saddle along with the stirrups is clearly perceptible on some of the horses at sanchi. The horses are provided with saddles. There are of the charjama type with short stirrups. There are leather straps round the nose and across the muzzle. The question that when the saddle first came into use in India is equally difficult to decide.<sup>15</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The above discussion shows the extended application of the local knowledge system to all the spheres of life. It supports material as well as metaphysical existence of a society. But as in the case of all local knowledge systems the leather technology of Madigas also could not attain the status of abstract knowledge, which is a feature of modern science.

Hence, this technology is under threat front the new, refined and mechanized leather Industry. But its Raimond William says 'Culture is Ordinary' which people practice. It may not be an abstracted, extra ordinary knowledge, which needs specialists for interpretation. Culture must be interpreted in relation to its

underlying system of production. A culture is common meanings, the product of a whole people, and offered individual meanings. The product of a man's work is from whole committed personal and social experience. But from the time of Vedic hegemony to the time of colonialism, we never cared for conceptualized knowledge systems, which constructed culture and made it dynamic. They emphasized that knowledge is the one, which could be abstracted through de-contextualization and institutionalization. But we should start reading culture in reverse.

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## **PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN MADRAS CORPORATION (1906-1947)**

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The city of Madras had become an important centre of intellectual activity ever since its inception. The present paper entitled “**Progress of Primary Education in the Madras Corporation (1906-1947)**” is an attempt to trace the role played by the Madras Corporation from 1906 to 1947 in the growth and development of primary education. For the first time in the history of the progress of primary education in the city of Madras, a *Panchama* day school for boys was opened by the Corporation in 1906 at Chetpet. It was indeed a good beginning since the Corporation slowly started to establish elementary schools of its own. To begin with, the school had 78 boys and 13 girls with three teachers on 31 March 1907, and it had 63 boys and 28 girls with 4 teachers on 31 March 1908.<sup>1</sup>

In 1908 the Government while reviewing the administrative report of the Corporation of Madras for 1907-08, observed that the improvement of accommodation of many of the elementary schools in the city of Madras was an important matter on which the funds of pupils of the Corporation might be usefully spent and advised the Corporation to take up the matter for consideration in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction.<sup>2</sup>

The subject was thereupon duly considered and scheme for the opening 40 Model Elementary Schools in the buildings owned by the Corporation was formulated by the government. It was indeed to open these schools within 10 years at the rate of 4 schools per year. As the first installment of the scheme for the establishment of forty model elementary schools in the city sanctioned by the Government, three new elementary schools were opened by the Corporation at Vallabha Agraharam, Periament and Sanjivirayanpet on 4 February, 7 February, and 25 February 1913 respectively. Including the Chetput Panchama School, which was already in existence, the total number of elementary schools maintained by the Corporation in March 1913 was four.<sup>3</sup>

The four elementary schools opened by the Corporation represented the useful attempts of the Corporation in the field of elementary education in Madras. The success which had attended them within such a short time of two months had shown the great demand in the city for elementary education, which was cheap enough to be within the reach of the poor classes and at the same time efficient.

These schools however, could not satisfy the demand for elementary education in the city. Consequently the problem of accommodation arose. The Chetput school required an extension of accommodation. The *Vallabha Agraharam* was full soon after the opening, and further admissions had to be stopped. To meet the demand in this locality, another Corporation school was necessary even as early as March 1913.

After the Corporation had started maintaining its own elementary schools in the city, it had been relieved by Government of all liability for grants-in-aid and hence no elementary school

under private management was aided from the Corporation funds on 31 March 1913 and the same situation continued.

The Corporation elementary schools witnessed an increase in their numbers in the subsequent years. Three such schools were opened by the Corporation during 1913-14 at Chintadripet, Malayappan Street, and Purasawalkam (Vaikaikaran Street). The first two schools were opened on 2 January 1914 and the third on 28 January 1914. During 1914-15 five more schools were opened at Mandavali (Mylapore), Nungambakkam, (Rama Naicken Street), Korukkupet, Goyatope, and Thousand Lights on 28 May 1914, 24 June 1914, 22 July 1914, 26 March 1915, and 31 March 1915 respectively.<sup>4</sup>

A significant feature of these schools managed by the Corporation was that each of these schools was staffed with five teachers and a handicraft instructor who gave instruction in carpentry. The staff members were efficient and most of the teachers employed were trained or professionally qualified.<sup>5</sup>

In March 1916, new elementary schools were opened in Venkatrangam Pillai Street, Bell's Road, Angappa Naicken Street and Salai Vinayagar Koil Street, thus bringing the total number of Corporation elementary schools to sixteen.<sup>6</sup>

During the year 1916-17, five new elementary schools were started in Madras city. These schools were situated at Vasapmode, Choolai, Triplicane High Road, Ammayappa Mudali Street and Cemetery Road. Thus, the total number of schools maintained by the Corporation at the end of 1916-17 was twenty one. There had been an increase in the number of pupils studying in these schools. There were 2338 boys and 404 girls on the rolls of these schools on 31 March 1917 against 1931 boys and 386

girls at the end of 1915-16.<sup>3</sup> Consequent upon the increase in the number of Corporation elementary schools and the corresponding increase in the number of students, there were 124 teachers in these schools and most of them were professionally qualified.<sup>7</sup> During this year the Corporation had added to the already fairly abundant supply of journals and periodicals for the use of the staff of the schools. This had a most beneficial effect upon the general knowledge of the teachers. The Superintendent of the Government Museum delivered a series of lectures with demonstrations for the benefit of the Corporation teachers. All the Corporation elementary schools which existed at this time with the exception of the newly opened one had their annual inspection.

It is significant to note that in 1917-18, all the elementary schools run by the Corporation of Madras were located in buildings of their own. The libraries existing in these schools were reported to have been made proper use of. The Corporation elementary schools in Madras city catered mainly to the needs of the pupils drawn from the backward classes of communities. The average attendance was in consequence affected by the apathy and ignorance of the parents of such pupils as well as by their chronic poverty.

The year 1918-19 was characterised, thanks to the labours of the special educational committee appointed by the Corporation in February 1918, by the abolition of the levy of fees in all Corporation schools, the improvement in the pay of the teachers and by the appointment of a special officer to be in total administrative charge of the schools.

In 1918-19, efforts to improve the attainments of the teachers, employed in Corporation elementary schools were made by

(i) starting of an additional teachers' association in George Town wherein special lectures or model lessons were given, (ii) holding of a monthly meeting of the members of the staff of each school once a month in the school premises; (iii) circulation of special journals and books; and (iv) paying of more frequent visits and the imparting of model lessons by the inspecting officers and the Superintendents of schools during their visits.<sup>8</sup>

The number on rolls of the Corporation elementary schools in the city was 4155 on 31 March 1920 as against 41632 on 31 March 1919. There was a sudden withdrawal of pupils in March 1920 owing to the unfounded but widely prevalent scare of the kidnapping of children.<sup>9</sup>

The year 1920-21 witnessed the opening of three new Corporation elementary schools in the city of Madras, thus raising the total number of such schools run by the Corporation to thirty. Of these three new schools, one was opened at Jani Jehan Khan Road near Royapettai. This school was later converted into a Muslim boys' school. The other two schools were in Bazaar Road and Mirsahibpet. All these three new schools were opened on 21 July 1920.<sup>10</sup>

A special meeting of the Standing Committee (Tariff and Finance) of the Corporation of Madras was held in December 1922 and passed the Budget estimate of the Elementary Education Fund for 1923-24. It was resolved that in respect of the new elementary schools to be opened and Government schools to be taken over by the Corporation of Madras, the scale of salaries would be as in Government schools.<sup>11</sup>

Admission to the Corporation elementary schools in the city was free and open to children of all castes. The number of

pupils from backward classes showed an increase and stood at 3706 in 1922-23 as against 3075 at the end of 1921-22. The experiment had proved to be a success as evidenced from the fact that the strength of the Corporation elementary schools at Chetput, Thousand Lights and Mirsahpet rose from 131, 247 and 140 in 1920-21 to 162, 205 and 200 respectively in 1922-23.<sup>12</sup>

The Corporation elementary schools in the city of Madras also imparted vocational education. In 1922-23, the schools at Bazaar Road and Jani Jehan Khan Road were provided with special appliances for wood work. During that year there were 27 Corporation elementary schools providing manual training in wood work and three schools giving instruction in tailoring. Tailoring had been introduced as an additional subject in the Corporation elementary schools in Angappa Naickan Street and Vasapmode.

The Educational Council of the Corporation at its meeting held on 20 May 1923 approved the draft scheme for pre-vocational instruction in Corporation elementary schools and to raise the standard of some of the elementary schools of the Corporation of Madras to the higher elementary grade to provide for an extensive course of vocational training.<sup>7</sup> Steps were taken to introduce net weaving, rope making and mat making, spinning and weaving, higher carpentry, lace-making, embroidery, masonry, printing and book-binding in the Corporation elementary schools at Vasapmode, Cassimode, Venkatarangam Pillai Street, Korukupet, Strahan's Road, Purasawalkam, Chintadripet, Vallabha Agraharam, Oobrapalayam and Konditope respectively.

A highly commendable feature in the educational activity of the Corporation of Madras was the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the city. In 1924, the Corporation

of Madras took a bold and progressive step in the matter of elementary education when it resolved to introduce free and compulsory education from division 24 to 27 as an experimental measure. In 1925, it further resolved to contribute annually a sum of rupees 2.4 lakhs to the Elementary Education Fund from the general revenues of the Corporation. The Government accepted the principle of gradual introduction of compulsory elementary education in the city, and in particular approved the introduction of compulsory elementary education for boys and girls (non-Muslims) in divisions 24 to 27 during the year 1925-26.<sup>8</sup> Hence, the compulsory elementary education scheme was first introduced in June 1925 in these four divisions of the city. In 1926, the Government sanctioned the introduction of compulsion from division 28 to 30 with effect from 1 January 1927. The success that attended the scheme emboldened the Corporation to introduce it in other parts of the city and also to include Muslim boys and girls within its scope. Within three years, the scheme of compulsory elementary education was extended to all the divisions of the city by the year 1928-29.<sup>13</sup>

With the introduction of compulsory elementary education, Attendance Committees were constituted by the Corporation and there were 26 Attendance Committees functioning during 1930-31 to enforce compulsion. The introduction of compulsory elementary education benefited the children of backward classes. While the number of children of backward classes on the rolls of the elementary schools run by the Corporation on 31 March 1926 was 6908, it swelled to 9595 on 31 March 1928 and to 12712 on 31 March 1931.<sup>14</sup>

To avert poverty, which prevents parents to send their children to schools, the council at its meeting held on 15 July 1930 sanctioned a sum of rupees 25,000 from General Funds



for the supply of midday meal to poor pupils for the year 1930-31. The supply of free meals departmentally was accordingly inaugurated on 1 August 1930. The Corporation Council resolved in February 1931 to provide a midday meal to all the children of the depressed classes; but for want of funds, many of them could not be fed. Besides midday meals, poor children were also supplied free books, slate and slate pencils. As a result of these measures, the average attendance at Corporation schools rose to 81.4 per cent in 1930-31. Further, as a measure to increase attendance in Corporation schools, the labourers, especially *beedi* merchants were requested not to entertain youths in their service. As a result of these measures, the attendance of children in the Corporation elementary schools showed signs of improvement, from 28915 children in the beginning of 1930-31 to 30,224 children at the end of the year.

The outstanding features in the history of elementary education in the city of Madras during the year 1931-32 were the financial deficit in the Corporation budget and the passing of the Elementary Education Amendment Act, 1932. As a result of the passing of the Elementary Education Amendment Act, 1932, the Corporation was relieved of the responsibility of paying compensation for the loss of fee income to the managers of the aided elementary schools from 1 January 1932. This had considerably reduced the financial strain on the part of the Corporation of Madras.<sup>15</sup>

In 1931-32, the Corporation of Madras concentrated its attention on the enforcement of compulsion in elementary education. At the time when compulsion was started, teachers were going round to the houses of children of school age to persuade parents to send them to the nearest elementary schools. The problem then was not so much as to how to compel

defaulting parents to send their children to schools, but how to accommodate satisfactorily the children who attended schools without risk to their health. A large number of Corporation elementary schools were located in rented buildings not built for school purposes. Without proper school buildings, compulsion could not justly be enforced in the city. Further, in the case of Muslim children, difficulties were in no way less. A large proportion of the Muslim population was poor. They needed the uplifting factor of education. Unless the school was taken to their residential quarters, the parents did not care to send their children to school. Every attempt was made to minimize these difficulties either by putting up buildings wherever possible or taking up well ventilated houses as near the residential quarters as possible.<sup>16</sup>

During 1932-33, an educational camp was organized at the Red Hills where several important educationalists were requested to deliver lectures on educational topics to the assembled teachers of Corporation elementary schools. Being the first of its kind in the metropolis, many teachers were permitted to attend the refresher courses arranged under the auspices of the Christian Literature Society for India. It was a great success.

The supply of midday meals to poor children attending Corporation elementary schools had come to be a necessary condition for the spread of education among the poorest classes in the city, and thus for the maintenance of steady progress in elementary education in Corporation schools as a whole. During 1933-34, poor children in 80 elementary schools run by the Corporation of Madras had this concession. On all school days when both the Hindu and Muslim schools worked, 4,200 poor children reading in them were fed. The total cost of providing this free midday meal during the year amounted to rupees 29,570, annas 13 and paise.<sup>17</sup>

It may be noted that the number of boys and girls belonging to the Adi-dravida and Adi-Andhra Communities rose from 5,174 (3,708 boys and 1,466 girls) on 31 March 1935 to 5,265 (3,855 boys and 1,410 girls) on 31 March 1936, i.e. by 1.2 per cent. In the case of Muslim children in Corporation elementary school, the strength in 1935-36 was 5,199 (2,546 boys and 2,653 girls) as against 5,072 (2,648 boys and 2,424 girls) been a fall in the case of Muslim boys by 3.8 per cent. Economic causes forcing several poor Muslim boys of school age to earn a livelihood had been primarily responsible for the fall, whereas the supply of carts to the Muslims girls had proved a great facility in attracting them in large numbers.<sup>18</sup>

It may be observed in this connection that most of the poor children receiving the midday meal in the Corporation elementary schools in the city, would not have attended school, if this free supply had not been made. The help given was much appreciated by many poor parents, and was favourably commented on by visitors from other provinces who had come to study the system of education in Madras.<sup>12</sup> Midday meal was supplied to 4,500 poor children studying in 84 of the Corporation elementary schools in the city of Madras in 1936-37. Demands for the midday meal for many more poor children could not be met for financial reasons.<sup>19</sup>

The average attendance in Corporation elementary schools in the city of Madras had increased from about 29,500 in 1937-38 to about 31,500 in 1938-39, and 36,100 in 1939-40. The percentage of attendance strength in the Corporation elementary schools was 78 in 1938-39 and 82 in 1939-40, an increase of 4 per cent. Midday meals, slates and books were given free to pupils of indigent parents; conductors and conductresses

escorted pupils safely along routes of traffic; bullock-carts conveyed (purdah-observing) Muslim girls from home to school and back; and guardians were interviewed and prevailed upon to send their wards to schools. Effective compulsion was attempted since the issue of notices to guardians of defaulting pupils from the beginning of the year 1939.<sup>20</sup>

There was a further increase in the number of elementary schools under the management of the Corporation of Madras. There was a gradual increase in the number of Corporation elementary schools. While there were 136 schools in 1937-38, the number increased to 137 in 1938-39 and 140 in 1939-40. There were 143 elementary schools run by the Corporation in 1943-44, the number reached 155 in 1944 -45. The number of pupils in these schools was 39,331 (23,323 boys and 16,008 girls) on 31 March 1944. But the number rose to 41,441 (24,085 boys and 17,356 girls) on 31 March 1945.<sup>21</sup>

Ever since the year 1925, when compulsion was first introduced in the city of Madras, it had been the endeavour of the Corporation to open more elementary schools with a view to provide greater facilities for the poor classes of the community and thus wipe out illiteracy. The procedure laid down in G.O. No.206 (Education Department), dated 23 September 1937 for enforcing compulsion was as cumbrous as to be largely ineffective and unworkable. This apart, in the interests of the efficiency of Corporation elementary schools, it was considered that the teaching staff should not (as they were under existing procedure) be burdened with the work of serving notices or collecting fines as their time and energy could be more profitably directed towards teaching work. Hence, certain proposals were placed before the council, which accepted them on 24 October 1944

as an experimental measure and sanctioned the appointment of additional staff for enforcing compulsion of attendance in the elementary schools.

Pre-primary instruction in the form of Nursery schools or classes was considered as an essential adjunct to a sound system of elementary education and provision for opening three nursery schools was accordingly made in the Elementary Education Budget for 1944-45. But the Government passed orders that the expenditure on Nursery schools should not be debited to the Elementary Education Fund.<sup>22</sup> Considering the importance of the project, the matter was again placed before the council at its meeting held on 11 July 1944 and it was resolved to open three Nursery schools, the cost being met from the General Funds. The three schools could not be opened for want of suitable accommodation and trained teachers. However, a Nursery class was opened in the Corporation boys' school, Vathiar Kandapillai Street, Choolai on 1 February 1945.

In 1945-46, the number of Corporation elementary schools remained 155 as in 1944-45. But in 1946-47, the number of Corporation elementary schools in the city increased upto 173, and the total strength of pupils in these schools was 51,512 (30,026 boys and 21,486 girls). In 1947-48, one more elementary school was opened by the Corporation of Madras raising the total number of elementary schools run by the Corporation to 174, and correspondingly the total strength of the pupils on the rolls of these schools rose to 54,879.<sup>23</sup>

It is thus evident from the foregoing account that substantial progress was effected in the field of elementary education in the city of Madras owing to the relentless efforts of the Corporation. The free and compulsory elementary education

together with the free midday meal to the pupils provided by the Corporation, the measures of the Corporation to enforce compulsion of attendance of the pupils, the amenities offered to the pupils to acquire elementary education and the care bestowed by the Corporation on the health of the pupils decisively resulted in the progress of elementary education in the city of Madras.

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## **PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN TAMILNADU - AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

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Tamil Nadu has a long history of local self-governance as it is evident from the Uthiramerur stone inscriptions in Kancheepuram district. Tamil Nadu, in those days, was a land of village republics, with community groups undertaking many activities for their village development. “This tradition reached its peak during the 10th and 11th Centuries under the reign of Cholas when Village Councils used to levy taxes, improve community life and administer justice in their jurisdiction. These Village Councils had effective links with the Chola rulers. “KudaOlaiMurai” was the name of the secret ballot method exercised to elect the members of the Village Councils. With the downfall of Cholas, the State experienced a decline of the Village autonomy and rise of the centralized feudal administrative system. This continued till the British rulers introduced local self-governance primarily as an administrative convenience for the imperial Government.

In the post-independence era, the first enactment in democratic decentralization in the State was the Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1950. Pursuant to the White Paper on the “Reform of Local Administration” in 1957, the Madras Panchayats Act, 1958 and Madras District Development Council Act were



enacted with the following salient features:

- a) A two-tier system of Village Panchayats and Panchayat Unions.
- b) Creation of Panchayat Unions co-terminus with the Community Development Blocks.
- c) Village Panchayat Presidents to become ex-officio members of the Panchayat Union Councils with the Chairperson of the Panchayat Union Council directly/indirectly elected.
- d) Entrusting the Panchayat Unions and Village Panchayats with a large number of developmental and welfare functions.
- e) Abolition of District Boards.
- f) Creation of District Development Council as an advisory body.

This two-tier system operated very well till 1975 and elections were held regularly. Subsequently, the tenures of the Panchayat Unions and Village Panchayats were extended up to 1.2.1977 and 12.9.1979 respectively. Thereafter, Special Officers (Block Development Officer for all the Village Panchayats in a Block and Divisional Development Officer for all the Panchayat Unions in a Division) managed the rural Local Bodies till the next elections in 1986. The elected rural Local Bodies continued in office till March 1991. Again, no elections were held till October, 1996, and the Special Officers managed the rural Local Bodies.

### **Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act 1992**

Though the PRIs were in existence in various forms in various States, these institutions did not acquire the status and dignity of viable and responsive people's bodies due to a number

of reasons including absence of regular elections, prolonged supersession, insufficient representation of weaker sections like SCs, STs and Women, inadequate devolution of powers and lack of financial resources. In the light of the experience gained and the short-comings that had been observed, the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution was enacted in 1992 to enshrine in the Constitution certain basic and essential features of PRIs to impart certainty, continuity and strength to them. A number of fundamental changes were brought about in the PR System by virtue of this Act. Pursuant to this, the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act 1994 was enacted and it came into force with effect from 22.04.1994. Some of the important changes that were brought about by the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution and the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act 1994 is listed below:

- a) Introduction of a three tier system – at the Village, Intermediate (Block) and District levels. There are 12,618 Village Panchayats, 385 Panchayat Unions (coterminous with Blocks) and 29 District Panchayats in Tamil Nadu.
- b) Mandatory conduct of Local Body elections every five years and conduct of elections before the expiry of the duration of the Local Body or before the expiry of a period of 6 months from the date of its dissolution.
- c) Introduction of reservation of seats (i.e. ward members) and offices (i.e. Chairpersons/Presidents) for SCs/STs in proportion to their population in every Local Body with provision for rotation of the reserved seats and offices.
- d) Introduction of reservation of one third of total number of seats and offices for women with provision for rotation.
- e) Constitution of a State Election Commission as an independent body to conduct elections to both rural and urban Local Bodies regularly.

- f) Establishment of a quinquennial State Finance Commission to recommend devolution of resources from the State Government to the rural and urban Local Bodies.
- g) Constitution of a DPC to consolidate the plans prepared by the rural and urban Local Bodies in the district with a view to prepare a comprehensive development plan for the district.
- h) Introduction of the concept of 'Grama Sabha' comprising all registered voters in a Village Panchayat.

The Gandhian principle of Gramaswaraj (village self-government) was recognized at the time of independence. But it was not incorporated in the Constitution. So, legally and constitutionally, it was not put into practice. But, the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act gave Constitutional recognition to PRIs.

### **Tamil Nadu's Stand on The 73rd Constitutional Amendment**

The Government of Tamil Nadu has reservations regarding certain aspects of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment and our experience of working under the new system for the past 12 years has only confirmed the same. The system prevailing under the old Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act of 1958 wherein the Presidents of Village Panchayats were ex-officio members of the Panchayat Union Council at the Block level ensured organic linkage between the two tiers. Hence, the name 'Panchayat Union' and it genuinely functioned as a 'union' of Village Panchayats. Since the Village Panchayat Presidents themselves 'doubled up' as ex-officio members of the Panchayat Union Council, there were no separate ward members for the Council. Having separate ward members for Panchayat Unions (6,570 for the State as a whole) and District Panchayats (656) has vastly increased the number of

‘members’ and has paved the way for inter-tier friction and disharmony. Although Article 243 C (3) of the Constitution states that a State may, by law, provide for the representation of Village Panchayat Presidents on the Panchayat Union Council and Panchayat Union Chairpersons on the District Panchayat, this arrangement is not satisfactory because it can render the Panchayat Union Councils and District Panchayats too unwieldy with too many members and can create disharmony between the two distinct power blocs within each Council. Hence, Tamil Nadu has not invoked Article 243 C (3). The lack of organic linkages between the three tiers results in a scenario where each tier is unaware of what the other two tiers are doing. It often leads to duplication in the selection of works and avoidable paperwork and loss of time in reworking the choices. Tamil Nadu has been pressing for the reversion to the 1958 model where the Presidents of Village Panchayats were ex-officio members of the Panchayat Union Council at the Block level. Under the 1958 Act, the Chairpersons of the Panchayat Union Council could be either directly or indirectly elected. Most of the time, Tamil Nadu had direct elections for the posts of Chairpersons of Panchayat Unions and this arrangement was found to be working well as the Chairperson commanded respect and there was no scope for vexatious no-confidence motions. But, after the 73rd Amendment, the Constitution itself stipulates that Chairpersons of Panchayat Unions and District Panchayats should be elected indirectly. Only in the case of elections of Village Panchayat Presidents, the States have the freedom to opt for either direct election or indirect election. The State Government has been pressing that the States should have similar freedom in respect of elections of Chairpersons of Panchayat Unions and District Panchayats. The Government of Tamil Nadu have, for long held the view that there should have been a single consolidated Amendment to the Constitution covering both rural and urban

Local Bodies instead of two Amendments – one covering rural Local Bodies (73rd) and the other urban Local Bodies (74th). This ‘compartmentalization’ has resulted in a scenario whereby the District Panchayat – instead of being a nodal body responsible for coordinating and monitoring all the rural and urban Local Bodies in the district – finds that its jurisdiction is confined only to the rural areas. In a State like Tamil Nadu with about 42% urban population, and with several highly urbanised districts such as Kanniyakumari (66%), Coimbatore (62%), The Nilgiris (58%), Theni (54%) and Madurai (52%), the argument that the District Panchayat should become a nodal body responsible for coordinating and monitoring the development activities in the entire district becomes weak. A system whereby all the Chairpersons of Panchayat Unions, Municipalities and Town Panchayats are ex-officio members of the District Panchayats, with the Chairman of the District Panchayat being either directly or indirectly elected would have been more meaningful and credible. This weakness has been sought to be overcome through the District Planning Committee (DPC) which has members drawn from both rural and urban Local Bodies, but its composition is flawed because there is no representation for Panchayat Union and Village Panchayat members on it.

A mention was made in His Excellency, the Governor’s Address in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly in 2006 that the Tamil Nadu would press for the amendment of the Constitution seeking a two tier system of Panchayats and the abolition of District Panchayats. Tamil Nadu had powerful elected District Boards till they were abolished in 1961. In their place, the District Development Council, an advisory-cum-planning body, comprising all the MPs, MLAs, Chairpersons of Panchayat Unions, Town Panchayats, Municipalities and Corporations in the district with the District Collector as Chairman were set up. The Government

of Tamil Nadu believes that Village Panchayats and Panchayat Unions are the two tiers closest to the people, qualifying for the appellation 'local' and represent the 'cutting edge' of Local Self-Government. These two tiers need to be strong and vibrant and strengthened further. This Government is of the opinion that the reasons which led to the abolition of the old District Boards are still valid and applicable to the third tier of District Panchayat, which at present has only an advisory-cum-planning role. At the same time, this Government is aware that other States may have different views on this topic based on their own past legacy. For example, some States want Village and District Panchayats but do not want the intermediate tier (Block or Taluk Panchayat). But there is a general consensus that there is one tier too many under the present system. It may be noted that with regard to the States, the Legislative Assembly is mandatory while the Legislative Council is optional as per the Constitution. Similarly, in order to accommodate divergent needs, the Constitution may be so amended so as to make the Village Panchayats mandatory for all the States and leaving it to the discretion of the concerned State Legislatures whether to have the intermediate Panchayats only or District Panchayats only or both. The State Government would press for such amendment to the Constitution.

## **Panchayat Elections**

### **Conduct Of 2006 Local Body Elections**

Though the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act was enacted in April 1994. The first ordinary, elections were held to all the rural and urban Local Bodies in October 1996. The second ordinary elections to the Local Bodies were conducted during October 2001. The third ordinary elections to the Local Bodies were conducted in October 2006.

## Reservation of Seats and Offices and Its Rotation

Article 243 D of the Constitution relates to reservation and rotation of seats for SCs, STs and Women in rural Local Bodies. 33% of the seats in rural local bodies are reserved for women. Table below, shows the details of reservation of seats and offices for Women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in rural Local Bodies:

Reservation of Offices and Seats for Women, SCs and STs

Sl. No.	Category of Reservation	Total no. of offices /seats	Reserved for Women		Reserved for SCs		Reserved for STs	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	District Panchayat Chairpersons	29	10	34	7	24	0	0
2	Panchayat Union Council Chairpersons	385	140	36	87	23	156	1
3	Village Panchayat Presidents	12,618	4,275	34	154	23	8	1
4	District Panchayat Ward Members	656	226	34	154	23	8	1
5	Panchayat Union Ward Members	6,570	2,302	35	1,534	23	64	1
6	Village Panchayat Ward Members	97,450	32,638	33	24,630	25	983	1

## **Devolution of Powers**

Local Government is a State subject figuring as item 5 in List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India. Article 243 G of the Indian Constitution enshrines the basic principle for devolution of power to the rural Local Bodies. As per this article, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-Government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayats at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice; the implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the 29 matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

The Government of Tamil Nadu is committed to ensure that the PRIs function as effective institutions of Local Self-Government. In 1996, soon after the conclusion of the first ordinary elections to the three tiers of Panchayats, the Government constituted three High Level Committees to give recommendations on the entrustment of powers and functions to the three tiers of Panchayats. The first High Level Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of L.C.Jain in 1996 and it submitted its report in 1997. The second committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Ko.Si.Mani in November, 1997. The Committee submitted its report in January, 1999. The third committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of M.K.Stalin in January, 2007. These Committees were required to make recommendations on the entrustment of powers and functions of the rural and urban local bodies. Majority of their



recommendations were accepted by the Government and were put into practice.

### **Village Panchayats**

There are 12,620 Village Panchayats in the State spread across the 30 districts and the 385 Blocks. The average number of Village Panchayats per district is 421 and per Block are 32. The Nilgiris (35), Kanniyakumari (99), Theni (130) and Karur (158) are some of the districts with fewer Village Panchayats while Villupuram (1104), Tiruvannamalai (860), Vellore (753), Cuddalore (683) and Kancheepuram (648) are some of the districts with a large number of Village Panchayats. As can be seen from Table 5, the population of Village Panchayats in Tamil Nadu is widely varying with some Village Panchayats having populations even below 500 while others have populations exceeding 25,000. The Government has ordered the conduct of Grama Sabha meetings at least four times a year i.e. on 26th January, 1st May, 15th August and 2nd October.

Among the three tiers, Village Panchayats assume a pre-eminent role in view of the wide variety of civic duties and other functions entrusted to them under Sections 110 and 111 of the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994. This Government has always taken efforts to empower the Village Panchayats further in order to enable them to perform their functions in an effective manner. Various efforts have been taken by this Government to improve the financial sources of the Village Panchayats.

Since the Village Panchayats in Tamil Nadu vary widely in population from below 500 to above 25,000 and as the devolution of State Finance Commission grant is mostly linked to population, the smaller Village Panchayats got less grant and

the bigger Village Panchayats got more. While the needs of the bigger Village Panchayats are also greater.

The Government have thus passed G.O.Ms.No.199 Finance (Finance Commission – IV) Department dated 25.5.07 wherein a floor amount of Rs.3 lakhs has been earmarked for each Village Panchayat irrespective of the population and only after the apportionment of this amount, the remaining amount is distributed among the Village Panchayats in proportion to population. By virtue of this decision of the Government, the huge disparity in the income of the Village Panchayats has been reduced and at the same time weaker Village Panchayats have been empowered further towards self-sustainability.

## **Functions**

Sections 110 and 111 of the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 prescribe the duties and functions of Village Panchayats. Some of the important functions of a Village Panchayat are:

- a) Construction, repair and maintenance of all village roads.
- b) Extension of village sites and the regulation of buildings.
- c) Lighting of public roads and public places in built-up areas.
- d) Construction of drains.
- e) Cleaning of streets and improvement of the sanitary condition of the village.
- f) Construction and maintenance of public latrines.
- g) Sinking and repairing of wells, the excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks and the construction and maintenance of water-works for the supply of water.
- h) Maintenance of burial and burning grounds.
- i) Maintenance of parks and reading rooms,

- j) Implementation of schemes such as Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) and National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS).
- k) Such other duties as the Government may, by notification, impose.

## **Resources**

The important sources of revenue for the Village Panchayats are:

### **a) Tax Revenue**

Among the three tiers, the Village Panchayat alone has the power to levy taxes. House tax, Professional tax and Advertisement tax are the commonly levied taxes.

### **b) Non Tax Revenue**

Licensing fees for building plan and layout approval, fees and charges on Dangerous and Offensive trades, water charges, fees on cart-stands, fishery rentals, 2C patta fees, income from markets and fairs, ferries, fines and penalties and so on.

### **c) Assigned and Shared Revenues**

These revenues include the items pooled at the State level (Local Cess, Local Cess Surcharge, Surcharge on Stamp duty and Entertainment Tax) which are released by the Director of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj to all the three tiers of the Panchayats including the Village Panchayats. Other items

of Assigned and shared revenues for the Village Panchayats include the seigniorage fees (100%) and lease amount (50% share) on minor minerals and social forestry auctions amount.

## **Grants**

Central Finance Commission Grant, State Finance Commission Grant, development grants under Centrally-sponsored and State schemes are considered as various grants.

## **Administrative Powers**

The Village Panchayat President himself has been designated as the Executive Authority. Cheques for payment have to be signed jointly by the President and the Vice-President. Where the relationship between the two is not cordial, the Collector, in his capacity as Inspector of Panchayats, can designate any other member of the Village Panchayat as joint cheque signing authority along with the President.

The Government has brought out Tamil Nadu Panchayats (Preparation of Plan and Estimates for works and Mode and Conditions of works) Rules, 2007 by passing the G.O.Ms.No.203 R.D. & P.R. Department, dated 20.12.2007, wherein the Village Panchayats have been empowered to give administrative sanction and execute individual works up to Rs. 2 lakhs from their General Funds. Previously, the Village Panchayats were empowered to give administrative sanction for works up to Rs. 1 lakh only. For all works costing more than Rs.2 lakhs but not more than Rs.50 lakhs, the District Collector is the competent authority to give the administrative sanction and for works costing more than Rs.50 lakhs, the Director of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj will be competent to accord administrative sanction. However,

the Collector's prior administrative sanction is necessary in respect of all centrally sponsored and state funded schemes. Village Panchayats have also been given freedom to execute urgent works up to Rs. 2,000 at a time and up to Rs. 5,000 for a year without any technical approval. The President can draw self cheque upto Rs.500 to meet contingent expenditures.

The Village Panchayats have been given necessary delegation of powers to enable them to attend to repairs and maintenance of hand pumps, power pumps and street lights promptly. They can spend Rs.600 per hand pump per year and up to Rs. 7,500 per power pump per year without reference to engineers for preparation of estimates or passing of bills. They can buy street light materials meeting the prescribed quality norms on their own.

### **Rationalisation of Village Panchayat Accounts**

The Government had passed G.O.Ms.No.92 Rural Development Department dated 26.3.97. By this G.O. Government issued orders for rationalization of Village Panchayat Accounts and the procedure for operation of the Accounts. This was a great step forward in empowering Village Panchayats since it gave freedom to the President and Vice President to operate the various Accounts of a Village Panchayat free from pre-scrutiny by Block officials as was the earlier practice in which the Village Panchayat Consolidated Fund was maintained and operated in the Block office. However, certain weaknesses were noticed in this new system of maintenance of Village Panchayat Accounts. Several instances of the State Finance Commission Grant and Central Finance Commission Grant released to the Village Panchayats' Earmarked Grants Accounts being used for less important purposes and not for payment of dues relating to electricity and water charges came to the notice of

the Government. Due to this practice, in order to avoid diversion of funds meant for current consumption charges and water supply maintenance, the District Collectors were directed to deduct the charges payable to TNEB and TWAD Board at the district level before releasing money to the Village Panchayats. However, this resulted in the following two anomalies:

a) TNEB issued wrong/duplicate bills in some instances which did not get deducted since payment was made at district level without proper check by the Village Panchayat Presidents concerned.

b) The Panchayat Presidents did not evince interest in ways and means of reducing power consumption as they never paid the electricity/water bills of their own.

Several instances also came to notice, wherein Village Panchayat Presidents and Vice-Presidents issued cheques for Scheme funds works/National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme works without the works same being measured and check-measured and bills being passed by the Block Development Officer (Village Panchayats) concerned. The number of instances of unauthorized drawals was greater on the eve of Local Body elections. Therefore, the Government issued G.O. Ms.No. 146 Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Department dt.17.8.2007 by further rationalizing the Village Panchayat Accounts and streamlining the procedures for operation of the Accounts so as to

a) Empower the Village Panchayat Presidents to pay the TNEB and TWAD Board dues from the funds at their disposal and at the same time prevent them from diverting these funds for less important purposes.

b) Prevent unauthorized withdrawals of money from scheme fund/NREGS fund Accounts without authorization of Block Development Officer (VP) concerned.

According to Gandhi, the Government of the village should be conducted by Panchayats. It should consist of five persons. They should be elected annually by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. The Panchayats will be the legislature, judiciary and executive. This is the Gandhian idea of a village government. There is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. Gandhi thought that individual is the architect of his own government. Gandhi stated that any lover of democracy can take up a village, thinking that as his world and the sole work, dedicating himself for its development and find good results. As per Gandhi's ideas, the Tamilnadu State appointed various committees to review the working of PRIs in Tamilnadu from time to time. On the basis of the recommendations made by the committees, the government directed the policies and developed the decentralized government at the grassroots level.

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## **BOOK REVIEW**

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### **MY DEAR BAPU... LETTERS FROM C. RAJAGOPALCHARI TO MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI, DEVADAS GANDHI AND GOPAL KRISHNA GANDHI**

**GOPAL KRISHNA GANDHI**

*Penquin Viking, New Delhi, 2012*

(Gopalkrishna Gandhi, the son of Devdas Gandhi and Lakshmi Gandhi (Lakshmi was the daughter of C.Rajagopalachari), owes much to Rajaji for his care and loving attention especially to his education. Gopalkrishna Gandhi was High Commissioner for India in South Africa and Sri Lanka and the Governor of Bengal. He has authored books such as *Dara Shukoh*, a play in verse, *The Essential Gandhi* and *Of a Certain Age*)

## **A REVIEW**

In the modern world speed and technological innovation are of supreme importance. With the revolution created by Information Technology in the form of email and mobile, the practice of letter writing is dying. The warm feeling of a handwritten letter is almost disappearing. However, a serious researcher still finds that letters are very useful tools in the construct of history. Discovering unpublished letters in the archives is a joy to a historian as it opens a new window into the past lives. Letters not only reveal the personality and character of those in correspondence but also the political, social, economic and cultural

scenario of the time in which they lived. There is no better way to study the past than through consultation of original, primary source documents produced within the time period in question. Scholars, Librarians, and Historians alike all agree that the study of primary sources lie at the core of any serious historical research. The publication of the book entitled *Letters From C.Rajagopalachari to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Devadas Gandhi and Gopal Krishna Gandhi* (Penquin Viking, New Delhi, 2012), compiled, edited and annotated by Gopal Krishna Gandhi therefore assumes significance.

This book contains about eighty letters written by Rajaji to Mahatma Gandhi (some to Mahadev Desai but meant for Mahatma), to his son-in-law Devdas Gandhi (husband of Lakshmi, Rajaji's daughter, and to his grandson Gopal Krishna Gandhi, largely collected from family archives and a few from public repositories makes interesting reading. A few letters of Gandhi also finds a place. There is a brief introduction provided by the editor along with footnotes. They throw further light on both Mahatma Gandhi and Rajaji who were prolific letter writers, the former wrote with economy of words making it direct, simple and precise and the latter with lot of wit and wisdom. The letters from Rajaji to Gandhi covers the period April 1919 to Independence.

In a letter dated 28 April 1919 Rajaji wrote: '*Hind Swaraj*'s Tamil translation is getting ready—only 30 pages are remaining'. He had already contributed an article in the *Indian Review* (May 1916) entitled 'M.K. Gandhi and his message', which contained his thoughts and ideas as explained in *Hind Swaraj*. Rajaji even contributed a preface to an edition of the book brought out by Ganesh & Co... Madras. It may be noted that the pamphlet was being translated into Tamil at a time done when the ban was still in force. It reveals the enterprise and courage

of Rajaji as well as that of Madras publishers. In another letter to Gandhi Rajaji wrote: 'Flattery from you is not like other people's. Their flattery can be absorbed with ease and satisfaction, but yours is a load of responsibility'. Gandhi wrote back to Rajaji in September 1924: 'am fasting to live not die...Don't worry'. An extract from yet another letter to Gandhi dated 2 October 1931 reads:

I waft my love and greetings to you today when all over the country millions are celebrating your birthday and thinking about you and your wonderful work. This will take many days to reach you, but I suppose the thought will reach you much earlier than this letter. When I think of all that had happened these twelve years, one thing after another, it looks all like a glorious dream and I am filled with thankfulness for the privilege of love and intimate association that I have enjoyed at your hands...

On 28 December 1938 Rajaji wrote a gem of a letter to Gandhi:

Like the scientists that discovered truths and gave weapons to the warmongers you have given 'Satyagraha' to the world, to the curers of social and political diseases, as well as the mischief –makers. We cannot help or even regret it, any more that we can blame science for the poison gas or the bombs.

Many of Rajaji's letters to Gandhi reveal their friendship, joy, candour, disappointment and yet Rajaji does not allow anyone to dictate to him.

Rajaji wrote a gem of a letter to Bapu on 25 February 1944:

I have not found the nerve to say anything publically about it. But I wrote to Devadas a letter which I hope he has got. Ba has found final release. If there be any truth in the Hindu Dharma she has lived up to it and fulfilled her earthly trial. You have been nearly as foolish as Harishchandra and she has not lagged behind Chandramati! There is no life-story in our generation where woman has stood her trial so much in the manner of our Hindu public and traditions as Ba has triumphantly done. The loss of dear ones is common in the world and it is foolish for me to try my hand at consolation with one like you. I am glad Harilal and Manu were there with Devadas at the time of the final fading away. I learnt the news at 2.30 the same night.

When the time came to open the Tiruchengodu ashram Rajaji wrote to Devadas on 24 January 1925:

I am very busy here arranging to have the ashram opened as early as possible. I expect to get it started on or about the 2<sup>nd</sup> February. I see nothing begins unless we begin it somehow and then work at it.

Now, I am not writing this letter merely to keep you informed. I want you to come here for the opening day. I know what a lot of dislocation of other thing it means, but I do hope you see why I ask this so specifically and agree. I want this institution to grow and flourish. If you come with a special message from Bapu which is to not be published but only read by you at the opening, it will be a spiritual encouragement of the greatest value.

I leave it to you to fix the exact day. But I want it to be in the first week of February. You can time your other engagements to suit and you can go back immediately.

Do wire to me 'agreed' arriving such and such a day.

Devadas Gandhi married Lakshmi on 16 June 1933. Gandhi who was very weak after his twenty—one day fast at Poona gathered sufficient strength to speak said:

Devadas, you have always looked upon Rajagopalachari as a respected elder. From today, he is as good as your father. Tender to him the same loyalty and obedient devotion that you have been tendering to me.

To you, Lakshmi, I need not say much. I believe that Devdas will prove himself a worthy husband to you. Ever since I have seen and known you, I have felt that you have justified your name. Let your marriage strengthen, if possible, the bond of affection that has been ever growing between Rajagopalachari and me... . Let your life be a dedication to the service of motherland, and of humanity.

What is perhaps new in this book is that it carries Rajaji's letters to Gopu, his dear grandson (Gopalkrishna Gandhi) which reveals the tenderness, compassion and sincere love which he had for the youngest member of the family. Rajaji took good care to guide his education, especially in graduation and post-graduation and his handwriting. As an admirer of English literature Rajaji sent Gopu periodically many books on English literature, in particular on Shakespeare, which he holds necessary for any aspiring literature student. A letter dated 18 July 1961 reads:

I am gathering a number of Shakespeare's plays for you and will send them in a parcel shortly. These are all annotated books and secondhand. You may or may not use the notes and introductions. But read all the plays as if they were detective

stores read for amusement. This is the best preparation for Literature Honours.

The fond affection Rajaji has had for Gobu increased further when Devdas Gandhi died suddenly when his son still young. In many letters Rajaji wrote consoling words to Gobu, often advising him to feel the spirit of his father. Many letters of Rajaji are about his ashram at Trichengode, the Congress and other party politics—all of which makes interesting reading. There are some rare photos of the Gandhis—Devdas and Gopalkrishna Gandhi as well as of Mahatma Gandhi. True to what is said in the introduction this volume is of value as it provides much insight into two great personalities of Modern India. They are also a cardiograph of the national struggle for freedom and for social reforms. Rajaji's letters are brave, candid, frank, bitter but free from vindictive quality and 'jeopardizing the family pride'. The book also carries some very fine letters or reply to Rajaji by Gandhi. The seven annexure in the book are also very informative.

On the whole this is certainly a readable book and the letters, in particular, are very revealing as they open a new window to the personality of Rajaji and Gandhi.

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