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## **EDITOR'S NOTE**

I am happy to inform all of you that the Journal has been recognized by the University Grants Commission (UGC). It has been a long journey from September 1996 filled with immense satisfaction. Memories of lot of hard work and commitment are there too! I am sure younger scholars would be happy to know this as they can contribute regularly to it. Even senior scholars would be glad to have it in their hands!

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all our referees for sparing their precious time for us.

Most of the papers are well documented : However, a few of them deserve special mention. They are the contributions by Dr. Shan Eugene Palakkal, Mr. Parwez Nazir, Dr. S. Yashodhamani, Dr. A. Suresh, Professor N. Krishna Reddy and Dr. M. Vijaya Kumar Reddy.

We thank Dr. Rukmani Nagarajan and Mrs. R. Sreedevi for reviewing books for us for this issue.

We are reminding all our contributors to send Abstracts and Key Words in their papers.

Now that UGC has approved our Journal, it is all the more imperative that we ensure high quality in our papers.

I would like to fervently thank Dr. Nanditha Krishna, President, The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, Mrs. Malathy Narasimhan, Mr. Narayan Onkar, Dr. G. Balaji, Mr. R. Sathyanarayanan and Mrs. Pitchu Lakshmi and all the members of the Foundation who have helped in bringing out this Journal.

**Dr. G. J. SUDHAKAR**





# ANCIENT HISTORY



# 1

## ICONOGRAPHY OF ARDHANARISVARA

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Ardhanarisvara is a composite androgynous form of the God Siva in the right half and his consort Parvati in the left. This is one of the majestic iconographic forms of Siva.

The earliest form of this image is assignable to the Kushana period from Mathura.

Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Mathura	Mathura Museum (pl. 1)
Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Mathura	Los Angeles and County Museum of Art (pl. 2)
Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Mathura	Victoria and Albert Museum (pl. 3)
Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Palikhera well, Mathura	Mathura Museum
Ardhanarisvara, Isapur	Mathura Museum

In the Kushana art of Mathura Ardhanarisvara is depicted either in a group or as part of a Linga which bears the full image of Ardhanarisvara (pls. 2 & 3).



Plate No.1 Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Mathura,  
Mathura Museum



Plate No. 2 Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Mathura,  
Los Angeles and County Museum of Art

Ardhanarisvara is depicted with Vishnu, Sashti and Skanda in a group of four deities placed side by side in a panel (pl.1). N. P. Joshi in the article *Early forms of Siva*<sup>1</sup> has mistakenly recognized Sashti as Gajalakshmi. D.M. Srinivasan in his work<sup>2</sup> simply mentioned the fourth deity instead of Skanda. R. C. Sharma in his book *The Splendour of Mathura Museum*<sup>3</sup> has wrongly identified Gajalakshmi and Kubera instead of

Sashthi and Skanda. The most distinctive mark of Sashti is usually a canopy over her head with five female figures or five heads<sup>4</sup> which is seen in this sculpture.



Plate No. 3 Ardhanarisvara, Kushana, Mathura,  
Victoria and Albert Museum

The general characteristics are as follows :

Ardhanarisvara is standing in *tribhanga* posture with two arms (pls. 2 & 3) with the right arm raised in *abhaya* and with the right shoulder broader than the left and the *yajnopavita* above the waist. There is a third eye (*trinetra*) in the middle of the forehead. Siva is depicted in his *urdhvareta* aspect in Kushana sculptures.

Beginning from the head, the difference is seen in the hair style which is much longer and undulating on the female side. The features of the face are not marked with such opposition, while there is a heavy earring on the female side and elongated ear without a pendant on the male side. The left half is female

with a prominent breast, broad waist and holding a flower in her left hand. There are a few unifying elements of the figure: a simple bead necklace, deep navel and waist band shared by both sides with a few differences in details.

In the later Kushana coins, two-armed Sivas with bull carry a noose in the right hand and a long trident in the left (pl. 4). The legend reads *Oseho*. O.P. Singh has identified *Oseho* as the Ardhanarisvara form of Siva. He writes that the left side has a well-developed breast in contrast to the right. The deity wears a necklace and the right half of the chest reveals a *yajnopavita*. The left leg is (outstretched) released slightly in an easy manner and covered up to the calf with folds, possibly of a *sari* which, according to him, suggests that the leg is that of a woman<sup>5</sup>. However, the present identification is not acceptable by Joecribb and he also says as much as the emphasis on the left breast is not significant. It was not intentional, and he feels that the emphasis on the left breast is because of poor engraving. He takes the figure to be a usual image of Siva on late Kushana coins<sup>6</sup>.

Savitha and Tiwari are of the view that the artist intended to show the Ardhanarisvara form of Siva which ought to have attributes like the lotus, mirror, parrot, even sceptre (as with Nana) in the left hand, suggesting thereby the presence of Uma or Parvati. The legend *Oseho* is inscribed as usual on the left which in the event of the figure being Ardhanarisvara must have been on the right and the left might have shown at least the name of *OmmoZ* or *Nana*. The artist could have also given a name 'Ardhanarisvara'. It is not proper to say that the mint master was not aware of the iconographic tradition regarding Ardhanarisvara, especially in view of the representation of Siva with the traditional features on Kushana coins. The Ardhanarisvara Siva in Kushana sculpture is represented ithyphallically, whereas

the present coin does not bear any such feature (pl. 4). There is no difference in the disposition of hair and *dhoti* on the right and left and thus dispute the identification by O.P. Singha. The figure on the coin under discussion should be straight away identified as Siva<sup>7</sup>.

To take the discussion further, in Kushana art, Devi is holding the trident in the left hand. The Gupta plaque from Shravasti shows the trident on the left. The association with the weapon is continued into the late Gupta period in Bhitari, where she holds a trident over her right shoulder. The trident was not known to be Siva's weapon in early Indian art, opines Nanditha Krishna, although there is a three horned male figure from the Harappa. It only appears with Siva on Indo-Greek coins. Could it have been a substitute for the goddess?<sup>8</sup>

Wherever Siva holds the trident, Devi or Nara is absent. If we accept the fact that the *trisula* was Devi's weapon and was given to Siva as a part of the syncretisation of the male and female forms, Siva and Sakti, which culminated in the Ardhanarisvara concept, it would explain why the trident used earlier by Devi alone became a weapon of Siva<sup>9</sup>. The battle axe is more frequently shown in the early icons of Siva. The combination of the trident and battle axe symbolize Siva and Sakti, sometimes surrounded by a fence, and is found on the coins of Panchala, Dhruvamitra, Vema Kadphises, and Vasudeva. Interestingly, the reverse of these coins bears a shrine with the trident - battle axe standard before it (pl.4).

In the Ardhanarisvara form, Parvati is on the left of Siva. Siva is holding the *trisula* in his left hand, as the weapon of Parvati and which symbolically represents Parvati. From the above description, we may conclude that the image found in the above mentioned coin is none other than Ardhanarisvara.



Plate No.4 Ardhanarisvara, Kushana coins

B. N. Mukerjee's book *Nana on Lion : A Study in Kushana Numismatic Art* was published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, 1969, pp. xiv-159, pl-15 and was reviewed by Ajay Mitra Shastri in *JNSI*, vol. xxx, 1971. A hermaphrodite figure is seen on a silver plate in the Istanbul Museum where the right side is feminine, which the author has identified as Ardhanaisvarar. However, Sastri says that by the very nature of the case, it may not be possible to accept the suggestion. Similarly, in the Malikarjuna temple at Srisailam, the seated form of Ardhanarisvara is carved on the southern *prakara* wall where Parvati is seen on the right side.

### **Ardhanarisvara in Gupta Art**

In Gupta art, Ardhanarisvara is depicted with much more sophistication and artistic beauty portraying the concepts in an aesthetic manner. The three sculptures that stand out in this depiction are mentioned below.



Ardhanarisvara, (head), Gosna, Gupta	Mathura Museum (pl. 5)
Ardhanarisvara, (head), Mathura, Gupta	Mathura Museum (pl. 6)
Ardhanarisvara, (head), Rajghat, Gupta	BharatKalaBhavan (pl. 7)

High workmanship is seen in the Gupta art from Gosna (pl.5). The male and female aspects are quite distinct. The right male side shows high matted hair and a crescent and a few locks of hair falling on the nape and shoulder; the left female half has well-combed hair decorated with flowers and wears a *patra-kundala* in the left ear. The third eye is seen in the middle of the forehead and the *ekavali* is worn around the neck. The beautiful lips, half closed eyes and subtle grace have further augmented the attraction of the composite features.

Another sculpture in Gupta art is the right male half which has matted hair with a skull and crescent moon. The difference between the male and female aspect is thus expressed in the shape of Siva's eyebrows drawn lifted straight up while the feminine eyebrows are delicately shaped. The nose and the mouth are larger on the male side. The third eye is placed slightly on the left side. The subtle dissymmetry is also expressed in the volume of cheeks and the chin from Mathura (pl. 5). In the Rajghat sculpture (pl. 6) the matted locks of Siva are shown with a crescent, *cakrakundala* on the right side and the curled hair of Parvati on the left falling on the nape. *Patrakundala*, and *trinetra* are seen in the middle of the forehead, the eyes are wide open and the thick lips and corners of the mouth are clearly seen.



**Plate No. 5** Ardhanarisvara, (head), Gosna,  
Gupta Mathura Museum



**Plate No.6** Ardhanarisvara, (head), Mathura,  
Gupta, Mathura Museum



**Plate No.7** Ardhanarisvara, (head), Rajghat,  
Gupta, Bharat Kala Bhavan

## Chalukyas, Pallavas and Chola Periods

Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas	Badami Cave-I (pl. 8)
Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas	Badami Cave-III
Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas	Pattadakal (pl. 9)
Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas	Pattadakal (pl. 10)
Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas,	Lankesvara Cave-XVI, Ellora
Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas	Ravulaphadi cave, Aihole
Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas	Elephanta cave (pl. 11)
Ardhanarisvara, Pallava, Mamallapuram	Darmarajaratha,
Ardhnarisvarar, Pallava	Tiruchengodu, Namakkal district (pl. 12)
Ardhanarisvara, pre Angor period, 7-8 <sup>th</sup> century CE., Combodia, bronze	Victoria and Albert Museum (pl. 13)
Ardhnarisvarar, 9-10 century CE, Nepal	Los Angeles County Museum (pl. 14)
Ardhnarisvarar, Chola, bronze	Cleveland Museum (pl. 15)

**General Characteristics :** The following features are common in the Chalukya, Pallava and Chola sculptures, except for a few minor stylistic variations.

An elliptical halo behind the head of Ardhanarisvar emerges from the shoulder (pl. 8). He is standing in *tribhanga* pose, the head leaning to the left as in Elephanta sculpture or to the right as in Pattadakal (pls. 10 & 11), sometimes with a bull at the back (pls. 8 & 11), whereas in the Pattadakal sculpture the right leg is bend in the *padaswastika* posture (pl. 9). Seated images are not as common in the canons of Indian iconography. However, there are a few sculptures representing the seated form especially after the 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE.

Ardhanariavarar is depicted with 2, 3, or 4 arms. References to six or more armed images are rare but can be found in south Indian sources<sup>10</sup>. If the deity is with three arms, then he is depicted with two right arms and one left arm. The right hand



Plate No.8 Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas,  
Badami Cave-I

should be in *abhaya*, holding the *parasu*, *trisula*, *varada*, *tanka*, *akhamala*, *danta*, *kapala*, *pasa*, *ankusa*, *naga* and resting on the bull, based on canonical variation. As in the case of the left side, she holds *nilotpala* (pl.9), *darpana* (pl.11), *katyavilambita*, *lola hasta* touching the flower held by her attendant. In some sculptures, Ardhanarisvara is playing the *vina* with the lower right and left arm (pl.8).



Plate No. 9 Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas



Plate No.10 Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas



Plate No. 11 Ardhanarisvara, Western Chalukyas

The right side must be ornamented with matted locks (*jata juta*), crescent, half vertical eye, serpent, sacred thread and tiger skin whereas the female side is decorated with requisite and customary accessories suitable for Parvati such as *karanda makuta*, ear pendant, nose ring, beaded griddle, silk *sari* with variegated design which reaches upto the ankle and anklet are shown on the left side. In some panels, two *vidyadharas* are hovering in the air.

There is a separate temple for Ardhanarisvara in Tiruchengodu, Namakkal district, Tamilnadu. Thirunanasambandar has sung in the *Devarnam* about this temple<sup>11</sup> which belongs to the Pallava period, but the earliest inscription from this temple is that of the Chola king Parandaka I<sup>12</sup>. Ardhanarisvara faces west. He is six feet tall with two arms, holding a *trisula-danta* in his right arm, while the left arm is resting on the hip (pl. 12).



Plate No.12  
Ardhanarisvara

An unpublished bronze sculpture from the Metropolitan Museum belongs to the pre-Angkor Wat period (pl.13) and has very simple iconographic features. One of the interesting features is the half moustache which can be seen on the right side, while the lower garment reaches the ankle on the left side.



Plate No.13 Ardhanarisvara, pre-Angkorvat,  
Metropolitan Museum

A bronze sculpture of Ardhanartisvarar from Nepal is a very artistic form (pl.14) with precious stones increasing the beauty of the image. It is a very charming image with partly closed eyes and with four arms. In the upper right, Siva is holding a *trisula* and the three prongs are facing down; in the upper left Parvati holds a flower which is upside down and the lower left palm holds a fruit. A half vertical *trinetra* and *urna* with raised dot is seen in the centre of the forehead and the lower garment reaches the knee.



Plate No.14  
Ardhanarisvara  
from Nepal

One of the interesting art forms of *trisula* is that of Ardhanarivara who is standing gracefully on a flat pedestal with a lofty *trisula* rising from its platform. It belongs to the Chola period (pl. 15), and the iconographical descriptions are similar to those mentioned in earlier sculptures.



Plate No.15 Ardhanarisvara, Chola period

## Conclusion

One of the most majestic forms of Siva is that of Ardhanarisvara. It has a deep spiritual meaning. The *Purana* writers go into raptures about it. This form of Siva has its antiquity in Vedic symbolism. It is described as Nara-Nari, the male and female which go together in the scheme of the cosmological procreation<sup>13</sup>.

In Indian iconography there are many examples of Ardhanarisvara Siva in which the matted locks, partly-closed vertical third eye, serpent, sacred thread, tiger skin and the male organ are shown on the right side and, moon god, ear pendent, one breast, beaded gridle, silk *sari* and anklet are shown on the left side. This demonstrates the male and female in visual and



graphic form as a conspicuous motif of sculpture. In the Kushana period, the various forms of Ardhanarisvara are seen and have been depicted in coins too. During the Gupta period, the terracotta art of Ardhanarisvara gets matured and matched with the stone sculptures both in quality and quantity. During the Chalukya, Pallava and Cholas periods the depiction becomes very stylistic and is seen in huge panels. The depiction gets more attention from the description of Ardhanarisvara by the Nayanmaras. Ardhanarisvara marks an important iconic development and definite contribution to Hindu art.

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## **CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT ANDHRADESA**

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The present paper focuses on the contribution of women to Buddhism in ancient Andhradesa. It is aimed to bring to light all the available sources from inscriptional and literary and examine the contribution of women to Buddhism in early Andhradesa beginning from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. which includes mainly the Satavahanas, Ikshvakus, Pallavas, Satavahanas and Vishnukundis.

Buddhism entered Andhra during the days of Buddha era of Andhra history. Most of the women of the noble showed a preference for the Buddhist which their consorts supposed and championed Brahmanism. In spite of their loyalty to Brahmanism, the kings of the age allowed the members of their families to support Buddhist institutions in Andhradesa<sup>1</sup>. Buddhism was well established by the third century B.C. and continued to flourish. The women had the liberty to follow the Buddhist path while their husbands followed the Vedic religion. In the records of the period they were very much praised and esteemed for their generous contributions, particularly some of the Satavahana queens, most of the Ikshvaku ladies and only one royal lady of Vishnukundis patronized and granted liberal grants towards Buddhism. It

was under their influence that some of the rulers of the period also made some donations to Buddhist institutions.

The Satavahana rulers were the followers of Brahmanism. Though they were staunch followers of Brahmanism, yet they provided sufficient facilities for the expansion of Buddhism. Almost all the queens followed Buddhism. The Nasik inscription of Pulumavi states that his father Gautamiputra Satakarni caused a cave to be dug on the Tiranhu Mountain, which his mother Gautami Balasri donated to the *Bhadrayanîya* School of monks<sup>2</sup>. Another record from same place records a joint gift made by Gautamiputra Satakarni and his mother Gautami Balasri to the monks living on the above said Mountain<sup>3</sup>. From these records we came to know that there are two independent donations to the Buddhists, one by Gautamiputra Satakarni and other by Pulumavi. These two made their contribution under the influence of Gautami Balasri, a noble lady. Thus on account of Gautami Balasri, the *ekabrahmana* (Gautamiputra Satakarni) showed patronage to the Buddhists, and it is likely that for this kindness shown to her, Gautami Balasri praises her son as a man of unchecked obedience to his mother<sup>4</sup>. Further, there is a reason to believe that there was a political consideration for these gifts which were made around Nasik, the region conquered by Gautamiputra Satakarni from Ksaharatas. The subjugator should have felt the need reconcile the local religious leaders to strengthen the Satavahana authority. Nowhere else did he make gifts to Buddhists. During the reign of the Satavahanas, the nuns were teachers at that time<sup>5</sup>. But, we do not get inscriptional evidences regarding the names of the nuns and also none of the queens is known from the records as a patron of Buddhism in Andhradesa.

The Satavahanas were succeeded by the Ikshvakus in Andhradesa. They continued the patronage of Buddhism of the

earlier period and it was continued during their period. Nagarjunakonda became the centre of Buddhism. Almost all the queens of Ikshvakus favored Buddhism. Royal ladies seem to have championed and cause of Buddhism by donating liberally for the construction of *stupas* and *viharas* for the worship of Buddha and his relics and residence of the monks. The common people also made donations to Buddhism. A number of records reveal that the important individual who contributed the most in this regard was Santisri, the sister of king Santamula, maternal aunt of King Sri Virapurisadatta. She repaired, extended and reconstructed the Mahachaitya at Sripavata (Nagarjunakonda)<sup>6</sup>. Many institutions owed their existence to her liberality, which rather repaired the damage done in Buddhism during the previous reign<sup>7</sup>. Among other royal ladies who participated in the dedication of the shrine at Nagarjunakonda we come across the names of a princes Rudradharabhattacharika, bearing the title of Mahadeva which suggests that she was the queen of Siri Virapurisadatta, the reigning king. Her example was followed by other women of the royal family. An inscription of Santisri records that a stone *monastery* near the *stupa* was dedicated for the use of the *acharyas* of the *Aparamahavina* *seliya* (*Apara-Selika*) sect, just as the *monastery* at Amaravati was dedicated to the monks of the *Purva-Saila* sect<sup>8</sup>. This evidence proves that they provided or built Buddhist Chaityas for the particular sects.

The pillar inscription at Nagarjunakonda records the erection of a pillar (*ayaka-stamba*) in the *Mahachaitya* by *mahatalavari* Adavi Santisri daughter of Vasisthiputra Santamula, sister of Virapurisadatta, and wife of the *mahatalavara mahasenapati mahadandanayaka* Skanda Visakha<sup>9</sup>. Virapurisadatta's queens Rudradharabhattacharika<sup>10</sup>. Bapisiri and Bhatri Devi were the chief patrons of Buddhism. Rudradharabhattacharika issued a record

at Nagarjunakonda, stated that the donation of 170 *dinari-masakas* to the *Mahachaitya* by mahatalavari Chantisirinika<sup>11</sup>. A pillar inscription from Itikarallabôdu in Guntur district belonging to Ehuvala Santamula records that Bhattideva, the daughter-in-law of Vasisthiputra Siri Santamula, who is favoured by Mahasena, the lord of Virapaksha, the offered of *Agnihotra*, *Agnishtoma*, *Vajapeya* and *Asvamedha*, the donor of crores of gold coins, hundred thousands of cows and lakhs of *halas* (ploughs)<sup>12</sup> erected a *devi-vihara* provided with everything and gifted the same for the benefit of teachers of the sect of the *Buhusrutya*<sup>13</sup>. Kodabalisiri daughter of Virapurisadatta during the reign of Ehuvala Santamula was responsible for the construction of a *chaitya* with a monastery to the monks of *Mahisasaka*. There was extensive cultural contact between Andhra and countries as far as China and the Greek kingdoms in the west during the Ikshvaku period.

Most of the Nagarjunakonda records refer to the liberal donations by the ladies of the Ikshvaku family to the great monastery at Vijayapuri. At Amaravati, grants were given mainly by private individuals, whereas at Nagarjunakonda they were given by royal families, particularly by the royal ladies. An omission of this practice during the Ikshvaku period is the donation made by a Buddhist nun (householder), a resident of Ghantasala who did not belong to the royal family. She constructed a *chaitya* hall with a flooring of slabs and a *chaitya* provided with all necessities at the convent of the *cula* Dhammagiri at Sripurvata for the benefit of the monks who came from Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Yavana, Tambapanni, etc., a *chaitya* hall at Devagiri, a tank, a gate room and a *mandapa* hall at Purvasaila; a stone *mandapa* at the eastern gate of the *mahachaitya* of Kantakasila (Ghantasala); three cells at Hiramuthiva, seven cells at Papila and a stone mandapa at

Pushpagiri<sup>14</sup>. It is interesting to find a reference to the masters, monks and nuns of the *Purvasaila* school at Patan which can be taken to mean Kantakasila<sup>15</sup>. These donations were made for the eternal welfare and happiness of the gathering of saints and for that of the whole world. It was in the Ikshvaku period that the princes actively participated in raising Buddhist establishments as instanced at Vijayapuri, Alluru, Kesanapalli, Jaggayyapeta, Rentala, Ghantasala, etc. After the rule of Ikshvakus, the region is ruled by the Salankayanas. A pillar record from Guntupalli refers to the Salankayana ruler Nandivarman-II (400-430A.D.) made some donations to Buddhist viharas<sup>16</sup>. But the records did not mention the royal ladies or other women who followed or patronized Buddhism. Buddhism also flourished in the Pallava age.

The rulers of Vishnukundis, followers or devotees of Sriparvatssvamin (Mallikarjuna Siva of Srisailam) succeeded the Salankayanas in coastal Andhra. As in the case with the earlier ruling families, the Vishnukundis also patronized other religions, particularly Buddhism. They granted liberal grants to Buddhist viharas. Like the royal ladies of the Ikshvaku kings, the queens of the Vishnukundis were devoted to Buddhism. Govindavarman's Tummalagudem (Nalgonda district) record mentions that his queen Paramabhattacharika Mahadevi built Paramabhattacharika-mahavihara in Indrapura (Indrapalagutta area near Tummalagudem).

The king gifted away the village Irundora, evidently to the above said *vihara*, for the enjoyment of the Buddhist monks<sup>17</sup>. Another grant from same place mentioned that the donation by Govindavarman, of the two villages, Ermadala and Pankaparu, to the *vihara* of the Parama-mahadevi for the alleviation of the miseries of his parents and other beings. The village Pankaparu

was well versed in the eighteen schools of Buddhist *dharma*, endowed with the qualities of the thirty two great men, and performed *yajnas* according to the stipulated injunctions for saving humanity from the three fold pain of life, death, and sorrow. The grant was for the uninterrupted materials for lamps, incense, perfumes, flowers, flags, drinks and foods, beds, seats, grass, medicine and repair work to the vihara bestowed by Paramabhattacharika Mahadevi.

The finances for the construction of this vihara were provided from the royal exchequer. The record opens with a long invocation to the Buddha<sup>18</sup>. Both the grants were obviously made to the same vihara, viz; that known as Paramabhattacharika-mahavihara, which was constructed by the queen of Govindavarman the founder of Vishnukundi kingdom<sup>19</sup> and the mother of Madhavavarman, who being held in great adoration, is referred to as Paramabhattacharika-mahadevi in the first grant and as Parama-Mahadevi in the second. Though the *stupas* and viharas were still being constructed to worship to the Buddhist cult by the noble ladies of the Vishnukundis, a number of the kings and their officials followed the *Brahmanic* Hindu *dharma*. Before the advent of Vishnukundis, Andhradesa had several Buddhist establishments in places like Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Yeleswaram, Jaggayyapeta, Guntupalli etc. Hiuen Tsang the Chinese traveler who visited Andhradesa soon after the disappearance of the Vishnukundis informs us of the existence of some twenty Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 brethren in the area<sup>20</sup>.

Finally, it may be concluded that during this period the noble ladies of Satavahana, Ikshvaku and Vishnukundis patronized Buddhism. Nagarjunakonda became the centre of Buddhism. The records mentioned that the women not only patronized Buddhism



but also caused the erection of a number of beautiful Buddhist monuments, including the *mahachaitya* in the Nagarjunakonda valley. A number of records reveal that the important individual who contributed the most in this regard was Santisri, sister of Santamula.

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### 3

## DISCOVERING THE SCULPTOR OF MAMALLAPURAM

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Cultural wealth like temples, sculptures, paintings and crafts of each region in India display the creative ideas of artisans behind them. The creators or the artisans who build massive structures, intricate carvings, beautiful sculptures and fabulous paintings have different names according to their skills. *Taccan, cirpan, rathakaran, taccar, tattan, acariyan, kollan* and *koliyar* are the general terms found in the inscriptions and literature for denoting artisan class. However, a few literary and inscriptional references give us more information about the sub-class divisions of these artisans<sup>1</sup>.

The artisans were engaged in different professions and procured their skills either by inheritance or by learning from the *vastu sastras*<sup>2</sup>. They were skilled in architecture, building chariots and coaches in wood, erecting gateways of the temples with stucco images on them, making idols of gods and saints in metal, musical instruments, ornaments, and other utensils. Most temple sculptures and arts remain anonymous because art for art's sake or art for money's sake was hardly their motto. Neither the master-craftsmen who designed the lay-out of the temple and the distribution of shrines and sculptures therein nor the humbler stone masons paraded their names<sup>3</sup>.

The artisans were patronised by the kings as well as by the village assemblies who granted tax-free lands to them. They were referred to in the inscriptions as *bhumi dana* (land donation)<sup>4</sup> and *irai ili nilam* (tax free land)<sup>5</sup>. The village assembly allocate some land for the artisan community and they were known as *taccakani*, *tattarakkani*, *acaiyakkani*, etc.

In recognition of their service and craftsmanship some special privileges were granted to them. An inscription states that artisans of some villages were permitted to blow the double conch on auspicious and bad occasions, beat drums, wear chappals wherever they went and plaster their houses<sup>6</sup>. In some temples names of the artisans were inscribed.

The names found on the early cave temples give us some clues about the architect who made them. The Pillaiyarpatti cave temple belongs to the Pandya country; an inscription was found which refers to the architect of that cave as Erukkatturkkon Peruntaccan. Another inscription found on a rock bed at Mamandur, near Kanchipuram, which refers to *Ciru....van* a stone mason who made it<sup>7</sup>. The Mandagapattu cave temple inscription of Mahendravarman I states that the rock cut shrine made here by King Vichitrachitta (the one who thinks differently) for the divinities Brahma, Siva and Vishnu was brick-less, timber-less, metal-less and mortar-less. This verse of the inscription confirms that earlier there were temples or structures made using brick, timber, metal and mortar<sup>8</sup>. Though the very name of the king gives us the idea that he is the one who initiated the construction of rock cut temples but the masonry skill of the artisan has to be appreciated.

The Pallava period inscriptions and copper plate grants provide enough evidences to understand the artisan communities and their role in the society. The Velurpalayam plate of

Nandivarman III has the name of the engraver and his native place. The name of the scribe is Perayan, son of Kastakari of *Aimmaniceri* in Kaccipedu<sup>9</sup> (Kanchipuram). The inscription further states that he belongs to the *sthapatikula*; this reference made to the *sthapati* class suggests that it is the general term for the artisan community. The *Aimmaniceri* village would have accommodated five different classes of the artisan community like stone masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and metal casters.

Mamallapuram (or Mahabalipuram) had once been a port city of the Pallavas. The hillocks and rock boulders found in the village may have kindled the idea of testing various architectural styles among the Pallava kings. To display their superiority in architecture the Pallava kings chose Mamallapuram which was an important port, with people coming from abroad. The Roman, Chinese and Persian coins found here supports this theory<sup>10</sup>. The cave temples, monolithic Pancha Pandava Rathas, open-air sculptures like Arjuna's penance, pyramidal shore temples, etc., all exhibit the talent of the sculptors.

As mentioned earlier, although many names of the architects are found in important temples in Tamilnadu, none of the Mamallapuram monuments bear the name of the *sthapati* or architect of its creation. The images of the kings are found and they are identified by scholars as Simha Vishnu and Mahendravarman I in the Varaha cave temple, Narasimha-varman I and temple servants in Dharmaraja *ratha* and Paramesvaravarman in Arjuna *ratha*<sup>11</sup>.

We get a few names of the artisans on small rocks in a place popularly known as Nondivirappan Kudiraittoti near Mamallapuram. Some scholars like R. Nagaswamy and others believe that the names found here belong to the *sthapatis* who

created the Mamallapuram monuments. The letters are scribed on the rocks in Pallava Grantha and the Tamil characters read 1. Kevatapperuntaccan, 2. Gunamallan, 3. Payyamilippan, 4. Catamukkiyan, 5. Kaliyani, 6. Namah Tiruvorriyur Abhajar and 7. Kollan Semagan<sup>12</sup>. Out of the above names we can easily identify the profession of two people. One is Kevatapperuntaccan and the other is Kollan Semagan. The first person must be a stone mason and that too *perun-taccan* which means chief architect. The great Tamil poet Kamban refers to the *sthapatis* as *deiva tachchar* or divine architects<sup>13</sup>. The second person is a blacksmith who may be the supplier of chisel, hammer and other iron implements required for the architect.

In the process of my search for an image of an architect among the hundreds of sculptures in Mamallapuram which I visited so many times I found one, finally, on the prominently sculpted panel, Arjuna's penance, a massive open-air sculpture on the faces of two great masses of rock. It has the image of the architect of Mahabalipuram. The architect may have chosen this place rightly to place his life size image. After all, he is the one who planned the whole sculptural sequence and knows its importance. This unfinished sculptural panel is located behind the Talasayana Perumal temple which is situated at the entrance of Mamallapuram.

The right side of Arjuna's penance panel is well-finished but the left side has not been completed. We can see that the top portion of the left rock where Shiva stands with his *pasupata* in the extreme right corner was finished. The rock was unfinished below the level of the standing Siva, and the entire middle and lower parts. This is exactly where we see the architect or *sthapati* or stone mason working on a sculpture (Fig. 1.). He is chiselling the lower portion of a *bhuta gana*, sitting to the right of Siva's

chest. The sculptor is standing firmly by keeping his right leg a little away from the left leg. The left leg is not visible since it is behind a boulder. He is holding a chisel in his left hand and hammer stone on his right, in the position of beating. The gesture of the sculptor clearly shows that he is busy chiselling the image.

The panel not only has the image of the sculptor but also of three others on his right doing various professions. The human figure on the extreme right looks like a hunter. He is holding a bow in his left hand and keeps his right hand on his waist. The second person from the sculptor's right looks like a farmer. He carries something on his shoulder and wears a *langot*, a short brief-like undergarment. Both the hunter and farmer's hair are tied as a bun on the top of the head and they have a big moustache. The person standing immediately to the right of the sculptor looks like a trader. He is carrying a bundle on his left shoulder and holds a walking stick or a long pole which is generally held by the travellers. His lower garment and beard look different from the others.

The sculptor is depicted well with his prominent features. He wears a head dress which looks like a cloth band tied on his head as a turban. His face is prominent with a big moustache and beard. A thin ornament is seen on his neck and he also wears a big earring. He has broad shoulders and no upper garment is seen on his chest, but he wears a sacred thread or *yajnopavita*, which is commonly worn by the artisan community. He wears a *dhoti* on his waist which runs up to his knee. A decorative dagger is kept on the right side of the waist band.

The interesting features that are found on this sculptor's image are the head dress, ear-ring and dagger (Fig. 2). The features which are highlighted in this sculpture were done to display their

importance. As mentioned earlier, the artisans were given some privileges by the kings to honour them. Here the headdress looks like some kind of honour given by the king and the dagger may denote the privilege given to appreciate his talent or the authority to be the chief architect. In the Chola sculptures of Adhikara Nandi, we find that he is holding a sword in both of his hands to denote his authority in Siva's abode. A similar feature can be seen in this image too: the dagger looks prominent in the waist of the sculptor. So, this leads us to imagine that he may have been the chief architect of these monuments.

The name Kevatapperuntaccan found on the rock near Mahabalipuram may belong to the sculptor found in this Arjuna's penance panel. *Peruntaccan* means chief architect or head of the artisans. So, was the sculptor found in the Arjuna's Penance Rock Kevatapperuntaccan? I think so.



Fig. 1. *Sthapati* and three other human figures in Arjuna's penance sculptural panel, Mamallapuram.



Fig. 2. Closer view of *Sthapati* in Arjuna's penance sculptural panel, Mamallapuram.

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# **MEDIEVAL HISTORY**

## **STUDY OF HEROISM IN MORASANADU: BASED ON INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE**

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The Kannada inscriptions of from Kolar and Bangalore districts reveal the repetition of names of the some of the nadus such as Yelahakkinadu, Aavutinadu, Honarenadu, Toravallinadu, Morasanadu, Kukallanadu, Hommalegenadu, Seugalanadu etc., In Tamil inscriptions the *nadus* mentioned are Yeravinadu, Maramdinadu, Murasanadu, Illaipakkanadu, Punnaiyandarnadanadu, Eibumygurunadu, Yelavurnadu etc., among these *nadus* the present study deals with the cultural aspects of Morasanadu.

In Kempe Gouda Jayaprasthi edited and published by Karlamangalam Sreekanthayya (M.A.R 1914) writes that “In Kannadanadu people living in Morasanadu are known as Morasavakkuligas and there is no difference between Gangadikaras and these Morasuvakkuligas”. The Immadi Kempegouda or Kempegouda II ruled Yelhankanadu which was also known as Morasanadu in the earlier days. The area covered by Doddaballapur, Chikkballapur of Kolar district and the Devanahalli, Hoskote and Bangalore rural of Bangalore district was considered as Morasanadu. The same is mentioned in the Ganga King Madhava Varma’s Nandi dana Sasana. (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Volume IX, Bengaluru, Number 40)

In the Ganga King Permadi's Vartur tank inscription (E.C.IX. Br 40,830 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> from Bangalore *taluka* mentioned Morasanadu and calling the Yelahankanadu as Morasanadu cannot be accepted based on the inscriptional information. The inscriptions of Ganga Madhavavarma and Ganga Perumadi inscriptions belonged to early 9<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. i.e. around A.D.830. In the period the area around Kannelli of Bangalore district was known as Kukkalnadu. More over the area belonged to Gangavadi 9000. Inscription of the period 1382 A.D. from Devanahalli (E.C.IX Dn57,1382A.D.), inscription, of Achutaraya of Vijayanagara from Doddaballapur (E.C.IX Db 30) and also another inscription belonging to 1496 from Bangalore (E.C.IX Bengaluru 82) mentioned the Morasanadu.

### **The Geographical extent of Morasanadu**

If we look at the two inscriptions issued in the year 1314 A.D. (E.C.IX Dv 57.E.C.IX Dv 58) Both of the inscriptions mention “*swasti sri saka varash Saavirad Munnuru Nalkaneya, Dundhubi Samvatsarada vaishaka sudda somavara shasti srimat Jalada Kesavahallia devarge Morasanadu sunkada Adhikari Ramarasara Makkalu Devarasaru Kotta Dana sasana*”, similarly the second inscription also mention the name of the revenue official as Ramarasar son of Devarsar, as *sunkadhikaari* of Yelahanka Nadu. From this we can conclude that Yelahankanadu and Morasanadu cannot be equated during the period. Along with some Kannada inscriptions if we study inscriptions from Tamilnadu, they will give us an idea of geographical extent of Morasanadu, Cover an area consisting of Mulbagal, Bowring pet, of Kolar District and some places bordering the area of Chittoor district.

## Meaning of Morasanadu

To the word Morasu we do not find any etymological meaning. As per the saying of the Gangadikarars there is little difference between them and the Morasuvokkaligas. According to Standersons Canares and English dictionary the word morasu means, 'to make roar', 'claimer', complain etc., According to Kittel, *morasu* means to become 'furious', 'to begin to rage', *mooru* means turning etc., going by the above discussion we can come to the conclusion. Morasanadu is a generally used frequently in the inscriptions but mentioned now and then in the inscriptions.

First the Gangas, and next the Cholas, the Hoyasalas ruled this area. When Ganga-9000 area was changed to many *nadus*, the inscriptions of Baguru, Hoskote mention the area where Morasuvokkaligas are living now. As per the Tamil inscriptions Morasanadu comprised the area south of Bangalore, because most of the Tamil inscriptions come from the South of Bangalore district. But at present *morasuvokkaligas* are spread in the Bangalore district, Hoskote and Anekal *talukas* and Doddballapur and Maluru of Kolar district. In Tamil Nadu the area consisting of Dharmapuri District, Krishnagiri, Hosuru, Dankanekote etc., these areas were earlier covered under Ganga. At present a village Morusuru of Anekal might have been the capital of earlier Morasanadu. Thus, only an assumption, except these we do not find any other evidences to support the view.

Any society known to history, did not give up wars though inspired by the highest spiritual order. When we look at the lengthy historical background, war was a part of social necessity. Except Buddhism and Jainism, which propagated non-violence, at socio-political spheres, all other religions did not give up war

on theoretical basis. Kautilya said that war can never be a prohibitory one, but a must for a king or a ruler. When war is beneficial to the kingdom, a king should always find ways to win the war<sup>2</sup>. It is the Matsya Nyaya- big fish eat the smaller one. The society of Morasanadu was not an exception to this. We find that the people of this region were war loving, as the inscriptions reveal the sacrifice made by not only the ruling class but even the common people who sacrificed their life for the sake of the prestige of the village, in facing the cattle raids.

An attempt is made in the present paper to bring out the heroism of the people of this region. When we look at the inscriptions; many of them are memorial stones. These memorial stones were raised in memory of heroes who sacrificed their lives for protecting their people, in one way or the other were known as 'Hero Stones'. Though the region was spread in three different linguistic backgrounds, the hero stones reveal the commonality of the cultural background. The hero stones reveal not only the inscriptional information but also have sculptural importance, giving details of the hero, in the form of his sculpture engraved on the stone and the sacrifice made by that hero. The hero stones are related to wars, cattle raids, hunting scenes, and thefts etc. Morasanadu came under the rule of different dynasties like Gangas, Vaidumbas, Banas and Nolambas, and there were a continuous wars among these dynasties for the domination of this region. We find that many warriors lost their lives, so we find hero stones raised by these dynasties. The society was essentially based on agriculture. The Important occupation was agriculture, and the social life was closely bound up with agriculture. And other aspects of life were contingent to this. We can imagine a society of agriculturists leading peaceful lives, but now and then disturbed by cattle raids<sup>3</sup> and also by small skirmishes<sup>4</sup>, between political powers, leading to wars.

An inscription of Mahavali Banarasa from Vanamaldinne, Punganur taluk assignable to the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. records that while the enemy king laid to the village (*uram-balasikondur*) Vanamaldinne lifted the cattle (*torugola*), Nagila Mulagundura, son of Mulagundura, by not allowing them to take away, fought with the enemies and lost his life. The Bana of this record who is identical with Vikramaditya I granted to the (family of) the deceased hero, a field with the seed capacity of one Khanduga (unit for the measurement of grains) of paddy as *kalnadu*<sup>5</sup>.

A number of hero stones have been found in this region. The hero stones from Embadi, Bodinayanapalle and Yatavakili are from Punganur *taluka* of Chittoor district. This region was the meeting place of the areas ruled by feudatory dynasties such as the Vaidumbas<sup>6</sup>, Banas<sup>7</sup>, and the Nolambas<sup>8</sup>. We know that these dynasties engaged themselves frequently in wars against one another or in groups formed according to the dictates of the changing political circumstances. All these border conflicts culminated in the major battle at Sorematti<sup>9</sup>, after which some of these powers got weakened. This continued up to the rise of the Cholas, who dominated the area and brought them under their control for a long period.

The hero stones will have inscriptional text and also have a relief with the main figure of the hero portrayed prominently. The hero is often shown standing, facing front, but with his feet placed apart and oriented to his left. His right hand bears a dagger pointing to the right and the left hand is sometimes extended or folded, holding a bow. He is often shown with arrows piercing his body in various parts. He wears some ornaments in the ear and neck. He is shown with shorts tied round by a cloth, on the right side is found a sheath from which perhaps he has drawn the dagger. The end piece of the garment is shown hanging between the thighs. He wears anklets<sup>10</sup>. The

war hero stones can be found at Tallapalli<sup>11</sup> and Boodikote<sup>12</sup> Hooligunda<sup>13</sup> of Challampeta<sup>14</sup> in Haroor Taluqa in Krishnagiri district of Tamilnadu. Bangapet *taluka*, Madivala<sup>15</sup> of Kolar *taluka*, Manigattu-Gulla Halli<sup>16</sup>, Bissanahalli<sup>17</sup>, Keelagani<sup>18</sup> of Mulabagalu *taluka*, Gulaganamode<sup>19</sup>, Muttakapalli<sup>20</sup> of Srinivasapura, Sugutooru<sup>21</sup> of Sidlaghatta *taluka*, HerIbidnooru<sup>22</sup> of GaurIbidnooru *taluka* in Kolar district. Boodidapalle<sup>23</sup>, Bodinayanapalle<sup>24</sup>, Modugulapalle<sup>25</sup>, Kapalle<sup>26</sup> and Karshanapalle<sup>27</sup> of Punganoor *taluka*. Basani konda<sup>28</sup>, Ramanayani Koti<sup>29</sup>, Velligallu<sup>30</sup>, Paddatippa samudram<sup>31</sup>, Chippili<sup>32</sup>, Altippali<sup>33</sup> of Madanapalle *Taluka* in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. Rayakoti<sup>34</sup>, in Krishnagiri *taluka* in Tamilanadu.

The hero stones along with the hero depicted will have a fort depicted, a horse, an elephant and a sword as major reliefs carved on the stone.

## Hero stones with depiction of forts

Fort is the important protective measure for any ruler. The strength of any kingdom depended on the strength of the forts built around the kingdom. The enemy cannot reach the capital easily as he has to overcome and conquer the fort to have an access to reach the capital of that kingdom. The forts are built at strategic places, and it is not so easy for the enemy army to conquer the fort, they have to overcome the resistance of the people inside the fort. A hero stone inscription<sup>35</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, from Vanamaladinne in Punganoor *taluka* of the Chittoor district mentions that one named Mundana's son Neelagandana and Vijayaditya's servant, after occupying Ariyapalli fort died and the hero stone is raised in his memory. Similarly another hero stone<sup>36</sup> of 950 A.D. from Sivara village in Malur *taluka* of Kolar district mentions that, during the reign

of Kannardeva of Rashtrakuta ruling, a war occurred at Melpadi, Sivamara's Gamunda's son Muddayya died while conquering the fort.

## Hero stones depicting horse

Horses played an important role in wars. A good breed of horses was procured by the kings to make the army strong and agile. We have many hero stones depicting horses on them. A hero stone from Karshanapalle<sup>37</sup> of Punganoor *taluka* in Chittoor district depicts that when the hero, from Kaduvatti went to collect the tributary tax from the sub ordinates, during the rule of Vijayaditya of Ganga dynasty, his subordinate servant named as Banatatterasa, while coming on a horse was killed by Gunamurthi and later died. A hero stone from Nagarageri<sup>38</sup> of GaurIbidnuru *taluka* mention that during the Soremadi war between the Nolambas and the Banas, one Cholege Mutharasan was killed while carrying the horse hoards. Similarly, the hero stones at Nukkanahalli<sup>39</sup> of Kolar *taluka* belonging to 850 A.D, Bangavadi<sup>40</sup> village in Mulbagalu *taluka*, heroes riding horses are depicted.

## Elephant foot

Elephants were an important part of the army. The elephants being a big and heavy animal, standing in the front row of the army acted as strong wall against the enemy soldiers. In ancient and medieval periods, the kings took it as a great prestige to have an elephant contingent. But the inscriptions of this area give little information on the use of elephants in the wars. Inscription from Bayyapalli<sup>41</sup> village in Srinivasapura *taluka* of Kolar district mentions that when the Nolambas, Cholas were ruling, Pallavarasa



Devaya Mudalugovan fought against Kaduvetti, and killed a hero riding an elephant. Similarly Hirebidnuru<sup>42</sup> of Gaur*Ibidnuru taluka* mentions that Prithvipati's son Nanniya Ganganalli, a hero, defeated the Nolamba heroes. The Nolambas became angry and killed the enemy and erected an elephant hero stone, and donated Bidanuru as Kalnadu.

## **Swords depiction**

A sword is one of the permanent possessions of a warrior which, he always keeps with him. The sword is considered as divine gift. In the folk stories we are reminded of a magician, who makes us believe that whoever keeps with them a sword they will get all good things. When we make an observation of the sculpture on any hero stones, we find that, one hand will have a bow and arrow and in another hand he will hold a sword, attached to his waist. In inscriptions the sword is mentioned as 'Bala'. A Hero stone inscription<sup>43</sup> from Kalagattur village of Punganuru *taluka* of Chittor district mentions that, when there was an attack on Malenadu, one Kadavatti and Mrudava had burnt Permavi village after its occupation. when this was made known to the Bana king, he attacked that army and, in this skirmish, one hero Ankana Tejamani, fought with a sword and died.

## **Raids**

Man for his survival adopted agriculture as a major occupation, in which he was supported in several ways by domesticated animals. In those days, cattle was considered as wealth, taken care of and protected. As man's nature is to envy others economic growth and development, he tried to possess that wealth by any

means. Hence, man resorted to stealing others cattle wealth. This was the beginning of raids of the villages. In these raids, one group of people tried to raid the others' cattle wealth. Or they tried to protect the cattle. Sometimes, the whole village stood together, and made a collective responsibility, to protect their wealth. Starting in this simple way, the cattle raid, the 'Gograhana' had taken a particular form, in compulsory raiding and attacking other groups' wealth. When one group tries to attack and raid the other group's live stock, it became necessary to defend and in this one has to sacrifice one's life, this is considered as heroism. When we look at the reasons behind these raids, we find that one is political and the second one is theft. Whatever may be the reason, to defend it against cattle raids or the raids as such were considered as a great sacrifice and an act of heroism<sup>44</sup>.

The great Kannada poets, Pampa in his 'Vikramarjuana Vijaya' (8-95), and Ranna in his 'Gadayudha' (3-35), describe how the heroes of Karnataka stood against cattle raids and defended their people and wealth. There is a special place and respect in the society for the people who participated in defending the cattle raids and sacrificed their lives, and the society paid great homage to them, and this we know from Brhama Shiva's work, '*Samaya Parikshi*'<sup>45</sup>. In the village when thieves raid and take away the cattle wealth, people did not think whether, the cattle belonged to them or someone else, but took it as their responsibility in defending the raids.

We find a large number of hero stones in this region, raised in memory of the heroes who sacrificed their lives in defending the, Gograhana or the cattle raid. These cattle raids were made as a beginning for the big war to take place later. We have three hero stones related to cattle raids, from Balla village, Mulabagalu taluka of Kolar district. Among them one belongs to the period 780 A.D<sup>46</sup>, when the Bana King Vidyadhara was ruling, when

Karamaran son of Ranamukhadutta, was carrying the cattle after raiding the village Balla, one named as Uvalan defended the cattle raids, got hurt and later died. Other two inscriptions are also from Balla village, belonging to Nolamba Delipayya, which refer to the defending by the villagers when enemies came to raid the cattle<sup>47</sup>. Hero stones which refer to cattle raids, from Kavattanahalli<sup>48</sup> one, Bairakuru<sup>49</sup> one, Bangavadi<sup>50</sup> one, Ramachandrapura<sup>51</sup> two, Manigattu Gollahalli<sup>52</sup> one, Edururu<sup>53</sup> one, and Tathakallu<sup>54</sup> two. Like this we get hero stones informing about cattle raids.

Similarly, Modutumbihalli<sup>55</sup> village of Kolar *taluka* and district, hero stones, one belonging to the Ganga dynasty and other belonging to Nolamba dynasty, refer to cattle raids. One more hero stone from Haralkunte<sup>56</sup> village of Kolar *taluka* refer, to the cattle raids. In the village Huligunda, in Bangarupet *taluka* of Kolar district, there are five hero stone inscriptions. Among them one belongs to Ganga<sup>57</sup> Marasimha, and three belong to Nolambas<sup>58</sup>, and remaining belongs to Banas<sup>59</sup>. Bana king, ruling Ganga, one Ettunde, defending the cattle raid, lost his life, and elige Devayya, donated four *kolaga* land as *Datti*. In the same *taluka* of Karubeli village, also refers to Hero Stone related to cattle raids<sup>60</sup>. In the Habate village in Srinivasapura *taluka*, of Nolamba Ayyapana deva's peiod, there is one hero stone related to cattle raid. In Tinelli village of Srinivasapura *taluka*, the Hero-stone<sup>61</sup> belongs to the period of Nolambha king. The Hero stone from Kalluru<sup>62</sup> village of the same *taluka* belongs to Ganga *sripurusha*, one here Perankurvar, fought against Mandavuru cattle raid and sacrificed his life. To the hero was donated 'padi toomu' of land as 'Nettapadi'. Here the word *padi* stands for ten and *toomu* is *toomu* in Kannada, which is the measure of land which is still in vogue in Kolar and Bengaluru districts of Karnataka.

In Kolar district Siddlagatta *taluka* in villages of Mallishetti-matha<sup>63</sup>, Bhaktarahalli<sup>64</sup> and Shettihalli<sup>65</sup> we have hero stones from 800 A.D. to 870 A.D. and 880 A.D. and all belong to Nolambas. Where as in Chintamani *taluka* Muddalahalli<sup>66</sup> is of the period 956 A.D. belong to Nolamba Deelipayya. In GowrIbidnuru *taluka* Mudulodu village, hero stones<sup>67</sup> refer to the cattle raids of the Nolamba period.

In Chittoor district in Punganur *taluka*, there are a number of hero stones referring to the cattle raids during Bana period. In the village, Vanamaladinne<sup>68</sup>, Bodinayanipalli<sup>69</sup>, Peddavalgatturu<sup>70</sup>, Modagulapalli<sup>71</sup>, Aradiguntla<sup>72</sup>, Embadi<sup>73</sup>, Veeturu<sup>74</sup>, Kapalli<sup>75</sup>, Kurupalli<sup>76</sup>, Boodidapalli<sup>77</sup> and Karshanapalli<sup>78</sup>. In Chittoor district, from Madanapalle *taluka*, in Chippili one, Mallela one Hero stones was found, which refers to cattle raids. In Vayalpadu *taluka* of Chittoor district, in Kalakada village one Hero stone referring to cattle raids can be found.

### **Hero stones in memory of heroes who fought thieves**

In night times thieves enter the houses or the temples by making holes in the walls to steal valuable things and ornaments. The problem of thieves stealing things is going on since ages. Indian literature gives plenty of reference to the art of stealing. Even in Buddhist literature and in Panini's *sutras* we find mention of thieves<sup>79</sup>. The hero stone inscription<sup>80</sup> found outside the Someshwara temple at Punganooru mentions that when Vijayaditya Prabhumeru was ruling Vadugavali, one Kaduvatti Muttarasa's servant 'Ajjavagara's son Naarana Kundikalli Anakan kandanarayanan', killed nine thieves who tried to enter his house and steal; in this fight the servant was killed.

## Hero stones for tiger hunting

Hunting the wild animal tiger is not only an act of daring but also risking one's life. The tiger sometimes ventured into the villages and killed the cattle; to protect the cattle being eaten by the tiger some villagers risked their life in hunting the tiger. In this hunt, sometimes they get hunted by the tiger. Memorial stones were raised for such heroes who risked their life in hunting the tiger. In Mulabagalu *taluka* one such hero stones inscription<sup>81</sup> was found between the villages Mandikallu and Tavarakere. When a tiger attacked a buffalo calf, a person named as Kambaladana took an oath to kill the tiger and while hunting the tiger he got killed. "A *Puliya kolvanendu pratigna kadidu Jamadondloge kondam Puliya Nayumoda Satta*". The figure of tiger and dog fighting the tiger, instead of the hero was carved on the inscription; this implies that the hero, to become famous, might have carved the figure of the dog, instead of himself. This means he hunted the tiger but was not killed by it, though Louise Rice says that the hero was killed. Similarly we have an inscription<sup>82</sup>, outside the Vadiyappan temple from Chillampatti village Harooru *taluka* of Krishnagiri district of Tamilnadu, when Bana's subordinate Manikyan male Kunjuvan, was ruling, one named Chole Puliyan, died while fighting and killing a tiger<sup>83</sup>.

## Boar (Pig) hunting hero stones

They were generally pigs attack the fields and destroy the crops in the fields. Hero stones are raised in memory of a hero who got hurt and later dies of the wounds. An inscription<sup>84</sup> from

Siddleghatta, *taluka* of Kolar district we find that, one hero who went to hunt a tiger got wounded and later died. Similarly a hero stone inscription<sup>85</sup>, of the period 975A.D. from Mulabagal *taluka* mentions Loga and Dhavala, the two dogs, with whose support one Peri Sandiya killed the pigs. In memory of these two dogs, he raised the memorial stones. The figures of these two dogs are carved on the hero stone. The memorial inscription mentions that Loga had killed 75 pigs and Dhavala had killed 26. The sculpture shows a Loga dog fighting with a pig. The inscription and the figures on the hero stones shows the important role played by the dogs, in pig hunting.

## Religious suicide

If a person for his own welfare or the welfare of the family, or for the welfare of his society, and following his religious beliefs, sacrifices his body, is a tradition which was very popular in our ancient society. Hero stones were raised in memory of such persons who sacrificed their bodies, and inscriptions were also issued. The religious followers of *Shakti Upasakas*, to Devi, cut their limbs and offered it the goddess. In some cases, according to their religious beliefs, they burnt themselves in the fire. This type of hero stones can be seen in Morasanadu. In the Madupatla village, Punganoor *taluka* of Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh, an inscription<sup>86</sup> on the pillar stands in front of the temple of Chaudeshvari goddess. The inscription mentions that when the Bana king was ruling, one named as Jayanagan, in Makara month sacrificed his life. The Sakti follower performed this sacrifice. In Avani, Mulabagalu *taluka* on the western side of the *gundi thirtha*, on the boulder, the inscription<sup>87</sup> gives the information about *agnipravesham* (entering into fire).

## Conclusion

Laying down one's life in protection of such a property was undoubtedly considered as prestige and Honour. It was a great sacrifice for the cause of the society in which one lived. The people also in turn considered it their duty to raise memorials in the hero's honour, recount his heroic deeds and also discharge their responsibility towards those who depended upon the deceased hero. The recorded instances in these memorial erections do not portray a full picture either of contemporary economy or society. But the hero stone records certainly implicit conditions under which war was initiated by cattle-raids which were the order of the day. They record the valour of the heroes who were engaged in cattle-lifting or who died in defence of cattle.

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## A NOTE ON THE ROYAL OFFICIALDOM OF THE LATER PANDYAS AS GLEANED FROM THE ARAGALUR INSCRIPTIONS

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### Abstract

*Royal officials played a vital role in successful governance under the great rulers of India. The literary and inscriptional records throw light on the powers and functions of such officials in ancient Tamil country too. The Pandyan epigraphs in the Kamesvara temple at Aragalur bear testimony to the function of the royal officers of the Later Pandyas. The names of the royal signatories like Kandiyatheva, Adichchan Ganapathi, Chediraya, Kalingaraya etc and their contribution to the Pandya rulers are highlighted in this research article. These names are also found available in the temple epigraphs of various quarters of Tamilnadu. Therefore it is presumed that a host of royal official emulated their kings in signing and attesting the royal orders.*

**Keywords:** Alvan, Devadana, Kamaesvara, KariyaVaradaraja, Kongu, Mandalam, Officialdom, Signatory, Udayan, Valanadu.

### Introduction

The study on the role of royal officials in terms of ministers, officers, military generals, feudatories of the rulers is indispensable

in the study of the ancient history of any region in India. It is so in the history of the Tamil country too. These officials rendered yeoman service to their overlords and it is recorded in the literary and epigraphic sources of Tamilnadu. Such officials dedicated their lives to the successful functioning of the administration under the Pandyas. In this context, this article highlights the role of the royal officials of the later Pandyas as gleaned from the inscriptions at Aragalur temple.

Aragalur is one of the villages of Attur taluk, Salem district. It is situated near Talaivasal, a small town, on the Chennai-Salem (via Veppur) main road. In this village, there are three historic temples of which two are dedicated to Lord Siva (Kamesvara and Cholesvara temples) and one to Lord Vishnu (Kariya Varadaraja Perumal temple). These temples are known for their historical antiquity and possess forty eight epigraphs. Of these forty eight records, eight belong to the later Cholas, seven to the later Pandyas, one to the Hoysala ruler, and thirteen to the Vijayanagar rulers, of Tamilnadu and nineteen un-authored. Most of these records speak of the grants in terms of villages, fertile lands, grains, golds etc., to the temples. These epigraphs also throw light on chiefs or royal officials particularly the signatories of the rulers of these dynasties. These members offered grants or gifts in the name of their overlords or on their own. Sometimes they officiated to attest the royal orders. This article focuses on such royal signatories or officers and their services to the Pandya sovereigns as reflected in the temple epigraphs at Aragalur.

There are signatories like *Vanakovaraiya*, *Vallavaraya*, *Viladaraya*, *Villuppadaraya* of the Chola rulers and *Kandiyatheva*, *Adichchan Ganapathi Alwan*, *Chediraya*, *Kalingaraya*, *Uraiyaakudi Udaiyan*, *Inankudi Udaiyan* and *Periyanattu Velan* in the records of the Pandya rulers in Aragalur. But taking the methodological consideration (time and space) into account some important officials of the Pandyas are taken up for discussion.

## Kandiyatheva

The name *Kandiyatheva* is found in many records along with prefixes like *Raja Kesari Sundarapandya Deva...* (ARE, 150: 1905), *Bhagavathi Alvan...* (SII, Vol.V, no.412), *Alaga Perumal...* (Thinakaran, 1982, p.128.), *Nachchinarkiniya...* (ARE, 192: 1909) *Vijayaraminda ...* (ARE, 309: 1914) etc., The records of the Cholas, Pandyas and Vijayanagar rulers, bearing such names, are sparsely found throughout Tamilnadu. He is, in these records, referred to as a King (Robert Sewell, 1896.) or a Viceroy (Manickam, 2001, p.291.) or a Prince (ARE, 192: 1909 *Vide* Mahalingam, 1986, pp.326&338.) or an Official (Thinakaran, 1982, p.28) or member of a Royal Family (Manickam, 2001, p.292.) or a Feudatory (ARE, 144: 1909) or a signatory. But the *Kandiyatheva* had been the Pandyan viceroy of the Kongu region during the reign of the Kulasekara Pandya of Madurai.

*Kandiyatheva* is identified as a donor in the three Pandyan epigraphs of Kamesvara temple at Aragalur (ARE, 425, 426 & 438: 1913). He must have been a minister/general of one Kulasekara Pandya of Pandyan kingdom. He had instituted two shrines i.e shrines of Kulasekara Avudaiyar and Valvittamangai in the precincts of the Kamesvara temple. *Kandiyatheva* had created these two shrines in the name of his overlord (Kulasekara Pandya) (Rangacharya, 1985, p.1201). These three records bearing his name reflect the grants of *devadana* lands to these shrines by one Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (I or II) little latter. The term '*annalvi*' (Nilakanda Sastri, 1972, p.152.) in these records indicates that the King Kulasekara Pandya was the elder brother of Jatavarman Sundarapandya. If the author of the record is Jatavarman Sundarapandya I, then the shrine must have been instituted in the name of his elder brother Jatavarman Kulasekara Pandya (Sethuraman, 1989, p.124.). This view is supported by two

epigraphs, one at Thirupattur Thiruthalisvara temple where Kandiyatheva had set up the Goddess Tirukamakottamudaiya Nachiyar (ARE, 123: 1908). Further insight into the authorship of the record would help to ascertain the proper ruler of Pandya lineage. However, it is to be assumed that Kandiyatheva was a honorable officer / minister of the Pandyas.

## **Chediraya**

*Chediraya* is yet another royal officer who had signed in one of the temple records at Aragalur (ARE, 419: 1913). Generally the Chedirayas were the chiefs of Maladu *alias* Malainadu and belonged to the Chedi family. They have the most popular feudatories in the Thirukkoilur region under the Chola monarchs as well as the Pandya sovereigns. Therefore, these *rayas* (subordinates) of the Chedi family affixed the name of the reigning Chola king along with their title Chediraya and hence were known as Vikrama Chola Chediraya (ARE, 286:1902), Kulottunga Chola Chediraya (ARE, 290 : 1902), and Rajaraja Chediraya (SII. Vol.vII, no: 1021 *Vide*: Pandarathar, 2008, p.326.) in the epigraphs. Nirandan..., Atkondanayakan... and Thondaiman Perumal Pillai..., were prefixed by them with their names in the inscriptions. Sometimes they ruled independently and on some occasions, they acted as prime ministers and royal officers of both Chola and Pandya monarchs. Inscriptions of such kind are sparsely available in the northern districts of Tamilnadu. The temple epigraphs at Thirukkoilur, Kilur, Amur, Sithalingamadam, Thiruvannamalai and Chidambaram substantiate the above fact. A record at Thiruvannamalai refers to Chedirayan as a Prime Minister of Kulottunga Chola III (ARE, 514: 1902). The Chidambaram temple epigraphs of the Pandya ruler Maravarman Kulasekara I (AD 1268-1308) also refer to Chedirayas. (ARE, 286 & 295: 1913). The Chedirayas also served under Kadava

Koperunjinga of Senthamangalam (Pandarathar, 2008, p.379) and Vijayanagar rulers in Tamilnadu.

After analysing all these inscriptions, it is inferred that the word Chediraya in the Aragalur record indicates the services of the Chedi family to the Pandya dynasty. The record of Aragalur Kamesvara temple refers to the service rendered by one Chediraya during the reign of Jatavarman Sundarapandya II. The record speaks of the appointment of two Brahmin priests by Chediraya for the purpose of reciting Vedas in the temple. Also it mentions the gift of land for the maintenance of these priests. (Krishnan, 2001, p.46). This epigraph is attested by one Kaduvetti who must have also been an officer of the Pandya kings. It may be presumed that this Kaduvetti must have been the Adichchan Ganapathi Alvan alias Kaduvetti of Kappalur. Kappalur is also referred to as Ulagalanda Solanallur in Mutturru-kurram, a sub-division of Pandimandalam.

### **Adichchan Ganapathi Alvan**

One could find reference to Adichchan Ganapathi Alvan in seven inscriptions of the Kamesvara temple (ARE, 419-444:1913) and one inscription of KariyaVaradaraja Perumal temple (ARE, 448: 1913) at Aragalur. An inscription in the Ekambaranatha temple at Tadavur (Krishnan –2001, p 38) bearing his name is another authentic record of the power possessed by him to execute the royal orders in the Arrur Kurram, a sub-division of Miladu *alias* Jananatha Valanadu (Magadai Mandalam). He is also surnamed as Vanadharaya in one of the above records. All these epigraphs mention his attestation in the orders of the Pandya king Jatavarman Sundarapandya (I or II?) of Madurai. Scholars have different opinion about this Jatavarman Sundara Pandya in the records bearing the name of this signatory. Swamikkannu Pillai

pointed out the possibility of two dates AD 1260 or AD 1287 of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II respectively (L.D.S.Pillai,1913), A. Krishnan has attributed three records, referring Adichchan Ganapathi Alvan, of Kamesvara temple and one record of Kariya Varatharaja Perumal temple to Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. All the three records, one is ascribed to Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (Krishnan, 2001, p 38) and the other two records to Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II by this author in his work (*Ibid.*, pp 44 & 46). The king in the record of Varadaraja Perumal temple is also identified as Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II (*Ibid.*, p. 47). But V.Rangacharya has identified one inscription to Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (ARE, 429 : 1913) and one inscription to Jatavarman Sundaraya Pandya in general. (ARE,425:1913). These two scholars were unable to affirm the king properly.

Hence, it could be observed from the above analysis that *Adichchan Ganapathi Alvan*, as a royal signatory of Pandimandalam, had the right to attest the records of Magadai Mandalam too.

## **Urai yakudi Udaiyan**

*Udaiyan* of *Urai yakudi* was another royal signatory of the Pandya kingdom and a reference to him is found in the Aragalur Kamesvara temple inscriptions. The authorship of the record bearing his name is also not confirmed by scholars. A.Krishnan mentions him as Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II (ARE, 426 : 1913) whereas V.Rangacharya, without the signatory, refers to the author of the record as Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (Rangacharya 1985 p.1201), However, it is inferred that Udaiyan of Urai yakudi was a royal signatory of Pandya king. Inankudi Udaiyan (Krishnan, 2001, pp.37 & 38) and Periyannattu Velan



(*Ibid*, p 44) were also the signatories of the Pandyas as gleaned from the Aragalur temple inscriptions.

## **Kalingaraya**

Many temple epigraphs in Tamilnadu speak of the Kalingarayas as ministers / administrative officers not only during the period of the Cholas and Pandyas but also in the reign of the Vijayanagar rulers in Tamilnadu. Inscriptions at Nerumbur Chengalpet Dt. (ARE, 271:1912), Thiruvadi, Cuddalore Dt. (ARE, 40: 1903), Kovilur, Pudukkottai Dt. (ARE, 192: 1908), Sennivanam, Trichy Dt. (Insc S.A. Dt, no.4. p. 203) and Kuruvitturai, Madurai Dt. (ARE, 319&320:1908), bear the name Kalingaraya, emphasizing him as a royal officer. All these records reveal the political and civil rights of the royal officers as they made grants, passed orders and attested the records either at the instance of their superior (king) or themselves. Moreover, it had become conventional among the rulers of various dynasties to honour their officials by conferring the titles like Kalingarayan, Malavarayan, Munayadarayan, Pallavarayan etc., to their thrones. (Thinakaran, 1982, p. 28).

One such reference to a royal officer Kalingaraya is found in the Aragalur Kamesvara temple inscription. (ARE, 424: 1913). This record, issued during the rule of a Pandya king Konerinmeikondan, registers the grant of a village (Alambalam) for instituting a service Kothandaraman sandi, after the king for celebrating his birthday every year. Kothandaraman was the surname of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya III (Nilakanda Sastri, 1972, p.189), All the records, referring to this service, are issued by Konerinmeikondan and none other than this king. An inscription at Tellaru (Thiruvannamalai Dt) (ARE, :1935, no.64,

fn.14) supports the view that Kothandaraman was a surname of Jatavarma Sundara Pandya III and the chief officer Kalingaraya.

Thus, the study of the royal officialdom in the Aragalur inscriptions reflects the sphere of influence of the Pandyas in this area. It also helps to understand the powers and functions of the royal officers of the Pandyas. It is presumed that a host of officials emulated their kings in signing or attesting the royal orders.

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## **TRADE AND COMMERCE DURING THE REDDI PERIOD**

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With the fall of the Kakatiya kingdom in 1323 A.D., the entire Andhra country passed into the hands of the Tughluq emperors of Delhi. The administration of the newly acquired country was totally under the control of the armies of the alien conquerors. Indeed, this was a dark period in the history of the Andhra country as the victorious army subjected the defeated people to untold miseries. The Vilasa grant of Kapayanayaka gives a graphic account of the insults and cruel treatment to which the hapless people were subjected to by the army<sup>1</sup>. The results of the army rule were disastrous. Under these circumstances, trade and commerce too suffered a great set back. Nevertheless, the Andhras decided to save their country from the tyranny of the occupying forces. Consequently, some old generals like Kolani Prataparudradeva and Annamantri who survived Kakatiya Prataparudra came forward to guide the movement that was started to restore peace and order in the society and revive the Hindu rule in the land. The Musunuri Nayakas and the Velama chiefs were successful in liberating the Andhra country from the hands of the Muslim army. Later, the Reddis of Kondavidu (1324 A.D -1430 AD) appeared on the political map during whose period the Andhra country regained its past glory in all respects. During their period both inland and sea-borne trade flourished well.

A country's trade and commerce will be prosperous when the political conditions are normal, but it declines during the time of political convulsions. South India had voluminous internal and external trade from ancient times. But, gradually the overseas trade of South India along with the maritime habits of the people had declined rapidly<sup>2</sup>. The rulers in the medieval period often attempted with success the revival of overseas trade. Both the Kakatiyas and the Reddis adopted measures to improve their ports by inviting foreign traders to come and settle, providing them protection and facilities of free trade.

After the downfall of the Kakatiyas, foreign trade suffered a setback as the port officials began to take undue advantage of their powers. The unsettled political conditions of the country made them corrupt by collecting exorbitant duties and confiscating the cargo of wrecked ships. After restoring normalcy in the land, the Reddis began to ponder as to how to increase the economic prosperity of the people by revising some trade regulations to the traders within and outside the kingdom.

## **Trade Routes and Means of Communication**

One of the main inland routes of this period is one which passed from Ayodhya to Kanchi through Nellore and Warangal<sup>3</sup>. This seems to have been the chief inland route from North to South connecting the towns of Nellore and Warangal with Ayodhya. All important coastal towns must have been connected with Warangal, the capital of the Kakatiyas. Similarly, Nicolo de Conti speaks of another inland route from Vijayanagara to Udayagiri on the east coast which passed through Chandragiri<sup>4</sup> (in the present Chittoor district). It is likely that this route connected Penugonda also, another important fort in the Vijayanagara kingdom.

Kandukuru, Addanki and Kondavidu and other important towns in the Reddi kingdom must have been connected with one another by broad roads. These were the main routes of trade and travel in Andhra. It is also probable that the traders followed the pilgrim routes connecting Srisailam, Ahobilam, Tripurantakam etc. As in the earliest centuries, traders were moving in groups to face the threat of highway robbers during this period also. The big rivers like the Krishna and Godavari as well as the smaller ones like the Penna, Gundlakamma etc served as means of transport. However, naturally, during the rainy season, the movement of traders was much restricted. Inland transport was mainly of pack animals and carts. The chief beasts of burden were oxen, mules and buffaloes.

## Guilds

The insecurity of trade routes and the absence of proper communications were responsible for the unity among the people of the trading classes of the country and the corporate activity evinced by them for purposes of trade and industry<sup>5</sup>. From the earliest times, those who carried on trade in a particular commodity formed into a group or corporate body of their own, which, with the progress of time crystallized into a separate community, either endogamous or exogamous<sup>6</sup>.

The guilds or the corporate bodies were very influential. They had their own rules and regulations called as *samayas*. Different communities trading in different articles were considered, as part and parcel of the merchant community. It is not improbable that the technical expression *Pekkandru* found as part of the names of some merchant guilds may denote the inclusion of different communities involved in trade in that guild. This gains support from the epigraphical references to the *Pekkandru* of various

towns and *sthalas* like *Suravaram Pekkandru*<sup>7</sup>, *Yanamadala-sthala Pekkandru*<sup>8</sup>, and *Nanadesi-Pekkandru*<sup>9</sup>. Hence, it is probably that the *Pekkandru* of a town or *sthala* consisted of merchants in various commodities of that town or *Sthala*. This is in contrast to the guilds like *Teliki-1000* which admitted only oil-mongers. These guilds were very rich and influential. They had their own laws and the kings did not generally interfere with them. Many of the guilds maintained their own armies to protect themselves from highway robbers.

Of all the merchant guilds, the *Teliki-1000* and *Virabalanja Samgas* were very active, influential and prosperous during the Reddi period. Some opined that the *Telikis* consisted of 1000 families. But the significance of the number 1000 is not known. M. Somasekhara Sarma opines that ‘It might represent either the number of families of the *Telikis* which originally immigrated to the south, or the total membership of this corporate body consisting of elders, one from each of the thousand families. It appears to have become conventional to call the guilds ‘the Teliki one thousand’<sup>10</sup>. Each record of this guild refers to it as *Akhila-desala – Teliki – Vevuru*, the Teliki one thousand of all countries. Some of the records of the *Telikis* refer to some items of business they had transacted in the interest of their whole community as one corporate body.

During the Reddi period, the Virabalaja merchant guild is mentioned in some inscriptions<sup>11</sup>. It spread its activities in the whole South India. They are described in the inscriptions as the protectors of the *Virabalanja dharma*. The titles like *Ranaranga Ramulu* (*Rama* in the battle fields) and *Samgrama-bhimulu* (*Bhima* on the battle field) borne by them attest to the warlike spirit of the Virabalanja trademen. The prefix *vira* itself indicates their heroism.

A number of tradesmen united together in a guild called *Chalumulasamasta pekkandru*, and granted a portion of the profits on the sale of several articles, some lands, house sites and gardens to a temple at Tangeda in Palnadu taluk of Guntur district<sup>12</sup>. Some merchants belonging to the Virabalanja community remitted the tax as gift to the temple servants of Draksharama<sup>13</sup>.

The merchant guilds were remitting taxes as they were prosperous as tax-farmers. They paid taxes to the king by paying a stipulated amount periodically and enjoying the rest. So that the income accruing to the state did not suffer. Such persons were called *Sunkaguttakandru*. Some inscriptions including the one recorded during the reign of Kumaragiri Reddi, mentions their charities<sup>14</sup>. One Maraya Setti gave a plot of land to the temple at Eluru<sup>15</sup>. Kavuri Vallabha Setti constructed a tank Govardhana Samudram at Appapuram in Narasaraope taluk, Guntur district and endowed 4 1/2 *puttis* of land to the local temple<sup>16</sup>. One Bhandaru Setti set up a *ghatika-yantra* (water clock) and a bell in the temple of Gopinatha at Rajamahendranagara and granted eight *puttis* of land to four *brahmanas* for performing the service of *ghadiyaropachara* (sounding the bell to indicate the hours of worship in the temple) <sup>17</sup>.

## Sea borne trade

The history of the overseas trade of Andhra has a hoary past. The long coastal line of Andhra extending from Srikakulam in the north to Nellore in the south provided good opportunity for sea-borne trade. Apart from the hazards of nature, the threats of pirates and the harassment by some local chiefs and officials caused to the ships, were the main hindrances for the overseas trade. Many ships carrying various kinds of merchandise used



to call at the Motupalli port. But if a ship made an unscheduled visit to the port, the entire cargo was confiscated by the local ruler and merchants were put to untold hardship. This affected the sea-borne trade. Having realized the importance of overseas trade and the plight of the merchants who brought their commodities by ships, the Kakatiya King Ganapati issued an *abhayasasana*<sup>18</sup>, charter of protection, assuring the foreign merchants of all comforts and reasonable taxation on their merchandise. This charter attests to the keen interest evinced by the King to encourage foreign trade in his kingdom.

The immediate successors of the Kakatiyas ie., the Reddis restored peace and order in the kingdom and paid their attention towards improving trade and commerce by allowing many concessions to the traders, both inland and foreign, as evidenced by the inscriptions and literature. In this respect, the Reddi kings emulated the example of Kakatiya Ganapatideva and renovated the port of Motupalli and restored it to its former glory. Anavota Reddi (1353-1364 A.D) who was responsible for this, issued a charter of concessions to merchants coming to settle and trade at Motupalli and to those tradesmen belonging to other ports and islands coming there on business. He fixed the duties on articles of export and import. This charter of 1358 A.D. was inscribed in both the Tamil and Telugu languages. This charter issued by Anavota Reddi more than century later was similar to the Motupalli edict of Kakatiya Ganapatideva in many ways.<sup>19</sup> This charter is engraved on a pillar in the *mandapa* of the Virabhadraswami temple at Motupalli under the orders of Anavota Reddi's minister Somaya-mantri. To those that had deserted Motupalli but were now willing to return, Anavota promised to give the garden land (*tomta-dharani*), which was in their enjoyment before. He allowed them the liberty to sell their goods brought from other shores to any one at their will and pleasure (*vichchalavidi*) and if they still so desired, they could carry the

goods and leave for other places on business. King Anavota Reddi abolished the taxes called *Apurika-danam* and *Kaddayam* (forced import) of foreign merchants and remitted to the duty on gold and silver completely. He also announced that “It was proclaimed that henceforth no cloth or wood be detained in the ware house and toll on other articles would, under no circumstances, be different from what they were before”. In the inscription, the following rates of duty were fixed.

1. Goods coming from the southern side – on 100 (packages) of import, 3 (packages) and on 100 cloths of export, 2 coins.
2. On goods coming from the north – on 100 packages of import, 5 and on 100 cloths of export, 3 coins.
3. On goods exported to foreign lands, 3 (coins) on 100 cloths and
4. 7 ½ on pearls<sup>20</sup>

From a perusal of the inscription of Anavota Reddi cited above, we can very well imagine the difficulties and harassment to which foreign merchants visiting Motupalli were formerly subjected to the very fact that the inscription containing more details was written in Tamil, shows that many of the foreign merchants visiting that place belonged to the Tamil country. Of all the *Karapatnas* (ports) of the Andhra country, Motupalli was the leading one during this period.

## Imports and Exports

Very significant information about imports and exports during the time of the Reddis comes from a literary source viz. *Haravilasam* of Srinatha which he dedicated to the AvaAvachi Tippaya Setti. The Vaisya family of Avachi Tipayasetti of Nellore, who originally came from Kanchi distinguished

themselves by their services to the state in finance, trade and commerce. Avachi Devaya Setti, the father of Tippayasetti financed Prolaya Vemareddy for building the steps to Srisailam and to Patalaganga. His family was engaged in maritime trade with the countries in the north and the west and particularly with South East Asia<sup>21</sup>. Avachi Tippayasetti assisted by his brothers and sons, supplied rare articles of perfumes for the annual grand spring festivals in the Reddi capital, Kondavidu<sup>22</sup>. Avachi Tippayasetti, contemporary of King Kumaragiri Reddi supplied to the King all the musk, saffron, camphor, civet, rose water, eagle wood, sandal and other aromatic substance required for the great spring festival (*Vasantotsavam*). From *Haravilasam*, we know that he used to open a perfumery emporium at Kondavidu, the capital of the Reddis during the period of festivities.

The titles like *Vasantaraya* and *Karpura Vasantaraya* of Anavema Reddi and Kumaragiri Reddi respectively indicate the profuse use of camphor and other aromatic substances in the *vasantosva* festivals in the Reddi period. Avachi Tippaya was duly crowned by Kumaragiri with royal insignia for his services<sup>23</sup>.

Tippaya Setti had a long acquaintance with the land of Lanks and Simhaladvipa and that he pleased all kings by satisfying them with the commodities brought from Lanks and other islands<sup>24</sup>.

While describing the maritime trade carried on by the Avachi family, one of the richest merchant families of the Reddi period of the poet, Srinatha, enumerates various countries and islands with which the Andhra country of his time had dealings and also the articles they supplied. Somasekhara Sarma has given not only the list of articles of import but also he identified different countries and islands mentioned in the above literary work. The list of articles of import as given by Sri Sarma is as follows<sup>25</sup>.

**Countries and Islands**

**Articles of Import**

Cini	Silk cloths ( <i>chinambarasreni</i> )
Simhala	Elephants and gems ( <i>Sindhurambulu</i> , <i>Ratnamkuramulu</i> )
Panjara	Camphor trees ( <i>Karpurapadapamulu</i> )
Jalanongi	Sprouts of gold ( <i>Bangaru maloka</i> )
Hurumunji	Horses ( <i>Teji harulu</i> )
Gova	Liquid civet ( <i>Sankanadadravamu</i> )
Yampa	Pearls ( <i>Kattanimutyalu</i> )
Bhota	Musk ( <i>Kasturi</i> )
Tarunasiri	Sandal ( <i>Chandana</i> )
Tavayi	Aloe wood ( <i>Agaru</i> )
Gova	Camphor ( <i>Karpura</i> )
Ramana	Rose water ( <i>Himambu</i> ) Musk ( <i>Kasturi</i> ) Pollen of Safron ( <i>Kumkumaraja</i> )

The countries and islands mentioned by Srinatha and identified by Sarma are as follows:

1. **Chini** : This is the ancient name of China.
2. **Simhala**: Simhala Sri Lanka.
3. **Panjara**: This seems to be the Telugu equivalent of the name of a town as in the island of Sumatra, called Pansor, Pansur or Fansur by the medieval Arab and western writers, and 'Barus' by later travelers. And Barus is the name of the principal mart of that 'Commodity (camphor) in Sumatra, and the word has been affixed by traders to discriminate it from the camphor of Japan'.

(There is a town called Banjor Massion in Borneo which also produces camphor (Vide Milburn's Oriental Commerce Vol. II, p.308). The Panjara mentioned in the Telugu work Haravilasamu might be identical with either of these two towns (Pansor or Banjar masin).

4. **Jalanongi:** This place which supplied *bangarumolaka* which literally means 'sprout of gold, cannot be definitely identified.
5. **Hurumunji:** This is the same as Hurumuz or Ormuz in Persia. This town is situated on the small island of Jerun in the straits still known on our maps as the Straits of Ormuz.
6. **Gova:** This is the modern Goa, the famous sea-port on the west coast of India.
7. **Yampa (Yapa):** Yapa from which pearls were imported, is Yalapana, that is, Jaffna, a province in the north of Ceylon.
8. **Bhota:** This is the ancient name of Bhotan which has been famous for musk.
9. **Tarunasiri:** This is mentioned among a group of places, the remaining being Tarayi, Gova, Ramana and others, which supplied sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose water, musk and pollen of saffron. As all these places, like the articles of import, are mentioned collectively, it is not possible to mark out the particular place which supplied each of the above articles.
10. **Tavayi:** The next place in the group referred to before is Tavayi, the modern Tavoy. It is the name of a city situated on a river of the same name falling into the Gulf of Martaban.
11. **Ramana:** It is not easy to identify Ramana as there is more than one on the place bearing this name in Indo-China and the Archipelago. There is in the first place Ramanadesa, which is said to correspond to Pegu and Arakan.

The above is a survey of the status of trade during the rule of the Reddi Kings. It bears repetition to emphasise that the Reddi Kings, after restoring peace and order in the country paid great

attention to revive trade by granting benevolent concessions to the merchants, particularly maritime traders and consolidated the economic condition to a great extent.

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# **MODERN HISTORY**

**SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
TAMIZHAGAM FROM THE PRIVATE  
LETTERS OF LOUIS NOEL DE BOURZES,  
S.J., (1673 - 1735)**

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**A Profile of Louis – Noel de Bourzes**

Louis-Noel de Bourzes was born at Sablieres in the southern Ardeche region of France on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1673<sup>1</sup>. He had many siblings, one of his brothers was a Jesuit and served in the south of France. He imbibed all the qualities and virtues which his contemporaries so much admired in him from his holy mother and father. His father must have died when he was in France. Bourzes mentions only the death of his mother in one of his letters dated 10<sup>th</sup> January 1721. He had done his studies at the Jesuit school in Lyon and then joined the Society of Jesus in Paris. His exemplary character moved the Jesuit superiors. They admitted him as an exceptional case into their Society on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1689 in Paris. He worked as Professor of Latin, humanities and rhetoric<sup>2</sup>. He did his theological studies in Paris and was ordained a priest. Etienne Souciet, SJ, was his Professor of Theology and who later became a friend and correspondent for the rest of his life. It was around this time that the great French dictionaries were being published in Paris along with the

Dictionary of the Academie Française. The Jesuits also brought out the first edition of their famous three-volume French dictionary at that time. Etienne Souciet must have been one of the collaborators. Sommervogel mentions that Souciet had the main part in the 1721 edition of the Jesuit dictionary. Bourzes had lent a helping hand to his seniors in the first edition, and gathered some experience in the field.

Bourzes took his last vows in Portugal and became a professed father<sup>3</sup>. He returned to Goa at the end of 1707. The Tonking mission had been closed by then and Bourzes was attached to the Malabar Province.

Bourzes stayed in the Malabar Coast and learnt Tamil from 1708 to 1710. It is at this time that he composed the Latin-Tamil dictionary for his own use. In 1710, he entered the Madurai mission and worked at Kamanayakanpatti as parish priest till 1713. It is there he received C.J. Beschi (also known as Veeramamuniver) who became his admirer and life-long friend. After serving at Ayyampatti in 1714, he went to Pondicherry to nurse his illness. In that year, that he became the Superior of the Madurai mission and shifted his residence to Vadugarpatti, a central place near Ariyalur, so that he could be easily contacted by his Jesuit companions. He freed his Jesuit colleague, Fr. Machado from the prison in Tanjore without yielding to the pressure of paying a ransom, due to the influence of a French doctor, Saint-Hilaire, in Vellore who was the personal physician of the Nawab. He worked as the parish priest in Madurai from 1718 to 1720. He was appointed Rector at the college of Ambalakat but as the Dutch did not like the presence of a Frenchman (France was then at war with Holland), he could not stay there. He was transferred and became the Rector of Manapad in 1722 and stayed in the coastal areas till his death in Manapad on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1735.

Apart from the annual letters which Bourzes was asked to write in the name of the provincial superior to the Jesuit general in Rome, four letters sent by him to the countess of Soude, and about thirty letters to different persons have been preserved in the archives of Rome and Paris and their copies kept in Shembaganur, Kodaikanal.

### **Letters to Countess of Soude**

The countess of Soude was a friend of Bourzes mother; the Bourzes boys were her pets<sup>4</sup> and she remained a benefactress of the missionary L.N. Bourzes till her death in 1719<sup>5</sup>. She lived at Chaloâlons-sur-Marne, a town known today as Chalons-en-Champagne with 51,000 inhabitants, situated at 167 kms to the east of Paris. The Cathedral of this city dates from the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>.

#### **i) The letter dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 1710:**

In this letter written to the countess of Soude, Bourzes thanks her for the beautiful presents and the letters she had kindly sent to him. He says that he has taken charge of the residence of Kamanayakanpatti in the south of Tamilnadu. Fr. Bernard, another Jesuit missionary received him warmly. He had suffered persecution and lost his teeth due to the beatings of his enemies. He initiated Bourzes to the customs and manners of the mission. In 1709, famine ravaged the Tamil country. "Several persons died of hunger, several have been sold as slaves, and several have fled to other regions"...

### **Habitual Life of the people**

Bourzes reports that there was little safety in the country and that people were unable to get boxes and trunks taken from

one place to another fearing pillage: He briefed something on the form of the government. Most of the Indian kings have an insatiable hunger to amass (wealth) not for meeting the government's regular expenses nor for their pleasures nor for leaving them to their successors but to bury (their wealth) in such a way that no one can ever take out these treasures. For (the safety of the buried wealth), they make use of black magic so that the devil may take possession of these treasures and guard them." Bourzes writes that even human sacrifices were made to demons requesting them to protect the buried treasures<sup>7</sup>.

"It is also said that those who thus bury their treasures make human sacrifices to the devil, so that he takes possession of their gold and never allows it to pass into other hands. Nevertheless, there are many people who are in search of those treasures and to discover them they offer to the devil other sacrifices of children and pregnant women. Some claims that such means brought them success, others, frightened by ghosts who appeared to them, or by the blows they received, gave up their design. Others again were punished for their greed by a sudden and violent death".

## **Political Conditions**

Bourzes continues to describe the political conditions in Tamilnadu as follows:

"This mad and abominable passion to accumulate treasures for such a bad use (as to bury them) obliges the kings to hand over the provinces and governments to those who offer the highest (sum) not caring if to compensate their payments, the buyers commit injustices or (cause) humiliations to people. If the prince ever punishes their excesses (in wrong doings), they are

only impelled by the same greed and for snatching from them more than what they had promised. They are sometimes highly tortured to the point of death. It is easy to imagine from this (fact) what the governors and the superintendents of provinces will do. These (persons) take a lot of trouble to see how they can get money to pay what they promised so that they may avoid humiliations and for enjoying a life of pleasure. Justice is sold, the farmer is plundered.” Bourzes notes also that the missionaries are also tortured by (making) calumnies so that some reasons could be found for imposing fines on them. This greed of the rulers mingled with hatred for Christianity is a continuous and permanent cause of the persecution of the missionaries.

## **ii) The Letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> September 1713:**

This letter of Bourzes to the countess of Soude reveals that she sent him frequent letters as a token of her affection and generosity “for they are always accompanied with presents and alms”<sup>8</sup> The counters had made a foundation so that the Madurai mission was to receive help even after her death Bourzes thanks her sincerely for all that.

People came regularly bringing and taking back men and material from France, small thefts are more detested, and brigandage so easily left unpunished. They exercise the profession of high way robbers and unless peasants are extremely watchful, especially during night, their oxen and their cows may be lifted but even their watchfulness does not suffice to keep away robbers. It was thought that they might be checked if in all the villages night watchmen, maintained and paid by the villagers were appointed, but the remedy soon proved worse than the evil

it was meant to suppress, for the guards are greater robbers than the Kallers themselves.

The King and the great lords amass great wealth by their extortions, but what use do they make of their treasures? The late King of Tanjore buried thus many millions and it is said that at that grave, or monument to his avarice, four lamps are constantly kept burning to preserve the memory of such a memorable deed. Bourzes records that possessing wealth was risky. The rulers and the robbers would divest the owners of their wealth and fortune and may even kill them. That was another reason for people burying their wealth under the earth: "Generally speaking, it is a crime for a man to be rich; there is no accusation more readily believed, nor is there a crime more severely punished. The accused is immediately put to torture to force him to reveal the place where he has hidden his money"<sup>9</sup>.

One result of this is that those who are rich conceal the fact with great care, and often in spite of their great wealth, they are not better lodged, nor better dressed, nor better fed than the most destitute. Another consequence is that though here are countless people who are truly poor there are also many who without being poor effect to appear so. The erudite missionary then writes about the caste system in India.

The countess of Soude had asked Father Bourzes what rank the Europeans held in India. The missionary candidly states that the local population called Europeans *Franquis* and considered them as despicable. Bourzes refers to the bad reputation of Europeans among Indians mainly because they consumed alcoholic drinks, were not following rules of self-purification and ate beef a taboo among Indians of high caste.

## Judicial Administration

As for the name “Franquis,” it was popularized by the Muslims whose ancestors had fought the crusades with the Europeans led by Frankish kings. For the Muslims at that epoch, any Europeans were “Frenqui” and the usage stuck<sup>10</sup>. Here, as in Europe, write Bourzes, some serve the Prince, others cultivate their land, we have traders, artists, mechanics, and so on. We do not see in India, financiers, or men of law. The administration of justice, the levying of taxes and the military government were all in the hands of the provincial governors. Justice was administered very peacefully. Affairs of small importance were settled in the village, each one pleading his own cause, and the chief men acting as judges. Appeals from their sentences were very rare especially if the judges were, as is almost always the case, the heads of the castes. If an appeal was made to the Governor, the sentence was generally confirmed, and both the parties fined. Presents offered to the judges may incline the scale on one side, but when they are bribed by both sides the balance restored.

Criminal justice was exercised without much severity. He said about that when one is rich, he is always guilty. He has described in the same way, and without falling into any contradiction, that when one is rich he is always innocent. Tax collection is the duty of Governors, and as the revenue was derived from the land, it is they who assess its value and tax it as they please, they were not wanting in expedients and chicanery to plunder the poor labourer, now under a pretext, now under another. So much so that sometimes the farmer drew no profit from all his labours, the harvest on which he founded all his expectations passing into other hands. In addition to taxes, the people had to pay other duties, such as custom duties, and those payments were exacted with great region and injustice.



## **Military administration**

He was not particularly well informed regarding military administration, but he says that it was conducted rather peacefully. From time to time the Governors raised troops according to their needs. At a time the king would send out an army, but generally it was only to subdue some lord, who refused to pay tribute, or to chastise those who were guilty of crying injustices. Their forts were besieged, the canon was brought into play, but all this was done with moderation and there was little bloodshed on either side. If the culprit had got money and was willing to come to a reasonable compromise, he is given favorable terms. Moreover, he could always compensate himself with fresh exactions from the people. They are hereditary, while the governor and other great officials can be dismissed at the king's pleasure. A governor's term of office may not last more than a few days, but in that short time, if he was clever, he would manage to enrich himself. Those governors were often put to the questions to force them to make restitution. After that, whatever be the vexations they were guilty of, they may be restored to office.

## **Position of Women**

Concerning women, they are not so much the mates as the slaves of their husbands. It was usual for the husband to address his wife in the second person of the singular, while his wife never spoke to or about, her husband except in the most respectful terms. It is pointed out that whether it is out of respect or for some other reasons, that the wife could never utter the name of her husband; she must, on such occasions, use periphrases and circumlocutions, which are most amusing. People here were not astonished to see a husband beating or

abusing his wife. The wife is never admitted to her husband's table. We scarcely dare say that in Europe things were much better. The wife saved her husband as if she were his slave and her children as if she were their maid-servant. Hence, it happens that the children accustomed themselves gradually to look upon her as such, they addressed her in the second person singular, and they treated her with contempt, and sometimes beat her.

Moreover, the mother-in-law was a hard mistress to her daughter-in-law; she readily passed on to her all the work in the house, and when she ordered her about, it was always in a harsh and imperious manner. However, wives managed to bring their husbands to reason, by running away from home or returning to their parents, who never fail to side with her. Then insults and imprecations, filthy words, the coarsest invectives were bandied about without restraint, for their language is very rich in such terms. The wife would not return to her husband's house until he, or his parents come to fetch her, and she often caused them to undertake many useless journeys. When she has yielded to her husband's prayers, a banquet is given to the husband; he is reconciled with his wife, and accompanied him back to his house.

The women were busy with household duties; they fetched water, gathered firewood, pounded the rice, attended to the kitchen, kept the house and the court-yard clean, extracted oil and do other things of the same nature. The oil is extracted from the fruit of a shrub called by some of our botanists "*Palma Christi*". The fruit was cooked lightly, exposed to the sun during two or three days, then it was pounded till it was reduced to a paste. Then pouring two measures of water for two measures of paste, it was diluted and put to boil. When the oil came to the surface, it is removed with a spoon or by tipping the vessel.

The sediment was next washed in water and some oil may still be obtained.

The manner in which they pounded rice was somewhat special. Rice as you know is at first enveloped in a rough and hard husk like barley. At this stage, it is called *nellu*; after being boiled lightly in water and dried in the sun, it was pounded several times. The first pounding rids it of its rough skin, the second pounding removes the light red tegument, and then the rice comes out more or less white according to species of *nellu* to which it belongs, for there are more than thirty kinds. When it has been thus pounded, it takes the name of *arisi*. Two measures of good *nellu* give a measure of *arisi*. It does not come out broken as the rice of Europe, but fine and entire.

The time which women could spare from their household work was employed in spinning this was their usual occupation. They did not do needle work; they do not even know how to use the needle. In certain castes, women were not allowed to spin, in other cases, they were only making baskets or mats, and they are not allowed to pound rice. In other castes again, they were not allowed to go and fetch water; this being the work of a slave or of husband. In general, it was not considered proper for women to learn how to read and write. This occupation was left to the girls who served in the temples, so that they may sing the praises of the devil, and the lascivious songs which are resounding in those pagodas.”

## Food habits

Bourzes then describes the food the Tamils eat. Water was their usual drink, not that intoxicating liquors were not available, but they were used only by the scum of the population, and

they were held in horror by respectable people. The chief of that liquor is that which flows from the branches of the palmyra tree into vessels which were tied to it to receive its sap. With a certain bark and the rough sugar of the palm tree, they made also a kind of brandy which will be similar as European brandy. It is not found everywhere, especially in Marava, where well and spring water was generally brackish.

## **Fruits and Vegetables**

The countess of Soude had put forth a question on which kinds of fruits and animals were grown in Tamilnadu. Bourzes goes on to answer this. He says he has not such abundance of fruit trees. Among the European fruits, only a few sour citrus fruits were found. Oranges were not available. People make pickles out of the few fruits plucked which they were given eat with rice. Figs, mangoes, dates, guavas and grapes were the fruits that have seen.

“As for vegetables, the soil produces pumpkins of several kinds, cucumbers and various herbs special to the country. Sorrel is unknown, but is replaced by tamarind; onions are found, but cabbages, turnips, lettuces are foreign vegetables which grow very well when they are cultivated. As we are travelling most of the time, and have more important things to do, we have neither the will nor the desire to do gardening. Moreover the soil being very dry, it would be necessary to maintain a gardener with no other occupation than cultivating and watering incessantly this burning soil, and the maintenance of a Catechist is far more necessary. There was as much, and even more, difference between the trees of India and those of Europe, as there was between the inhabitants of the two countries”.

## **Animals and Insects**

Bourzes then writes about the animals of the Tamil region: He lists elephants, tigers, wolves, monkeys, stags, boars, “hares or rabbits. Everyone was allowed to hunt but the game was left severely alone and it was not pursued with the same passion as in Europe. Bourzes compares the way horses are raised and fed in Europe and in India. Oxen are here very useful; a man’s wealth was measured by the number of oxen he had. They were used to plow and to draw carts; most of them had a large hump on the back of the neck. To harness them, a cord was passed round their necks and tied to a cross pole which rests on the necks of the two oxen, and to that cross pole was attached the pole of the cart.

The ploughs here had no wheels, and the iron which served as coulter was so narrow that it merely scratched the soil where millet was to be sown. Rice required more labour and care; rice fields were always near tanks and these were dug to keep rain water for irrigation. There were nearly as many tanks as there are villages. The carts are not better than the ploughs. On the other hand, many chariots are well built. The wheels which were very small are made of stout planks and joined one to the other. They had no iron rim, or any axle except a whole right in the middle of that combination of heavy planks. The body of the chariot was very high and much adorned with carvings and very indecent sculptures. Those chariots were only used to carry the idols in triumph when it was taken with great pomp through the streets. Coaches were unknown here; (rich people) are carried about in palanquin, but they could do so without the king’s permission.

It was a crime deserving of capital punishment to kill an ox, a cow, or a buffalo. Less than two years ago, two or three persons of the same family were put to death, because they were guilty of such a crime. In one of the French colonies in America, it was formerly forbidden under pain of death to kill oxen. The reason was to help the multiplication of the species. It is probable that the same political reason induced the Indians to pass such severe prohibitions. Oxen were nowhere more necessary than in this country, but they multiplied very slowly; they were liable to frequent maladies, and epidemics. The most usual remedy was to cauterize them. On the other hand, Indians had as much horror for the flesh of those animals, as Europeans for horse flesh. It is only people of the lowest castes who dared to eat bovine flesh when the animal died a natural death. Among wild dogs, there was one which looks like a fox. The Indians called it *nari* and the Portuguese *adiba*.

Concerning serpents, we have plenty of them; some are so venomous that a person bitten by them falls dead at the eighth step he takes, that is why it is called "*eight step serpent*". There is another whom the Portuguese call Cobra de capello, which does not mean a serpent "with a hat" as some Europeans believe, but "serpent with a hood". It is so called because when it is angry, it raises half of its body and crawls only on its tail. Then the neck broadens like a hood on which appear three black stains, which according to Indians make it appear graceful. On account of this, it has been called the beautiful or good serpent, for the Tamil term they use means both beautiful and good. Among other insects, there are green flies which glitter during the night. They frequent damp places and when there are many and the night is dark, it is a rather pleasant sight to see those little flying stars<sup>11</sup>.

## **Dress and Ornaments**

The Countess was very curious to know in detail, how Bourzes and the other missionaries and the people dressed. Bourzes describes it<sup>12</sup> that as for Indian fashions; they were always the same, for these people rarely change their habits especially in matters of dress. I have already said that the common people are not very particular in that respect. They wrap round the body a simple cotton cloth, and it often happens that the poor cannot even afford a bit of cloth to cover themselves. The rich dress decently enough according to their taste and in accordance with the nature of the climate, which is very hot. They put on a white cotton robe of very fine and transparent linen, which reaches down to the heels. They wear breeches and stockings all of a piece down the ankles. Their footgear consists in pumps of embroidered red leather. Their ear rings are gold or of pearls, their belts are of silk embroidered with gold, while their bracelets are of silver, their necklaces consist of gold chains or a sort of garland with gold grains. Ladies dress more or less in the same way; they differ from men only in the manner of adorning their heads. Before ending this long letter to the countess, Bourzes qualifies his descriptions in the following words: We see from the descriptions Bourzes makes of the people, animals and things he has observed around him, the meticulousness and the eruditeness of this scholarly Jesuit. Precious information on the political and social conditions of Tamilnadu, his adopted country, has been recorded by him.

### **Letter of 28<sup>th</sup> January 1715**

Bourzes has written this letter to the Countess from Vadugarpatti, north of Srirangam. J. Vinson has published this letter in the

*Revue de Linguistique*, in 1899<sup>13</sup>. Bourzes says that he had sent her a letter through Fr. Martin, who had come to France, to discuss with the Jesuit superiors on the affairs and needs of the Carnatic and Madurai missions. He has sent her along with this letter, also relics of St. Francis Xavier obtained from Goa and square stones which were deemed in India to facilitate child birth, and used as medicine against stones in the stomach and a few other sicknesses. He requests her to show Fr. Martin the same affection and confidence as she does to him, when he would visit her. Bourzes then informs her that he has been made the Superior of the Madura mission.

He then describes the imprisonment and the sufferings of Fr. Constantius Beschi (known as Veeramamunivar) and his miraculous escape from being killed and four persecutions against the missionaries and Christians and the pillage and destruction of their properties. Bourzes states that the Dutch had an ugly little fort at Tuticorin at that time. The three sides of the Tamilnadu and the eastern coastal regions get the north-eastern monsoon between October and December. Much pioneering work was done on the Southern coast of India of St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples St. Francis Xavier had also converted of the Parava (fishermen) to Christianity. Speaking of the suffering inflicted on Christians by Brahmins and some Muslim chiefs, Bourzes writes that by nature, the people were extremely timid.

He has written only about the persecution undergone by the missionaries, the catechists and Christian converts.

The above mentioned private letters of Bourzes provide lots of information on the society, caste system, dress, food habits of Tamilagam and the agriculture pattern adopted by them etc.



Hence, these letters are very useful to understand the history of 18<sup>th</sup> century Tamilagam in its proper historical perspective. But, he was written only about the persecution undergone by the missioneries, the catechists and Christians converts.

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2. Julian Vinson gives these details on Bourzes, see his article on “Le Pere L.-N de Bourzes” in *Revue de Linguistique at the Philologie compareie* vol 32, 15-4- 1899, Paris,J. Maisonaeuve, p.108.
3. Julien Vinson, *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie Comparae* Tone xxxii, 15 avril 1899, Paris
4. Marlet, Philippe (Ed.) *Le Petit Larousse Illustre*, Paris, Hachette, 2004, p.1263.
5. Bourzes writes on this subject again in this letter to the countess dated 21<sup>st</sup> December 1713: It is also said that those who thus bury their treasures make human sacrifices to the devil, so that he takes possession of their gold and never allow it to pass into other hands. Nevertheless, there are many people who are in search of those treasures and to discover them they offer to the devil other sacrifices of children and pregnant women. Some claims that such means brought them success, others, frightened by ghosts who appeared to them, or by the blows they received, gave up their design. Others again were punished for their greed by a sudden and violent death.
6. François Martin had established the colony of Pondicherry in 1674 and French ships came there regularly bringing and taking back men and material from France.

7. See the record of François Martin, *Memoires* 3 vols, Paris, Societe de l'. *Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, 1931-34.
8. We are reminded of the Tamil Poet Avvaiyar who lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century and has composed a singular quatrain wondering why people amass wealth and then bury it.  
“O human beings, listen to me!  
You slog so much to amass huge wealth.  
After accumulating it, you bury it under the earth.  
When your soul leaves the body that enshrines it,  
Tell me, you fools, who is going to enjoy it?”
9. L.N. de Bourzes, S.J., described the social condition in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For five hundred years, things had not changed. Arasu, *Song of Avvaiyar*, 22 Poem, Gangai Book Centre, Chennai, 1974, P.144.
10. See S. Rajamanickam, SJ, *The First Oriental Scholar* Tirunelveli, De Nobili Research Institute, 1972 pp. 61, 63, 74.
11. See A. Sauliere S.J., and Rajamanikkam S.J., *His star in the East*, Op. cit, p.43. See also the article of G.F. Xavier Raj in Arulanandam, S.J., (ed.) *Caritas*, Dindigul, St. Marys Press, July 2010, pp. 59-63.
12. Bourzes letter to the Countess of Soude written on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1710, from Kamanayakanpatti, in the south of Tamilnadu.
13. Bourzes refers to the torrential rains of the south-west monsoon over the western part of India lined by the Western Ghats (chain of mountains) between June and September every year.  
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## **KANCHIPURAM HOUSES : DESIGNED BY OCCUPATION**

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The old houses are unique in the attention that has been paid to the most private of spaces. The traditional housing style was not just an architectural style, but reflected a way of life, being based on the cultural and social needs of individuals as well as the family and trade. In some areas of Kanchipuram, a different and unique style of architecture may be found based on occupation. For the purpose of the survey, four types of houses, namely Brahmin, farmers, traders, and fishermen were taken up. The survey also studied how the various occupations of the inhabitants impacted the architectural styles of the buildings which they inhabited. Even now in the great city of Kanchipuram, some people live in traditional houses. These old houses are described in the early *Cankam* literature, although the oldest extant houses are two to four hundred years old. This is not surprising in a city that has existed for more than two thousand years.

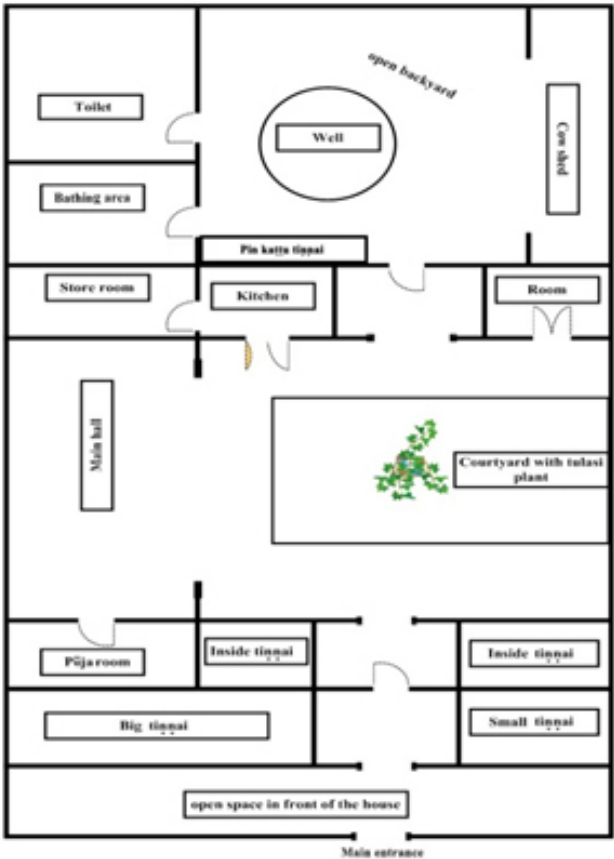
The very basis of their existence depended upon the religious life of the people and the trade and commerce it generated. A further development was the growth of political power and the establishment of powerful kingdoms. The impact of urban culture has changed many of our traditional cultural activities.

## Brahmana Homes

According to the *Perumpanarrupadai*, a Tamil work of about the 3rd century CE, the city of Kanchipuram had, at its centre, the Brahmana houses. These homes had windows from where the smoke from the sacrificial fire could escape. They kept their houses very clean by mopping the floor with cow-dung. Parrots loved to stay in such comfortable bright homes and “imitated the chanting of the Vedas”<sup>1</sup>. Some houses are still maintained by the simple plan of the rectangular dwelling with a courtyard. Some houses have adapted to modern architectural styles. The houses in the area with the Kanchipuram temple as the focal point are perhaps some of the best known examples of the *agraharam*, which are found in the town even today.

The *agraharam* settlements of today have undergone great transformation<sup>2</sup>. Many youngsters from the *agraharams* have migrated in search of better employment opportunities elsewhere. The *agraharam* houses are now occupied by members of other castes. The open *tiGGalai* in front of the *agraharam houses* is closed and the once active spaces of interaction and heated Vedic discussion have been lost forever.

After independence, most of the great temples came under the control of the new government and thus the traditional system of management was changed. With this many of the Brahmanas who were traditionally associated with the temple lost their livelihood. This made them look for alternative ways of living. Many of the *agraharams* began to run catering services, supplying homemade vegetarian food. A few of them were even converted into hotels; the *tinnai* was converted into shops.



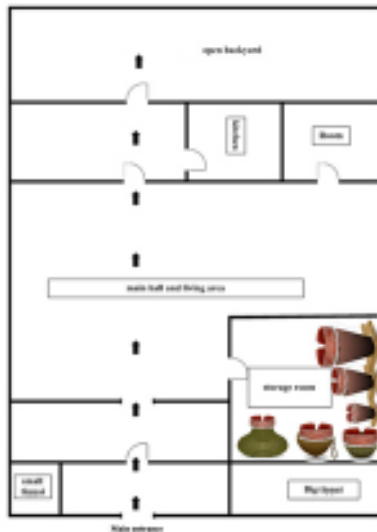
**Agraharam House plan**

**Farmers Homes**

According to the *Perumpanarruppalai*, the houses of the peasants were modest in design and shape, with roofs of dark-coloured millet straw which the peasant raised in his fields. These modest dwellings had courtyards or open spaces in the middle

of which a mortar was fixed in the ground. The grain storages were built so high that they had to be reached by a ladder, and were preserved from generation to generation. Grain was poured into them from above. The rows of high granaries were filled with grain, pulses and cereals. This was an important element in the economy and in the vocation of an essentially agricultural people<sup>3</sup>. When there was no work to do in the fields, the plough, the wheels of carts and the plough share were kept in a corner of the shed. The walls of the sheds were discoloured by smoke, as they were also used as kitchens<sup>4</sup>.

Agriculture had essentially remained the bedrock of the prosperity of kingdoms throughout the southern peninsula. However, when the optimum yield from agriculture was reached and enough surplus became available the impetus for



**Farmers house plan**

commerce began in earnest and out of that development came urbanisation<sup>5</sup>.

The house is eminently suited to the agrarian life style of the community, the lower floor housing the cattle and used for the storage of grain. Some houses have a separate room for the storage of crops, which are stored in big mud pots known as *adukku-p-panai*. The purpose of storing the grain in terracotta mud pots is that mud has the capacity of absorbing heat and the tiny pores in the mud pots allow for ventilation. The storage rooms are designed to allow only partial sunlight to enter. A window is also provided for fresh air to circulate.

Some houses have a *maccu* facility. A *maccu* or loft for the storage of paddy crowns the central hall. The ceiling is fixed with a wooden plank. Thus, a space is created between the wooden plank and the ceiling to store paddy. The loft is approximately six feet in height and ten feet in length. It has a small entrance with a small door which is used for pouring the paddy inside the *maccu*. In summer, the *maccu* forms a barrier between the hot roof and the hall, which is the living area, thus cooling it during the hot days and nights. In some houses the *maccu* is no longer used except as a storage place for unused items. The roof absorbs the heat and thus keeps the place cool for the storage of paddy. The planners of these houses made full use of the natural factors such as sunlight and fresh breeze, and designed the houses to reap the maximum benefits from nature<sup>6</sup>.

Most farmers still follow the traditional house styles in the villages of Kanchipuram. During a survey of farmers' houses, different plans were found in the interior villages, although many houses still have the simple plan of the rectangular dwelling with

a courtyard. Most of the farmers' houses have a vast open space in front as well as at the back. In the past, this open place was used for threshing operations. The threshing floor is also used for the separation of the grains from the plant and for cleaning them. After the threshing operations, some parts are removed, leaving the grains on the floor. Sometimes, the residents spread grains on the highways and junctions for threshing.

### Traders' Homes

The houses of the traders' were large and close to each other and very spacious. The building was so tall that it almost reached the sky<sup>7</sup>. Multi storied houses were constructed with many floors with windows. Thus, a number of wide windows admitted plenty of light and air into the high buildings<sup>8</sup>.



**Traders house plan**



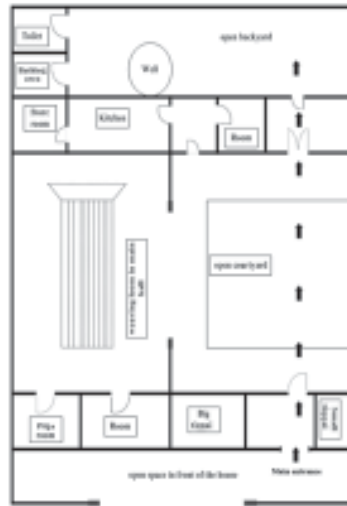
Even now the traders' houses of Kanchipuram are mostly double storied houses. The traditional house evolved over generations based on family customs and needs. This form of traditional house has emerged as a combination of the economic, social, and climatic conditions of the region. Gradually, over a period of time, renovation work has been done and many changes have occurred. The open spaces have been rented out to shops. The kitchens have been modernised and the space available in the backyard has been judiciously used to add additional rooms. Some of the house owners have migrated to Chennai in search of better opportunities. In those cases, a part of the house is rented in order to ensure additional income. In the case of some houses, the dilapidated structures have been demolished and modern dwellings constructed in their place.

## Weavers' Homes

Weavers have always occupied a very important place in society since very early times, as clothing is one of the basic needs of man. Cotton and silk weaving in Kanchipuram is an ancient tradition. Weavers' Street is clearly mentioned as *aruvaayar maruku* in *Manimekalai*<sup>9</sup>. The word *aruvaayar* means weavers<sup>10</sup>. The word *maruku* means street<sup>11</sup>. Even now an amazing feature of the life of the silk weavers is how domestic life goes on around the central feature in the middle of the living space, a five to six meter long silk loom even while the work of weaving continues apace.

The work areas of weavers are created in the front of the house, so as to have better control over the activities taking place outside. *Tinnais* are shops situated in front according to their requirements. The rear side is used for the domestic requirements and hence the house activities can take place independently

without disturbance to the work areas. This can be constructed depending on the size of the house.



### Weavers house plan

The self employed artisans organised on a decentralised basis or, wherever possible, on a co-operative basis in non-exploitative nature, strengthen democracy and socialism at grass roots. They diversify the rural economy and ensure balanced development.

### Fishermen's Huts

The fishermen's huts were built with a low roof; the rafters were built with forest wood and bamboo. The word *munril* means the fort of the house. In general, there would always be some open space in front of every house. The fishermen, along with their families, used to have their meals in the courtyard<sup>12</sup>. The

*pari*<sup>13</sup> or the basket for catching the fish would be kept in the corner of the courtyard. During the day, the fishing nets would be dried on the white sands<sup>14</sup>.

Fishing has always been one of the primary occupations for the people of Kanchi<sup>15</sup>. Kanchipuram district is rich in fishing resources. Kovalam, Saluvakuppam and Mahaballipuram are some of the places where the people practice this profession. The fishermen live in small huts with no facilities inside. There are two partitions: one is the living area and other the kitchen. Inside the kitchen the fishermen store lots of dry fish which forms their staple diet. The fish are dried outside the huts. Most of the fishermen do their cooking outside their huts. Fishing nets and fishing baskets are stored outside the huts. Some of the huts are thatched with coconut leaves and palm leaves. A few huts are covered by plastic polythene covers. For their drinking water needs, the fishermen depend upon pits dug in the sand. The boats are parked casually along the coast.

It may be said that the architectural designs of the dwelling houses of Kanchipuram go back in time to the *Cankam* age. The interior spaces were fully utilised for occupational purposes, apart from living. *Agraharam* houses belonging to Brahmanas were used for Vedic chanting. Farmers' houses were used for drying and storing agricultural produce. The main halls of the weavers' house were utilised for weaving. The open spaces were used for spinning, dyeing the silk thread, and degumming the silk threads. Traders used their houses for their business activities. If the house was single storied, the front part of the house was used for business activities and the back for living. In multi storied houses, the ground floor was utilised for business activities and the upper as the living area. Similarly, in the traders' houses, a separate room was earmarked for

conducting business activities. Even now some traditional houses in Kanchipuram reflect the occupation and social status of the occupant.

With the advent of colonialism and urbanisation a unique blend of Indian and Western styles developed. However, the distinctive architectural styles developed over the ages never disappeared, and still make an impact on the appearance of the city. It adds value to the usability of the houses. During the British period, when peace and security were established and the facility of transport and communication improved, the more adventurous left their homes and proceeded to become residents of industrial cities like Chennai, Mumbai and Delhi in order to advance their fortunes. Their old homes still stand, weathering the ravages of time.

While time and the influence of Western culture have taken a toll of many valued buildings, thousands of traditional buildings still exist all over Kanchi district. There are still many families living in their traditional homes who take great pride in maintaining their heritage, customs and traditions. There are also instances where the traditional houses have been converted into museums which have preserved traditional styles. Some traditional houses are under renovation, but they do not use old building materials. Traditional building materials are very costly and so cannot be replaced.

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## **THE BHOPAL 'BEGAMATS**

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In a small Central state of Bhopal, four generations of Muslim queens ruled throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, distinguishing themselves as warriors, scholars, builders and social reformers and assured the independence and prestige of their state under British paramountcy. There was Sikandar Begum, an Amazon-like figure who, in her youth was reported to have gone into battle against her own husband on horseback. Later, she was also responsible for establishing Bhopal's pragmatic reputation for loyalty by refusing to rebel during the 1857 uprising. The last of these illustrious rulers, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum Sahiba, was a prominent example of female Indian activists of this era.

### **The Foundation of a Muslim Dynasty/ Bhopal in 1700s**

The eighteenth century is rightly known in Indian history as a dark age, a century of anarchy and revolution.<sup>1</sup> The great empire founded by Akbar, his policy of continuous warfare, coupled with Aurangzeb's absence from the capital for more than a quarter century (1681-1707A.D.), deprived Malwa of its smooth, peaceful and prosperous administration. The administration grew more and more corrupt and weak each day. Amidst such conditions of uncertainty and disorder, specially the Gonds and the Rajputs of

Bhupal (modern Bhopal region) began to take advantage of the deteriorating situation. The Marathas also planned to enter Malwa, to give an effective setback to the Imperial authority<sup>2</sup>. The Mughal emperor far off in Deccan was unable to exert his necessary effective control over the officers in Northern and Central India. Owing to Malwa's strategic importance, everyone was trying to get seize the territory. Bhopal lay in the South-Eastern part of Malwa.

The system of administration of the Gond<sup>3</sup> through stratas of subordinate chiefs, Zamindars, continued without interruption until the Marathas overran the country. The Gond estates were ruled by Gond Rajas from whom Dost Muhammad, the founder of the Bhopal state, for the first time took direct possession of those territories.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ujjain was the provincial capital of the Malwa province. But after the breakdown of the Mughal administration there, the political importance of Ujjain finally ended. From 1741 CE, when the Peshwas took over, various Maratha generals partitioned the territory consequently ending the provincial rule thereby paving way for the rise of the new Pathan dynasty in South East Malwa. Muslims were found in this region, but in less numbers. Most of them resided in Berasia. During the Mughal period, Bhopal was on the whole quite socially and culturally backward, whereas Malwa was much noteworthy for its literary, artistic and cultural efforts.

### **Dost Muhammad 'Khan'**

The Bhupal (modern Bhopal) state was established in 1724 by the Afghan Sardar Dost Muhammad, who was a commander

in the Mughal Imperial army posted at Mangalgarh, north of Bhopal. He was sent to Malwa, to fight against the Marathas who had raided Malwa, where he showed his gallant and adventurous feats. Thereafter, he was put in charge of the district of Berasia. He later helped the Gond Queen Kamalapati by executing her husband's assassins and restored the Gond kingdom back to her. In return, the Queen gave him a princely sum of money and the village Mouza. After her death, Dost Muhammad took his chance and seized the Gond Kingdom and established his capital at Jagdishpur, which he later named as Islamnagar<sup>4</sup>. He built a small fort and few palaces there, the ruins of which can still be seen. Later, he shifted his capital to Bhopal. Thus, his heroic adventures, tactful handling of situations, plundering the neighbouring territories, holding possessions and finally the grant of the title 'Khan' from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, raised the fortune of Dost Muhammad and paved the way to establish his own independent state. He died in March 1728 and was buried in the fort of Fatehgarh<sup>5</sup>. Dost Muhammad left to his successors no easy heritage. Yar Muhammad Khan (son of Dost Muhammad) married Mamola Bai; and by the dint of her intelligence and ability, she became the principal lady of the Bhopal ruling family and was popularly known as *Maaji Sahiba* (Queen Mother)<sup>6</sup>.

In almost all phases of the history of Bhopal, the position of women has been one of great honour and influence. Below given are few examples:

1. Fateh Bibi (1709-1725), a Rajput converted to Islam, was the wife of Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan. She accompanied her husband to battle fronts, on *shikaar* and she was the first woman in the Bhopal family to play a significant role in the affairs of the state<sup>7</sup>; and fort Fatehgarh is named after her.



2. Mamola Bai, was the de facto ruler;
3. Saliha (Bahu) Begum (1755-1777) was the wife of Faiz Muhammad Khan and the daughter-in-law of Mamola Bai. Her life represents an extraordinary odyssey of compassion, betrayal and retribution. She defied her step mother-in-law, set up a separate court and ran a parallel government.
4. Asmat begum, the favourite wife of Hayat Muhammad Khan, is also important during this period and her position in the state affairs resembled the position of Noor Jahan, the Mughal Empress. After Mamola Bai, she became the effective ruler of Bhopal, taking all decisions in the name of her husband and with the advice of her favourite eunuch and constant companion Gulab Khwaja<sup>8</sup>.

All these women were of great significance in the early history of the Bhopal state.

### **The 'reign' of Mamola Bai (1728 – 1792)**

Mamola Bai was the first woman to exercise a dominant influence in Bhopal history, first as Yar Muhammad's wife and subsequently as the mother of his step sons. During this period, Bhopal had no dominant male personality at the helm<sup>9</sup>, so Mamola Bai managed to hold the state together against all pressures from within as well as from rapacious neighbours. In fact, it was Mamola Bai who first recognised the importance of seeking British support against the irredentist pressures from her neighbours by providing General Thomas Goddard with a warm welcome during his cross-country march in 1778 CE. Mamola dedicated herself to ensuring that the sons of her husband from Muslim wives should succeed Yar Muhammad to their rightful heritage. It was she who decided to placate the Marathas through negotiations and to introduce a system of administration that was fair and

just. Her main objective was to ensure a just and moderate administration and to bring peace, progress and prosperity to the state. She gave Bhopal, stability and an effective government. She employed tact and diplomacy in keeping internal and external threats at bay and had the farsightedness to recognise that the British were a growing power that could help Bhopal safeguard its independence against hostile neighbours.

The fact that she built three mosques, a *baoli*, beautified Islamnagar and took a leading role in social welfare activities endeared her to the people of Bhopal<sup>10</sup>. She was known for her benevolence, charity and kindness especially to the poor. Mamola Bai's *de facto* reign came to an end when she died.

### **The rule of the Four Begums**

These Begums were pious and devout Muslims and ruled the princely state with sincerity. Qudsiya Began, with the title 'Regent of Bhopal' ruled the state from 1819 to 1837; Nawab Sikandar Begum ruled from 1847 to 1868; Begum Shahjehan followed her and ruled till 1901; Begum Khaikhusrau Jahan (Sultan Jahan) contributed to the progress of the city from 1901 to 1926; and finally Begum Sajida Sultan, the last Begum ruled from 1961 to 1995.

The siege of Bhopal (1812-1813) is an epic in its history as it symbolised the extraordinary resilience and spirit of the people of Bhopal, especially its women. Seeing Bhopal re-emerge as a major state in the region, the neighbouring states of Gwalior and Nagpur joined hands with the Marathas to besiege Bhopal. Women dressed as men, would appear on the ramparts to mislead the besieging force into believing that the fort was defended by more men than was actually the case. Led

by the brave Zeenat Begum<sup>11</sup> (wife of Ghous Muhammad Khan), the women of Bhopal played a vital role in the siege. They quickly acquired the technique of musketry and even evolved their own method of defence by filling stoves with dynamite and throwing these home-made explosives at the intruding enemy. They threw their veils and became an effective defensive rearguard in support of the beleaguered Bhopal army.

The main contenders to mount the throne, prepared themselves for a protracted battle of succession. Qudsiya Begum<sup>12</sup> announced herself as the Regent, as the other contenders were either minor or too feeble to rule. Qudsiya Begum's married life was destined to be of two years and ended in a tragedy. Her daughter Sikandar Begum, was only 15 months old when her father died. To counteract the Shariat (Islamic Law) being quoted as an impediment to women's rule, she managed to get a document attested by the highest religious authorities, the state *Qazi* and the state *Mufti*<sup>13</sup>, acknowledging a woman's right to govern. She also got the document countersigned by her nobles, *jagirdars*, officials and her kinsmen. She took riding lessons, attended military exercises, learnt the art of war, camped in outlying villages to meet the ordinary country-folk and led her troops in military skirmishes. She became the first protagonist in favour of recognising a Muslim woman's legal right to rule a state. She introduced administrative reforms that helped effective governance of the state. She broke the new rule by employing a British engineer, Mr. David Cook, to construct a pipeline that provided free drinking water to the people of Bhopal<sup>14</sup>.

Qudsiya Begum's rule initiated Bhopal into the tradition of simple living, close contact between ruler and the subject, Hindu-Muslim harmony and a deliberate avoidance of opulence, pomp and decadence. She was known to tour the town in disguise listening to the complaints and comments of the town folk. She

would visit the needy herself and provide relief<sup>15</sup>. She would hold *kutcheris* (open house meetings) in her courtyard and dispense justice on the spot. She was meticulous in separating expenses from state funds, insisting that her daily household expenses be met from a small cottage industry that she started from her palace. Qudsiya took care in selecting upright and loyal advisers, notably called the 'Loyal Quartet'. She also built *rubats* (lodging houses for pilgrims), in Makkah Mukarrama and Medina Munawwara to provide Bhopali Haj pilgrims with free lodging<sup>16</sup>. She also built similar places of worship and succour for the Hindu population. She also had a joyous streak to her character. She entertained her foreign guests to a musical event after dinner in which she too participated and played the *dholak*. Qudsiya had groomed her daughter Sikandar to assume full executive power and realised that she would be handicapped against her male adversaries if she were to rule from *purdah*. From 1832, the Begums of Bhopal cast *purdah* aside following Qudsiya's example until Shahjehan Begum's second marriage to a religious zealot who drove her back into *purdah*. Qudsiya had endured a difficult relationship with the British, but she recognised the importance of maintaining equitable relations with the EIC, as the British were guarantors of Bhopal's integrity. But relations went sour in Lancelot Wilkinson's 11 year tenure against Qudsiya. Thus, Qudsiya decided to hand over power, and so she quietly and with great dignity obeyed the British (Lancelot Wilkinson- political agent of Bhopal) and withdrew to Islamnagar. In turn, she got a vast jagir of 816 villages with an income of 5 lakhs of rupees and a 11-gun honour salutes. Almost overnight, the Spartan, simple atmosphere of Bhopal was transformed into a mirror image of the decadent Mughal court of Delhi. Qudsiya campaigned against her daughter's husband (Jehangir), for his debauchery and his mismanagement that were bringing Bhopal's finances and administration to a swift decline. Qudsiya was not only a role model for three succeeding

generations of women rulers of Bhopal but also for the Muslim women of India in general.

## **The Golden Reign (1847 – 1868)**

Sikandar Begum learnt from her mother, Qudsiya Begum, the craft of diplomacy and how to deal with her subjects ranging from the affluent *jagirdars* down to the humblest peasant. By the age of 18, she was exceptionally strong in physique, an outstandingly brave rider, a peerless swordswoman, an able administrator and a charismatic personality. In 1837, Queen Victoria had ascended the British throne. If Britain could have a ruling queen, why not Bhopal ? So began her reign of 21 years as the Begum of Bhopal, the first 13 years as a regent and last eight as a ruler in her own right. With the reigns of governance firmly in her hands, Sikandar quickly asserted her dominance over Bhopal while her mother withdrew from the public arena. Sikandar Begum holds the same place in history of Bhopal that the Emperor Akbar holds in the history of India.

Remodelling of the state army was the first of the many reforms that she undertook. She commanded the army and personally inspected the courts, the district offices, the mint and the treasury to ensure that all the wheels of the state were functioning smoothly. She ended the system of contingents, that was supported by *jagirdars* and a regular force was set up in which every man was the servant of the state and drew his pay directly from the state treasury. Separate cavalry and *tope-khanas* (arsenal for cannons, hence artillery in this context) regiments were formed with proper cantonment arrangements and also an arsenal. The whole state was surveyed, boundaries fixed and the districts demarcated<sup>17</sup>. To improve civil administration, courts of justice were established and a code of laws were drawn up for

the protection of the rights of the people and for the prevention of crime. She ensured that her courts dispensed justice according to both Muslim and Hindu family laws. She started a postal service which served the outlying towns of Bhopal and connected the state with the rest of India. She introduced a *Majlis-e-Shoora*, a nominated parliament comprising professionals, nobles and intellectuals representing different regions, religious groups and professions<sup>18</sup>. She also replaced Farsi with Urdu as Bhopal's official court language. This radical change took place in 1862 CE.

Sikandar Begum brought immense progress and relief to the common people. She widened the streets of Bhopal, lit the main streets with gas lamps and reduced crime. She constructed a hospital and many dispensaries, inviting *hakeems*<sup>19</sup> from all over India to settle in Bhopal. A Health Act was passed and chemist shops were instructed to provide medicines for Muslims and Hindus separately. She arranged for agricultural loans to farmers and started a Forest Department to preserve Bhopal's environment. Sikandar's last gift to the people of Bhopal was to conceive the building of a railway line that linked Bhopal with the national grid<sup>20</sup>.

While Sikandar consolidated her rule and chose a safe and reliable groom for her daughter Shah Jahan, a huge political crisis erupted across the land in the form of the Sepoys' Revolt of 1857. The revolt spread like wildfire across the sub-continent and soon an insurrection had erupted against the British in the states of Malwa (especially Indore). She wrote personal letters to selected soldiers, asking them not to heed to seditious rumours against the British<sup>21</sup>. She then tightened up her intelligence network and ordered patrols at markets to control the sale of arms. But still a major eruption took place when Bhopali mutineers under the banner of the Sepoy Bahadur revolted attacking the

British garrison in Berasia and Sehore. She realised that if the mutiny succeeded in Bhopal, it would mean the end of the State. Her support for the British was to safeguard the sovereignty of the State. Her method of dealing with this problem was the proverbial 'stick and carrot'<sup>22</sup>. Thus, the revolt was brought under control with the help of a British contingent, headed by Sir Hugh Rose. Shrewdly, Sikandar Begum had attempted to protect both her flanks. In the meantime, her 17-year old daughter Shahjehan became the bride of a 33-year old Sardar Baqi Mohammad Khan (the commander-in-chief of the Bhopal army). Later Sikandar Begum became, for the second time the ruler of Bhopal, as her daughter Shahjehan Begum had abdicated in favour of her mother. Sikandar Begum was awarded the Grand Cross of the Star of India (GCSI).

### **Shahjehan Begum (1868 – 1901)**

She was petite, attractive and unlike her mother Sikandar Begum, entirely feminine. She was like a fairy-tale princess whose numerous suitors vied for her hand to win the kingdom. In July 1858, three years after her marriage to Sardar Baqi Mohammad Khan, the 20-year old Shahjehan, gave birth to a daughter whom she named Sultan Jahan. Until Sikandar Begum's death in 1868, the ruling family of Bhopal witnessed an extraordinary historical scene of four consecutive women rulers being alive at the same time<sup>23</sup>. In the meantime, Shahjehan was been groomed for her role as the next ruler by her mother Sikandar Begum. But Shahjehan decided to abdicate the throne in favour of her mother. Therefore, the British Government recognised Sikandar Begum as the Ruler, Shahjehan as heir apparent with Sardar Baqi Muhammad Khan as her non-executive consort. Thus, Shahjehan's noble sacrifice in favour of her mother is unique in history.

But an unfortunate event took place in 1867 CE, Sardar Baqi Muhammad died after a long illness, leaving Shahjehan, at the age of 29, a distinctly widow. Immediately in the next year, her mother Sikandar Begum fell ill and died of a kidney ailment. So, Shahjehan Begum was crowned Begum of Bhopal in November 1868. Her rule saw the emergence of a new feisty atmosphere in Bhopal. The Begum was a patron of arts, drawing poets, musicians and literati to Bhopal. She paid particular attention to humanitarian issues like housing, education and health. She was no polo player, tiger hunter etc unlike the earlier rulers. But she was thoroughly groomed by her mother in administration and statecraft. To make up for the financial deficit in the treasury, she commissioned the cultivation of opium<sup>24</sup>. She also constructed a proper arsenal for Bhopal's artillery and built a new jail. For her dedication to the state, she was conferred the title of her Grand Commander of the Star of India by the British government in 1872.

Now, Shahjehan Begum who had so far ruled with face unveiled, moved in the opposite direction by going into *purdah* at the age of 34, virtually handing over the reins of the government to her husband Syed Siddiq Hassan<sup>25</sup>. Shahjehan Begum's devotion and loyalty to her husband grew in inverse proportion to the criticism and hostility that she increasingly faced from her family, her subjects and the British hierarchy. Shortly after Siddiq Hassan died, Shahjehan Begum resumed work for the social and economic advancement of Bhopal. Apart from being a builder of mosques, palaces and even a railway line that connected Bhopal to the national railway network, she was a sponsor of the liberal arts<sup>26</sup>. Another important feature of the Begum's rule was the establishment of the Imperial Services Regiment (Victoria Lancers). In 1897, the opening of the Bhopal State Railways gave special importance to Bhopal as an economic crossroad for India. She built the Lady Lansdowne Hospital at



Bhopal for the treatment of *purdah* women. Her end finally came after a brief illness of cancer in June 1901. It was during her period that the feminist movement in Bhopal began to take a definite shape. Shahjehan left behind a stable, settled and well-governed state. She was succeeded by her only daughter Sultan Jahan Begum.

### **Sultan Jahan Begum (1901 – 1926)**

In July 1901, she assumed the title of the ruler at a mature age of 43 after serving 33 long years as an heir apparent. Her marriage was performed after the death of Sikandar Jahan Begum in 1874 to Ahmad Ali Khan (son of Baqi Mohammad Khan). She was basically a devout, stoic and mature woman. She craved a simple life, disliked pomp, and decadence. She took over the state's administration after corruption had become so entrenched that no one seemed prepared for or even capable of an honest day's work. Sultan Jahan Begum resolved to put matters right. She took disciplinary action against erring officials, corrupt and indolent jagirdars, suppressed the degenerate revelry and decadence that had pervaded Bhopal's society and replaced it with her own example of simple and pious living<sup>27</sup>. Soon the word spread that the Begum was scrupulous, tight-fisted and highly disciplined. She sought solutions pertaining to agrarian problems. She spent hours listening to the woes of the villagers. She inducted her grown-up sons, Nasrullah and Obaidullah into the process of governance and even 'Little Hamid' her eight-year old son<sup>28</sup>. Completely loyal to the British, she instituted, British advice reforms in agriculture, taxation, armed forces, police, the jails, irrigation, the judiciary and public works. She revived the *Majlis-e-Mashwara*, an advisory body that served as a legislative Parliament. She decided to have elections for municipalities, thereby providing the first democratic impetus to the people of Bhopal. Towns were geared up to

improve hygiene, sanitation, and communication<sup>29</sup>. In 1904, the first installation of telephone connection in the palace and administrative departments was inaugurated. In 1908, the Bhopal State Post Office was amalgamated with the Imperial Post office of India. There were landmarks in the history of Bhopal's revenue administration department - the system of granting *muafi* (grants that were revenue free and were mainly held for charitable or religious purposes) to cultivators who undertake to induce people to settle and cultivate in the state. For the benefit of cultivators, an arrangement was made to facilitate the punctual payment and recovery of advances, which resembled the system of agricultural banks<sup>30</sup>. In 1910, the Begum established a District Permanent Department to meet the needs of the state in the matters of irrigation, because deficit rainfall was a regular feature in the state in those days. She imposed two new taxes – house tax and income tax to meet out the expenses of the city municipality. To promote trade and industry in the state, Begum reduced the custom duties<sup>31</sup>. The police force had been reorganised and reformed by Her Highness Sultan Jahan Begum. There were rural police, mounted police, and a regular cavalry. In 1912, Begum founded a separate department for the management of the State Police Force, which was earlier working under the Judicial Department.

Behind the traditional and conservative appearance was Sultan Jahan Begum's deep desire to bring education, enlightenment, liberalism and modernisation to Bhopal, especially to its women. The Bhopal Ladies Club was founded where middle-class married women were to join. However, young girls were encouraged to become girl guides. She reorganised the elementary and secondary standards of Anglo-vernacular education, as well as institutions for the instruction in Arabic and Persian languages. A technical school was also established to train pupils in arts and crafts. She also made endowments for the permanent advancement of education in the State. Scholarships were given to assist

students to qualify themselves in engineering, medicine, agriculture, law and other sciences or to enable them to proceed to Europe for higher studies. She also opened a class for instruction in midwifery.

She attended and enjoyed the ceremonials - the Coronation Durbar of Edward VII in 1901, welcomed the visit of Lord Curzon in 1902 and received the Prince of Wales (later George V) in 1906. Pre-coronation garden parties, dinners, and lunches began to build up and the Begum had to visit London frequently, for which all her travel and accommodation was arranged by Thomas Cook and Sons<sup>32</sup>. After her return from Europe in 1911, Sultan Jahan Begum's educational and social campaign for women's emancipation moved out of Bhopal to Aligarh ie. to an all-India canvas. She became the founding President of the All-India Muslim Ladies Conference in 1914. Her objective was to continue her crusade for the emancipation of Muslim women in India, for which she had already gathered around her educated women who were leading figures in the emancipation of Indian women – Abroo Begum, Fatma Begum, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's widowed sisters, Atiya Fyzee, and Ms. Sarojini Naidu. Sultan Jahan Begum was also nominated as the first Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University by Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy of India<sup>33</sup>. Discarding *purdah* in 1928, at the age of 70, Begum urged Muslim women to follow her example and to seek enlightenment through education, emancipation and assertion of their rights. She was a far-sighted ruler who moved with the times, pointing the way towards education, emancipation and fair governance. By this time, Bhopal presented a stable, settled and contended society, flourishing under the benign and enlightened leadership of this exceptionally able ruler.

In May 1926, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum abdicated in favour of her third son Sahibzada Hamidullah Khan<sup>34</sup>, because of the premature death of her two elder sons in 1924. For the first time in five generations, the ruler was a male, claiming to rule as a direct heir in the line of succession. The chapter of women's rule in Bhopal were not closed because the next generation after Hamidullah Khan were again all women. Her progressive, liberal ideals allowed limited democratic reforms and numerous changes in the legal, judicial and administrative system to ensure justice and fair play for the people. Tolerance and harmony existed between Hindus and Muslims, each being free to develop their own culture and religious beliefs.

But her end came in May 1930, due to a prolonged illness. There are two criticisms relating to Sultan Jahan Begum – first, she overstated her loyalty to the British paramount power so that she appeared to cringe and grovel before the British royalty and Viceroy. This was embarrassing to the British rulers as none of the earlier Begums did so. The second criticism relates to Begum's favouritism towards her youngest son, Hamidullah Khan. This led to schisms in Bhopal. Considering all factors, like her grandmother Sikandar Begum, Sultan Jahan Begum's rule has been the age of emancipation in Bhopal – its second golden reign.

Nawab Hamidullah Khan (1926- 1960) was recognised as the thirteenth Nawab of Bhopal. In pre-Independent India, the Nawab became an important political figure. It was during Hamidullah's period that Bhopal was merged with the Indian Union in 1949. On 1 November 1956, Bhopal was made the capital of Madhya Pradesh

## **Begum Abida Sultan (1939- 1961)**

Over the years, Bhopal had developed a special culture, influenced by a century of women's rule and their deliberated emphasis on simple living, justice and caring governance. There arose an interesting difference of opinion between Begum Sultan Jahan and Hamidullah Khan on the issue of the heir apparent – finally Abida Sultan was considered the heir to the throne. She took over the onus of running the state on behalf of Nawab Hamidullah, her father, who was, by then, playing a role on a broader political canvas. She was tough, sportive<sup>35</sup>, headstrong and principled – modelling herself on her great-great-grandmother (Sikander Begum). She was the second Muslim woman in South Asia to be given a pilot's licence. In 1949, Begum took a train to Bombay and next day boarded a ship for London as the first step to migrate to Pakistan. She immigrated to Pakistan in 1950, to engage actively in politics. She was the only member of the Indian Muslim princely state to have immigrated to Pakistan. The stand-off with her father was complete and never bridged<sup>36</sup>. She became a diplomat and later she was elected President of the Karachi Council Muslim League. She died in 2002. Her only son- Shaharyar Mohammad Khan subsequently stayed back in Pakistan and became a Pakistani diplomat<sup>37</sup>.

## **Begum Sajida Sultan (1962 – 1995)**

Nawab Hamidullah Khan passed away in 1960 and Abida Begum's second sister, Sajida Sultan was recognised as the titular ruler of Bhopal in 1962<sup>38</sup>. She was the Begum of Bhopal in her own right. At a very young age, she straddled in both cultures – Islamic and Western – and was taught to be better in every respect than her male cousins. She studied the Quran and Hadith and was given a thorough western education by British

governesses and tutors till schooling. She lived in Delhi and used to visit Bhopal with her son Nawab Mansoor Ali Khan of Pataudi. After Partition, many Bhopalis emigrated to Pakistan and many still stay at Karachi; they speak with their distinctive Bhopali accents, their women are still aggressive, tough and resplendent in their Bhopali dress and above all they are proud of the heritage and tradition that Bhopal has given them.

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9. Yar Muhammad married other Muslim women from whom he had – Faiz, Hayat, Saeed, Hussain and Yasin. Faiz. was a religious recluse, Hayat an effectual weakling and others were minors. *Ibid.*, p.31.
10. Zuberi, Mohammad Amin, *Begmat-e-Bhopal*, Part 1, Bhopal : Hamidi Arts Press, 1918, p.25.
11. Zeenat Begum had two children – Qudsiya (Gauhar) and Moiz.

12. Qudsiya Begum was the widow of Nazar Muhammad Khan (1816-1819). Nazar and Amir were the sons of Wazir Muhammad Khan. Amir Muhammad was an incapable person and had no interest in the administration of the State.
13. *Qazi* was supposed to be the main authority in matters of justice. It was the duty of the *Mufti* to provide the *Qazi* with all necessary information about the Muslim law.
14. Zuberi, Mohammad Amin, *Begmat-e-Bhopal*, Part 1, Bhopal : Hamidi Arts Press, 1918, p.70.
15. She issued a standing order that two *maunds* of grain should be kept in her courtyard to be distributed daily before dawn to the needy. *Maund* is a Anglicized name for a traditional unit of mass used in British India; an Indian unit of weight was equivalent to about 37 kg. cited in Zuberi, Mohammad Amin, *Begmat-e-Bhopal*, Part 1, Bhopal : Hamidi Arts Press, 1918, p.84.
16. These *rubats* are still being used by Bhopali Hajjis even today.
17. The state was divided into three parganas (administrative divisions) and 21 zillas (subdistricts). Each district was headed by a *nazim* (revenue officer) and the sub-district by an *amil* (administrator).
18. *Majlis-e-Shoora* recommended laws and freely discussed major issues representing at that time. It permitted freedom of speech and passed laws by a majority. Cited in Zuberi, Mohammad Amin, *Begmat-e-Bhopal*, Part 1, Bhopal : Hamidi Arts Press, 1918, p.89.
19. *Hakeems* were Oriental doctors.
20. This was supported by the then Resident, Sir Henry Daly. Both Qudsiya and Sikandar Begum could not see the first engine steaming in. The first locomotive steamed into Bhopal on 18 November 1882. Ali, Laurd and Kudrat, *State Gazetteer – Bhopal (BSG)*, Calcutta : Government Printing Press, 1907, Vol. II p.40.

21. Mittal, Kamla, *History of Bhopal State (Development of Constitution, Administration and National Awakening 1901-1949)*, New Delhi :Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1990, p.53.
22. She sent Umrao Doulah (Sardar Baqi Mohammad Khan) her future son-in-law to handle the regiments. The carrot came in the form of an increased pay and bonus for sepoys.
23. When Sultan Jahan was born, her great-grandmother Qudsiya Begum was 58 years, her grandmother Sikandar Begum (the then regent) was 40, and her mother Shahjehan Begum who held the title of the ruler was only 20.
24. Shahjehan Begum, *History of Bhopal (Taj-ul-Iqbal)*, Calcutta : Thacker-Spink and Co., 1876, Part 1, pp.100-103
25. Begum remarried Syed Siddiq Hassan, from a distinguished family of theologians.
26. Her published works include the Urdu *Mathnawi Siddiq-ul-Bayan*, *Taj-ul-Iqbal* or the History of Bhopal and *Tehzibun-Nissa*, while her poetry was published under the title *Dewan-e-Shirin*. None of the other Begums had such literary accomplishments. Shahjehan Begum, *History of Bhopal (Taj-ul-Iqbal)*, Calcutta : Thacker-Spink and Co., 1876, Part 2, pp.45-56.
27. Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, London : John Murray, 1910, Vol.1, p.100.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol.1, p.221.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p.110.
30. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p.120.
31. The chief industries were weaving and printing of cotton cloth, jewellery making and preparation of *gutka*, of which Bhopal variety is famous, and sugar industry.Ali, Laurd and Kudrat, *State Gazetteer – Bhopal (BSG)*, Calcutta : Government Printing Press, 1907, Vol. III, p.99.
32. Ali, Laurd and Kudrat, *State Gazetteer – Bhopal (BSG )*, Calcutta : Government Printing Press, 1907, Vol. III, p.102.



33. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p.110.
34. Hamidullah Khan (18 years) was allowed conjugal rights with his child bride Maimoona Sultan (12 years). He had three daughters – Abida Sultan, Sajida Sultan and Rabia Sultan. Sajida Sultan became the last Begum to rule Bhopal from 1961 to 1995. Ali, Laurd and Kudrat, *State Gazetteer – Bhopal (BSG)*, Calcutta : Government Printing Press, 1907, Vol. III, p.133.
35. She played polo, bicycle polo, hockey, cricket, squash and invented roller-hockey. Tennis, swimming and sailing were the other sports that Abida Sultan pursued.
36. She left her father, over his second marriage. She refused to pay obeisance to the new Begum.. Her mother Maimoona Sultan died in 1982.
37. Shaharyar Khan was the UN Secretary General's Special Representative between 1994 and 1996. Cited in Khan, Shaharyar M., *The Begums of Bhopal – A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India*, New Delhi : Viva Book Pvt. Ltd., 2004, p.233.
38. Sajida Sultan was married to the famous cricketer, the Nawab of Pataudi Senior. Her son was Nawab Mansoor Ali Khan of Pataudi, also a famous Cricketer. Her daughter-in-law is the actress Sharmila Tagore (converted to Islam and who took the name of Ayesha Sultana) *Ibid.*, p.232.

## **THE DAZZLING EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE (1810-1820)**

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The princely States of Travancore and Cochin initiated a complex process of transition from the second decade of the 19th century A D. Currently, Kerala is far ahead of other states of India in deference of health care, in education, in literacy, in the alertness regarding to human rights and justice and in the assimilation of new ideas, etc.<sup>1</sup> In the hunt to find who or what has contributed to this amazing experience, scholars come up with diverse appraisals. A minority discovered Chattambi Swamikal, while others are grateful for Sree Narayana Guru and yet others distinguish the for bearance and broader vision of a people who appreciated the Marxian paradigms as its logic. When subjecting the history of Kerala to a scrutiny the roots of these incredible distinctiveness and individuality appear to be running very deep with ever enlarging consequences. Here our colonial collaboration invites distinct courtesy. Kerala had a broad and varied foreign interaction unlike other Indian states. Unfortunately, the seethe of anti-foreign sentiments emanating from the Swadeshi feeling has stained our history.

The issues generally responsible for switchover to these alien institutions and concepts of progress and modernity were first initiated in this land by Col. Munroe, a visionary who is not properly accounted for in the history of Kerala. For a proper and thorough discernment of the history of modern Kerala, an

analysis into the career and success of Col. Munroe in Travancore is essential. The current social conceptions of the modernity and growth are colonial constructs<sup>2</sup>. The contemporary society through ages of colonial interface was totally changed as colonial subjects. In the lack of a substitute model that warrants social justice to all, the society was forced to rely on the offered best models. Certainly, Col. Munroe symbolizes the colonial interest.

In October 1810, Col. Munroe was chosen as the British Resident of Travancore and Cochin and he remained till 1819 in office. In May 13, 1811 Col. Munroe was also appointed as the Dewan of Travancore till Dec.1814. He also appointed as the Dewan of Cochin in June 1812 and continued till 1818. The job of Munroe in Travancore and Cochin were quite conflicting. As Resident he wanted to keep up the interest of the Company and at the same time as Dewan he wanted to guard the concerns of Travancore. Munroe carried out the duties of the minister with a magnitude of success unparalleled in the annals of Travancore and which posterity looks back upon with the deepest feelings of gratitude<sup>3</sup>. The Madras government had full confidence in the aptitude of Col. Munroe. This is obvious from the letter of A Falconer, Chief Secretary to the Madras Government<sup>4</sup>. On the eve of Col. Munroe's advent in Travancore in Oct. 1810, the state was ruled by Maharaja Balarama Varma and His Dewan Uminni Thampi.Col. Munroe saw that the country was on the brink of a financial breakdown. Velu Thampi in 1805 AD revised the Provisions of the Treaty of 1795 with the Company<sup>5</sup>. The amended treaty gave the British the right to preserve a subsidiary force in Travancore. It provided them to mediate in the internal matters of the state. The treaty practically sounded the death-knell of Travancore as an autonomous Kingdom<sup>6</sup>. The enhanced subsidy and the liability of military operations incurred due to the mutiny of VeluThampi in 1808-09 AD hastened the already

worsening economic disorder. The Dewan, Ummini Thampi failed miserably to tackle the state of affairs.

## **Political Minutes**

The political fortune of the state of Travancore took a fresh turn upon the death of its sovereign on Nov. 7, 1810. The succession question emanated in the political setting of the state and it was the first issue to be confronted by Munroe<sup>7</sup>. Munroe made a systematic investigation into the arguments of the claimants to the throne and arrived at the supposition that the assertion of Rani Lakshmi Bai was authentic<sup>8</sup>. On the eve of the coronation, Rani avowed her whole trust and reverences to the Company and the Resident Munroe<sup>9</sup>. The situation of the country was full of abuses. Before the intervention of the Company in the internal affairs of the state, Rani delegated the fortune of the country to Munroe. Due to the special appeal of Rani, the Colonel assumed direct charge of the government as Dewan on May 13, 1811. The shrewd tactics of Rani protected the state from collapse. But personally Munroe was not in favour of undertaking the duties of Dewan along with that of the Resident- and his only objective in doing so was to save the state from pecuniary discomfiture and the consequential political annihilation<sup>10</sup>.

## **Eradication of Slavery**

Slavery is a global social evil. The condition of slaves was deplorable elsewhere. The Government itself maintained slaves. The slaves were engaged mainly in agricultural operations. In 1812, Col. Munroe banned slavery, by which slave trade was declared unlawful and a punishable criminality<sup>11</sup>. Munroe put into effect this courageous act simultaneously in Travancore and

Cochin states. This further helped the state administration, after forty-three years, for the total abolishing of slavery from the state. Maharaja Utham Thirunal was pleased to abolish slavery, notwithstanding the loss of revenue to the Sircar [Government]. The factual vision behind this bold step, no doubt, was of Col. Munroe. Similarly, in the state of Cochin, it happened a little earlier in 1854 through a royal proclamation. Some historians of Kerala believe that this philanthropic step of Col. Munroe was the consequence of the Protestant-Christian influence over him. But this disagreement has no legal foundation because the earlier experience of the USA disproves it. That the same Protestant Christian Enterprises of England were the arch supporters of slavery and the slave trade of America is a universally accepted fact. At the same time, the earlier Christian enterprises in Kerala, the Portuguese and the Dutch, the Catholic and the Protestants respectively, had maintained slaves and justified slavery. "In 1812, Col. Munroe, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin discovered a number of half-starved and naked natives in iron as slaves at the Dutch settlement at Changanacherry. .... It is stated that the Portuguese used the church at Cochin to lodge the slaves without prejudice to the demands of divine service"<sup>12</sup>. As an upright humanitarian, beyond Christian didactic literature, Col. Munroe had taken an opposite action against these Christians to liberate them.

The humanity of the day was not conscious of the misdemeanor and viciousness behind the practice of slavery. Consequently, the society used this merciless practice as a required one and the *dharmasastras* of the day warranted it. The Syrian Christians were not far away from the universal structure of the collective attitude of the day. The anti-slavery tempers progressively find impetus since the days of Col Munroe. Col. Munroe appealed to the diverse missionary groups to this land and set up the required planning for their smooth working. The major aspirations

of these missionary team that were invited by Col. Munroe was the social concern towards the natives on the theory of the 'equality of man before God'. Owing to his pressure the reigning Rani revoked the poll tax levied from several castes<sup>13</sup>. The Sovereign recognized the necessity for a humanizing group and considered protestant missionary bands adequately robust to assume this huge mission efficiently. The Christian missionaries were provided all the amenities to undertake their evangelizing activities. Free land and timber were supplied for the construction of churches to the London Mission Society [LMS] at Nagarcoil and they established themselves on a firm footing from 1816 under the Rani's patronage. The Church Missionary Society [CMS] was given all help to prolong its activities at Alleppey and Kottayam. A large tract of land was given at Kallada in Quilon District [still known as Munroe Island] for the explicit purpose of encouraging education. After the occupation of the land (Munroe Island), the missionaries set free all its slaves; a revolutionary step initiated through the English protestant missionaries of Kerala<sup>14</sup>. It was the first charter of freedom that came from the CMS, missionaries of Kottayam through the epoch making announcement made by Rev. Benjamin Bailey and Rev. Joseph Peet in 1835 A D.

Col. Munroe exercised a considerable quantity of influence over the royal family. This helped the Christian missionaries to get legal endorsement in the social relations of the land. On numerous instances missionaries purchased slaves and set them free. The missionaries concentrated on the subalterns and very soon the Christian base of the land was enhanced greatly. The enhanced missionary activities, the social index moved positively and all the sections of the society responded positively and began to think about the total abolition of slavery. But the landed gentry, *savarna* (high caste) Hindus, worried about the collapse of their economic base, agriculture, which was built on the unpaid or mostly underpaid slave mechanism through the ages. The ruling

Princes of the land was well aware of the mindset of the powerful jannies / landowners. Even after his retirement, almost all East India Company residents followed the policy that was followed by Munroe in general and particularly his approach towards slavery. In short, the effort of the colonial masters in this direction of total abolition of slavery continued the realization of the goal. A new proposal in this direction was put-up by the then Resident, Col. Heber Drury, to the King. The new proposal says that the process of the total abolition of the slavery will incur any loss to the economy of the state. The proposal was allowed continuance of the existing system of slavery un-infringed and, at the same time he expressed his desire to free the next generation and emancipate children yet born. It is hardly fair that any child before it can distinguish right from wrong should be born and lives in slavery without choice. The King was pleased with this proposal and replied, “as far as I am concerned, I should wish to abolish the practice at once”<sup>15</sup>. The king took the initiative and it resulted in the royal proclamations/*Vilambarangal* of 1853 and 1855 which abolished the brutal tradition of slavery in Travancore completely. Behind this revolutionary step lay the vision and mission of Col. Munroe.

## Syrian Christians and Uliyam Work

*Uliyam* work (forced labour without payment) is a kind of masked slavery. There were two kinds of *Uliyams*, namely, forced manual labour and supply of vegetables and provisions to temples and Oottupuras [temple mess]. Manual labour was used for the construction and maintenance of roads, construction of palaces and temples, etc. and the second type of *Uliyam* was confined to the Syrian Christians<sup>16</sup>. In pre-colonial Kerala, this work was confined to Syrian Christians, Ezhavas and Shannars. The *Uliyam* work of Travancore was not much different from the serfdom

of medieval Europe. The records prior to the sixteenth century mention that only the Ezhava and Shannar communities came under the purview of this *Uliyam* work. The earliest reference to *Uliyam* work was in about 428 Malayalam Era [ME] regarding the renovation of the Cholapuram Temple<sup>17</sup>. All the early records mention that Ezhavas and Shannars are the *Uliyam* communities. But after the Portuguese period, the Christians also came under this serfdom. If we trace back the date of the process of the incorporation of Syrian Christians under the purview of *Uliyam* work, it can be seen that it was during the time of Marthanda Varma [1729-1758] of Venad<sup>18</sup>. This incorporation of Christians in the *Uliyam* category was perhaps because of the conversion movement initiated since the days of Francis Xavier. The conversion of those under the traditional *Uliyam* labour communities to Christianity may be the reason for the usual extension of *Uliyam* work/vela to the Syrian Christian community as well.

Col. Munroe made a thorough study of forced labour. He understood that to a certain degree forced labour was indispensable to the smooth operation of the society in Kerala which was highly stratified on the basis of disproportionate allocation and caste hierarchy. The principal producing communities were viewed as the source of pollution to the upper caste. Munroe anticipated the danger in the sudden elimination of the *Uliyam* work. As a result in 1815, Syrian Christians and the converts to Christianity were exempted from the performance of *Uliyam* services in Devaswoms<sup>19</sup>. Thereafter, the Syrian Christians continued in the social function of purifying the products brought or produced by the lower caste communities through a 'mild touch' in the presence of higher castes<sup>20</sup>. Ulloor S. Parameshwara Aiyer comments that, "forced labour was done away with and it was ordered that the people should in no instance



be required to serve or make supplies to the State on terms cheaper than what they might demand from private individuals”<sup>21</sup>.

However, the *Uliyam* work continued in the state amongst the non-Christian communities until the establishment of the Public Works Department in 1861 and thereafter all *Uliyam* workers were automatically transformed as the daily wage earning workers<sup>22</sup>. Several roads, canals, *janmi* houses [Feudal houses], etc. of Kerala [pre-modern] were built by using the work force under the *Uliyam* limit before this progressive step of 1861. Although, it was the natural death of serfdom in Kerala, the real attempt was commenced fifty years back by a visionary and philanthropist, Col. Munroe, who was a visionary and a philanthropist.

The progressive measure of abolition of *Uliyam* work really paved the way for the birth of self-esteem among the subaltern sections of Kerala in general and of Travancore in particular. The progress from serfdom to the wage earning employee and land owning farmer further enhanced the social psyche of these people to fight for justice. Above all, the missionary enterprises were able to cultivate western values and legal awareness. The concepts like rule of law, equality before law, etc., were developed here amongst the subaltern *jatis* and finally in the society in general and subalterns in particular moved towards the attainment of these goals and all this happened in less than ten decades since the memorable regime of Col. Munroe. The Nivarthana [Abstention] agitation of 1932 was the culmination of all these developments. The Ezhavas, Muslims, and Christians feared that they might be marginalized from the administrative scenario of the State. They organized a joint agitation under the Nivarthana banner and finally attained what they demanded. The people, once at the periphery of the social living, were able to legitimize their rights due to

an act of the past that is the abolition of *Uliyam* work, and this enhanced the self-esteem of the generations to come.

## Systematization of the Temple management

Col. Munroe was a product of English liberalism, utilitarianism and Protestantism. In England, the religious institution, the Anglican Church was under the express governorship of the State. "The systematic inculcation of a particular religion by the state is a longstanding practice having its origin in very ancient times. This practice obtains not only in India but in European countries also. In England, there is an established church maintained at state expense<sup>23</sup>". So that Dalava [Prime Minister] Veluthambi's hypothesis of bringing of all Dewasoms [temples] of Travancore under State control was easily digestible to Col. Munroe<sup>24</sup>. Veluthambi believed that the vast riches and belongings in the hands of the Dewasom authorities was a standing menace to the tranquillity of the state<sup>25</sup>. Col. Munroe 'only framed rules in furtherance of the measure' in the case of taking over of the temple administration by the state<sup>26</sup>. Munroe took a brave step in 1811 to takeover temples by the Royal Government. This comprehensive reform was introduced in order to avoid their unethical conduct<sup>27</sup>. He wrote to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, Madras, that the temples were in carcass, their ceremonies utterly abandoned and the Brahmins, Nairs, and other officers attached to them not only swallowed up their revenues but also sold and alienated their lands. "There is scarcely a *pagoda* in Travancore that has not been repeatedly robbed not only of its revenues, but of its religious ornaments, and even its idols by Brahmins and Nairs<sup>28</sup>". It is obvious that, his unflinching love and admiration towards the native culture as well as its religion were unquestionable. During this period, temples of all kinds were in one-way or other in peril. The state

of affairs of the Dewasoms had been a source of apprehension to the government for a long time in the earlier period. Though the temples possessed large tracts of land and considerable income from it and were misappropriated by its local administrators [*kazhakakars*]. In the year 1816, there were in Travancore about 19,524 temples of all kinds and categories but in 1891 their number came down to 9364 because of the lack of proper care and nurture from a competent, honorable and sincere authority. In short, the blessings of Col. Munroe showered over 2059 lucky temples and even today the same temples flourish under the Travancore Dewasom Board, a quasi-government enterprise, in Kerala. As a result of this bold step, Dewasom charges amounted to Rs. 280200/- in 1807-08 and, raise to Rs. 496600/- in 1812-13. The bold action of Col. Munroe saved more than a thousand temples that were on peril. Through this Royal initiative 348 major temples and 1711 minor temples were resurrected.

The anxiety over the progress of the Hindu temples was not confined with the takeover of a few temples; he rendered a lot to the material and spiritual progress of the temples of Travancore and Cochin. His concern after payment of the debts of the state was the renovation of the Hindu temples, Easwraseva Kottarams [mofussil palaces for ceremonies and devotions] and Oottus [Temple messes]. The proceedings also show that he enthusiastically made all preparations for the Adachudhara and Varuna Japam [expensive temple rituals] ceremonies of Nanjunadu for not having sufficient rains, and the Sarkara Payasam and Pushpanjali ceremonies of Kuttanadu in times of excessive rains<sup>29</sup>. The Princess of Travancore courteously accredited the commendable mission made in the field of temples and Dewasom reorganization through a letter to the Chief Secretary in March 1818<sup>30</sup>.

## **Perfection and Ordering of General Administration of the state**

Col. Munroe arrived here as the Resident or political officer of the East India Company. However, the ruling Rani realized his potential as an administrator and she appointed him the Dewan and gave him the duties of the Prime Minister of the state. Immediately after assumption of office of the Dewan, he made an attempt to assess the true picture of the administrative set up of the state. He realized that the administrative machinery of the state was outdated, most barbaric and oppressive in nature. He severely criticized the administrative set up of the state and suggested an alternative<sup>31</sup>. He further initiated with corrective measures that were of the best of the English models. As a drastic measure, he introduced thorough reforms in the general administrative setup of the state. He introduced a set of new rules. While introducing the new rules, he gave due respect to native customs and conventions. On the basis of native principles, he introduced a new law book called Chattavariolas [SattaWariolas]<sup>32</sup>.

The enlightened despot of the State, Rani Lakshmi Bai, had conferred over Col. Munroe all the political as well as administrative powers/rights for the enhancement and welfare of her subjects.

P Shangoonny Menon, a prominent historian of the Travancore State sees this as a radical step forward. He writes, "All enactments were promulgated in the form of royal proclamations and Her Highness also authorized Col. Munroe to issue such acts under his own hand and seal"<sup>33</sup>. Col. Munroe had taken this occasion to institute order and promptness in the government of the state and to save the state from the confused state of affairs that happened owing to the lack of ability of the earlier Dewans [Prime

ministers], primarily of his immediate predecessor Ummini Thampy. Munroe's approach as Dewan and Resident was different from that of the earlier Dewans. While he was in the office of PM, he used to respect the principle of Thomas Aquinas, [1225-1274], an Italian scholastic philosopher and a major theologian of the Roman Catholic Church, as the guiding principle of all his endeavors. Thomas Aquinas defined law as, "A measure or rule of humanitarian, measure or rule conceived by reason and promulgated with a view to the common good<sup>34</sup>".

He streamlined each department of the state thus conforming to the contemporary notions proficient in England. The most imperative in this trend was the Huzur Cutcherry [Secretariat], the Financial, the Revenue, the Judicial, the Police, and the Military Departments. The designations of Karyakkār and Thirumukhompīdicchapillai were changed to Tahasildar and Samprthi respectively. Special rules with respect to payments from the treasury and to the treasury were drafted, arrangements were made for the exact administration of the revenues, the introduction of modern method of account maintenance, introduction of paper [*kadudass*] instead of palmyra leaves for writing and the appointment of Valiya Melezuthu Pillai [Accountant General] and Melezuthu Pillai [Deputy Accountant General], etc. were made. Thereafter he abolished many vexatious taxes. For instance, there was a tax called *Purushartham*, a tax collected from the off springs of the deceased persons to inherit his property. The Dewan [PM] initiated steps to conduct a thorough demographic study of the state with the help of revenue officials. The reorganization of the police, forest and commercial departments were, no doubt, innovatory measures which were well suited to a state like Travancore.

When Col. Munroe assumed charge as Dewan [PM], the general administration of the state was in a state of negligence

and inefficiency. His main concern was to correct abuses and weed out dishonesty from the civil government as well as the police service and for this end in view, he worked effectively. The appointment of officials and servants in the *sirkar* [government] Service were made according to the will of the ruler. He discontinued this illogical practice and appointed a committee of six members and it later functioned as the Staff Selection Board<sup>35</sup>. No doubt, it was the first of its kind in entire India. He was a man of tremendous insight. Munroe was keenly concerned about the ecological problems of the state. Government consent was made compulsory for the felling of trees and made it conditional. For every tree felled, there was an obligation of planting five saplings<sup>36</sup>. There is no doubt that this measure was an innovative one.

Dalava [Prime Minister] Velu Thampi had given harsh punishments to corrupt officials. Col. Munroe was more compassionate in dealing with the corruption of bureaucrats. His punishments were forever intended at correction and not the annihilation of the guilty. P. Shungoonny Menon observed thus; “Col. Munroe’s award of punishments was something like that of a school master; for none of the chastised servants was dismissed from the service. Soon after the administration of punishment, the incumbents were invariably ordered to continue in their respective posts and discharge their duties satisfactorily<sup>37</sup>. He made necessary arrangements in the Huzur Court to listen to the grievances of the officials and made provisions for taking proper curative measures. Velu Thampi clogged the field allowance compensated to the state troops in times of peace. The reason behind this severe measure was the disturbing fall in the state exchequer. The unsatisfied troops of Travancore rose in rebellion<sup>38</sup>. In retaliation Velu Thampi [PM] disbanded all the native Travancore troops including the Carnatic Brigade that remained loyal. A small contingent consisting of 700 men of

Nayar Battalion was only retained. Col. Munroe realized the need of the native force and organized two battalions of Nayar Sepoys and one company of cavalry and put them under the command and control of European Officers<sup>39</sup>.

In the administrative field, he commenced positive welfare measures. For the first time in the history of the state vaccination against smallpox was started. This was the first step towards public health in the state<sup>40</sup>. Munroe also tried to popularize the European medicine [Allopathy] to the indigenous doctors [*vaidhyans*] to improve the general health standard of the state. It was found that the allopathic medicines were more effective than the indigenous medicines. “In 993 [ME] that one Dr. Brown is seen treating the Rani and the members of the palace. In 994 ME, Col. Munroe took advantage of the attendance of the European doctors at Trivandrum, Quilon, and Cochin to get certain medicines distributed in advance among the local *vaidhyans*<sup>41</sup>”. These are adequate testimony to prove the philanthropic nature of Col. Munroe. Along with health care he was also more concerned about the improvement of the road transport system. For transportation the state depended on her waterways. Consequently, the hinterlands were most abandoned and the life here was more hazardous also. Munroe was aware of the need for roads in the overall progress of the state and opened new road networks in the state. In 1811 CE, he secured the approval of the Rani for the provision of bridges and *Junkars* [big boats] for crossing certain rivers and waterways as part of his road and transport development programme. This step immediately boosted the trade, commerce and transport scenario of the state. Another praiseworthy step that the Colonel took was to safeguard the salary of the state officials from unnecessary deductions by the state in order to meet its debt. During the Dalwaship [PM] of Ummini Thampi there was the practice of deducting an amount from the salary of the Government servants,

in order to improve the financial commitment to the East India Company. On the request of the ruling Princess, Col. Munroe suspended the above practice. Through accurate accounting and auditing, the Colonel was able to encounter the debt due to the East India Company, and he was able to accomplish the ruling Princess' aspirations<sup>42</sup>.

### **Commencement of Modern Legal Administration.**

In the colonial period Travancore was a country where the awful and despicable *smriti* rules were in operation. The people of this state by no means perceived of the liberal conceptions such as rule of law or equality before law, etc. or such jargon that were familiar to British India. In Travancore and Cochin, there were no consistent judicial establishments or any transliterated code during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Routine laws managed the social relations. These conventional practices were not centered on democratic concepts. The Nambootiri / Brahmin was penalized with only the loss of his caste even for the most brutal crimes. The cases were tried with the primeval and customary technique of trial by ordeals or *satya pareeksha*<sup>43</sup>. Capital penalty was given to an Ezhava man for a trivial theft of plucking of a few coconuts from a garden<sup>44</sup>. Instantaneously after the clearance of the succession investigation of Travancore State, Col. Munroe eliminated the practice of trial by ordeals<sup>44</sup>. As the part of the judicial reform programme, he presented a novel set of laws on Chingam 987 of ME [1812 CE] popularly known as Satta wariolas. Hence judicial courts were established for the first time in Travancore and it contained thirty-four sections; moreover, it was a detailed code with a modern concept like equality before law<sup>45</sup>.



The sovereign tendered unequivocal backing to all the Regulations brought forth by Col. Munroe except trial by ordeal. But diplomacy helped him to break the stalemate; certain provisions relating to trial by ordeal that contravened the religious morals of the state were retained. It was finally decided to supplement certain clauses that trial by ordeal might be used in precise cases only with the definite authorization of the Dewan<sup>46</sup>. Modern and systematic judicial institutions were introduced after the introduction of Satta Wariolas. An innovative reform in the history of Travancore judicial system was the proclamation of 989 ME [1814 CE]. By this assertion, the judicial institutions of the realm were directed to convey all communications to the petitioners, plaintiffs and defendants in writing through the state's Anchal [postal] service<sup>47</sup>. Col. Munroe was a nemesis of corruption and so he was very insistent on seeing a judiciary unrestricted from external influence with a sense of justice. Therefore, he introduced rational incentives and service conditions to judges.

He refashioned the state police mechanism as a part of novel legal system. Hence, he established a new police force<sup>48</sup>. The tenacity of the new force was the preservation of internal safety and the circumvention of antagonism amongst the people. The earlier police force was too small and did not come up to expectations. The police and judicial authority that were once vested in the hands of the revenue officials [Karyakkars] were taken away and made separate entities to these two independent departments<sup>49</sup>. Munroe considered that it was convenient to maintain the police organization under his express supervision. He was also determined and committed to a disciplined and corruption - free bureaucracy for the benefit of the people.

## Preferment of Economy

As an architect of British laissez-faire scheme, Col. Munroe was very committed to the rationalization of the state's monetary policy. To attain real economic progress, he concentrated in the infrastructure development. Actions were initiated for the opening of markets. To back up trade and commerce shipbuilding industry was given special attention<sup>50</sup>. The steps that were taken in the economic front of the state by Munroe in the nineteenth century, produced fruits in the early twentieth century, during the time of Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the last Dewan of the state of Travancore. In this period, Travancore emerged as one of the major industrial states in British India. Col. Munroe was responsible for this major breakthrough. In the early twentieth century, Travancore enjoyed political stability and rule of law.

As a first step to rationalize the economy, he was able to abandon the practice of the collection of discriminatory and unjust taxes like poll tax, rupavari, purushantharam, cottage-tax, net-tax, enikkanam [ladder tax], etc. from the subaltern *jatis* of the land<sup>51</sup>. The corruption that existed in the revenue service of the state was uprooted through several strong measures mentioned earlier in this chapter. The entire amounts overdue to the state exchequer were expeditiously collected and the officials framed rules to prevent misuse of state funds. The Audit and Account system improved on modern lines was a progressive step as far as the state was concerned<sup>52</sup>. As a result, even after the abolition of several discriminatory taxes like the poll tax, taxes collected from the occupational *jatis*, etc., the state's annual income increased from four lakhs to fifteen lakhs<sup>53</sup>.

The next laudable reform in the direction of land relations of the state was the commercialization of lands. Previously, the

real cultivators of the land had no genuine ownership over their farmlands. This triggered a lot of complications to the actual tillers of the soil. As a curative measure he was able to equip the landholders with documents called *pattayams*/title deeds<sup>54</sup>. Due to this measure, land became an exchangeable commodity and a product of commercial value. Thereafter, he turned in the direction of Revenue Settlement. It was a prodigious administrative measure so far introduced in that territory. “Munroe had the holdings measured, their taxes ascertained and recorded in the *pattayams* or title deeds issued to the ryots, so that each landholder may know the amount for which he is liable. Care was taken to relieve the people of taxes disproportionate to the yield from the land”<sup>55</sup>. Although he was quick in granting title deeds to the framers he never showed disrespect to Dharma Sastras. According to the *Dharma Sastras* Brahmins were considered consecrated people on account of the spiritual service they rendered to the state and society. No taxes were ever collected from them. Therefore Munroe exempted the Brahmin *janmis* [land lords] from the purview of tax payment and that was a noteworthy step as far as an orthodox society like Travancore was concerned<sup>56</sup>. There was a practice amongst the lower revenue officers, since most of the land taxpayers being illiterate, to take advantage out of it through making demands on the people for dues that they had already paid. To overcome the difficulties of illiterate taxpayers Munroe had started schools to teach them Malayalam and Tamil scripts in which the tax dues were written on the title deeds [*pattayams*]<sup>57</sup>.

Col. Munroe’s English experience particularly in the economic situation facilitated him to design the future Travancore of the twentieth century. The uncompromising approach towards corruption at all levels of administration to a great deal helped and the growth of trade and industry. This anti- corruption measures aided Travancore’s changeover from the tribal mode

of production to modern economic relations based on justice and surplus appropriation. He was able to fix the prices of the commodities of common use in the market and through it a stable market was guaranteed to the common people. Prices were set down week after week in consultation with the merchants and the people in the locality. Provisions in general use were exempted from the taxes when put up for sale in the markets<sup>58</sup>. Kerala as a whole from time immemorial was very backward in the cotton industry due to the geographic as well as climatic conditions. So the people of this land used only the minimum clothes. Due to the European intervention since the sixteenth century onwards, cotton-weaving industry flourished. But the need for raw cotton was met through the import, which caused drain of wealth from here. In order to check this heavy drainage and simultaneously shielding the native cotton industry, he decided to promote native cotton cultivation. He issued a proclamation on 11th Tulam 989 ME [1814 CE] by which he offered rewards for the indigenous raw cotton producers. For every *kandi* [corresponding to three quintals] of raw cotton produced in the country an incentive of ten rupees plus a price of two hundred rupees [earlier it was one hundred rupees] were offered to the cultivators and it was the best example of his concern for the state's industrial growth<sup>59</sup>.

When he assumed charge as the Resident of Tranvancore, the state was subject to serious financial disorderliness and bankruptcy. Proper accounting and receipts to the remittance was absent in the Finance Department of the state. He introduced proper accounting and auditing and thereafter started the practice of issuing receipts to those persons who were remitting money as tax to the state exchequer<sup>60</sup>. In all the domains of administration, he insisted on the lessening of spending in order to solve the financial crunch faced by the state through years<sup>61</sup>. He discharged his duties without fear or favour. To quote an interesting testimony in this regard: "Colonel's objection to extravagant expenditure

extended also to the claims made by his own assistants and dependents. Captain Macleod, Commandant at Trivandrum, was in the good books of the Rani. She wanted to raise his pay by Rs.500/-; but the Colonel sanctioned only Rs.200/-<sup>62</sup>. Former sovereigns of Travancore indiscriminately borrowed money from all available sources. But during the days of Rama Varma alias Dharmaraja [1758-1798 CE], the state had an annual balance of five lakhs rupees. Even one half of it was never used even for meeting contingent expenses of the state and royal family. The balance sum deposited in the exchequer was never touched except in cases of utmost necessity. But the King who succeeded immediately after him was a synonym of mismanagement. Thus the surplus treasury of the state chops into financial catastrophe. To surmount the financial crisis, money was liberally borrowed by the king/state from private individuals without any intention of repayment, and when the lenders demanded either principal or interest, they were put behind bars<sup>63</sup>. In addition to it, the Raja was forced to take loans from other governments. He raised a loan of six lakhs of rupees from the Bombay government. Loan settlement and Subsidy to East India Company fell into arrears<sup>64</sup>. Through serious and radical measures, Munroe was able to repay all the debts. After a short while, Munroe received a clearing note from the East India Company<sup>65</sup>. Col. Munroe cleared off the amassed state debt during the time of his administration. At the time of his retirement from the office of Dewan and Resident after nine years, the entire debt of the state was cleared off and the administrative machinery was made to function efficiently<sup>66</sup>.

### **A true patron behind the Colonel's Uniform**

Munroe exercised the qualities of a faithful diplomat and right artifact of English Protestant laissez-faire. He was authorized here

as the manager of a trading company; he discharged his responsibility beyond that level. His labours to get enhanced physical condition to the natives were successful and it became the root of all later socio- religious movements. Munroe travelled around the kingdom at regular intervals and lent his ears courteously to the complaints made by the people. Human relations were determined on the birth or *jati* and this was a new experience to him. To educate this depressed group of people at its grass root level, he requested the service of Christian Missionaries from the government at Madras. Munroe was responsible for the enhanced Protestant Mission activities at Travancore and Cochin states. Even his Christian counterparts [Syrian Christians] in the state were not free from the vices of the general social order of the day. Their priests were leading a scandalous life, contrary to the celibacy norms prescribed by the church. Their knowledge of the Bible and the Scriptures was very poor. Thus, the Christians were not much different from the rest of the society.

P. Cheriyan, a Syrian Christian historiographer observed that the Syrian priests were neither educated nor outstanding in their moral temperament. Most of them were engaged in secular trades and served as soldiers to the Hindu princes. Even after the breakaway from the Roman Catholic Church, they practiced the Roman practice of celibacy<sup>67</sup>. Munroe found that in spite of their Bishop's recommendations, the clergies expressed no interest on the ground of poverty and showed a general reluctance to marry<sup>68</sup>. Therefore, he came forward with an offer to pay four hundred rupees to the first priest who would take such a step and agreed to pay between rupees one hundred and fifty and rupees two hundred, to fifteen others. He shouldered the responsibility of modernizing the prevailing Christians culturally as well as theologically<sup>69</sup>.

## Assimilation of Knowledge

The English pattern of knowledge was usually acknowledged as superior to the indigenous. Swami Vivekananda consistently praised this system of edification. To him, “The British Empire with its all drawbacks is the greatest machine that ever existed for the dissemination of ideas”<sup>70</sup>. Munroe, no doubt, the true subject of English practice adopted the western system of education to update the natives. Munroe assigned the divine task of modernizing the natives to Protestant missions. The 20<sup>th</sup> century social and educational revolution of the state was really masterminded by him. He requested the missionaries at home and they positively responded to that request. Mr. Norton, a CMS Missionary reached Cochin from Colombo [Present Sri Lanka] on 8th of May 1816 [CE] and was stationed at Alleppey by the Resident, Col. Munroe, as the most suitable place for the achievement of his purpose. Thereafter, an influx of missionaries like Rev. Bailey, Rev. Peet, Rev. Fenn, et al. came here and laboured for the cultural as well as social betterment of the uneducated mass of this land. The people of Kerala still remember them for their valuable services delivered in the field of education, prose literature and printing. His dynamic mediator of contemporary education system was the printing press. The founding of a press at Kottayam (first Malayalam printing press) was the prime interest of the Resident Col. Munroe<sup>71</sup>.

Munro was also active in fostering the western system of tutoring. C M S missionaries started a college with the active support of the Colonel, at Kottayam, in the year 1816 [CE] for the instruction of the Syrian Christians. This institution [present CMS College] was known to the people as ‘Cottayam College’. He was instrumental in popularizing comprehensive system of

education concerned not only with the vernacular but also with the English language<sup>72</sup>. It is true that the college was started for the theological teaching of the Syrian Christians, from its very beginning it was open for secular education and the advantage of the instruction being stretched to non-Christians also<sup>73</sup>. Its secular credentials made the ruling princess Rani Lakshmi Bai to sanction a sum of twenty thousand rupees for the day - to - day running of the college. The good performance of the college at Kottayam assisted in gaining a vast tract of land in Quilon District – ‘the Munroe Island’ - for meeting its financial requirements. The strategy visualized by Munroe helped in the functioning of later Protestant Missions in India. The work of the Christian missionaries and the spread of Western education helped to bring about a radical social change<sup>74</sup>. Thus, the compassionate accomplishments of Col. Munroe and his labours led to an era of enlightenment in Travancore.

### **Impact over the Local Reformation Movements**

The impact of the progressive measures initiated by Col. Munroe in the administration of the native state was colossal. Col. Munroe had far-reaching impact on the socio-economic and political framework of state. It is true that colonialism and Protestantism all over the world. The native state of Travancore was not an exception to this universal pattern. This missionary activity all over the world was not much different from that of Travancore and Cochin. The great son of India Swami Vivekananda admitted them through appropriate words; “*we need the missionaries of Christ*”<sup>75</sup>. The sincerity, integrity, commitment, etc all are the parameters of the missionary enterprises. Swami Vivekananda was in search of the ideal role models for the reconstruction of our nation. The 19<sup>th</sup> century was the crucial century that saw the beginning of the progressive



alteration process that resulted in an enormous transformation in the socio-economic-politico- religious and cultural spheres. The entirety of this influence acted on the life and thoughts of the people in diverse ways effecting social changes.

The societal situation of the present day Kerala before the colonial discourse was, too different and this land was well known to the world as a landscape of liberal gender. Women folk below Nair caste did not cover their breasts, there was no query of accepted marital life with the Ezhava women and, conversely Nair women could marry as many husbands as they wanted. The Chief of Ambalapuzha (a native state) issued a decree, i.e. a right was showered over men to exterminate those Nair women who were reluctant to materialize their sexual desires<sup>76</sup>. The Dutch traveller Captain John Nieuhoff [1664 CE] said that, *“the womenfolk are generally without chastity here, ..... Before the age seventeen or eighteenth, they lose their virginity. Men here are averse to marrying women who are virgins. Only those women, who are adroit in sexual arts, get good husbands or partners”*<sup>77</sup>. The state of affairs was so worse so that the social fabric required reform. This materialised through the vision of Col. Munroe and the labours of the missionaries. The endeavor to formulate the natives familiar with the English ideas through numerous discursive sites such of education/schools, law court, Huzur courts, postal system, economic relations, allopathic medicine, etc. These shaped a few men of radiance and social commitment such as Chattampi Swamikal, Ayyan Kali, Sree Narayana Guru, Mannathu Padmanabhan, etc and they were supportive to the social institutions of the period. But these reformers preferred the European institutional as well as organizational skeleton besides Protestant wisdom and moral ideas for the accomplishment of their preferred objectives. The delicate family dealings of the native Hindu *jatis* were prepared strong through the new discursive sites brought forward through Munroe’s impact. The

profligate society of the past was altered to Victorian ethical systems. The socio-economic and political reform movements of Kerala to the person of Col. Munroe. It is true that Munroe characterized the Company in Travancore acted and owe much as the torchbearer of the generations to come<sup>78</sup>.

The completives of Munroe's triumph was that he soberly appreciated and was concerned for the country and the people resounded to his control and the rulers to whom it was his duty to confer advice in times of need. These services were without realizing any remuneration from the state exchequer. Munroe rejected any compensation from Travancore even though the Rani's unrelenting offer directly and also through the Madras Government to maintain his personal employees even a peon at the cost of the *Sirkar* [Government] made a profound impact on the administration and the populace<sup>79</sup>. Undoubtedly, it is true that what the king Marthanda Varma, the founder of the State of Travancore, gained in the political/administrative scenario during his twenty five years regime was accomplished by Col. Munroe in a small period of four years. There was a belief that the whole state mechanism was for the advantage of the king and not for the welfare of the community. He deracinated this conventional concept by establishing that the administrative beneficiaries should be the people. The account of the beginning of the social cataclysm in Kerala was initiated with the four years of management of Colonel John Munroe alias Col. Munroe.

The Princely States of Travancore and Cochin were not in the fringe of colonial modernity as clarified by the renowned intellectual Ashis Nandy<sup>80</sup>. On the other hand, the rest of Colonial India under the East India Company regime had already been familiar with Colonial forms. The subordinate isolation of princely states particularly of highly Hindu conscious states of Travancore and Cochin never had a chance to interact with the modernity

as explained by Karl Marx. “*England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating – the annihilation of old Asiatic Society and the laying of the material foundations of Western Society in Asia*”<sup>81</sup>. The testimonial of Karl Marx conceivably will not be a suitable summing up while bearing in mind all other factors of pre-colonial Indic society but at the same time in the precise case of Travancore and Cochin State, it was realistic. Even though Munroe was an artifact of Colonial Christian Protestantism, he employed in this state the foundation of secular identification. He had given due respect to other religious practices and customs. His apt and sensible interventions keep thousands of Hindu temples from inherent decay<sup>82</sup>. The temples of these states were not amenable to a major portion of Hindus who belonged to the subaltern *jatis*. The work of Col. Munroe facilitated the Temple Entry Proclamation of 12th November 1936 which happened without shedding a single drop of blood. He was a true Christian but had never exposed any indigestiveness or any animosity towards the Hindu rituals. He encouraged several sacrifices and rituals that were divergent to the Christian beliefs. He passionately made all arrangements for the *Adachudhara* and *Varuna Japam* [expensive temple rituals] ceremonies of Nanjunadu for not having adequate rains, and the *Sarkara Payasam* and *Pushpanjali* ceremonies of Kuttanadu in times of excessive monsoon<sup>83</sup>.

The dedication to the validation of judicial system that was a turn on the most unfair legal system of the rotten *smriti* [the traditional Hindu law book] laws was remarkable. The notion of equality before law was a new practice. Munroe was instrumental in organizing a new outlook provided amongst the natives, which later provide direction to the revolutionary social changes. Therefore, the state of Travancore and Cochin became the hot bed of social reform movements of Kerala in its later

years. The involvement of Munroe was an outstanding one in the political and economic dealings of Travancore. The rationalization of the tax structure, commercialization of the land, etc produced a sweeping impact on the socio-political settings of the present Kerala. Discriminatory taxes were revoked. It also facilitated the improvement of the trade and industrial situation to an enormous degree. Besides the alteration in the land holding pattern the surfacing of a new middle class also helped the socio-economic transformation of the State. These transformations took place due to the labour of Col. Munroe during his Dewanship in the State of Travancore and Cochin.

His concern for the modernization of the native state was visible throughout his tenure in Travancore. He recognized the fundamental requirement to declare literacy a universal need. To him literacy and modernity are mutually complementary. He realized that the dissemination of the modern western knowledge system could be effected through the formal plane of literacy. Therefore he started the mission for the spread and universalisation of literacy. The ruling family of both the states extended unadulterated and unlimited support to him in this task. It broke the venerable custom of maintaining the knowledge system in the ivory towers of *jati* hierarchy.

The proper mediation in the succession issue helped Travancore to preserve the individuality of a princely state in the map of British India for another one hundred and thirty seven years more. We should not forget all these happened in an age of East India Company's stupendous territorial expansion programme in India. Col. Munroe in his combined capacity of Resident and Dewan brought peace and prosperity to Kerala and led her in the right direction on the road to progressive government and her present eminence. Col. Munroe retired from the Government of Travancore and embarked for England on

24<sup>th</sup> of January 1819. The social reform movement of Kerala in general and particularly of the princely states of Travancore and Cochin in particular came through the stimulus of colonial agents. Munroe's name is still remembered all through Travancore and Cochin, and ordinary folk are keen to talk of the magnificent achievements of the great reformer. Certainly it can provide a right perspective to the students of history and an accurate depiction of the collective progression of the preceding two hundred years. As an honest person and an artifact of Protestant Liberalism as well as laissez-faire, society fully remembers him.

Col John Munroe died on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1858. When the reports of his death came, there was an effort to honour his name. The government discussed the matter with his daughter Lady Charlotte Spencer. She suggested the installation of lights in the backwaters, to guide the boatmen in the night. The proposal came through the Resident in 1860. Two lights were established. The installation process was completed in 1875. They are still called Munroe lights and are the only official memorials to the great statesman and deliverer. Among the Dewans that have administered this country, the names of three stand out in bold letters- Col. John Munroe, Sir. T. Madhava Rao and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao. However, certainly the greatest of them is Munroe. Queen (Rani) Lakshmi Bai in a moment of prayerful gratitude expressed, "such a man was sent by Bhagavan" (God) himself<sup>84</sup>.

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Owing to the pressure of the missionaries, other royal proclamations were also made for the liberation of slaves and later on complete abolition of slavery became a reality". See. Arby Varghese, op cit, p 52.& The first Royal Proclamation prohibiting slavery in Travancore was issued on 30th Kanni 1029 M.E [CE 1853] by which the future offsprings of Government slaves were freed. Slavery was finally abolished in the State by the Royal Proclamation of 12th Mithunam 1030 ME [June 1855 CE] by which all Government slaves were emancipated. The Raja of Cochin also followed similar measures a few years later. See, W. S. Hunt, Slavery in Kerala, and [1928] Kerala Society Papers, Editor, Kerala Gazetteers, Trivandrum, 1997, pp 275 -280.

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72. CMS Proceedings, 1819-20, p.171.
73. *Ibid*, 1816-17, p. 455.
74. A. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History, Op Cit, p. 323.

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76. P. K. Balakrishnan, *Jati Vyavasthithioun Kerala Charitravoum(Mal)*, NBS, Kottayam, 1983, pp. 282, 274-283.
77. Quoted from the article 'Sex and the Mallu', by Vinu Abraham, The Week, 28<sup>th</sup> November 2004, pp. 12-13.
78. C. Kesavan, *Jeevitha Samaram(Mal)*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, pp. 95-102.
79. Op cit, P. Cherian, p. 82.
80. Op cit., Ashis Nandy, Intimate.
81. Karl Marx, New York Daily Tribune, No. 3840, 8<sup>th</sup> August, 1853.
82. Kuttanadu and Nanjunadu are the two rice growing regions of the then Travancore. See. I. Mathew, *Travancore A Hundred Years Ago*, Kerala Society Papers II, Series 8, Vol. II, op cit, p. 130.
83. Kerala Society Papers, Volume: II, series 8, Gazetteers Department, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 132..
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## CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS AND THE FRENCH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN INDIA

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### Abstract

*With the construction of railway lines in British India (Bombay in 1853, Calcutta in 1854 and Madras in 1856) in the second half of the nineteenth century, the business men in Pondicherry, too, were quick in realising the importance of connecting their ports with this new mode of transport for their commercial interests. Starting from the beginning, they sought support from the Metropolitan (France) authorities in this regard. The subject of railway for French India was first mentioned prominently in an address, dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1860, submitted to the then French Emperor His Majesty Napoleon III by fourteen business houses of Pondicherry. With the establishment of political institutions and the universal suffrage in French India in the 1870's, the railway project was taken into serious political consideration. This paper traces the part played by the political institutions and the state of French Indian economy in the second half of the nineteenth century.*

*With the construction of first railway lines in British India, built from the major ports of Bombay in 1853, Calcutta in 1854*

*and Madras in 1856, the business men in Pondicherry, too, were quick to realise the importance of connecting their ports with this new mode of transport for their commercial interests. Like their British counterparts, started from the beginning, they sought support from the Metropolitan (France) authorities in this regard.*

*The subject of railways for French India<sup>1</sup> was first mentioned prominently in an address, dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1860, submitted to the French government by fourteen business houses of Pondicherry<sup>2</sup>. The address was submitted by the Cercle du Commerce des Maisons de Commerce de Pondichery (Commercial Groups of the Business House of Pondicherry) to the then French Emperor His Majesty Napoleon III. A copy of this address was also sent to the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille and to other French Chambers of Commerce on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1860<sup>3</sup>. It related to the question of construction of a railway line from the port of Pondicherry upto the railway network connecting Madras. Through this Address, the Pondicherry commercial interests made an appeal to the French Metropolitan authorities for financial support for the railway project in French India. The address argued that,*

*“if proper and effective steps were not taken in time, the port of Pondicherry, encircled by, but not linked with railway network, was sure to lose its commerce eventually to the two important ports on the Coromandel, namely Madras and Nagapatnam”<sup>4</sup>.*

*It was, therefore, necessary, the address suggested, to enter into some agreement with the British Government in order to take steps to connect Pondicherry with Madras by a railway line. It was suggested that the project, once materialized, would serve the trading interests of both the French and the British.*

*The Pondicherry-Madras line would turn out to be the most economic line. The address suggested that a capital of ten to twelve million francs was needed to be raised at guaranteed interest for the proposed railway project.*

*The Pondicherry business men, through this Address, also argued that the French Government normally received from their Indian possessions a large number of charges under different heads, and, in addition, a net transfer of one million francs was made annually from the Indian colonies to the Public Treasury of France. It was, therefore, hinted that the French possessions in India had a rightful claim on the French Government to the financial support requested for.*

*It appears that the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille pursued this issue seriously with the French Government. Within three months, in a detailed letter dated at Paris, the 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1860<sup>5</sup>, in the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works, Department of External Trade, the French Government wrote to the Marseille Chamber about the steps the former had taken to collect more information on the subject. Since it was a question of contacting the British Government and exchanging of mutual trading concessions with them, the French Ministry of Algeria and the Colonies were also involved in this subject.*

*However, ultimately, with all the necessary deliberations, the French Government made it known to the Marseille Chamber that it was not favourably disposed to the Pondicherry-Madras railway proposal<sup>6</sup>. According to the French Government, it was not economical to undertake financial responsibilities for the proposed railway project. There was no objection, however, on the part of the French authorities to establish a free port at Pondicherry to augment its trade. In fact, the French colonial trade practice was to consider all ports in French India as free*

*ports. With this unfavourable decision of the French Government, as communicated by them to the Marseille Chamber of Commerce on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1865, the matter pursued so far vigorously by the Pondicherry business houses for five years, was shelved for the time being.*

*Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that the Chamber of Commerce of Pondicherry was formerly established by the Governor of French Establishments in India in September 1864, in accordance with a governmental order dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1856<sup>7</sup>. The Government of French India, thereupon, sent letters in this regard to other Chambers of Commerce of France, including that of Marseille, seeking their cooperation and support to the work of the newly created Pondicherry Chamber of Commerce<sup>8</sup>. The Chamber of Commerce of Pondicherry, also pursued many other economic problems like famines in the French Indian possession etc., had made full use of the good offices of influential bodies in France including the Marseille Chamber of Commerce, for necessary consideration and action.*

*As mentioned above, the matter of connecting Pondicherry with Madras by a railway line had come to a standstill due to the policy of the French Government as declared by them in September 1865. For almost two decades this situation prevailed, although the matter was said to be 'studied' by the French Government in the meanwhile.*

## **Systematic Opposition from Indians**

The question of construction of railway lines came forward again for serious consideration in the 1870's and 1880's. With the establishment of political institutions and universal suffrage in French India, the railway project was taken up for serious political considerations.



Indeed, the concept which governed French colonial policy through the late nineteenth century was 'assimilation', a policy 'directed at removing all differences between colonies and the metropole by endowing them with the same administrative, fiscal, judicial, social and other institutions as the metropole and at giving their inhabitants full civic rights and obliging them to the same duties' as citizens in France itself<sup>9</sup>. Like the administrative machinery of the Third Republic in France, in French India, between 1871 and 1881, the colony was endowed with a Deputy and a Senator to the French parliament. Towards local government reforms, a *Conseil colonial* (later modified as *Conseil general*), *Conseils locaux* (one per establishments) and municipalities were established.

Electoral politics was introduced in the French Indian settlements by the Second Republic in France by a decree passed on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1871, which restored to French India the right of being represented by a deputy in French *Assemblée Nationale* in France.

Two political parties were formed in the before of the elections of 1871. Emile Hecquet's 'Liberal Party' had for a long time demanded decentralisation of French Indian administration and possible establishment of *Conseil general* as in France and participation of Indians in it. The Gallios-Montbrun's 'Conservative Party' supported the candidature of Ristelhueber. This party stood for centralisation of administration, Governor as the head, and opposed parliamentary representation and participation of Indians which would threaten the hegemony of European and the *Creole* population. It is to be noted here that the Gallios-Montbrun's party endorsed the plan of construction of railways in French India.

In effect, both the parties had chosen their candidates with the willingness of high-castes notables of Pondicherry, viz., Ponnuthambi Pillai (a liberal and the leader of Indian Christian community) and ‘*Nadou*’ Shanmugam Vellayuda Modeliar (a traditionalist and head of the Hindus)<sup>10</sup>. Generally, the Indian candidate in the election held the view that,

“The French had never given its due importance to French India which was economically viable and a self supporting colony only next to Algeria and that the French colonial exploitation was very brutal”<sup>11</sup>.

Here after the question of railways became often stormy in the elections, thus, the entire population was divided into two hostile camps, one for the support of construction of railway lines and the other against the project.

Political life in French India until 1875 was centred on the interests of the Europeans and the *Creole* population. A paradigm shift occurred in 1876, when politics passed into the hands of Indians. In the deputy election of October 1885, Pierre Alype was proposed for the post of by the ‘Indian Party’. Alype contested against the liberal candidate Mourice Rouvier, the former Minister of Commerce in the Gambetta government and a friend of the influential banker, the Baron de Reinach in Paris. Rouvier’s election manifesto announced great projects for the development of French India including establishment of ports in Pondicherry and Karaikal, construction of railways and roads, creation of schools and construction of canals.

Shanmugam, who had long remained circumspect, was now ready to act. Belonging to high-caste *Vellala*, Shanmugam had inherited the title of ‘*nadou*’, or head of the high-castes from his father Sidambramodeliar, which conferred on him enormous

prestige. Shanmugam's response was that "Monsieur Rouvier is a man of too much importance for us. We do not doubt that he would successfully bring to fruition projects which would benefit the future and colonial prosperity of the country, but these projects, notably the railway and port, are of greater interest for Europeans than for us (Indians). It is also possible that the workers (Pariahs) might gain from this, but this does not concern us"<sup>12</sup>.

Shanmugam<sup>13</sup>, thought that it was by taking over colonial institutions, one could prevent the danger. He created an 'Indian Party' and managed to form an electoral alliance with the conservative 'Pondicherrian Committee' supported by the majority of the *Creoles* and *Choutres*, as well as by the Catholic Mission.

Moracchini, the Governor of French India, held a different view that, by initiating Indians on the one hand, into the exercise of political rights and by expanding on the other hand, education by the creation of French schools will lead to development. In this regard, he cited the example of British India where, according to him, the establishment of schools and of a large railway network was more beneficial for the levelling of castes than money spent profusely by Protestant missionaries in obtaining "hypocritical and precarious conversions."<sup>14</sup>

The sessions of *Conseil general* in 1886 were often wrought with the stormy question over the financial situation in the colony. Shanmugam, the king of French India, put on all his 'war armaments,' and waged a crusade against every European influence. The financial situation in the colony had plunged into a deep crisis, because of the fall in the value of the rupees as against the franc and the expenditures of elective institutions for the year 1884 meted out in the budget. The deficit in the budget for the year 1886 increased to 1,30,000 francs. In order to balance the

deficit budget and to finance the construction of a railway line between Pondicherry and Villupuram, the majority of the members in the first session of the *Conseil general* in January 1886 proposed the imposition of new taxes and the Governor also endorsed it. The council decided to impose taxes on properties to the value of 84,000 francs and vehicles and cart at 35,000 francs and contribution from service tax and others were evaluated to the tune of 55,000 francs. Despite the implementation of new taxes, the deficit remained at 60,000 francs and it was decided to seek financial assistance from metropolitan France.

Earlier, on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1885, the municipal council of Pondicherry presided over by Gallois-Montbrun, voted for a new tax on houses. On the morrow of the 1885 deputy election, Shanmugam mobilised the population and waged an attack on this 'irresponsible act' of the council. Shanmugam emerged victorious by playing on the sentiment of the Pondicherry population. As it was expected, Shanmugam opposed the *Conseil general's* decision of imposing new taxes on the Indian population. He vehemently opposed the *Conseil general's* decision on the removal of taxes on export of groundnut, groundnut oil and other merchandise, which largely benefited the European merchants. In his response to the need to compensate the deficit budget, Shanmugam endorsed the imposition of new taxes on stamps, papers and export mercantile, especially groundnut<sup>15</sup>. He opposed the construction of railways, as it would not benefit the Indian population. Instead, he demanded the development of irrigation facilities in the settlements. Alype was entrusted with the task of withdrawal of the new taxes. The expenditure on the construction of railways amounting to 1,32,000 francs would be meted out from the salt subsidy, which was paid by the British Indian Government to France<sup>16</sup>, by appealing to the President of the Republic and Ministers in France.

An opportunity to re-conquer the *Conseil general* presented itself to the 'French Party'. The peanut crisis of 1896 to 1900<sup>17</sup> plunged the colony into economic stagnation and left its inhabitants in strained circumstances. Susceptible to offers of hard cash from the rich industrialists and wholesale dealers of the 'French Party', some members of the *Conseil general*, who formerly remained loyal to Shanmugam, were induced to turn their coats. The Chettys, already hostile to the economic policy of Shanmugam, over the development of industries and the construction of a port in Pondicherry, were seduced by the 'French Party'. Lured by the prospect of public works, such as the construction of railways in Pondicherry and Karaikal, and big profits, estimated about three million rupees, which would follow a reversal of the majority in the *Conseil general*, the Chettys quit the league of high-castes.

There were altogether four candidates, in the deputy election of 1902; the 'Indian Party' (Shanmugam had withdrawn from active politics) backed Henrique-Duluc (for his second term), Yves Guyot, Poul Blysen and Pierre Alype. The election propaganda of Henrique assured that 'his mandate would bring large economic development, including construction of railway lines between Pondicherry and Cuddalore, and more importantly the preservation of the rights of Indians both in French India and other French colonies<sup>18</sup>. The deputy election held on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1902 brought massive success for Henriques, who obtained 93 per cent of the total exercised votes and defeated his rival candidates<sup>19</sup>.

## **Railway Project Materialised**

The political obstacles were removed and, by then, the railway network in British India had also spread considerably<sup>20</sup>. Hence,

the question of construction of railways was assumed greater importance once again. The British Government in India had also in the meanwhile shown interest in the proposal of extending the British Indian railway network to the French Indian possessions.

A Report dated 5<sup>th</sup> April 1893 was addressed<sup>21</sup> to 'Les Conseillers Generaux' of France by Gallois-Montburn, demanded the railway lines, need not only be restricted to connecting Pondicherry with Madras but so was Karaikal, another French Indian port that was connected to Peralam on the Mayavaram-Mutapet line in the British Indian territory. The following are some of the salient points made in the Report.

"In the 1860's, at the time when railway lines were being opened up from different ports of British India, (and when there was a demand from French India for their extension to the French Indian ports), government of France was not favourably inclined to the proposal. It changed its policy only from the year 1887. However, the response from the British side remained lukewarm till the year 1892. In that year, thanks to the interest taken in the proposal by then British Viceroy of India, Lord Lansdowne, the British Government approved the idea of opening the two railway branches, - one, Pondicherry to Tirupapuliur (Gudelur or Cuddalore) on the South Indian Railway, and the other, Karaikal to Peralam on the Mayavaram-Mutapet line. The British Government agreed to make available, gratis, the lands that would be required to construct the tracks in the British territory for Pondicherry and Karaikal. The South Indian Railway of British India was to undertake the construction work. The Government of India would consider this as one of its own railway work.

The Pondicherry railways, when materialised, was expected to bring about considerable commercial advantages to that port, as its hinterland would then extend upto Bellary in the north-west and Coimbatore to the southwest. Pondicherry's export trade was chiefly in goundnuts. If Pondicherry was connected through the railway network with other commercial centres in the south, like Bangalore, Erode, Salem, and Coimbatore, a part of the export trade in various items that passed formerly through Madras, was, in the new situation, likely to be diverted to pass through Pondicherry-due to the nearness of Pondicherry and the consequent lessening of the freight cost.

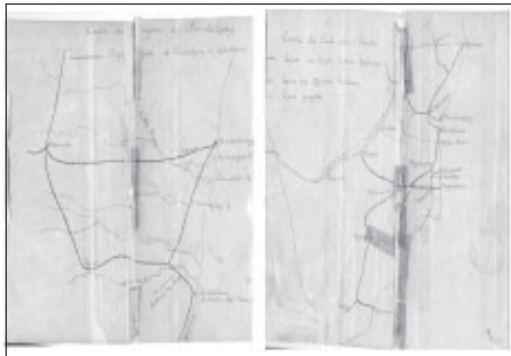
As for Karaikal, it was one of the old maritime trading centres on the Coromandel coast, and one of the rich agricultural tracts of the Tanjore region, which was indeed considered as the granary of south India. This French Indian port had always maintained a marked superiority in external sea trade over its rival to the south, namely, Nagapattinam. However, as Nagapattinam became a terminus on the Great Southern Railway, and, as such, an important link in the railway network in the south, it started attracting to itself, the commerce of Karaikal. Thus, Karaikal's trade-imports and exports together, in 1860, amounted to the value of Rs. 2,858,333, which was reduced to Rs. 1,447,105 in 1891, a reduction by about fifty per cent. On the contrary, Nagapattinam's trade, in 1860, was slightly less than that of Karaikal, but it rose to Rs. 6,008,139 and it was an augmentation by more than 100 per cent. The urgency to connect Karaikal with the Indian railway network was, therefore, felt strongly by French commercial interests"<sup>22</sup>.

By Article 7 of the Convention passed on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1878, the work of the construction of railway lines in the French possessions in India was legally 'reserved' to the *Compagnie*

*du Pondichery Railway* (the Pondicherry Railway Company)<sup>23</sup>. Various plans were prepared by the engineers commissioned by the Company, and at different cost estimates. Among them, proposals for two railway branches emerged out for final consideration in 1891<sup>24</sup>:

1. A line from Pondicherry to  
Tirupapuliur at the cost of — Rs. 1,660,601
  2. A line from Karaikal to Peralam  
at the cost of — Rs. 715, 904
- Total: Rs. 2,376,505

Later, M. Quanintenne, a civil engineer came forward to undertake the construction of the Pondicherry and Karaikal lines. He suggested some important changes for strengthening the bridges, tracks etc., and yet was prepared to construct the two lines at the reduced cost of Rs. 1,460,067 and Rs. 600,000 respectively, totalling, 2,060,000, an economy of little more than Rs. 300,000. He also suggested certain constructional measures that could further save about Rs. 100,000<sup>25</sup>.



Pictures: Railway Plan approved by Fontaneilles,  
*L'Inspecteur des Travaux Publics des Colonies*.



However, if the original figure of Rs. 2,376,505 was taken for construction, it would amount to Francs 3,873,703 at the prevailing rate of exchange, i.e., 1 Re = 1 fr. 63 cents. Taking into account the interest charges and the amortization account for 25 years, it was necessary to make arrangements for an annual grant of 260,312 fr. 85 cents in each year's budget<sup>26</sup>.

The *Conseil general* in Pondicherry had, by then kept aside 140,000 fr. for the construction of the two railway lines. However, due to the devaluation of the French franc, by 15 per cent in two years, a sum of 90,000 fr. out of 140,000 fr. had to be utilised to meet the financial situation. Therefore, only 50,000 fr. were available for the railway work. Consequently, 210,000 fr. were required to be made available in the budget of that year 1893.

The tax revenues of the French government in India in the year 1893<sup>27</sup>, was as shown below:

Head of Taxes	Francs	Cents
Value of various products on government lands, etc., fines, service fees	269,783	73
Property and Transaction taxes	524,750	66
Consumption taxes	983,618	61
Total	1,778,153	00

The consumption tax came to be 3 fr. 56 cents per head or 14 fr. 24 cents per an average family of four persons. The average annual income of the family in French India was then

calculated to be not more than 148 fr. (or about Rs. 90.8). This meant that a family made an average contribution of 10 per cent to this tax from its annual income. The per head burden of this tax was almost the same as it prevailed in Paris, one of the rich cities in the world. Due to the already heavy burden of this tax, there was no scope for further increasing it. Similarly, it was shown in the Report that there was very little scope in increasing the tax burden in other areas and sectors of the economy, as in property tax, land revenue, vehicle tax, stamp duty etc. The tax burden for different taxes in French India was heavier as compared to that prevailing in British India. It was argued that, as a consequence, it was not possible to raise the necessary capital for the two railway lines from within the budgetary source available to the local French Government in India.

If, for financial considerations, there was a need for fixing the priorities then, for variety of reasons, according to the Report, Karaikal line deserved the top most priority. Also, the Madras Chamber of Commerce was bringing pressure on the British government and the South Indian Railway against any subvention in opening up the Pondicherry line, as, according to the Madras Chamber, that line would affect adversely the commerce of Madras. The Madras Chamber of Commerce had submitted its opinion in this regard to the British Viceroy also when he had paid a visit to the Chamber. Thus, between Pondicherry and Madras commercial interests there developed an unsavory situation due to the commercial interests of Pondicherry and Madras.

In that circumstance, it was the duty of the French Metropolitan government, argued the Report, to come forward to take up the financial responsibilities in the work of opening up the two railway lines.

Finally, with the support of the French government, the ports of Pondicherry and Karaikal came to be connected with the rest of the country in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Moreover, despite opposition from Indian members in *Conseil general*, Governor Angoulvant, approved 1,920,896 rupees in 1906 and 1,920,245 rupees in 1907 for the development of the colony, including construction of railways, ports, roads, irrigations etc<sup>28</sup>.

## References

1. The French Establishments of Pondicherry and other establishments viz. Karaikal, Mahe, Yanam and Chandernagore were collectively called as French India.
2. Of these, fourteen Pondicherry business houses, 12 were French, and two, namely, VINAY FILS ET Cie, and AROUNASSALOM SABABADY ET Cie were Indian by origin. (M.Q. 4.29 MSS: 72 bis, Archives of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Marseille, France. The section 'M.Q. 4.29', possesses important documents covering the period 1817 to 1954. The documents relate to the subjects like international commerce, economic relations of Metropolitan France with overseas countries, relations with old colonial possessions, and the French Establishments in India.).
3. M Q. 4.29 MSS: 179.
4. M Q. 4.29 MSS: 72 bis.
5. M Q. 4.29 MSS: 261.
6. Letter dated Paris, the 30<sup>th</sup> September 1865 from the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public works, Department of External Trade, to the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille wherein the latter's letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> June 1865 is referred to, and the demands made by the Chamber of Commerce of Pondicherry are discussed. (M Q. 4.29 MSS: 290).

7. *Le Moniteur Officiel*, Pondicherry, 9th September 1864.
8. M Q. 4.29, MSS:463.
9. Jean Martin, *Lexique de la colonisation française*, Paris, 1988, p. 190.
10. *Resume d'un rapport du gouverneur de l'Inde française sur les elections a l'assemblee nationale (mai 1871)*.
11. Arokiassamy, S., *Election d'un député indou pour l'Inde française*, Pondicherry: Impr. Rathna Modeliar, 1871, p. 14.
12. *Karai Gnnabhanoo*, October, 1885.
13. Governmental expenditures expanded considerably under Shanmugam's auspices, but he was hostile to any investment except for irrigation works which served to enrich *Vellaja* and *Retty* landowners. He was opposed to all public works which might have led to emancipation of the *Pariahs* by dint of hard labour. When Maurice Rouvier, came up with great projects for the development of Pondicherry and Karaikal, Shanmugam summarily rejected the offer. In addition to the project of the deep water port, which Baron de Reinach had decided to finance, Shanmugam worked against the establishment of coal depots at Pondicherry and Mahe, the creation of a *cadastre* (land survey) and the construction of a railway line from Pondicherry to Cuddalore. (Jacques Weber, *Les établissements français en Inde au XIX siècle (1816-1914)*, Vol. 3, Paris: Librairie de l'Inde, 1988, p. 1725.)
14. Moracchini, *Les indigenes de l'Inde française et le suffrage universel*, Impr. Ch. Blot, 1883.
15. *Le Progres de l'Inde Française*, 24, January, 1886.
16. The Commercial Convention of 7<sup>th</sup> March 1815, provided that salt manufactured in Karaikal and Yanam over and above the local consumption should be sold only and entirely to the English. Moreover, the Convention of Madras signed on 13<sup>th</sup> May 1818, went a step further and provided that salt would not be produced in French India even for its own requirements but that the English would provide whatever was

- needed. An annual indemnity of 4000 star *pagodas* (nearly 2,00,000 rupees) was to be paid by the English to reimburse the losses suffered by the salt producers.
17. Since the beginning of the 1880's, Pondicherry had been the principal port of the export of the peanuts of Coromandel. Shipping of oil seeds especially to Marseilles had brought a degree of prosperity to the settlement. The peanut crisis, which lasted from 1896 to 1900, was attributed to the degeneration of the seed.
  18. Louis Henrique-Duluc, *Mes chers concitoyens*, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Documents, N.A.I., Pondicherry Branch.
  19. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires francais* (1889-1940), Vol-I, p.364.
  20. In 1880, there were only 1349 kilometres of railway track in India, and by 1890, due to rapid construction of lines, the track length had increased to 25494 kilometres.
  21. M Q. 4.29.
  22. Report: by Gallois-Montburn, p. 10.
  23. The French Government in Paris reached an agreement with the Pondicherry Railway Company on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1878. Under this agreement, the Pondicherry administration had to pay to the Company a subsidy of 1,264,375 francs to meet the construction cost of the line and place the lands required for the purpose free of cost. The period of concession was for 99 years. The proposed railway line was to start from Pondicherry had to be laid upto the eastern bank of river Gingee and join the British railway line at Belpur. The Company, for its part, agreed to remit to the French Government during the period of concession half of the net profit arrived at after deducting the expenditure on maintenance, taxes, etc. the French Administration enjoyed the right to transport its mail and was entitled to all such benefits like the right to transport its mail and was entitled to all such benefits enjoyed by the British Government. According to the

same agreement, the railways would become the property of the State on the expiry of the period of concession (viz. June 18, 1978). (*Journal officiel des établissements français de l'Inde*, 1878, pp. 56-57.

24. *Rapport sur l'installation du Chemin de fer, de Pondichery a Goudelour par Fontaneilles*, Pondichery, Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1896.
25. *Rapport sur l'installation du Chemin de fer, de Pondichery a Goudelour par Fontaneilles*, Pondichery, Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1896.
26. *Proces-verbaux des seances du Conseil general de Pondichery*, session de 1891, Pondichery: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, Decembre, 1892.
27. *Proces-verbaux des seances du Conseil general de Pondichery*, session de 1893, Pondichery: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1894.
28. *La Depeche Colonial illustree*, 15<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>, September 1907.

## **VERNACULAR PRESS ON PEASANTS AND PEASANT'S UPRISING IN COLONIAL INDIA**

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From the very beginning the vernacular press showed concern regarding the condition of the peasantry in India, which faced innumerable challenges and hardships for centuries. This paper aims to investigate the problems confronted by peasantry like ruinous taxation system, poverty, famine, agricultural sluggishness and effects of the price movement on their life which was highlighted by the vernacular press from time to time. Against the land revenue policy introduced by the British in India, there were mass protest and agrarian revolts at different places within the country which also found an expression in the vernacular press. The oppressive land revenue system was an issue of great resentment among the peasantry because the method of assessment was faulty; revenue demand was very high and arbitrary and over all, method of revenue realization was very harsh, leading to the confiscation of *zamindari* and eviction of the peasantry and all these issues remained important topics of debate and discussion in the contemporary newspapers. Under the British rule the peasants became the ultimate victim of colonial exploitation and they had to wage their own wars and later, they found the press as a powerful weapon in their hands.

The vernacular press during the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with a few exceptions never failed to raise their voice against

the exploitation of the peasant and demanded the British government to ameliorate their miserable condition by reducing the burden of tax. The land tax was the 'root of all major social conflicts involving the peasantry' during the medieval period as well as under the British rule. Interestingly, all the nationalist leaders were journalists and the print media was the only available medium to reach the masses through which they aroused the sentiments of the people and brought socio-political consciousness among the people to wage war against the imperialist power.

Modern historiography deals with various aspects of the peasant's revolt like its nature, composition, content, mobilization, demand, expansion, leadership etc. On the subject, peasant and peasant's resistance in colonial India, Marxist historiography produced vast literature while the imperialists remained silent on the subject where as the nationalist historiography had contributed considerably. However, the newly emerged trend known as Subaltern school of historiography<sup>1</sup> represents totally a new dynamics of understanding history in the context of people's history rather the earlier perception of elite historiography. The print media represents the popular perception on the subject.

Realizing the importance of agriculture and agriculturist community in India, the entrepreneurs started publishing newspapers in regional languages providing information regarding the improvement and application of scientific method in agricultural sector to increase the production for the ever increasing population *Ataleeq-o Zamindar*, Hoshiarpur, 1877; *MazharuzZaraat*, Meerut, 1882; *Foonun*, Hyderabad, 1883; *AnjumaneZaraat*, Bijnor, 1884; *Baghban*, Lahore, 1886, *Zamindaran*, Gujranwala, 1882; *Khair khawah- e Zamindaran*, Boria, 1891; *Mufeed-uz Zaar-e yeen*, Kanpur; etc were published



in Urdu which may truly be compared with modern agricultural bulletins.

Undoubtedly the condition of the peasantry was getting worse under the British rule. The land revenue settlement introduced by the British brought unprecedented challenge, misery and sufferings to the peasants because the revenue assessment was high, arbitrarily fixed and the method of revenue realization was very unsympathetic and burdensome for the peasantry. R. P. Dutt rightly observed that “this resulted not only in the increasing burdens on the peasantry, but also in the increasing differentiation of classes and the spreading dispossession of the mass of the cultivators from their holdings. The dispossessed cultivators were reduced to a situation close to serfdom”<sup>2</sup>. When the peasantry did get an opportunity during the Revolt of 1857 to express their anger they did proportionately. “It was the loss of land rights”, argued by T.R.Metcalf, that supplied the force behind the rural explosion of 1857”<sup>3</sup>. On the basis of N.S. Subramanian’s phenomenal work that is ‘Study of a South Indian village’ R. P. Dutt, summarily reached to the conclusion that the ‘peasant was left with one-third; two-thirds was taken’<sup>4</sup>. This proves that the land revenue demand was extortionate and beyond the capacity of payment, consequently pushing the peasantry into extreme poverty.

Peasants, throughout the country, remained an exploited class through the ages. Therefore, agrarian revolts against the established authority were the only way to express their anger and resentment. Due to the socio-economic condition of the peasantry, the revolts became a regular feature in colonial India. Besides land revenue, peasants had to pay different kind of extra taxes to the land lords on different occasions. Chances of improvement in their life seems to be a distant dream. Interestingly, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, when a concerted effort was made by the peasant

community to achieve their objective and fulfill their demands, the vernacular press also came forward in their support and exposed the excesses committed against them. Peasant movements got intensified throughout the country in which the crucial role played by the vernacular press is worth mentioning.

The oppressive land revenue system was mainly held responsible for wide spread agrarian discontentment. Increasing number of intermediaries and enhancement of rent caused evictions and largely made the situation fluid and explosive. Vernacular newspapers highlighted the exploitation of peasants and their grievances to get them redressed. Criticizing the oppression by the landed gentry, the *Bengalee* wrote that “Tyranny is hateful in all forms, whether it is the white or black man is the tyrant, whether oppressor has been born and bred amongst us, or whether he comes from the far west”<sup>5</sup>. The exorbitant land revenue and its forceful collection brought misery for one section whereas it enabled the landed gentry to live a luxurious life and this was rhetorically questioned by *Som Parkash* in these words “one person enjoys with all luxury of ease the hardened wealth of ten thousand persons. On what ground one should enjoy the fruit of another’s labour”<sup>6</sup>. The peasantry faced the worst kind of repression and the *Banganivasi* in its editorial condemned the “inhuman and unspeakable oppression”<sup>7</sup> of the peasants by landlords and their agents which was almost unnoticed amongst the elite classes<sup>8</sup>. The mass participation of the peasantry was noticed during the Sanyasi-Fakir rebellion. The *Majnu Saher Hakikat*<sup>9</sup>, a Bengali ballad, was an example of its being in popular perception of the people. The song reads<sup>10</sup>: ‘Take up arms/united with the Nagas Sanyasis/Raid the storage where grain was hoarded/distribute all provisions among the starved/and drive out the English as no alternative is left’.

The Urdu press was at the forefront in criticizing the land revenue policy and this had far reaching consequences for the peasants. One such paper, the *Oudh Punch*, known for its rhetoric and sarcasm published humorous cartoons, for instance in a cartoon, ‘two half-necked and barefooted cultivators were shown carrying their land lord in a palanquin. The fat landlord wore scintillating jewellery and the insignia of the Star of India. The cartoon bore the caption, “the cause of the famine” and one of the cultivators was saying to his companion: My friend, his weight is simply crushing us to death. Why not throw him away”<sup>11</sup>. Mushir-ul Hassan’s recently published book on the *Oudh Punch*, throws light on the plight of the peasants as depicted in the newspaper and also tried to explain the message conveyed through the humourous but satirical and meaningful cartoons. People’s misery, exclusion of Indians from administration, its extravagant cost, shortsighted system of land revenue administration, ruinous drain of wealth, high taxation, growth in home charges, heavy military expenditure and the burgeoning public debt ‘roused Sajjad Hussain’s anger and contempt, according to Mushirul Hasan<sup>12</sup>. Sajjad Hussain” knew about the rise in public debt from nearly 34 million pounds in 1857 to 97 million pounds in 1862”<sup>13</sup>. He also knew that the “defense expenditure never fell below 25 per cent of the total expenditure and in that number of years, it was much higher than that. Hence, he portrayed military spending as a monster in military uniform riding on two human figures: one is called the ‘income tax’ and the other the ‘salt tax’ and making free use of his whip”<sup>14</sup>. Because of the famines and visitation of plague people suffered untold hardship and at the same time, the grand *Darbar* was organized and has attracted the wrath of Sajjad Hussain because “the celebration were grand, gaudy, ill time and expensive”<sup>15</sup>. Mushirul Hasan explains the reason. The *Oudh Punch* very sarcastically published a cartoon and put the caption which reads<sup>16</sup>.

*Sun to sahi jahan meian hai tera fasana keya  
Kahti hai tujhko khalq-e khuda ghayebana keya*

The miserable life of the peasant who finds his wishes and desires dying while moving to his home after completing his work in the field, was hopelessly described in a newspaper namely *Asamt* in a couplet which reads:<sup>17</sup>

*Qadam ghar ki taraf kis shuaq se utha hai dahqan ka  
yeh wirana hai main hoon aur taiashyanon ki*

During the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Malabar was one of the most volatile region because of Moplah uprising and *Kerala Patrika* attributed it to extreme poverty faced by the Moplahs who faced unspeakable oppression<sup>18</sup>. The newspaper also warned the government to take precautionary measures and check the oppression as otherwise explosive situation would lead to more violent outbreak<sup>19</sup>. Oppression of the peasants also attracted the attention of the literateurs like Bankim Chander Chatterji and others. R.C. Dutt wrote an article in the *Mahratta* and bitterly criticized the *zamindari* system<sup>20</sup>. Vernacular press raised its voice for the abolition of the *zamindari* system; the *Indian Spectator* was in favour of purchasing all the *zamindari* by the government then directly settling it with the *rayats*<sup>21</sup>.

For the retarded growth of the industries in Bengal during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the permanent settlement was to a great extent responsible as reported by the *Bengalee*<sup>22</sup>. Under the permanent settlement, capital accumulation for industrial growth was not possible because the resource generated by the agricultural sector was appropriated by the landlords, therefore, industrial and commercial activities were hampered<sup>23</sup>. As we know in India both agriculture and industry were interdependent therefore, the *Mahratta* argued that “the development of agriculture and

mechanical industry must be simultaneous”<sup>24</sup> to ensure all round progress in the country. It further argued that “no mere legislation, no banks, not even the permanency of tenure would go to improve the condition of the peasantry without the introduction of several industries, since no merely agricultural country could ever prosper<sup>25</sup>. More over the attitude of the vernacular press was sympathetic towards the peasants who for centuries were an oppressed lot. Therefore, the press supported whole heartedly the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, which was opposed by the *zamindars* and the *Bengalee* expressed its willingness to support the movement of ‘dumb peasantry’ of this country which was described as a noble opportunity to do so and wrote that “the dumb peasantry of Bengal, the ignorant millions of this country know not what is passing around them .... It is for their friends to give them a voice, to speak in their name, and to act in their behalf”<sup>26</sup>.

Supporting the cause of the ‘humble peasants’ was described by the *Bengalee*, as the service of the nation, and the *Maharatta* wrote extensively in support of the bill and tried to get the masses mobilized on the issue it was very critical of the entire class of landlords who became parasitic and sarcastically wrote that “whether we are willing to have a small class of lazy, and profligate idlers, enjoying and squandering the fruit of other men’s labour and perfectly indifferent as to whether they die of cold or starve for want of food”<sup>27</sup>. Entire fraternity of the Vernacular press stood behind the peasants as powerful force and their expression was altogether anti-*zamindar* and pro-tenancy<sup>28</sup>...interestingly some of the nationalist newspapers were pro-*zamindar* and also extended their support like *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* and *Ananda Bazar Patrika* the *Dacca Parkash*, the *Bangabasi*. But, whereas the *Bengalee* and *Hitavadi* remained pro-tenants. In the North Western provinces, Rent Act in 1899 was opposed in favor of *zamindars* by the

*Tohfa-e Hind*, the *Naseem-e Agra*, the *Anis-e Hind*, and only the *prayg samachar* and *Oudh punch* extended all support to the tenants. Sub letting or sub-infeudation was the major problem in the *zamindari* areas and main cause of peasant's oppression and this was opposed by the native press<sup>29</sup>.

In Rajputana, the princely states were equally exploitative and repressive, so far as their attitude towards the peasantry was concerned. Therefore, Rajputana also witnessed the worst kind of agrarian unrest and revolts against the British on the one hand and the princely states on the other. When the Bijolia-Begun movement 1913-41 started in Rajasthan, progress of the movement was reported by newspapers and its leader Bhup Singh alias Vijay Singh Pathik, requested the editor of *Partap*, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi to publish news for mobilizing peasants to fight against injustice. Vijay Singh Pathik, who was a journalist was assigned a separate column in *Pratap* to write about the agrarian crises, peasant's plight and their grievances<sup>30</sup>. By manoeuvring, he persuaded the editors of various newspapers to publish news about Bijolia movement among them were *Bangabhasi*, *Bharat*, *Mitra*, *Aaj*, *Prabha*, *Abhiyudya*, *Kesri*, *Maratha*. For mobilizing the people, Pathik used the print media extensively and very successfully maintained the non violent character of the movement which was praised by Mahatma Gandhi. To get his objectives achieved, he started *Rajasthan Kesri* in 1921 and in 1922, he started publishing another newspaper known as *Navin Rajasthan*, which openly criticized the feudal lords for committing atrocities on the peasantry and asked the people not to work as begar. The movement was intensified to the extent that it attracted the attention of the British government to take corrective measures<sup>31</sup>. Besides this, other newspapers like *Tyagbhoomi*, *Rajasthan Sandesh* and *Parbhat* were very vocal in support of the peasants and their cause. Very successfully, Pathik managed the support of the

newspapers like *Novjyoti*, *Riyasti*, *Navjiwan* etc. during the entire course of the Bijolia movement till 1941.

Ironically, the people of Rajputana faced double repression, one by the feudal lords and other by the British. By paying excessive land revenue, extra cesses, rendering *begar*, the peasantry in Rajputana was over exploited, therefore, after Bijolia, the peasants at many places like Berad, a jagir of Bundi<sup>32</sup>, Sikar and Shekhawati, Marwar, Alwar, Bharatpur Bikaner and tribal areas of southern Rajasthan raised the banner of the revolt. In all these movements, the newspapers played a very crucial role by highlighting the atrocities and firing of the police on the peasants. *Pratap* and *pranvir* were the newspapers which never stopped their support to the peasant movement in Rajputana so their circulation was stopped in Bundi as preventive measure<sup>33</sup>. For spreading discontent among the people of all classes by the vernacular newspapers was a subject of great concern for the rulers of the princely states and therefore they supported the Indian Princes Protection against Dissatisfaction Bill of 1922, but these preventive measures could not stop the newspapers. *Lok Sevak* of Kota extended full support and regularly published news about agrarian unrest in Barad under the title of '*Harauti ki Halchal*' which was widely acknowledged in the region.

Jat peasants of Sikar and Shekhawati region in Jaipur State started a movement<sup>34</sup> against the excess land revenue realization from the peasant. During this movement newspapers like the *Navin Rajasthan* and *Rajasthan* whole heartedly supported the movement by criticizing the policies of the feudal lords and their attitude towards the peasant. Leaders of the movement especially, took care in publishing news in the prominent newspapers to keep the movement alive<sup>35</sup>. In Marwar, peasants

under the leadership of Jai Narain Veyas launched a movement against the high revenue demands, forced labour and extra taxes levied upon the peasants. Jai Narain Veyas, editor of the *Navin Rajasthan* wrote many inflammatory articles arousing the sentiments of the peasant and therefore, the entry of the newspaper was banned and the leaders were arrested and imprisoned. In the support of the *Navin Rajasthan* and arrested leaders, other newspapers like *Rajasthan*, *Sandesh* and *Tayagbhoomi* also came forward to support<sup>36</sup>. Due to the able leadership of Jai Narain Veyas and pressure generated by the press, feudal lords conceded the demands of the peasants. *Paraja Sewak* of Jodhpur, *Mira* and *Riyasti* of Ajmer and *Lok Wani* supported the cause of the peasants.

In Alwar, the peasant movement intensified when their demand was not accepted and it turned violent when the soldiers tried to disperse a gathering of the peasants by firing. Around fifty people were killed and dozens of injured and hundreds of houses were burnt<sup>37</sup>. The Neemuchana incident was denounced and criticized by the *Navin Rajasthan*<sup>38</sup> and supported by the *Pratap* and other newspapers outside the state. The vernacular newspapers adopted a propagandist approach to expose the rulers and the police for committing brutalities. Finally, the nationalist leaders heard their voice and Gandhiji expressed his anger in these words: “if all the reports that are published are true, they are proof of ‘Dyerism’ doubled distilled.”

Later, in the State, Meo peasants raised the banner of the revolt and started a ‘No Rent’ campaign and demanded the withdrawal of extra taxes collected by the ruling class of Alwar. Finally in view of communal flare up the British intervened and the ruler was debarred of his authority and all the demands of the Meos were accepted. *Arjun*, *Tej*, *Reyasti*, the *Hindustan Times*, *Leader*, *Statesman* and *Bombay Chronicle* kept on



supporting the peasants in their struggle to bring improvement in their lives and save them from the exploitation of the feudal lords. In Bharatpur, agitation of peasants got an extraordinary coverage in press outside the State. Later, the *Navyug Sandesh* of Bharatpur came forward and supported the movement and raised the voice against *begar*. During the ongoing struggle of the peasants, other papers which supported the view point of *Navyug Sandesh* were *Navjyoti*, *Sevak Praja* and *Lokvani*.

In Bikaner, the peasant's struggle got coverage in *Navin Rajasthan* which extensively debated the growing discontent and deteriorating condition of the peasants. The *Naveen Rajasthan* raised the issue of revenue realization especially at the time of scarcity when the peasants were not capable of paying rent<sup>39</sup>. Other newspapers like the *Rajasthan* and *Navjyoti* criticized the apathy of Ganga Singh, the ruler of Bikaner towards the peasants and highhandedness of the State and police in dealing with the leaders of the movement. Finally, these two newspapers were banned by the State and it was followed by publication of other newspapers in Bikaner and they kept on exposing the atrocities of the State on the peasants. In Mewar region, Moti Lal Tejawat's *Aiki* movement was popular among the tribal like Bhils, Garasias and non-tribal as well and their no-rent campaign was supported by the *Navin Rajasthan*. In Rajasthan, the impulse of the peasant movement was strong because the leadership comprehensively and effectively used the press to get the support of the masses.

Agrarian unrest was wide spread but 'certain areas have a strong tradition of rebellion. Bengal has been a hotbed of the revolt, both rural and urban, from the earliest days of the British rule;' according to Kathleen Gough<sup>40</sup>. She further argued that "the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh and state of Kerala also

have a long tradition of revolt, but these also occurred in densely populated plain regions such as Thanjavur where rack-renting, land hunger, landless labour and unemployment cause great suffering<sup>41</sup>.” Behind every peasant uprising, ruinous taxation system leading to oppression of the peasantry was the main cause.

Describing the Santhal rebellion, the Calcutta Review reported that “*Zamindars*, the police, the revenue and court alas have exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and variety of petty tyranny upon the timid and yielding Santhals. Usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent; willful and charitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, tattoo, ponies and even elephants, on the growing crops of the poor race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent. Embarrassing pledge for debt also formed another mode of oppression”<sup>42</sup>. The rate of interest was so high that entire possession including life was mortgaged, as the Calcutta Review reported<sup>43</sup>. In most of the cases, the agrarian revolts turned violent and ‘wanton plunder, rape and arson committed by the enraged peasantry was reported by newspapers which were considered pro landlord<sup>44</sup>. Contrary to this, the pro peasants news papers reported that pro landlord newspapers presented exaggerated facts and ‘most of them were either maliciously false or deliberately exaggerated.’ and did not bear the truth<sup>45</sup>. The Bengali denied the charges leveled upon the peasantry<sup>46</sup>. The *Friends of India* reported the situation in these words “Pubna continues quiet. The peasant as resolute as ever against exaction is no less determined to keep within the law”<sup>47</sup>. Undoubtedly, there were excesses committed by the peasants but the way it was reported by the native

newspapers was not correct since the press was largely under the influence of the landlords.

The agrarian unrest resulted into prolonged agitation and protest by the peasant which was transformed into full fledged agrarian movement to protect the interest of peasantry. The struggle continued till Bengal Tenancy Bill was passed in 1885 and “the Bill aroused in the peasants extravagant expectations and they construed it as amoral approval of their stand by the government”<sup>48</sup> Binay Bhushan Chaudhry argued. He rightly observed that “as long as the peasants had nothing to hope for, they remained tame. Hope now made them rebel”<sup>49</sup>. The agrarian unrest during this period got an organizational base which completely changed the characteristics of the peasant’s struggle under the *kisan* movement. It became more aggressive and organized. ‘The participation of a section of the intelligentsia made the peasant movement more radical’ but ‘Congress could not provide an appropriate philosophy for a broad based peasant movement’<sup>50</sup> pointed out Bijay Bhushan.

Although Congress was critical of the land revenue policy of the British and it ‘tended to ignore the fact that most of the *zamindars* were mere parasites living off the labour of peasants and that a numerous exactions on their part did constitute a factor in the impoverishment of the peasantry’<sup>51</sup> says Bijay Bhushan. Gandhiji’s participation in the Champaran *Satyagraha* further strengthened the peasant movement. During the Non-cooperation Movement, the peasant movement further got intensified and ‘gradually grew to an alarming extent’. Formation of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Party during 1926-28 with an objective to achieve complete independence of the country further gave a boost to the peasant struggle by organizing non-payment of taxes and rent movement.

Two Bengali journals *Langal* and *Ganavani* were the main instruments to popularize the peasant movement in Bengal. The peasantry was fully convinced that for their miserable condition it was the land lords who were responsible and permanent settlement should necessarily be abolished. By this time many journals and newspapers influenced by the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia started preaching 'the cult of violence'. Afterwards, a number of peasants associations came into being and the struggle was intensified. The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* quoting Awadeshwar Prasad wrote that "the *Kisan* Movement as developed today is the direct outcome of the objective situation intensified by the agricultural crises."<sup>52</sup> Prices of the agricultural products kept on fluctuating which had a depressing effect on the peasantry and brought suffering to them and 'produced deep discontent in the peasants which resulted in the *Kisan* movement.'

The basic objective of the *Kisan* movement was the abolition of the *zamindari* system which symbolizes a *forced labour* and *begar*. This was of course a revolutionary step. The basic demands put forth in the manifesto of the Bihar Provincial Congress was the 'abolition of the *zamindari* system, creation of land tenure where peasants could own land and the provision of gainful employment 'to the landless. Binay Bhushan described that the ultimate aim of the *Kisan* movement was' complete freedom from economic exploitation and achievement of full economic and political power for peasants and workers and all other exploited classes'<sup>53</sup>.

Soon we do find that the *Kisan* movement transformed into 'No Rent' Movement and turned to be radical and the popular slogan was '*Malguzari lo ge kaise, danda hamara zindabad.*' The *Bargadari*, *Adhi* and *Tanka* System were exploitative and peasants raised their voice against it and *Kisan* movement very

successfully got it abolished. There were evidences that sometime peasant uprising assumed a violent character and to suppress it, police often adopted armed repression, which was also criticized by a section of the press.

On the request of the leaders of the *Kisan* movement in Bihar, a massive rally was organized on the opening day of the Legislative Assembly on August 23, 1937 and the leaders advised the peasants thus “constant agitation should be made ..... so that you can be free from rural indebtedness, imposition of numerous taxes, and oppressions of many a person..... your fight has reached a critical stage, and it is time for you to keep alert..... Simply saying the Congress is now the government will not take you anywhere”<sup>54</sup>. The peasants gathered outside the Assembly and shouted the slogans: “give us water, we are thirsty; give us bread, we are hungry; remit all our agricultural loans; do away with *zamindars* and save us from oppression”<sup>55</sup>. The leadership was ambitious and it wanted to establish ‘*Kisan raj*’<sup>56</sup>. The *Kisan* leadership criticized the Congress on the ground of ‘class interest’. Speaking to a *kisan* rally at Siwan, Swami Sahajanand said that “all the fights of the Congress had been fought by the masses, whilst the capitalists and the landlords sided with the imperialist forces. *Zamindars* and capitalists seeing that they had no hope from the imperialists were now joining the Congress and monopolizing it”<sup>57</sup>.

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30. The *Pratap* , January 26,1920; March 1<sup>st</sup> ,1920; May 10,1920; July 6 ,1920
31. *Rajasthan Kesari*, February 5,1922; April 1,1923;May 18,1923, April, 15,1923. See also *Naveen Rajasthan*, January 22,1922; July 2, 1922; January 28,1923; February 4,1923; April 8, 1923; May 18,1923. Pethick Lawrence, The Member of Parliament attracted the attention of the Parliament to settle the agrarian grievances of the people in the region and afterwards due to government initiative, a settlement was agreed upon which was regarded as a great great victory of the peasants.
32. Nainu Ram Sharma and Narain Singh were the leaders of the Barad Peasant Movement.
33. Bundi Records, Confidential File, File Number. 80, 1922-23, See also Foreign and political confidential file, No.148, 1924
34. Ram Narain Chaudhry and Hari Brahmachri were the leaders who mobilized the peasants by their fiery speeches and writings in the newspapers.
35. *Rajasthan*, January 21,1924; April 17,1924; September 14,1926;August 19,1924 see also *Naveen Rajasthan*, March

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## **CONTRIBUTIONS OF EUROPEAN WOMEN TO PUBLIC HEALTH CARE**

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Medical education in India can be traced back to very early times. In the post Vedic period, the names of physicians such as Charaka, Sushruta and Vaghbatta laid the foundations of Indian medicine. Charaka was the author of “Charaka Samhita,” an old treatise on Indian medicine and he is generally believed to be the oldest of the three. Medicine was a subject of study in the ancient universities of India such as Taxila, Nalanda and Vallabhi. There is evidence to show that the ancient system of medicine in India put high ideals before the medical schools<sup>1</sup>.

After India came under British rule, the English system of medicine came into vogue in some places. The Government had not given such encouragement to the indigenous system as they did to the other. The indigenous system declined owing to the neglect of the rulers<sup>2</sup>.

Madras has been in the forefront of allopathic or modern medicine in India over the last two centuries. It has been a pioneer in establishing modern centers. Many medical luminaries – Indian and British – have contributed to make Madras, a part of the medical history of India. Many medical institutions with a long and cherished history emerged in Madras<sup>3</sup>.

The medical mission had four main objects. These were (i) to give medical care to the missionaries (ii) to give medical care to the natives (iii) to aid evangelistic work by disarming prejudice and bringing the gospel to the notice of those who were not attracted by mere evangelistic methods, and (iv) to train native physicians and nurses<sup>4</sup>.

The Madras Presidency was home to the best centre for women's medical care and medical education. Madras itself having four women's hospitals of different kinds, the Maternity, the Victoria Caste and Gosha, the Christina Rainy and the Kalyani which offered most favourable opportunities for clinical instruction and for obtaining the services of qualified women teachers and lecturers from the staff of the above hospitals<sup>5</sup>.

The initiation of women's medical work in Madras is closely bound up with the story of Mrs. Scharleib, a young English woman, who came to India in 1866 with her husband, a barrister in Madras. Mrs. Scharleib heard much from her husband's clients and clerks and from her own servants, of the unnecessary suffering of Indian women owing to lack of medical attendance, and she underwent to take a midwife's training in order to help them<sup>6</sup>.

The Madras Maternity Hospital was in full working order and she had the strong support of the then surgeon – General, Dr. Balfour. By the time she had completed her year's instruction, she realized that helpers with only knowledge of midwifery would not meet the full needs of Indian women. Then she proposed a scheme for the provision of medical women in Madras for caste and *gosha* ladies, and she obtained the sympathy of the Governor, Lord Hobart, and Surgeon – General Balfour. There were difficulties and delays, but finally permission

was given to admit women to the medical college and thus Mrs. Scharlieb and three other women joined in 1875.

In 1875, Mary Scharlieb was the first woman to be admitted to the Madras Medical College<sup>7</sup>. They shared the lectures of the male students and did clinical work in the women's hospital under surgeon Branfoot.

In 1878, Mrs. Scharlieb returned to England and entered the London School of Medicine for women. In the year 1882, she passed the final examination for the degree of M.B.B.S., with honours, and gained the gold medal and scholarship in obstetric medicine. After some post-graduate work in Vienna, she returned to Madras in 1883<sup>8</sup>.

Mrs. Scharlieb started private practice in Madras, and soon had more patients than she could manage. She felt that her work could never be wholly successful unless she had a hospital. This was necessary for women of all classes. She got the sympathy of the Governor's wife, Lady Grand Duff, and of the Surgeon General, and a meeting of the chief members of the Indian community was called. Funds were collected and it was decided to institute a Caste and Gosha Hospital to be under Mrs. Scharlieb<sup>9</sup>. It was established in the year 1885<sup>10</sup>. The Queen Empress was the patron of the institution<sup>11</sup>. The beginning was made in a hired house.

This hospital continued to maintain its popularity and standards of efficiency under the management of the Dufferin fund committee of the Madras branch<sup>12</sup>. In the year 1896, Lord and Lady Wenlock, Lady Grand Duff, Lady Napier and Bttrick, Mary Lady Hobart, Lady Kintoss, Lady Adam, H.H. the Nawab Begum Sahiba of the Carnatic, the Nawab Rahmut – un – Nisa Begum Sahiba, the Maharani of Vizianagaram, the

Rani of Venkatagiri and Rani Gajapathy Rao were the vice- patrons of this institution<sup>13</sup>. The hospital was a success from the beginning and the work was very strenuous. The Committee agreed to the appointment of a second medical woman, Miss. Pailthorpe, as assistant to Mrs. Scharlieb<sup>14</sup>. Mrs. Scharlieb was also appointed as lecturer on midwifery and diseases of women and children and examiner in Obstetrics and Gynaecology to the University of Madras. In 1887, Mrs. Scharlieb's health gave way, and she was obliged under medical advice to leave India for good<sup>15</sup>.

After Mrs. Scharlieb's departure, the Caste and Gosha Hospital moved into new quarters in Triplicane. It was more fortunate than the Cama Hospital in that it had frequent changes of Superintendents, and the finances of the committee were not always sufficient to keep it well supplied with staff and appliances. In the year 1914, the Women's Medical Service took over the salary of the superintendent, and in 1920, the hospital maintenance was taken over by the local government and the Lady Wellington School for women sub-assistant surgeons was being placed under its control.

In 1904, Lady Ampthill established the Lady Ampthill Nurses Institute. From this institute, nurses could be supplied to all parts of the Presidency where the need for skilled nursing was very great<sup>16</sup>.

In 1920, Lady Wellington, the wife of Governor Wellington, formed a general Nursing Association known as the South Indian Nursing Association. Her scheme was to establish a system of nursing throughout South India after the model of Lady Minto Indian Nursing Association, to supply properly trained private nurses and midwives, at a scale of fees which would just make the association self supporting.

The two associations were amalgamated in 1920, and since then they carried out useful work throughout the Madras Presidency. The medical mission was carried out by different missionary societies at various centers in Tamilnadu. The United Free Church of Scotland had its hospitals for women established in Royapuram (1889), initially with a few dispensaries at Royapuram, Mint Street, and at Georgetown in Madras. A hospital for women was also set up at Conjeevaram in 1912<sup>17</sup>.

Dr. Matilda Macphain began work at Madras under the Free Church of Scotland Mission in 1887. A dispensary, which had been opened by male medical missionaries, was handed over to her, and in 1891, a bungalow was acquired in Royapuram, Madras, and women's hospital of 12 beds was opened. Later, the accommodation was increased by the building of sheds in the compound, and it was possible to take in 50 patients. Meanwhile, money was being collected and the Christina Rainy Hospital was built and opened in 1914<sup>18</sup>. In 1913, the government gave a grant to build a big hospital for women, which was named as the Christina the Rainy Hospital. The foundation was laid by the then Governor and Lady Lawley in 1914<sup>19</sup>. But the hospital was opened in January 1915 by the Governor of Madras and Lady Pentland<sup>20</sup>.

In Madurai the missionaries of the American Madura Mission initiated this work. Mrs. Capron, who was a trained nurse initiated the medical work for women in Madurai in 1877 after she underwent training for six weeks in the Government Maternity Hospital in Madras in 1875. Between 1875 and 1877, she did medical work in Manamadurai and the Madurai Municipality gave a grant of Rs. 300/- every year<sup>21</sup>.

Then a women's dispensary was opened under the care of Dr. Pauline Root, in 1886. Later, a building for a women's hospital

was opened to the public in July 1893<sup>22</sup>. It had 50 beds. In 1895, Dr. Harriet E. Parker continued the Medical mission after Dr. Root. She added the Harriet Newell Hospital Annex by extending the mission to the demands of the community.

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission opened a hospital for women and children at Ikkadu in Tiruvallur circuit<sup>23</sup>. Ms. Palmer was then the medical missionary here. Later, Dr. Fanny Wood and Irish lady took charge of this hospital in 1902<sup>24</sup>. Ms. Mc Dougall and Miss. Wood joined the hospital mission in 1904. The former opened her first dispensary at Tinnanur, ten miles from Tiruvallur. Dr. Christina Wilson inaugurated the medical mission in Mylapore and Triplicane.

N. Subramanian, Administrative General of Madras, who was a student from Wesleyan Methodist School at Nagapatnam donated a building for a hospital for women and children in the South of the city of Madras and named it after his mother Kalyani. He presented it to the Women's Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. The Kalyani Hospital was opened by Lady White on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1908<sup>25</sup>.

A separate medical school for women, the Lady Wellington Medical School for women, Madras, was opened in July 1923 by Lady Wellington<sup>26</sup>. The third year classes in the school were started in July 1925. Consequent to the opening of the third year class in the Lady Wellington Medical School for women, a lady civil assistant surgeon was added to the staff. Dr. Mrs. Mary O' Beadon, M.B.B.S., W.M.S.I was the superintendent from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1925 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1926. Dr. Miss. A.B. Hardy, M.B.B.S was the assistant superintendent from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1925 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1926. Lady Wellington School for women was temporarily located at the Victoria Buildings in Egmore. A portion of the building was also used as a hostel<sup>27</sup>.

The government admitted ladies into the Indian Medical Service, so that well trained European ladies contributed to the relief of the suffering humanity in India. The government made ample provision for the training of women in medicine. The district boards used to provide scholarships in aid of women in medical studies, Lady Hardinge perpetuated her name like Lady Dufferin by enlisting general sympathy and rendering substantial help to Lady Dufferin's fund<sup>28</sup>.

The medical education of women was further encouraged by grants of scholarships and prizes by the countess of Dufferin. Lady Aitchison School and Gosha Hospital in Madras were specially opened for the training of girls<sup>29</sup>. In 1900, Lady Curzon established the Victoria Memorial Scholarship for improving child birth conditions<sup>30</sup>.

Since then, the Countess of Dufferin's Fund and the National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India was founded by the Countess of Dufferin. The fund was founded in 1885 and continued to work for the objects of medical tuition, medical relief and the supplying of nurses and midwives for hospital and private work<sup>31</sup>.

In 1885, Lady Dufferin, the wife of the newly appointed Governor – General of India, was requested by Queen Victoria before leaving for England to provide medical aid to the women of India. In order to carry out the Queen's wish, the "Countess of Dufferin Fund" was inaugurated and subscribed for the object. This was the first national effort for the establishment of medical relief for the women of India and the earliest training school for nurses and midwives. The Countess of Dufferin's Fund was begun at the Cama Hospital, Bombay. A very large amount of valuable help was given by this fund to women and children's hospitals in all parts of India<sup>32</sup>.



The Countess of Dufferin's Fund was founded at the instance of Queen Victoria who personally commended the matter to the care of the Countess of Dufferin before the latter left England for India. As a result of the Countess of Dufferin's efforts, the National Association for supplying medical aid by women to the women of India was established in 1885<sup>33</sup>. Since then, it continued to work for the object of medical education to women, medical relief and the supplying of nurses and midwives for hospitals and private work. The Queen Empress became the patron of the National Association, the Governors and Lieutenant – Governor of the various provinces were the Vice-Patrons and other persons were enrolled as life councillors, life members or ordinary members, according to the amount of their donations. The Viceroy's wife was the President of the association.

In 1913, the Government of India granted a subsidy of Rs.1,50,000 to be administered by the Dufferin Fund Committee for the purpose of establishing a Women's Medical Service in India. The service was started in 1914 with a cadre of 25 members admitted by selection and recruitment in India and in the United Kingdom<sup>34</sup>. All members were required to possess medical qualifications registrable in the United Kingdom. The service was originally under a medical woman as General Secretary, later superseded by a Chief Medical Officer, Women's Medical Service. The formation of the Women's Medical Service in India was the outcome of several factors among which was the general opinion shared by the Central and local governments<sup>35</sup>.

The formation of the Women's Medical Service for India was the outcome of the following factors: (i) the dissatisfaction of many women doctors at the methods adopted for recruitment of medical women and at the pay and the position of medical women in India, (ii) the limited income at the disposal of the

Dufferin Fund Council which did not allow larger emoluments being paid to doctors in their pay, and (iii) the medical knowledge that they needed for the women of India were not being sufficiently met by the efforts of the Dufferin Fund.

In 1917 the Dufferin Fund Committee appointed a medical woman as secretary and chief medical officer, Women's Medical Service. This officer was given the power to inspect all hospitals officered by members of the service thus ensuring that the hospitals were kept in efficient working order and that good work was being done.

In 1925, a Women's Medical Service Training Reserve was organised<sup>36</sup>. Under this scheme, the Council of the Dufferin Fund employed women medical graduates, and appointed them as assistants in some of the larger hospitals staffed by women's medical service officers. After three years, selected members of these training reserve officers were sent to the United Kingdom for further study and later, if found suitable and if vacancies occurred, they were appointed to the Women's Medical Service<sup>37</sup>.

Miss. Scudder was an American citizen, the members of whose family were engaged in missionary work for many years<sup>38</sup>. This vision of Dr. Ida was transferred into a mission. The Governor in Council permitted Miss. Ida S. Scudder, Mrs. S.W. Scudder and Miss. Gertrude Dodd, Citizens of the United States of America, to return to North Arcot district<sup>39</sup>. In 1890, Ida Scudder, visiting her missionary parents in South India, was asked to help three women from different communities, Brahmin, Muslim, and Hindu, struggling in child birth. Ida called her father, a mission doctor. Custom prevented them from accepting the help of a male doctor. Ida had no medical knowledge. The next morning, she was shocked to learn that each of these women had died<sup>40</sup>. Then she went to America to

study to become a doctor<sup>41</sup>. The total number of medical missionaries at the end of 1911 was 335 and among them 217 were women<sup>42</sup>.

Ida Scudder came from a family of missionary doctors. She came as a missionary of the Reformed Church of America<sup>43</sup>. In 1819, her grandfather had become the first medical missionary from the United States to India. Since then over 30 members of the Scudder family had given nearly 100 years of missionary service. Her father worked with the Arcot Mission, founded by his three brothers, and Ida intended to follow their footsteps. Supported by her Church Mission Board, Ida enrolled in 1895 at the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, but was transferred to the Cornell Medical College for her final year<sup>44</sup>. After the academic course, she went to get practical experience under her father, who was developing the use of the new cholera inoculations.

Soon after Ida arrived back in India, her father died and she was forced to open a new dispensary without any help<sup>45</sup>. Knowing her concern, the Mission board suggested to open a hospital for women in Vellore, where her father worked. There were thousands of Hindu and Muslim women who would only accept treatment from another woman, so there was an urgent need. Ida was able to raise the necessary funds and left for Vellore in 1899. Gaining the people's confidence as a woman doctor was not easy, although the natives preferred her more as her father was familiar<sup>46</sup>.

Missionary medical work for women and children was started in 1900 as a one bed clinic in Vellore in a small room in the mission bungalow<sup>47</sup>. She started in the well-known missionary style of one doctor, one bed, an untrained nurse and

the bungalow verandah for her clinic<sup>48</sup>. This dispensary grew so rapidly that there was for long the urgent need of a women's hospital. In 1899, Mr. Robert Schell, President of one of the New York City Banks gave, as a memorial to his wife, sufficient money (\$10,000) to erect the Mary Taber Schell Hospital and dispensary with an accommodation of 40 beds<sup>49</sup>. Working only with the help of Salomi, her native helper, Ida performed twenty one major operations, 428 minor ones and treated 12,359 patients in the first year alone. She was assisted in the dispensary work<sup>50</sup>, by another Indian, Gnanammal, who came as a trained compounder from Palamcottah. This hospital was completed in 1902 and enlarged 60 beds in 1923<sup>51</sup>. By 1902, she had built a small hospital with 40 beds and by 1906 it was developed into a dispensary for the villages all around<sup>52</sup>. Financial assistance in the form of gifts from friends, particularly from America, made these ventures possible. By 1909, she had started a Nursing School at Vellore with 15 students in the first batch<sup>53</sup>.

In 1904, Dr. Scudder appointed Miss. Lillian Hart, a trained nurse who along with Ida began to train Indian women in nursing<sup>54</sup>. Trained nurses were appointed in many parts of India. So, she decided to extend the nursing school. Hence, a Nursing College was started. The students got the degree of B.Sc Nursing. Higher education facilities were also started in the nursing college at Vellore<sup>55</sup>.

In 1909, she started a lower grade school for nurses, which was raised to higher grade in 1931. A four-year course leading to B.Sc in nursing was inaugurated in 1946<sup>56</sup>. In 1946, Miss. Vera K. Pitman and Miss. Florence Taylor initiated the first B.Sc course in nursing, affiliated to the Madras University. In 1967, Post-Certificate training leading to B.Sc nursing was added and there after Post Diploma programmes in various

branches were started<sup>57</sup>. The Post-graduate course in Nursing (M.Sc) began in 1969. Ph.D in Nursing has been available since 1994. Students have regular postings in Christian Medical College's community health units and have participated in various community service projects<sup>58</sup>.

Dr. Ida needed a motor car for her road side dispensary work. She got one motor car.<sup>59</sup> Vellore was an important place for her road side medical work. Her contribution was spread over Ranipet in the east, Arni in the south, Gudiyatham in the west and Punganur in the north<sup>60</sup>.

Finally, the Union Mission Medical School for Women was opened in August 12, 1918<sup>61</sup> by the Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland<sup>62</sup>. Dr. Ida was the first president of the college. Dr. Ida was then serving not only as a Principal of the medical school but she was also the Professor of Surgery and head of the hospital as well<sup>63</sup>.

Ida Scudder gave the motto of the institution "Not to be served but to serve". The Christian Medical College's principal achievement lies in the lives of hundreds of health personnel who having studied and worked within its portals, have imbibed this spirit of compassion and service<sup>64</sup>.

The students lived with her in her own bungalow. The hospital in the heart of Vellore was their practice institution<sup>65</sup>. The work of the college was begun in three rented bungalows. Later, money had been raised in America for permanent buildings<sup>66</sup>.

With the aid of the American grants, the following buildings were constructed at a cost of about 7 lakhs of rupees (not

including cost of land):- (i) main dispensary (ii) maternity block (iii) surgical block (iv) children's hospital (v) administration block (vi) doctor's bungalow (vii) assistants bungalow (viii) nurses quarters and several minor buildings<sup>67</sup>.

A great effort had been put forth by Rev. B. Rottschaefer to erect the nurses home and staff bungalow in connection with the new maternity hospital for the medical college and to have them in readiness for occupation when the school was re-opened in July 1921<sup>68</sup>. Lord Viscount and Lady Viscountess Goschen opened several other general and private wards and operating rooms in the town at Thotapalayam. The total accommodation consisted of 268 beds in 1938<sup>69</sup>. In 1932 Sir George and Lady Beatrix Stanley opened the academic buildings at College Hill and in 1937 Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, opened the Deep X-Ray Therapy and Radium building<sup>70</sup>. The Medical College building, chapel, laboratories, lecture and assembly rooms and hostel, as well as the principal's bungalow and one staff bungalow were opened by Sir George Stanley. The little branch hospital at Gudiyatham, 24 miles west of Vellore was started in 1928, but it was not completed till 1934<sup>71</sup>.

Christian Medical College had grown in size and stature treating thousands of both in-patients and out-patients in all branches of medicine. Besides, a world famous cancer ward and neurological ward, it has a mental hospital and a college of nursing. It has attracted patients and research scholars from all corners of the world<sup>72</sup>.

The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the medical college was celebrated on February 5, 1938 in the Assembly Hall<sup>73</sup>. Dr. Ida Scudder of the American Advent Mission, Vellore, was nominated a member of the Madras Medical Council<sup>74</sup>.

Since the establishment of Ida's Medical School for Women in 1918, the number of medical colleges and medical students increased. It was realized that to achieve this, the hospital would have to have specialized departments, with their own Professors. Hence, in 1925, the eye, nose and throat department was started by Dr. Jeffery at the new hospital. As the number of eye patients began to increase, the need for a separate eye section, keeping in mind this particular handicap of these patients, was felt. Taking all these into consideration, it was decided to set up a separate eye hospital by using the facilities of the old Schell Hospital. Thus, the eye hospital was born in the Schell Eye Hospital with 14 beds in the year 1941<sup>75</sup>.

The mobile eye clinics which were started in 1948 continued to take ophthalmic care to the villages, and this programme became highly popular<sup>76</sup>. With increasing patient load and service activities, the need for a new building was acutely felt. It was decided that a new eye hospital should be built in the same Schell campus. In 1948 – 49 the departments of neurology, neurosurgery and cardiothoracic surgery were established for the first time in this region. This was followed by the development of cardiology, nephrology, urology, plastic surgery, haematology, gastroenterology, endocrinology, leprosy reconstructive surgery and physical medicine and rehabilitation.

The institution had an extensive research programme, sponsored or financed by various sources, including the Government of India, the Government of Madras, the Indian Council of Medical Research, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and a number of overseas foundations<sup>77</sup>. The Christian Missionary Medical College, Vellore, is an All-India Christian institution largely supported and maintained by the Christian community abroad and in India<sup>78</sup>.

Thus, the Christian Medical College and Hospital became an international center of education, hospital care, research, rehabilitation, and rural service. In addition to the Under graduate medical course, diploma, post-graduate and higher speciality degree courses are offered in practically all branches of medicine and surgery. Also offered are M.Sc and M.D courses in anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, bio-chemistry and microbiology and para-medical training courses for radiographers, pharmacists, physiotherapists, laboratory technicians and medical record officers<sup>79</sup>.

As the number of women volunteering to pursue medical education was very meager, the government initiated a measure to attract them to this professional education as the services of women doctors were essential to the country during the second world war. As a result, the government exempted women from paying tuition fees. This concession really served its purpose and the number of women medical students was on the increase every year since the grant of the concession<sup>80</sup>.

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**BETWEEN INEQUALITY AND IDENTITY:  
THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY  
AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCE, 1946-50**

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**Abstract**

*Recent attention to the history of constitution making in India reflects ongoing concerns about the difficulties and limitations of India's secular and democratic experiment. Scholars assessing India's secularism have pointed to the failure to separate the state from its involvement in religion from the outset. Through a study of the Constituent Assembly debates, this article suggests that the emphasis on 'religion' as the problem for secularism has been a distraction, taking the gaze away from the substantive arguments minorities were making about how their equal citizenship should be guaranteed. It remained unclear what recognition of 'minority' status was meant to achieve in postcolonial India and what it signified. In failing to recognize the claims of religious minorities for their equality, the Constituent Assembly reified their position as permanently unequal communities in the newly independent state.*

**Keywords:** backward classes, Constituent Assembly, identity, India, minority protection, nationalism, religious minorities, reservations, Scheduled Castes, Secularism.

## Introduction

The Indian constitution has of late begun to receive significant scholarly attention (Ansari, 1999; Bajpai, 2010; Bhargava, 2010; Chiriyankandath, 2000; Copland, 2010; Hasan et al., 2002; Jha, 2002; Newbiggin, 2013). Though much has been written about histories of nationalism, until recently we knew very little about what Chatterjee (1986) called the ‘moment of arrival’ and the process of constitution-making itself (Sarkar, 2001). Political developments in the 1980s, specifically the courting of conservative Muslim opinion under Rajiv Gandhi, the rise of Hindu nationalism, as well as the political assertion of the Other no Backward Classes (OBCs), have held a mirror up to the limitations of India’s democracy (Kohli, 2001). Particularly the success of the Hindu right from the late 1980s (see Bhatt, 2001) was understood to reflect a crisis of Indian secularism and the liberal democratic state (Basu et al., 1993; Needham and Ranjan, 2007; Tambiah 1998).

Scholars examining the Constituent Assembly debates (1946-50) have suggested that these developments can be explained in part by the failure of the Constituent Assembly (henceforth CA) to clarify the role of the state in religious and ‘minority’ affairs from the outset. Copland (2010) argues that in the CA debates ‘secularism’ was deployed in a variety of ways to mean multiple things simultaneously, thus paving the way for future problems. Others maintain that while the CA sought to strengthen secular citizenship, in responding to the paradoxes and contradictions of Indian society, it ‘created devices that affirmed religious and caste identities’ (Chiriyankandath, 2002;2). Hence, as the CA debates did not ‘resolve’ the relationship of religion and state, the postcolonial Indian state was not bound to behave in secular ways, with important implications for the ability of the Hindu

right later to appropriate the language of secularism for its own political agenda.

This article reconsiders such arguments through further examination of the CA debates. It is suggested that it was not that secularism was left undefined. But it sought to establish the framework for secular citizenship based on the individual rather than the community, the CA's resistance to considering the arguments of religious minorities about their inequality paradoxically reified religious community identity. India's secular state precluded religious minorities from forwarding claims for equality, instead of requiring them to accept their status as permanent minorities in India's new democratic dispensation.

## **Minority Protection and Secularism**

Measures to protect India's minority and 'backward' communities had been considered in various official forums since the late nineteenth century. In 1909, separate electorates were introduced in legislative councils for Muslims as a significant religious minority, as well as for a range of non-confessional minority community interests, including for instance the landlords of Sind, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, jute farmers of Bengal and tea planters of Assam (Tejani, 2007, ch.3). Members of each of these interests would form an electorate separate from the general body of eligible voters to choose a representative from within that 'community' itself. From this point, separate electorates became an important way to ensure that 'minorities' were represented in constitutional and policy matters<sup>1</sup>. From the early 1920s, the minority question included the 'depressed classes', otherwise known as the untouchables, and although there was no separate electorate for them. Later



reforms established that there should be reserved seats in government colleges, and other works of life including the military.

Untouchable and tribal communities were termed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes after 1935<sup>2</sup>. These were to be in joint rather than separate electorates. Before independence, then, the protection of religious and caste minorities was considered together. Minorities were to be protected through reservations, decided on the basis of the community's relative 'backwardness' vis-à-vis the 'General' Community<sup>3</sup>.

However, after Partition, the way in which minorities were treated changed fundamentally. Separate electorates for religious minorities came to be perceived as redundant and negative, and that a separatist or 'communal' outlook had been encouraged by colonial policies. Many CA members argued that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion and equal treatment before the law had got adequate protection. But the spokesmen for religious minorities, as well as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, maintained that they required guarantees in the Constitution itself to ensure that the promise of equality of opportunity. Reservations were necessary to ensure that 'smaller' voices were heard in a representative framework that would, by definition, value the individual over the group. Here 'secularism' was invoked as an argument against reservations for religious minorities. Secularism would protect fundamental religious freedoms and that would be the panacea for the ills of communalism. Significantly, reservations for caste minorities were ultimately retained and justified quite differently. As part of the responsibility of an egalitarian democratic state, they were treated as a temporary necessity to level the playing field and right historic wrongs (Bajpai, 2010).

Such differential treatment created new difficulties as religious minorities continued to argue for the recognition of their distinctiveness as communities. Certainly, this was about asserting the legitimacy of their group's identity in the nation. Equally, it was about aspirations that the CA recognized their politically and educationally unequal positions. As the CA drew to a close in 1949, representations of Sikhs and Muslims asserted that they would forego reservations for recognition of their 'backwardness'. It is striking that religious minorities, themselves, once having fought for reservations as a mode of recognition, now believed they would cast them in a position of permanent inequality. But religious minorities were denied the possibility of inclusion among the 'backward classes' on the grounds that they were separate communities rather than unequal classes in India's secular democracy.

Writing on secularism in India has tended to follow a normative understanding, turning on the place of religion in the public sphere and on the separation of state and religious institutions (Luhter, 1964; Smith, 1963). This approach was reflected in the debates in liberal academic circles following the rise of Hindu communalism in the late 1980s (Beteille, 1994; Engineer, 2003; Nandy, 1998 [1988]; Sen, 1996), as well as in scholarship that has studied the discussion on secularism in the CA (Jha, 2002). This paper argues here that this focus on the 'problem of religion' or 'communalism', as a way of understanding the crisis of Indian secularism, has been a red herring of sorts, for it takes the gaze away from the substantive arguments that minorities were making in the CA about how their equal citizenship would be guaranteed. The secularism-communalism binary has thus tended to preclude deeper considerations of inequality.

## **The Constitution, Constituent Assembly and Secularism: Recent Arguments**

Scholars have argued that secularism in India was closely tied to Indian nationalism and values of liberal democracy (Bajpai, 2010; Bhargava, 2010; Chandhoke, 1999; Tejani, 2007). Ian Copland (2010) disagrees, correctly pointing out that the term hardly appears at all in political discourse leading up to independence, nor is it used in reference to an idea of freedom of religion before 1947. Moreover, the Constitution does not provide the basis for a secular state, if that is understood to be the separation of political from religious institutions. Indeed, it allows the opposite, as the state can fund religious schools and intervene in religious institutions which violate the dignity of the individual (Copland, 2010:128-9). The Indian State's interventionism in religion had precedents in history, he notes. The pre-colonial state maintained a symbiotic relationship between state and religion and the colonial state's approach was also not one of separation but strategic 'non-interference', managing relations between communities, legislating on temple management, and so on (Copland, 2010:131-3). Furthermore, officials understood Indian society as comprised of communities rather than individuals and consequently, colonial policies created an incentive for Indians to fashion their claims on the state in 'communal' terms. In the post-colonial period, this relationship between the state and religious communities was politicized through appeals to 'vote banks' and 'appeasing minority groups', opening the door to communalists, particularly Hindu nationalists, for exploitation (Copland, 2010:136)

Chiriyankandath (2000) argues that the way in which the CA dealt with questions of religion and secularism was deliberately ambiguous. The CA 'had to recognize the many paradoxes of

the Indian situation', in particular, how to adapt the form of secular democracy in a communalized society, society, divided by caste hierarchy and bloodily torn apart by partition (Chiriyankandath, 2000:14). In these discussions, some of the fundamental tenets of secularism were compromised. A uniform civil code was never introduced and reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, initially limited to 10 years, have been renewed every decade since Independence. Consequently, Muslim Personal Law remains a highly sensitive political issue and caste politics have become a significant feature of Indian democracy.

Both Copland and Chiriyankandath take the 'wall of separation' position of the US constitution requiring that the state remain aloof from religion, to show how Indian secularism was inadequately implemented and is an aberration in form. Bajpai (2010), in contrast, traces how secularism intersected with minority group recognition in the CA debates and shows that secularism became associated with a series of overlapping concepts: democracy, social justice, development and national unity. It was thus tied into a national project which provided the framework for how the minority question would be addressed. Similarly, Bhargava (2010) argues that in India, secularism was a 'multi-value' concept, embodying the substantive values of the egalitarian democratic state that India aspired to be. Thus, intervening in religious practices which maintained caste discrimination, such as opening temples to all sections of Hindus, may not have been secular in the strict understanding of the term, but did not undermine the secularism of the state.

I have argued elsewhere that secularism in India was a relational category. Not simply about a separation of political from religious institutions or creating an Indian ethics of tolerance, secularism represented a formulation of nationalism that involved

dovetailing liberal discourses around individual representation with definitions of majority and minority populations defined communally (Tejani, 2007:14-5). Indian secularism emerged at the nexus of nationalism and democracy, with caste, crucially, at its centre. It was in the separation of caste and religious minorities around the reservation issue that a meaning for secularism was crystallized in the CA debates (Tejani, 2007, chap.6). I have noted above that secularism, like religion, has been a red herring. Thus, here I ask two separate questions of the CA debates: what did it mean to be a minority, and what were reservations for?

### **Debates In The Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-49**

The composition of the CA has been outlined in details (Austin, 1966: Chiriyankandath, 2000). In summary, elections to the CA were held on the basis of the 1946 provincial elections where the Congress won an overwhelming majority of seats, all of which went into a 'general' category of representatives of the CA. There were no separate provisions within this general category for representation of minority interest, but the Congress working committee recommended that Provincial Congress Committees should ensure the selection of candidates from a range of communities. The Working Committee also ensured the selection of Congress leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Sarojini Naidu, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, C.Rajagopalachari and B. Shiva Rao from different parts of India. There was also an imperative to include experts in constitutional law and administration, though they were not Congress members, including H.N. Kunzru, B.R. Ambedkar and K.M. Munshi<sup>4</sup>.

## Minority Representation

The CA promised at the outset that the rights of all minorities would be protected. The question was, however, who constituted a 'minority' and what was the nature of safeguards required? Through the late colonial period, separate electorates had been seen as the best method to ensure the proper representation of minority concerns and religious and caste concerns and this made the case for continuing reservations into the period of independence. Sikh representatives, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Harnam Singh, argued that their historic contribution to India society went beyond what their numbers reflected and entitled them to a full set of provisions: 6 per cent of all seats in the central legislature, a seat for at least one Sikh in the cabinet of the Union, 5 per cent reservations in the central services and recognition of their historic presence in the army by recruiting to the defense forces. Sikhs were to be represented on various statutory bodies of the Union government and recognized in the provinces as a minority except in Punjab, which was to have a separate legislature<sup>5</sup>. The All-India Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Association submitted that the Constitution should provide for representation for Scheduled Castes in proportion to their population<sup>6</sup>.

The Advisory Committee on minorities considered these submissions as well as memoranda from other communities and organizations. To determine the relative claims of each, religious and other minorities were divided into three groups on the basis of size. Group A comprised of those who made up less than 0.5 per cent of India's population, omitting the princely states. These were the Anglo-Indians, Parsis and plains tribesmen of Assam. Group B were those whose population was below 1.5 percent, the Indian Christians and Sikhs. Group C were those

who exceeded this, the Muslims and Scheduled Castes. The Committee recommended that Anglo-Indians and Parsis should be given the right of reserved representation at the centre, while discussion of the plains tribesmen was deferred. For Indian Christians, the committee recommended reservations in provincial legislatures without weightage. The decision for Sikhs was also deferred, as the position of East Punjab remained uncertain in the spring of 1947. Significantly, the Committee agreed that separate electorates be abolished and no weightage be given to any minority in Groups B or C (Austin, 1966:393-4). Instead, there would be joint electorates with reservations in proportion to the population for Muslims and Scheduled Castes for 10 years.

By the time the recommendations of the Minorities sub-committee were considered in the CA at the end of August 1947, Partition had become a reality. This shifted the dynamics in two ways. First, the departure of 55 Muslim League members left behind what came to be called the League 'rump', merely 28 individuals under enormous pressure to demonstrate their loyalty to India. The League's ability to demand accountability in constitutional provisions was now practically dead. Second, partition was seen by an overwhelming number in the CA as the result of the secessionist politics of a minority. Bajpai (2010:65-8) notes that scholars have placed undue emphasis on Partition as undermining the bargaining power of religious minorities. Although Partition certainly curtailed the rights of religious minorities during constitution making but, she points out that reservations were in place right up to 1949. More than Partition, Bajpai (2010:66) suggests that it was 'the availability of a normative vocabulary in which political safeguards for minorities were illegitimate' that explains why reservations were ultimately retracted. We shall return to this point later.

The review of the Committee's report confirmed that minority safeguards would be in joint rather than in the separate electorates. But the criteria for what constituted minority status were far from evident. Was this an ethical category or did it simply represent the numerical proportion of different groups? What did minority status signify? The slippery nature of this concept made many uneasy. Jaipal Singh, an Adivasi advocate from Bihar, challenged the suggestion that Adivasis were a minority<sup>7</sup>. As the aboriginal people of India, their significance could not be subsumed under a politics of numbers, he said. Adivasis were 'the original owners of this country, even if they are only a few, they can never be considered a minority. They have prescriptive rights which no one can deny'<sup>8</sup>. For Sri Nagappa, a Scheduled Caste Congress representative from Madras, it was imperative that his community was recognized as a minority. Hindus and Muslims were working to expand their numbers and wanted to lay claim to the Scheduled Castes, he said. Recognition as a minority was crucial if there were to resist appropriation into one or other community. Their numbers should be protected because only this would ensure their proper visibility in institutions<sup>9</sup>. Opposition to their separate categorization remained, often for precisely the reasons that Nagappa argued. One member from the United Provinces stated that 'Mr. Jinnah has always tried to include the Scheduled Castes as a minority, but, so far as we are concerned, we consider the Scheduled Castes as belonging to Hindus, they are not a minority, they have always formed part of us'<sup>10</sup>.

While there was much to argue over in terms of the extent of reservations that Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Jains, Sikhs and Christians were entitled to, but that they were minorities was not contested. It was the Scheduled Caste question around which the discussion turned. K.M. Munishi sought to clarify the position of Scheduled Castes. 'Minority', he said, was defined



in international treaties and international law along racial, religious and linguistic lines, but the Scheduled Castes were none of these. The use of the term 'minority' to refer to them as such was, he felt 'a very mischievous extension'. Munshi argued that Harijans, the Gandhian term for Untouchables, were 'part and parcel of [the] Hindu community,<sup>11</sup> and the safeguards are given to them to protect their rights only till [sic] they are completely absorbed in the Hindu community'. The Scheduled Castes for Munshi, then, were not a minority, but they were Hindus.

The debate around the criteria for recognition as a minority revealed profound differences around the nature of democracy. The constitutional question had always been how to reconcile the political recognition of communities with the priority of national unity and the subsequent creation of a body of citizens. How far were those who agitated for separate electorates undermining this goal? In this, a consideration of the relative size of each group measured against the 'General' category or the so-called majority, mattered tremendously. Debi Prosad Khaitan, a Congress member from West Bengal, articulating the fears of many, argued that if Scheduled Castes were made a category in their own right, then together with Muslims they would form close to half the total population, after which there would be reservations for Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and others, rendering the Hindus a minority. Independent India could not be comprised of a series of minorities, and this was not democracy as people knew it he said<sup>12</sup>.

## **Reservations and Secularism**

Reservations and the protection of minorities were closely woven into the fabric of the discussion on secularism and

what constituted a secular state. During the early CA meetings (December 1946 to end August 1947), reservations had been considered as a possible solution to allay apprehensions that minorities would be overlooked after independence. The reality of Partition put huge pressure on minority representatives to forgo these demands, to favour 'national unity' over 'communalism'. Although 'secular' was not part of the formal description of the Indian state until 1976, it was widely accepted at Independence that this would be so. The protection of minorities was assured in the resolutions on fundamental rights and was central to the discussion of how India should be constituted as a secular state (Bajpai, 2010: Chiriyankandath, 2000: Copland, 2010: Jha, 2002).

Many CA members argued that protection through reservations was defensible only to uplift the historically disenfranchised, so that they may eventually take their place as citizens in a modern nation. For Nehru, reservations were part of the 'duty and responsibility of the majority', necessary to win the confidence of minorities<sup>13</sup>. These measures would be temporary and their intended effects would undermine the need for the measures themselves. Many other took a more exacting position, insisting that protection for any specific group violated the principles of a secular state. Mahavir Tyagi, a Congress member from the United Provinces, argued that no one not Scheduled Castes, Sikhs, Muslims or Hindus- should ask for any kind of reservations because, 'we are a secular state... we cannot give recognition or weightage to any religious group of individuals'<sup>14</sup>. What precisely constituted secularism was taken up by a number of contradictory and often opposing political agenda. Tyagi's point was that India should not recognize religious communities in its institutional framework. However, by placing Hindus alongside other communities, he effectively levelled their differences. In implying that they were simply one

community among many and equally entitled to protection, he failed to acknowledge that reservations emerged from an imperative to address the unequal relationship between them.

Independence had a significant bearing on the debate on secularism. The transition to a democracy marked a disjuncture with the past in important ways. Secularism now embodied the value of unity that nationalism had before. Before 1947, the liberal and right-of-centre politicians from the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha had argued that ‘communal reservations’ and ‘communalism’ undermined ‘nationalism’, but later, they were seen to pose a threat to secularism. Independence, in creating a democratic secular republic where minorities would be protected, was to have resolved the communal problem. Importantly, provisions for ensuring freedom of religion and the protection of religious minorities were now addressed in the discussions on secularism while those to do with ensuring justice for Scheduled Castes turned on the issue of ‘backwardness’.

### **The Question of ‘Backwardness’: ‘Classes’ versus ‘Minorities’**

Whether the term ‘classes’ or ‘minorities’ should be used was first raised in April 1947 in the context of a discussion on fundamental rights. Many were concerned that if ‘minority’ were to be defined solely by an ascriptive identity, be it caste or religious community, then equally deserving others would be excluded. K.M. Panniker, for instance, argued that in India, ‘minority’ had come to have a particular meaning, referring to religious or political minorities, Sikh, Muslim or Depressed Classes. But, he said, there ‘may be among the majority, among the Hindus for example, many classes who have not adequate

representation in the services... It may be desirable to make some kind of provision... for certain classes which we have to encourage to come forward' (Shiva Rao, 1967:259).

What this might mean, then, was that the already contested category of 'minority' would be replaced with the even more ambiguous 'class'. The latter was a category whose parameters could change: as a 'backward class' came 'forward' they would leave the structure of reservations and enter the 'General' category, while other classes may be incorporated. This offered a framework that could accommodate social mobility but it also raised the question of how to ensure the majority community would not use this to extend its position. It was considered whether both terms should be used, but Sardar Patel, as the Committee's Chairman, insisted that 'classes' was a broader term that included 'minorities', a point with which a number of others concurred (Shiva Rao, 1967:262). Hence, the Advisory committee recommended that such reservations would be for underrepresented communities and in force for ten years only. The clause that went into the report for consideration by the Drafting committee read as follows:

There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of public employment and in the exercise of carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession. Nothing herein contained shall prevent the state from making provision for reservations in favour of classes who, in the opinion of the state, are not adequately represented in the public services. (Shiva Rao, (1967:296) However, in a significant departure, the draft constitution substituted 'classes' with 'any backward classes'. The insertion of the term 'backward' proved important, for not only was it left undefined, but critically for this discussion, its introduction marked the effective exclusion of religious minorities from such provisions.

Spokesmen of religious minorities argued differently. For instance, Mohamed Ismail Sahib, a League member from Madras, argued that Muslims and Christians too were 'backward'. Muslim League members in the CA held that although reservations for their communities were deemed communal, people charged with communalism were simply asking for their rights, as 'communalism does not come in because people want their rights. When people find that they are not adequately represented, they rightly feel that they must have due representation and then such a demand comes up'. On the other, 'when people...find that they are given as good an opportunity as others', that is, when the conditions of backwardness are removed, 'harmony will be there and the so-called communalism will not come in at all' (Shiva Rao,, 1967:693)

Underlying these discussions were questions over the relationship between community and class. The article in the draft constitutions that considered provisions for minority communities in civil service appointments was unclear about the relationship between 'minorities' and 'backward classes'. In one draft, the article used the word 'class', which included religious minorities and in another 'backward classes', which did not. Whatever the terminology, as H.N. Kunzru pointed out, protection was only granted to a group 'on the ground that it is backward and if left to itself, would be unable to protect its interests'<sup>15</sup>. Ambedkar, as Chairman of the Drafting committee, explained the insertion of the term. The Constitution had to ensure two potentially contradictory goals: equality of opportunity and provisions for certain communities to enter an administration which, for historical reasons, was controlled by a narrow range of castes and classes. The term 'backward' signalled a condition of social, economic and political marginalization. Its addition has been necessary in order to

prevent a whole host of other communities from attempting to stake a claim. Reservations were to be the exception, not the rule. As for minorities, they enjoyed freedom of conscience and there would be adequate provision for the safeguarding of their interests<sup>16</sup>. Thus, it was with the insertion of 'backward' that class and community were separated.

## **A Reversal of Claims**

On 11 May 1949, Patel submitted to the Advisory committee, the report of a special sub-committee that had met in December 1948 to consider the problems facing minority populations in East Punjab and West Bengal. The Committee comprised of Nehru, Prasad, Munshi and Ambedkar. In their opinion, the conditions in the country had changed to such an extent that 'it was no longer appropriate in the context of free India and of present conditions that there should be reservations of seats for Muslims, Christians, Sikhs or any other religious minority'<sup>17</sup>. The abolition of separate electorates had 'removed much of the poison from the body politic'. Nevertheless, reservation for religious communities 'did lead to a certain degree of separatism and was to that extent contrary to the conception of a secular democratic state'. The Advisory Committee voted overwhelmingly to support this, recognizing that 'the peculiar position of the Scheduled Castes would make it necessary to give them reservations for a period of ten years as originally decided'<sup>18</sup>.

The complete withdrawal of reservations for religious minorities was a dramatic reversal of fortune. Some Muslim League members abandoned their support of reservations and minority status: 'Make us your equal partners, then there will be no majority or minority communities in India', pleaded Tajamul Husain<sup>19</sup>. Indeed, Sikh, Muslim and Scheduled Caste

representatives had already begun to lose faith in what reservations could achieve. They warned that representation should not be a substitute for equality; it should be a means to an end, not the end in itself. Towards 1949, in a remarkable twist of arguments, Sardar Hukam Singh had said that reservations did not safeguard the interest of minorities. The very act of recognition ensured the dominant position of the majority: if 30 per cent of posts were reserved for a minority, this still meant that 'indirectly you are reserving 70 per cent for the majority'<sup>20</sup>. Similarly, Hasrat Mohani argued that to assert that Muslims constituted a minority population of 14 per cent meant that 'you still consider yourselves 86 per cent.... Why do you say that Muslims are a minority? So long as you depict Muslims in communal colours they will remain a minority'<sup>21</sup>. Many pointed out that the policy of reservations had become a concession. Rather than addressing the problem of inequality, they identified majority and minority populations communally.

However, the weight of opinion was behind Nehru, who argued that removing reservations was good not only for minorities, but also good psychologically for the nation and the world, for 'it shows that we are really sincere about this business of having a secular democracy'. The Scheduled Castes were the exception, because they were a way of 'helping backward groups in the country'<sup>22</sup>. This was not an issue of religion or caste, but of backwardness.

Bajpai (2010:146) has argued that agreeing to give up reservations reflected a 'progressive adaptation' of minority claims to a legitimating vocabulary of liberalism, a capitulation of sorts to a new hegemony. This is important as the CA debates were the place where normative liberal ideals which had, through the colonial period, sat alongside a range of other political philosophies of governance were crystallized into a new

vocabulary of liberal citizenship (Bayly, 2011; Mehta, 1999). However, I would argue that there was more to it than tired resignation. Separate electorates were introduced in part to overcome the backwardness of particular communities. The original provision of 1909 was to be a temporary measure. Similarly, Ambedkar maintained that reservations would be for ten years only. Muslims and Sikhs, it could be argued, were making the case again for the recognition of their social and political marginalization, not for their permanent re-inscription as communal minorities.

For Nehru, Patel and Munshi, doing away with reservations was central to creating universal citizenship and a unified nation. For Sri Nagappa, Hasrat Mohani and Sardar Hukam Singh, this was not nationalism but exclusion. Ambedkar had earlier argued that Indians had taken the wrong path on the question of minority protection: 'It is wrong for the majority to deny the existence of minorities. It is equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves'. A new solution must be found that 'will enable majorities and minorities to merge someday into one'. But, he warned, the diehards among the majority had developed a fanaticism against reservations. In India, minorities had put their faith in the rule of the majority and it was the duty of the latter not to discriminate against them. The moment discrimination ceased, 'the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish'. However, Ambedkar continued, the problem lay in the fact that the majority in India was 'a communal... and not a political majority'<sup>23</sup>. Herein lay the problem of liberal nationalism in India and it was one that minorities were acutely aware of. It presented itself as universal and secular when it was, in fact, particular and communal.

In October 1949, the section of the draft constitution that provided for reservations for religious minorities in services came



up for consideration in the Assembly. The Advisory Committee had voted earlier to abolish such provisions. Ambedkar proposed that the terms 'minorities' and 'classes' that had earlier been proposed should now be replaced with 'Scheduled Castes', 'Scheduled Tribes' and 'other backward classes'. Sardars Hukam Singh and Bhopinder Singh Mann were bitterly angry. What had once been wholly supported was now being rolled back not just in part, but in its entirety. This was a farce of a democracy, they argued, and made an equal mockery of secularism. If reservations were given to backward castes but denied to religious minorities, what was to happen to those who were equally backward but denied safeguards and reservations because they professed a religion like Sikhism? 'Would this be secularism?' Sardar Hukam Singh asked<sup>24</sup>.

## Conclusion

In its early deliberations, the CA endorsed a recommendation for the protection of minorities, a category that in 1947 incorporated both religion and caste, by reservations through joint electorates. In November 1949, as the review of the draft constitution drew to a close, the Assembly decided to limit this entitlement to Scheduled Castes and Tribes as well as to the more loosely defined category of 'Other Backward Classes'. There would be no such provision for religious minorities as these were seen to foster the same political and social isolation that had led to Partition. It was deemed the role of the secular state to ensure freedom of conscience and equal treatment before the law. The result, it was hoped, would be integration and the consolidation of national identity.

By 1949, the broad consensus that had earlier existed among Muslim representatives on the issue of reservations had fractured.

Hasrat Mohani, once among the most vocal in the defense of reservations for Muslims, distanced himself from this position, arguing that it would consign Muslims to the status of a permanent minority from which they would be unable to emerge. Some scholars have seen this as a retreat and as evidence of a lack of political direction among Muslims (Chaube, 1973:152), others, the hegemony of the vocabulary of liberalism (Bajpai, 2010:167-8). However, I would suggest that questioning the commitment to separate representation was not a simple concession of defeat. Mohani argued that in delineating the size of the Muslim minority, the CA had re-inscribed the contours of the majority. This point was significant because it showed that majority and minority were defined together and that reservations would serve to confirm, rather than to undermine, their respective dominance and subordination. Similarly, Sri Nagappa's assertion that he would be willing to forego reservations in return for specific measures to address the economic and education backwardness of Scheduled Castes also highlighted the desire to confront inequality rather than reaffirm identity.

Mohammad Tahir articulated what many minority representatives in the CA believed when he said that the Constitution did not 'reflect the condition of the country'. You would not know from looking at it, he said, that Sikhs and Muslims exist. Only Anglo-Indians, Tribals, Scheduled Castes and Hindus were visible: 'It seems as if in this Constitution the Muslims as a community have no place in politics'<sup>25</sup>. For Mohammad Tahir, this represented a fundamental failure of the constitution. For the Constitution's framers, in contrast, it was one of its core principles: The formal recognition of Muslims as a political category was beyond what a liberal democracy could accommodate. Communalism had always been the term attributed to the mobilization around a non-national,

religious identity. In this sense, its politics were particular, where nationalist politics were represented as universal. But Hukam Singh, Mohani and Ambedkar had all shown this supposedly universal position was itself particular. Hukam Singh's outrage at what he called the 'communalism of the majority' held a mirror up to precisely this issue. Reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and the so-called 'other backward classes', on the otherhand, were justified as a protective measure. They were devised for positive effect, as a tool to create equality of opportunity in politically and educationally nascent populations with the aim of their integration into the new nation.

It was thus between inequality and identity that the fault line of Indian liberalism emerged. State intervention represented by protective discrimination could be justified on the grounds that it would go some way towards dissolving caste boundaries and historic inequality. The same could not be possible for religious minorities, for their position lay not on a spectrum of historical development that offered the possibility of overcoming their minority status, but precisely in the iteration of their difference. Moreover, non-intervention in religion rather than its opposite was what defined a secular state. Thus, the secular state's promise of integration was made possible by containing difference within its own sphere. The transition from nationalism to democracy required religious minorities to forego any claim to inequality in favour of an idea of secularism which had narrowed around rectified understanding of 'religion' and 'religious identity'. Where reservations for the backward classes understood these communities to be socially dynamic, Indian liberalism served to fossilize the religious community allowing little potential for change.

Thus, in contrast to Copland and Chiriyankandath, I would argue that it was not so much the lack of clarity around

secularism that opened the door to the communalism that appeared later, for this takes as a given that 'religion' was always a problem requiring a solution. Rather, a consideration of the CA debates shows that religious minorities argued against their own marginalization, albeit unsuccessfully, which they saw as political, social and educational. Perhaps, then, it was the failure to address the marginality and exclusion on the part of religious communities that was written into the Constitution, rather than the failure to privatise religion, that has laid the ground for subsequent claims for equality to be articulated in the language of community.

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1. The separate electorate for commercial interests differed in each of the three presidencies of British India in terms of which interests were identified for separate recognition and the proportion of seats to be reserved for each. They were not politically sensitive and rarely featured in the subsequent discussions on minority representation.
2. The Government of India Act, 1935, brought the term 'Scheduled Castes' and 'Scheduled Tribes' into use to correspond with the earlier 'depressed classes' and 'tribals'. The Government of India drew up a list or 'schedule' of castes and tribes, who would be beneficiaries of special representation in legislative bodies.
3. 'Backwardness' was a term used to describe a community's marginality in colonial institutions of political representation (the legislative councils) and higher education (government colleges). The 'backward classes' was never a clearly defined political category. It included the depressed classes but was

- not limited to them. The 'General' category referred to members of the electorate who did not fall into a reserved category.
4. Ambedkar had been elected as the representative for the Scheduled Caste Federation, but lost his seat with the partition of Bengal. He was re-elected by the Bombay Congress at the request of the Working Committee (Austin, 1966:12-3).
  5. Memorandum on Minorities, March/April, 1947 (Austin, 1966:362-8).
  6. Memorandum, 15 April, 1947 (Austin, 1966:381-3).
  7. Jaipal Singh was an independent candidate, but came in the General category.
  8. *Constituent Assembly Debates (CAD)*, Vol. V: 209.
  9. *CAD*, vol. V: 206-7.
  10. *CAD*, vol. V: 235.
  11. *CAD*, vol. V: 227.
  12. *CAD*, vol. VI, 28 August, 1947: 255.
  13. *CAD*, vol. VII 8 November, 1948:323.
  14. *CAD*, vol. VII 9 November, 1948:362.
  15. *CAD*, vol. VII 30 November, 1948:680-1.
  16. *CAD*, vol. VII: 701-2.
  17. *CAD*, vol. VIII, 25 May 1949:311, Appendix A, in a letter from Sardar Patel, Chairman, Advisory committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, etc., to the President, Constituent Assembly of India, dated 11 May 1949.
  18. *CAD*, vol. VIII: 311
  19. *CAD*, vol. VIII, 25-26 May 1949:337.
  20. *CAD*, vol. VII, 4 January 1949:1249.
  21. *CAD*, vol. VII, 4 November 1948:46
  22. *CAD*, vol. VIII: 292-3.
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# CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RAMA SETU BRIDGE

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Adam's bridge was first mentioned in the ancient Indian Sanskrit epic *Ramayana* of Valmiki. It was also known as **Rama's Bridge** or **Rama Setu** and it is a chain of limestone shoals, between Rameswaram Island, off the southeastern coast of Tamil Nadu, and Mannar Island, off the northwestern coast of Sri Lanka<sup>1</sup>. Geological evidence suggests that this bridge is a former land connection between India and Sri Lanka. The bridge is 18 miles long and separates the Gulf of Mannar (southwest) from the Palk Strait (northeast)<sup>2</sup>. Some of the sandbanks are dry and the sea in the area is very shallow, being only 3 ft to 30 ft deep in places, which hinders navigation. It was reportedly passable on foot up to the 15th century CE until storms deepened the channel.

The name *Rama's Bridge* refers to the bridge built by the Vanara (ape men) army of Lord Rama in Hindu mythology, which he used to reach Lanka and rescue his wife Sita from the Rakshasa king, Ravana. Hindu belief is that the bridge was created by Shri Rama and Shri Lakshmana with the assistance of Lord Hanuman and the 'monkey army' to reach Lanka in order to find Shri Rama's wife Sita<sup>3</sup>. The monkeys mentioned here as comprising Rama's army, were not ordinary monkeys.

They were, in fact, greatly demigods who appeared on this earth to assist the Lord in his task of subduing this atheistic demon, Ravana. And all beings beheld that causeway thrown over the ocean and by hundreds and thousands of *kotis* (millions), those monkeys, full of valour, having built that bridge over the immense expanse of waters, reached the opposite shore. It was vast, well-constructed, magnificent with its wonderful paved floor, solidly cemented, that great causeway like unto a line traced on the waves.

The *Ramayana* attributes the building of this bridge to Rama in verse 2-22-76, naming it as **Setubandhanam**, a name that persists till today. The sea separating India and Sri Lanka is called Sethusamudram meaning “Sea of the Bridge”<sup>4</sup>. Maps prepared by a Dutch cartographer in 1747 CE, available at the Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Library show this area as *Ramancoil*, a colloquial form of the Tamil *Raman Kovil* or Rama’s temple. Another map of Mughal India prepared by J. Rennel in 1788 retrieved from the same library called this area as “the area of the Rama temple”, referring to the temple dedicated to Lord Rama at Rameswaram. Many other maps in Schwartzberg’s historical atlas and other sources such as travel texts by Marco Polo call this area by various names such as *Sethubandha* and *Sethubandha Rameswaram*<sup>5</sup>.

The western world first encountered it in “historical works in the 9th century” by Ibn Khordadbeh in his *Book of Roads and Kingdoms* referring to it is *Set Bandhai* or “Bridge of the Sea”. Later, Alberuni described it<sup>6</sup>. The earliest map that calls this area by the name Adam’s bridge was prepared by a British cartographer in 1804, probably referring to an Abrahamic legend, according to which Adam used the bridge to reach a mountain in Sri Lanka, where he stood repentant on one foot for 1,000

years, leaving a large hollow mark resembling a footprint. A historical map of Adam's Bridge and environs, prior to the cyclone of 1964 shows Adam's Bridge as a chain of shoals from the Dhanushkodi tip of India's Pamban Island and ending at Sri Lanka's Mannar Island<sup>7</sup>. Pamban Island is semi-connected to the Indian mainland by the 2 km long Pamban Bridge. Mannar Island is connected to mainland Sri Lanka by a causeway. The border between India and Sri Lanka is said to pass across one of the shoals constituting one of the shortest sea borders in the world. Adam's bridge and neighbouring areas like Rameswaram, Dhanushkodi, Devipattinam and Thirupullani are mentioned in the context of various legends in Ramayana<sup>8</sup>.

The Pamban Railway bridge, which connects Pamban Island with the Indian mainland was constructed in 1914 Pamban Island (Tamil Nadu) with its small port of Rameswaram is about which is 2 kms from mainland India<sup>9</sup>. The Pamban Bridge crossing the Pamban channel links Pamban Island with the mainland India. It refers to both: a road bridge and a cantilever railway bridge. Small boats would go below the 2065 m long road bridge and the railway bridge would open up. The problem in navigation exists because big ships cannot travel in the shallow waters of the Pamban channel. Dredging in this channel would cost more than dredging a channel in the Rama Setu area, where the waters are comparatively deep and lesser earth would have to be dredged.

A ferry service linked Dhanushkodi in India with Talaimannar in Sri Lanka. The service was part of the Indo-Ceylon Railway service during British rule. One could buy a railway ticket from Chennai to Colombo, whereby people travelled by rail from Chennai to Pamban island, go by ferry to Talaimannar, and then go again by rail to Colombo. In 1964, a cyclone completely destroyed Dhanushkodi, a train about to enter the station, the

tracks and the pier and heavily damaged the shores of Palk Bay and Palk Strait<sup>10</sup>. Dhanushkodi was not rebuilt and the train then stopped at Rameswaram. There was a small ferry service from there to Talaimannar, but it has been suspended around 1982 because of the fighting between Sri Lankan government forces and the LTTE.

Considerable diversity of opinion and confusion exists about the nature and origin of this structure. In the 19th century, there were two prevalent theories explaining the structure. One considered it to be formed by a process of accretion and rising of the land, while the other surmised that it was formed by the breaking away of Sri Lanka from the Indian mainland<sup>11</sup>. The friable calcareous ridges are broken into large rectangular blocks, which perhaps gave rise to the belief that the causeway is an artificial construction<sup>12</sup>.

According to V. Ram Mohan of the Centre of Natural Hazards and Disaster Studies of the University of Madras “reconstruction of the geological evolution of the island chain is a challenging task and has to be carried out based on circumstantial evidence”<sup>13</sup>. The lack of comprehensive field studies explains many of the uncertainties regarding the nature and origin of Adam’s Bridge, which essentially consists of a series of parallel ledges of sandstone and conglomerates that are hard at the surface and grows coarse and soft as it descends to sandy banks. Studies have variously described the structure as a chain of shoals, coral reefs, a ridge formed in the region owing to thinning of the barrier islands. Radiocarbon dating of samples in this study suggests that the domain between Rameswaram and Talaimannar may have thus been exposed sometime between 18,000 and 7,000 years ago. Thermo luminescence dating by GSI concludes that the sand dunes of Dhanushkodi to Adam’s bridge started forming only about 500–600 years ago<sup>14</sup>. Certain

historical inscriptions, old travel guides, old dictionaries references and some old maps have been said to reinforce a religious and geographical belief that this is an ancient bridge.

In 2001, the Government of India approved a multi-million dollar Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project that aims to create a ship channel across the Palk Strait by dredging the shallow ocean floor near Dhanushkodi. The channel is expected to cut over 400 km off the voyage around the island of Sri Lanka. This proposed channel's current alignment requires dredging through Rama's Bridge. The Government of India constituted nine committees before independence and five committees since then to suggest alignments for a Sethusamudram Canal project. Most of them suggested land-based passages across Rameswaram Island and none suggested alignment across Adam's bridge<sup>15</sup>. The Sethusamudram project committee in 1956 also strongly recommended to the Union government to use land passages instead of cutting Adam's bridge because of the several advantages of land passage. Government of India, in an affidavit in the Supreme Court of India, said that there is no historical proof of the bridge being built by Rama. In connection with the canal project, the Madras High Court in its verdict stated that the *Rama Sethu* is a man-made structure. Various organizations have opposed the project based on religious, economic and environmental grounds and have sought the implementation of one of the alternative alignments considered during the earlier stages of the discussion.

A 2007 publication of the National Remote Sensing Agency said that the structure "may be man-made", contradicting the report from the Archaeological Survey of India which found no evidence for it being man-made. In a 2008 court case, a spokesman for the government stated "So where is the Setu? We are not destroying any bridge. There is no bridge. It was

not a man-made structure. It may be a superman-made structure, but the same superman had destroyed it. That is why for centuries nobody mentioned anything about it. It (Ram Setu) has become an object of worship only recently<sup>16</sup>.

The bridge's unique curvature and composition by age reveals that it is man-made. Legend as well as archeological studies reveals that the first human inhabitants in Sri Lanka date back to the primitive age, about 1,750,000 years ago and the bridge's age is also almost equivalent. Space images taken by NASA reveal a mysterious ancient bridge in the Palk Strait between India and Sri Lanka<sup>17</sup>. In this epic, there is a mention about a bridge, which was built between Rameshwaram (India) and the SriLankan coast under the supervision of a dynamic and invincible figure called Rama who is supposed to be the incarnation of the Supreme. This information may not be of much importance to the archaeologists who are interested in exploring the origins of man, but it is sure to open the spiritual gates of the people of the world to know that ancient history is linked to Indian mythology.

Here one can also learn the real undisguised and uncontaminated truth about God. Our man-made religions are of little or no value when compared to the stunning and breathtaking revelations found in the pages of the Srimad-Bhagavatam, Ramayana, Bhagavada-gita, etc. South Indian histories are almost ignored by the historians of India. In this connection, Vincent Smith aptly remarked: "Hitherto most historians of ancient India have written as if the South did not exist". But on the other hand the view that the history of South India particularly Tamilnadu has history from very ancient times. If the underwater research was continued further multidimensional basis, the hidden history not only of the Ancient Tamils but also the beginning of the human history could have been brought to light.

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## EVOLUTION OF VIZHINJAM

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### Introduction

Vizhinjam, now a days is the main subject of talks and discussions in newspapers and media attracting the attention of the public, as the Kerala State government signed an agreement with Indian multinational conglomerate company or a private consortium named Adani Group to make the dream project in Vizhinjam, a reality. Infact, it is a project whereby Vizhinjam was chosen as the proposed site for the establishment of an International Transshipment Terminal along with sea port and an energy conversion plant using a local grid sytem, thirteen years ago. However, it never got materialized due to various reasons, though Vizhinjam was selected for this particular project due to its strategic position as well as its close proximity to the sea .In fact, it is a place in the Trivandrum District of Kerala in India and is a village in Neyyattinkara Taluk, fifteen miles south of Trivandrum<sup>1</sup>. At present, it functions as a fishing village spreading over an area of 12.62 square kilometres with Kovalam on the north, Athiyanoor and Karumkulam on the east and the Arabian sea on the south and west.

In this situation when the Adani group had already started its work on this project in Vizhinjam by November 2015, there

are many questions arising regarding its past history as well as about the success of the proposed project. Hence, it has become a necessity to trace back the history of the same and to know whether the proposed project will be a success or not. While tracing back its history to the ancient times, one can very much understand that it was mentioned as 'Balita', in many literary sources including '*Periplus Of The Erythrean Sea*' in which it is stated that *Balita* is in the country of 'Paralia' which is on the both sides of river Paraliar (Kuzhithura). Some scholars identify it with Vijayapuri, the capital of Vijayasenan as mentioned in '*Kuvalayamala Katha*'. Sivasankaran Nair is of the opinion that the term Vizhinjam might have been derived from 'Vijayalayamadam', one of the 'mutts' (monasteries) of south Travancore. However, it is left without any historical evidence as such to determine its location and origin in the past. Early works of Sangam, 'Pandikkovai', 'Iraiyanar Ahapporul and Jayamkodar's '*Kalingattuparani* shows Vizhinjam as a prospering place in various fields. Its early growth and devolution in many ways was directly associated with the political fortunes of the Ays/Chera chieftains who held sway over the region for a long period<sup>2</sup>. Later stages of Ay rule in Vizhinjam had to face frequent attacks from neighbouring kingdoms, which finally resulted in its disintegration with the depletion of wealth and development. Though Venad rulers in the later stages made attempts to retain its lost glory, it all went in vain. As the proposed project for Vizhinjam, had already started its initial work in the years to come, it will be the ultimate realization of glory enjoyed by Vizhinjam in the ancient past.

## Vizhinjam through the Ages

'Ays' were the early ruling dynasty that exercised its control over Vizhinjam. As a matter of fact, they ruled over southern

Kerala along with Vizhinjam. According to Sreedhara Menon, they ruled over Nagercoil in the south to Thiruvalla in the north including Western Ghats. Paliyam copper plates of Vikramaditya Varaguna ascribes the origin of their family to the Yadavas or Vrishnikula<sup>3</sup>. One can also find references of Ay dynasty in the foreign accounts of Ptolemy in which he refers to them as 'Aoi'. Vizhinjam prospered under the rule of Ay rulers such as Antiran, Titiyan and Atiyan. It enjoyed a peaceful period under their rule. Ay Antiran in *Purananuru* is described as Lord of Podiyil mountains, and as a patron of arts and letters. Titiyan on the other hand is referred as '*podiyilselvan*', in *Agananuru* and is said to have defeated and subjugated the Pandyan king, Pasumpum Pandyan. Vizhinjam made great advancements in the fields of trade, education, social progress, economic prosperity etc during their reign. Vizhinjam served as a major port and main centre for carrying out trade and commerce during this period. Further advances were also made in the educational field with no class distinctions at all. In fact, it experienced a period of peace and prosperity under the patronage of early Ay rulers with outstanding progress being made in various fields.

From the seventh century onwards, situations began to change. One can attain more information about Vizhinjam under the reign of Ay rulers mainly from Pandyan inscriptions. It began to function as the capital of Ay kingdom from the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Vikramaditya Varaguna and Karunandadakkan were the Ay rulers who exercised their control over the same at this particular point of time. The Ay king, Vikramaditya Varaguna was otherwise known as 'Vizhinja Bhartavau', meaning the protector of Vizhinjam<sup>4</sup>. It had to face attacks from Pandyan kingdom during this period of time. Prior to the attacks, Vizhinjam functioned as an international port of call in Indian Ocean. Sangam literatures such as *Pandikkovai*, *Iraiyanar Ahapporul*, *Kalingattuparani* of Jayamkondar and *Vikramasolan Ula* are said

to have numerous references to the existence of a port<sup>5</sup>. They were generous patrons of education and used Vizhinjam along with other major educational centres such as Kantalur Salai and Parthivasekharapuramsalai for this purpose. There is a place very near to Vizhinjam called Thenoorkonam, where there is evidence to prove the location of Kantalur Salai to a place with port facilities. Thiruvallangadu inscriptions gives a hint to the real location of Kantalur Salai from '*Kantalur Salai Kalamarutharuli*', which mentions the destruction of a ship, signifying the word '*kalam*' to a ship and '*Arutharuli*' meaning the destruction of a particular vessel or ship. Thus, this place can only be related to a place with port facilities and the major port of Ays and thus it was none other than Vizhinjam. Besides, they also made liberal patronage to temples in and around Vizhinjam which is evident from the references made in Chitalar inscriptions, Paliyam copper plates and from Huzur copper plates. It is believed that they established *sabhas* and Vedic schools in these temples. In fact, Vizhinjam prospered under the rule of great Ay rulers like Vikramaditya Varaguna and Karunandadakkan. Even inscriptions of this period refer to Vizhinjam as '*Kula Vizhinjam*', or '*Kolapuri*', meaning 'the chief city of the Ays'. The wealth and prosperity enjoyed by Vizhinjam during this time period attracted neighbouring rulers to conquer and acquire its wealth.

By the seventh century, Pandyas became a formidable power in South India. They waged many wars against Ays to conquer them. At this point of time, in order to resist these attacks, they transformed many educational centres including Kantalursalai and Vizhinjam into military centres. It is believed that Ay fort was also constructed in 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. to serve this particular purpose. Besides, it also served the purpose of maritime trade. It is a specimen from pre-colonial era built of rubble masonry on a sea side cliff in mud mortar in an area of 800cm<sup>2</sup>. It is

said to have survived under the sway of various rulers, until its destruction at the hands of Kulottunga Chola. Nowadays, its remains can be seen in places such as Marunnukottai and Kottapuram in Vizhinjam. In fact, this fort's remains can be treated as one of the earliest fort remains in Kerala. Moreover, it played a major role in developing Vizhinjam into one of the most important port cities of that period.

Pandyan Kings such as Jayantavarman and Arikesari Varman attained great victories over Ays. Arikesari is eulogized for having won a series of victories at Thirunelveli, Vizhinjam, Kottar, Seveer Pulandai Kadaiyaul against the Chera kings and a many other places against their unnamed enemies<sup>6</sup>. His victories were praised by Nakkirar in *Iraignar Ahapporul*, a Tamil work. In this particular work, it is mentioned that Arikesari defeated the Ays like the armies from the ocean<sup>7</sup>. Successors of Arikesari Varman like Ko-Chadayan ('Ranadhira') and Rajasimha also attacked the places under the control of Ays. After these attacks, Ays is said to have accepted the suzerainty of the Pandyas. Nedumchadayan is one of the greatest rulers in the Kadungon line of Pandyas, who is well known for his conquests and able administration. Sangam poems and Pandyan inscriptions give a vivid description about his reign as well as military expeditions. Similarly, there are also inscriptions which speak about his patronage to temple and money lending for the requirements of temples<sup>8</sup>. He also led a military expedition against Vizhinjam as is evident from Kazhugumalai inscriptions which says about the crushing defeat he inflicted on Ays by attacking Vizhinjam in A.D.781. Subsequent attacks were also targeted against Vizhinjam, as he was very much interested in the wealth, natural beauty and innumerable prospects held by this place which is evident from an inscription of Nadumchadayan from the same year. Ay fort and Aruviyoorkottai were also destroyed due to his attacks targeted against Vizhinjam. However, in A.D. 791, Ays along with

their allies became successful in recapturing Vizhinjam from the successors of Nedumchadayan in the Pandyan kingdom. This prompted another ruler in the Pandyan kingdom by name Sri Vallabha to inflict yet another defeat on Ays as mentioned in the Sembur Vadagarai inscription. Later, as the time went on Vizhinjam along with other places which were once part of the Ay kingdom were incorporated into Chera empire and remained under their control during the Chola-Chera war.

Kulasekhara Varman was the founder of this kingdom and this period between A.D. 800-1102 witnessed the revival of Chera power under the Kulasekharas. Vizhinjam became part of their empire by the 10<sup>th</sup> century and served as an important port along with Quilon and Cranganore. This in turn helped it to attain a high degree of economic prosperity through extensive commercial contacts with many foreign countries. This fact is even testified by notable Arab travellers. Trade guilds also played a major role in the economic well being of Vizhinjam at that time. Furthermore, it can be stated that it reached its pinnacle of glory by making advancements in areas of social, religious and cultural significance.

The Cholas were a formidable force in south India at that time. They defeated the Pandyan kingdom and made its ruler Rajasimha to flee for his life to Ceylon and after staying there for some years, he sought asylum in Kerala, the home of his mother<sup>9</sup>. This reason along with other factors such as the strategic position of the Chera kingdom, absorption of Ay kingdom etc prompted them to attack the Cheras. These events finally led to the Chola-Chera war which began in the 11<sup>th</sup> century when Parantaka Chola invaded Kongunadu under the Chera empire, during the reign of Indukothavarman. However, after the death of Parantaka Chola in A.D. 955, the Cholas never posed threat to the Cheras for another 30 years, which proved beneficial for

the Cheras, as they were able to regain their lost territories during this particular period of time. This, however was short lived as Raja Raja Chola ascended the throne in A.D. 985. His contemporary Chera ruler was Bhaskara Ravi Varman (A.D.962 – 1019) and Vizhinjam was under his control at that time. Raja Raja Chola, on the otherhand spearheaded many victorious conquests ever since he ascended the throne and finally attacked Vizhinjam to check the growing power of the Cheras. At that time, Vizhinjam functioned as the the main military centre of the Chera empire. The Suchindram inscription contains a detailed account of the military exploits of Raja Raja over Vizhinjam and Kantalur Salai. Raja Raja in his two campaigns dated A.D.989 and A.D.999 destroyed the Pandyas and Kerala kings by attacking Kandalur and Vilinam<sup>10</sup>. He sacked Kantalur and destroyed Vizhinjam in this particular battle. Moreover, this battle proved to be a turning point for Cholas and Vizhinjam, as whole of south Travancore came under the control of the Cholas. Raja Raja, undoubtly dealt a severe blow over the Chera army, which is referred in his Suchindram<sup>11</sup>. Further details about his conquest over Kantalursalai in Vizhinjam can be found from a rock- engraving of Thirumbaveeswaram temple of 10<sup>th</sup> century. In short, he won a decisive victory over Kollam, Kantalur and Vizhinjam through this battle. He also made another expedition in the year A.D.1012, which however was targeted at Mahodayapuram along with other areas including some islands. When Rajendra Chola succeeded his father Raja Raja Chola in the year A.D. 1012, the fight restarted, as the Cheras regained much of the territories including, Vizhinjam by the time of his ascension to the throne. Besides, the Cheras also strengthened their defences. Rajendra Chola after inheriting a vast empire from his father Raja Raja Chola, pursued the dream of further expanding it. For attaining this purpose, he led extensive military expeditions against the neighbouring kingdoms including Ceylon. He attacked Cheras in the year A.D. 1019 to retain the territories which were regained by the Cheras from

the Cholas. In the battle that followed, Rajendra became successful in capturing back Vizhinjam by defeating the Chera army and renamed it as '*Rajendra Sola Pattanam*'. Tarur inscription gives a vivid description of the Chola occupation of the southern portion of Travancore including Vizhinjam. Hundreds of hero stones still scattered near the area speaks of the valiant resistance of the people against the Cholas<sup>12</sup>. Rajendra Chola realized the strategic significance of Vizhinjam in military preparations. This is further substantiated by the existence of place names such as 'Kovalam' ('Ko'+ 'Alam') meaning Royal Place and 'kuthirapanthi' meaning Royal Stables, in Vizhinjam. He is further known as '*Kantalur Salai Kalamarutta raja*', which can be traced from various engravings in temples coming under the sway of the Chola kingdom. The next major ruler who attempted to conquer Vizhinjam was Kulottunga Chola (A.D.1070). He made two attempts in which one attempt became successful. Though the Chola-Chera war ended by A.D. 1100, frequent wars adversely affected the overall progress of Vizhinjam in various spheres of advancement. Vizhinjam thrived as a part of the Venad Kingdom in 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. by maintaining its status quo as a sea port and storage house, without making much progress under their rule. In fact, efforts were made by Raja Kesava Das to uplift the condition of Vizhinjam, but it also went in vain. The rise of Quilon as the major port of Venad rulers also dealt a severe blow to the significance of Vizhinjam as a sea port. During this period, European powers established their factories in Vizhinjam by utilizing its strategic significance in the kingdom of Venad. The Dutch had a factory here, which, however was sacked and burnt by the Portuguese in 1505<sup>13</sup>. This was followed by the establishment of settlements by the Portuguese and then by the French. However, the British were the final European power to establish a factory in the region during the reign of Ravi Varma in the year 1644. Four years later, in 1648, they moved this factory to



Anjengo which played a pivotal role in the further advancement of the British in Kerala. It was a site granted to the English East India Company by the Rani of Attingal. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it enjoyed the royal patronages of two illustrious rulers viz, Marthanda Varma and Karthika Thirunal Rama Varma under whom it functioned as a port of trade and other related activities. One of the records of Matilakam talks about the cost of money spent for building an apartment for ‘*Valiya Kunju Kuttakar*’ who were guarding the Shankumukham area against the arrival of Shivaji’s ship at Valiyathura in Vizhinjam<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, there are evidences which states about the maintenance work being done in Vizhinjam from time to time. Now it functions as a small fishing village in Neyyattinkarataluk in Trivandrum and this is further substantiated by Mitrandapuram copper plates which mention Vizhinjam as a hamlet in Kottukalpakuthy in Neyyattinkara Taluk<sup>15</sup>. Thus, one can clearly analyse the transformation of Vizhinjam, which once served as a major sea port, capital and centre for all recreational activities, into a mere fishing village in Trivandrum due to frequent wars, inefficiency in administration and lack of adequate measures to uplift its pathetic condition.

## Other Aspects of Vizhinjam

Vizhinjam, geographically is divided into sea shore, hilly land, slopy region, valley and plain. While the hilly region is preferred for agricultural purposes, the sea shore attracts tourists from all over the world to this place. Likewise, the plain and valley too had its own significance in this place. People of Vizhinjam followed the Dravidian religion until it got influenced by the culture of the Pandyas. The Chola-Chera conflict period saw a steady decline in the advancement of religions such as Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism in Vizhinjam. Later, Saivism also began

to influence their culture as the Cholas were ardent followers of Saivism. Under the Venad kingdom, they followed existing religion and culture without much change. An outlook at the social condition reveals the fact that majority of the people here belong to the broad category of fishermen. Paravar or fishing castes of this region are subdivided into Velan, Kadalarayan, Mukkuvar and Marakkar; and the last two being mostly sojourners from the sea-coast of Malabar and Travancore<sup>16</sup>. Nair community is one of the major communities inhabiting Vizhinjam, especially in the areas such as Mulloor, Venganoor etc. Most of them work in the areas related to agricultural sector, industrial sector and government services. The Brahmin community is yet another community inhabiting Vizhinjam right from 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The temples one can see in Vizhinjam today are the result of their influence. They propounded the 'Tali' culture which is most popularly known as 'sthaladevata' culture<sup>17</sup>. Vizhinjam was a centre of this culture, which is evident from the existence of Taliyar Mahadeva Temple at Piravilakom in Vizhinjam. This name itself is a proof of the once existed 'Tali' culture in this temple. Nadar community is said to have migrated from Tamil Nadu and are now concentrated in the areas of Kadakkulam, Thenoorkonam and Mukkola regions in Vizhinjam. Viswabrahma is a prominent community of Vizhinjam who ascribe their origin to Kamalas of Kerala. It is believed that they were brought there by Rajendra Chola. 'Pulloorakonam' and 'Piravilakom' *tharavads* are associated with them. Besides, there are also other castes such as Ezhavas, Parayas, Pulayas etc who co-exist along with the Muslims and Christians inhabiting northern side (Mathilpuram) and southern side (Kottapuram) of Vizhinjam respectively. The history of Vizhinjam for the past half a century is very much centered around the conflicts and alliances among half a dozen elite families namely 'Mantrikudumbam', 'Mankavuvedu', 'Kochuvedu', 'Kolachiveedu' etc. Among them, 'Mantrikudumbam' ruled till 1960 until they were overthrown by 'Kochuvedu' who ruled

for another 15 years. Around 1975, 'Thakkattukudumbam' became dominant followed by the prominence of 'Kolachyvedu' in 1980. However, at present the Church with its influence among the people is highly influential in Vizhinjam.

The economy of Vizhinjam was largely controlled by trade related activities conducted from time immemorial. Besides, it also attained fame through pearl fishing which formed a significant part in its trade activities with other countries. The Pandyas who controlled Vizhinjam for some time were well versed in pearl production and exports<sup>18</sup>. Early Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks conducted trade with Vizhinjam. Philological evidence has been cited to prove Greek commercial contacts with Vizhinjam trading mainly in pepper. Discovery of possible 'amphora' pot shreds indicates that Vizhinjam conducted maritime trade with the red sea coast. Roman coins excavated from Vizhinjam bears testimony to trade activities between Vizhinjam and Rome. However, the Roman trade in kerala in 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. declined due to the military anarchy in Rome. But they continued the spice trade<sup>19</sup>. Vizhinjam continued to be a major port city during the arrival of King Solomon's ship who traded pepper, peacocks, sandalwood, gold, ivory, apes etc with Kerala. Torpedojar and Turquoise glassed pottery excavated from Vizhinjam indicates trade relations with the Persian gulf around the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. China also traded with Vizhinjam which is evident from the presence of Chinese potteries and other related materials in Vizhinjam. Infact, Kulasekharas along with the trade activities of guilds such as '*Anchuvannam*' and '*Manigramam*', played a significant role in raising the status of Vizhinjam to one of the most famous sea ports of that period. Foreign accounts of *Periplus Of The Erythrean Sea*, Pliny, Ptolemy, Aelian, Sulaiman, Abu Zaid, Al Masudi, Ibn Batuta, etc give ample testimony of the intense trade activities going on in Vizhinjam through the ages.

In education and scholarly pursuits, Vizhinjam is said to have made its own as the location of Kantalursalai, which is ascribed to Vizhinjam. Kantalursalai and its scholarly achievements are testified in Kuvalayamala, Ananthapurivarnanam, Matilakam Records etc. Educational progress attained by Vizhinjam is mainly attributed to Kantalursalai and such other institutions located there. Thus, various activities related with Vizhinjam played a significant role in enriching the prosperity and culture of Kerala.

## **Recent Developments**

The Kerala state government has initiated many welfare schemes such as animal welfare schemes, sea boat replacement schemes, coconut development schemes etc to rectify the shortcomings in the respective fields of work. It was such that, in 1948, the then Thirukochi Prime Minister T.K. Narayana Pillai had inaugurated a ship named 'Chandrika' for helping the traditional fisher folk of Vizhinjam<sup>20</sup>. Government had also undertaken many roadworks along with measures to include fisheries school at Vizhinjam under university scheme for the people in Vizhinjam. 'Thura' scheme was established in the year 1973 along with various other loan programmes for those persons below the poverty line. Furthermore, SUME, PMRY and DWCRA schemes were implemented for checking unemployment and for initiating development in health sector. Vizhinjam is adorned with a conglomeration of cultures as is evident through the presence of many temples, churches and mosques all concentrated in one place. Existence of these religious institutions along with festivals and other related activities maintain religious harmony and cultural blend among the people of this place. It is also making vast advancement in the field of tourism as Kovalam, which is a part of Vizhinjam, is providing space for tourists all over the world

every year. It was the European hippies who found the tourism prospects of Vizhinjam in the 1960s<sup>21</sup>. It began to develop further in 1986 when tourism was given the status of an industry. This was followed by the establishment of luxurious beach resorts and hotels like Somatheeram. Surya Samudra, Neela, Raj, Ashoka, ITDC, etc to name a few, for promoting tourism by providing high class facilities to the tourists who arrive here each and every year during the tourist season period. Tourism in Kovalam, made the state exchequer rich and thousands benefited both directly as well as indirectly in terms of income and employment. More than 1000 crore has been invested for the development of the region by the private sector alone<sup>22</sup>. It is said that the proposed plan for the sea port is going to adversely affect the tourism activities in Kovalam, as it involves acquiring of more land for construction purposes.

Archaeological excavations conducted in Vizhinjam unearthed many items proving its trade contacts with foreign countries. Among those things that were excavated out were 'Amphora', Chinese potteries (9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century), bowls, plates, clay enamel, shreds, pieces of various other types of potteries of different periods like conch shells, stone lamps, tableware, porcelaine, Sivalinga etc, suggesting its contact with countries such as Britain, France, Dutch, Vietnam and Thailand. In fact, further excavations proved that they conducted internal trade along with external trade with states such Karnataka, Gujarat etc. Besides, red stamped or impressed ware potteries were found from Vizhinjam dating back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. There are also evidences giving a vivid picture of its trade activities in the medieval period on items such as iron, pearls, precious stones, metals, pottery, horses etc. Thus, these findings bears testimony to the grandeur once held by Vizhinjam in its trade related activities conducted with places inside and outside India.

## Future Prospects

A major project of the Kerala State government which is going to materialize in Vizhinjam in the near future, is that of an 'International Transshipment Terminal', which will act as an 'entrance corridor' to all sea ports in India and Asia. Infact, this project was proposed in the year 1991 during the tenure of the Chief Minister Karunakaran. Besides, the proposed project is going to become a reality in the site of an unique demonstration plant that converts sea wave energy to electricity based on Oscillating Water Column (OWC). Vizhinjam was one among the seven harbours selected by the state government for development activities through a joint venture with private sector companies. Now, part of Singapore, Colombo, Middle-East are controlling 70% of Indian container goods, creating a loss of over 1000 crore rupees each year for Kerala state government<sup>23</sup>. Due to the vast coastline of India, it has the potential for the growth of its maritime trade with other countries and as its economy grows, the necessity of developing ports will emerge. Furthermore, there has been an impressive growth of 11.6% per annum of container traffic in the last few years. Besides, Vizhinjam, is a place with close proximity to international shipping route and is located at the southern tip of the Indian sub- continent facilitating its easy access to foreign countries via sea route. It is away from the city limits and thus can be master planned and shaped by a professional and experienced developer as per his own designs and needs<sup>24</sup>. All these all factors necessitated the development of Vizhinjam port with its Transshipment terminal, which finally resulted in the initiative to modernize the port at Vizhinjam. The international Sea Port at Vizhinjam is a Green field Project of the Kerala State government, which is capable of yielding numerous benefits, not only to Kerala, but also to India. In Vizhinjam there is availability of deep draft within 1 nautical mile off shore to

receive the largest ship. If the proposed project becomes a reality it would have easy access to the Persian Gulf and other distant countries. Furthermore, it would be able to handle mega-container ships by avoiding the problem of dredging. Besides, it could establish connection with other small ports of India through ship and rail-road services.

In the initial stages of the project, state government invited tenders from companies for assistance in the enactment of the plan. Seven companies came out showing interest namely, Bekkel Rankin Partnership from London; Hill Company from Malta; Port Corn International from South Africa; Larson and Turbo from India; Gyamon India; Advani Exports and Afkon<sup>25</sup>. Though the feasibility study was conducted and central government nodded its approval to the project, it never materialized and it remained in 'cold- storage, until 2011. In the same year, central government seriously studied about the immense possibilities of this project and allotted funds for starting its work, which finally resulted in the work agreement contract signing between kerala state government and one of the companies namely Adani group from Gujarat, in August 17, 2015. The cost estimated for the works of International Deep water Multipurpose Sea Port in Vizhinjam is Rs.7,525crore. Later, concession agreement was signed by Kerala's Principal Secretary (Ports) James Varghese and Adani Group Chairman Gautam Adani at a function in the secretariat. Adani Group was given 1,000 days to complete the first phase of work. This epoch making event was followed by many demonstrations supporting and opposing the decision of the government. Opposing demonstrations were supported from some locals, institutions working in the tourism sector, Latin Archdiocese, National Green Tribunal etc. They even went to the extent of filing cases against the project. However, Chief Minister Oommen Chandy gave

assurance to the locals in Vizhinjam, that State government will not allow anything to adversely affect the life and property of local people coming under the purview of proposed project area. Furthermore, cabinet approved 475 crore rupees as rehabilitation package for this project to take off. Moreover, in relation to Vizhinjam project kerala government requested the central government for the relaxation of cabotage law<sup>26</sup>. Meetings were held from September 2015 to iron out the disputes regarding the impact of Vizhinjam project on the local environment and economy. However, Supreme Court finally gave sanction for the Vizhinjam International Transshipment Project to take off, despite all the petitions and cases filed against it. Following this, ships of ADANI Group arrived in kerala (Ernakulam) to begin their work by the month of November, 2015, under the guidance of Adani Sea Port Project, Chief Executive Officer Santhosh Kumar Mahaputra. It is an ambitious project taken up by the Government of Kerala. It is designed primarily to cater container transshipment besides multi-purpose and break bulk cargo. The port is being currently developed in landlord model with a Public Private Partnership component on a design, build, finance, operate and transfer (“DBFOT”) basis. The private partner, the Concessionaire M/s AdaniVizhinjam Port Private limited has commenced the construction on 5th December 2015. As per the Concession construction of port it is scheduled to be completed on 4th December 2019. Though the Concession Agreement envisages a construction period of 4 years, GoK and Concessionaire has set an ambitious target of 1000 days to make the port commercially operational. As far as the present situation is considered, the work is on progress without much problems. If this project materializes and becomes a reality, it will be a reconstruction of once lost glory of great port city of Vizhinjam with all its grandeur and greatness.



## Conclusion

As Vizhinjam is in the midst of its dream project getting materialized into reality, the relevance and scope of such a project in this place is very significant. In fact, Vizhinjam was at its zenith of glory at one point of time. Besides being a centre for trade activities, it functioned as a major port city under the Ays. During the later stages of their rule over Vizhinjam, it even functioned as their capital with high potential for educational as well as other recreational activities. Its grandeur and greatness was such that, it invoked attack from the neighbouring kingdoms especially Pandyas and Cholas. They attacked Vizhinjam to conquer it and make it part of their kingdom, as they realized its strategic importance in administration as well as in trade. Even during the battle, it functioned as a military centre as well as an arsenal for the Ays to resist the attack from their neighbouring kingdoms, who had already set their eyes for capturing the most adorned city of Vizhinjam. In the works it is even mentioned as '*kolapuri*', or '*Kula Vizhinjam*' and thus giving testimony to its greatness. Rajendra Chola, after conquering Vizhinjam, took the city for himself and renamed it as '*Rajendracholapattanam*', and used its strategic position for further conquest and expansion of his empire. Vizhinjam under Kulasekharas saw many efforts to rebuild its lost glory totally destroyed by frequent wars and lack of development work, but it could not find its end results as such. Besides, this period witnessed factories being established here by the European powers especially the Portuguese and the British. Ever since Vizhinjam came under the control of the government, it could retain only the then status and has been functioning as a fishing village from the earlier period to this very day. In fact, the initiative to set up an International Transshipment Terminal in Vizhinjam through Vizhinjam project, will be a humble effort to

rebuild the once held grandeur and greatness of Vizhinjam, by making it a focus point not only in India but also in the eyes of the entire world. This project can only become a success only through the joint effort from the locals as well as the concerned authority and thereby one can expect to see Vizhinjam regaining its lost glory.

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**THE ROLE OF DENOMINATIONAL  
INSTITUTIONS IN EDUCATING BLIND  
IN CHENNAI DISTRICT WITH  
REFERENCE TO ST. LOUIS INSTITUTE  
FOR THE DEAF AND THE BLIND  
– A HISTORY**

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## **Introduction**

The blind education or Braille is of much later origin in India. As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, it emerged even much later especially at the government level. As far as TN is concerned as elsewhere in India before the government, it was the Christian missionaries who laid the foundation for educating the blind.

As far as Chennai is concerned, again it was the Christian Fathers, thenuns and monks, brothers and sisters, who laid the foundation for the blind schools. They realized the need to coach theblind students of the city in Braille. As such, one Government School (the Government School for the Blind, Poonamalle) and two denominational schools came to function. Of the two, one was “The Little Flower Convent for the Blind” (founded in 1926) and the other is the “St. Louis Institute for the Deaf and the Blind”. The latter became the St. Louis, Collegiate School for the Deaf and the Blind. Of these, the former is a gift for the blind girls and the later is a boon for the boys.

The Little Flower Convent was founded by the sisters of the “Margaret Missionary Foundation” while the St. Louis Institute was initiated by the Montfort brothers of the Gabriel congregation.

### **History of the St. Louis Institute from its origin till date**

This school is located on the Canal Bank road, Gandhi Nagar, Adyar, Chennai and which is near the famous Adyar Cancer Institute. It is surrounded by the St. Patrick's, St. Micheal's and Kumara Rani Collegiate schools (formerly Kumara Raja Higher Secondary School). The school consists of both the deaf and blind students. This institute which was started as a small school in 1962 rose to become a high school and a collegiate school after the 1990's, and particularly after the inauguration of the college for the deaf in 1993.

This school was inaugurated on September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1962 by the Montfort Brothers (Lewis Bureau) of the St. Gabriel Congregate. The society is registered under the Department of Social Welfare (The state Commissioner's office for the differently abled) of the TN state government. The registration No. is GO.Ms.No.196/SW/dt10/3/80,R.C.No/21/6/87. In 1968, the school was upgraded into a high school. In 1987, the school procured a bus at the cost of Rs.60, 000/- for the blind section and later on another bus was also procured for the deaf section. Both of which were used for transportation until 2010, when they were sold out or outlawed due to some administrative problems<sup>1</sup>.

In 1990, the school for the deaf was upgraded into a higher secondary school. In 1991, the school for the blind was also upgraded into a higher secondary school. In 1993, the foundation

stone of St. Louis College for the deaf (B.Com and B.C.A) was laid. The rain water harvest project-I was inaugurated in 2001. In 2002, Webel computer project for visually challenged was inaugurated. The rain water harvest project- II was commissioned in 2003.

In 2006, the foundation was laid for a dental clinic. In 2008, a new building was inaugurated for the blind (Bhagatji Block). In 2009, the installation of a solar power water heating system and a classroom with audio system was inaugurated. In 2010, the new computer lab for the visually challenged was installed. The School's Golden Jubilee was celebrated in 2012. Audio library and science library (both for the visually challenged) were installed in the same year. In 2013, the smart class system for the hearing impaired was inaugurated. In 2014, M.Com degree at the St. Louis College for the Deaf was commenced<sup>2</sup>.

## **Objectives for the Foundation of the School**

The school is a self-supporting and self-financing institution in order to serve the deaf and the blind in their endeavour towards education and to provide a good quality of education especially to the deaf and blind boy students. It was also founded to create confidence among the blind people in both the intellectual field as well as in life and to enable them to meet the world with self-confidence<sup>3</sup>.

## **Educational Activities of the School with Reference to the Blind Section**

### **Teaching Methodology**

This school teaches the blind students studying in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> standard in the Braille system of education. This braille

system which can be written from right to left but can be read only from left to right and is widely used currently throughout the world by almost all the blind people, was first invented by Louis Braille in 1924 when he was fifteen with the help of Charles Barbir, a military officer. It was otherwise called as 'Sonography' consisting of twelve dots but which Louis Braille made into six dots that could be used in about sixty three forms or shapes. More important, Mr.Braille also published a book in 1929 and also developed Braille codes for mathematics and music to be used by blind people all over the world. This became an incentive for the blind people to pursue their intellectual pursuits<sup>4</sup>.

Initially, the Braille system contained two formats or processes namely the French and Americans (Perkins) Braille Systems or Modulations which conflicted with each other to win the support of the blind people internationally. But eventually, the French system gained wide popularity and the American system was relegated to near oblivion and was confined only to the visually challenged of the United States. Later, the two systems were fused together and jointly adopted all over the world and soon after the invention of Braille, Braille type writers came into work and presently computer with Braille printers are being used for printing books and journals and also digital technology is also making its headway very fast and this has gone a long way in helping the visually impaired to enrich their knowledge intellectually, literally, scientifically and technologically in almost all languages.

As far as India is concerned, in 1955, the Braille system was introduced by the name of Bharathi Braille code soon after the foundation of the National Institute of the visually handicapped in 1951 at Dehradun<sup>5</sup>.

The Bharathi Braille code which was introduced in 1955 thereafter became a widely known code to all the blind institutions throughout the whole of India and TamilNadu being a part of it, no doubt adopted it and all of its blind institutions and Braille presses.

## **Educating the Blind through Braille**

The school has a separate teacher to teach Braille to the students. Presently, Mr. Lakshmi Narayanan occupies the post of Braille teacher since to till date and whose job is to teach Braille alphabets to the new students, especially to those who are unacquainted with it and to those persons who become blind suddenly or to those who lose their sight due to Retinitis Pigmentosa (RP) and get admitted to this school.

The school distributes Braille aids and appliances free of cost to the blind people either on its own or through donations from native and foreign trusts. Besides, arithmetic slates or Taylor's frames are used by the students in mathematics. Braille maps are also used in social science classes.

## **Curriculum and Syllabi followed by the school**

The school follows the State Board syllabi. The medium of instruction for the students is Tamil. The school uses English as the second language. The timing of the school is between 9.15 am to 4 pm. The school provides Braille books to all the students and these are procured from the Indian Association of the Blind (IAB) Braille press, Madurai and the Nethrodhaya Braille Press, Chennai.



All educational institutions shall provide or caused to provide amenities to blind students and students with low vision.

For the classes 6<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup>, the subject of Tamil, English, Mathematics, Science and Social Science are being taught. For the higher secondary students the subjects of Tamil, English, Politics, Economics, Advanced Music and History are being taught. Politics and Advanced Music have been replaced by Corporate Study and Advanced English respectively now<sup>6</sup>.

The school contains at least two sections for each class. The total number of staff and students of the school includes 11 teachers (of them 2 are blind) and 125 students. So far, the total number of 33 staff have been retired (from blind & deaf section of the school). In the 1990's (especially in between the years 1999 and 2000), there were 12 teachers and 80 students<sup>7</sup>.

The school distributes atleast two pairs of uniforms (light brown pant and brown shirt) to all the blind students, free of cost every year.

## **School Library**

The library has two units. One for the school and one for the college. The combined collection of the books has crossed fifteen thousand and is still growing. The library books in Braille are from abroad and India, received by the school free of cost. The students are free to obtain these books for reading purposes without paying any fee. Tape recorders and cassettes are given to the students for hearing the recorded lessons by the management of the school<sup>8</sup>. An audio library for the visually challenged has been installed in 2012<sup>9</sup>.

An audio library denotes or depicts a sort of reading library for the visually challenged where instead of Braille books computers, laptops and CD players are being used, in which books are recorded and this enables blind persons to listen to books through audio.

In this system, special computer software like CST (Computer Software Technology), JAWS (Job Access with Speech) and NVDA (Non Visual Digital Accessibility) techniques are used to enable the blind to read through listening. This system also includes a process called Refreshable Braille Display which allows even the printing of Braille books to enable the blind to read by themselves through touch. Presently this system is in vogue in almost all the institutions for, and of, the blind throughout Tamil Nadu (in fact throughout India as well) and is also widely used by almost all the blind students in both the government aided and private schools and colleges and no wonder the audio library serves well and is very well in catering to the reading habits of the blind students of St. Louis institute for the Dumb and Deaf) (2).

### **Reading service and reading materials provided for blind students by the school**

The visually impaired cannot read themselves from the printed books and have to be naturally helped or assisted by some readers or volunteers for reading from the printed text. The St. Louis institute for the Deaf and Blind, being an institute which educates the blind also provides this service to its blind students in a good manner.

According to Mr. V. Manikandan, an ex-student of the school and presently working at the Coimbatore Elementary School for

the Blind, Students of Stella Maris College, WPT and Anna University came for rendering reading service to the students of the school between 10 am and 12 pm on every weekend<sup>10</sup>.

According to Prof. Solomonon every weekend, atleast 30 women students of Stella Maris College go to the school for reading service. The students of the blind section of this institute are provided or use their own cassette recorders, android mobile phones, pen drive players, mobile track recorders, iPods, cd players, laptops, computers, etc. to record and listen to their subjects<sup>11</sup>.

## **Education in Orientation and Mobility**

In the context of the blind, orientation means knowledge or understanding of their surroundings which involves the kinesthetic (touching sense) of the visually challenged through which they could be able to find the different routes or ways in a given surrounding.

Mobility denotes the art or effort to make the visually challenged to walk in an unknown path or roadway boldly without any one's help. Just like orientation, mobility is also very useful for the blind in their daily life. Mobility includes theoretical methods like switch side (which enables a blind person to switch on to the other side of a sighted person when there is traffic in the road), lower body and upper body protection while walking in the narrow space and gripping the hand (elbow) of the sighted person erectly while walking on the road. Practically, it means a blind person's travel alone on the road using his or her white cane.

The St. Louis institute helps its students to learn both orientation and mobility through courses in collaboration with the YMCA College of Physical Education, Nandanam. Every day, two instructors are sent from the YMCA College of Physical Education, who train the students in this sphere in groups<sup>12</sup>.

## **Daily Living Skills**

The institute also trains its blind students in daily living skills like keeping one self-clean and physically fit, adopting moral aptitudes like dressing properly, respecting teachers and elders etc.

All these three disciplines (Orientation, Mobility and Daily Living Skills) have gone a long way in improving the intellectual as well as the practical knowledge of the blind students of this institute and have enabled them to walk in and work with the society with great confidence.

## **Music for the visually impaired students**

The school is first in teaching music to its students among all the schools for the blind in the district of Chennai particularly the Little Flower Convent School for the Deaf and Blind on GN Chetty road and the Govt Higher Secondary School for the blind in Poonamalle.

The school gives special attention and coaching in music, mobility, games, sports, daily living skills, Braille, type writing, etc. The school conducts music and art competitions every year in its auditorium to make the public aware of the talents of the visually impaired students.

As regards music, the present music master is Mr. Andrews, who conducts music classes for VI to XII standards. The school has its own Orchestra known as the St. Louis Junior orchestra next only to the Louis Senior Orchestra located at the English Trading Company Complex, Pallavaram. The school possesses all sorts of music instruments including Percussion String and Electronic Instruments and trains the visually impaired students in vocal and instrumental music. As far as orientation and mobility are concerned, every day, two instructors are sent from the YMCA College of Physical Education, who train the students in this sphere in groups.

### **Craft Education**

The school also trains the visually disabled students in craft (weaving), chair caning and diploma in Braille computer education. The present craft master is Mr.T.Patrick, who joined the school in 1987.

### **Physical Education**

The school conducts physical education and courses (exercises) for both the deaf and the blind. It also conducts annual sports.

As far as the blind students are concerned, they are given exercises and training in volley ball from 4.15 to 5.15 pm. The present physical education master for the blind section is Mr. Nelson Dhanraj.

Here are some more details of the physical performance of the blind students as outlined in the annual reports of the Institute.

- ❖ In 2006-07, atleast five blind students have won prizes at the state level and twelve visually challenged students have won prizes at the district level athletic games from the school<sup>13</sup>.
- ❖ In 2007-08, atleast six blind students of the school have won the district level athletic contest and another six secured state level ranks in the same contest<sup>14</sup>.
- ❖ In Nov 2008, six students of the school participated and won 3 gold and 3 silver medals in the track and field events in the National level sports and games organized by the International Blind Sports Association at Ludhiana, Punjab. A student of the school named Sai Krishnan won the chess championship at the district and state level in the year 2008-09<sup>15</sup>.
- ❖ In 2009-10, atleast six blind students of the school won the district level athletic contest and another five secured state level ranks in the same contest<sup>16</sup>.
- ❖ In the State level sports for differently abled children held in Dec, 2010, the visually challenged students of the school won the championship among all the visually challenged children of the state<sup>17</sup>.
- ❖ In 2012-13, a student of the school named Sai Krishnan participated in the Junior World Chess Championship for the blind conducted in Greece<sup>18</sup>.
- ❖ In 2016-17, the blind students of the state secured atleast four places in the chess tournament and also secured one championship for volleyball and football at the district level games<sup>19</sup>.

While conducting school-sports, the boys are divided into three groups commonly in both the deaf and the blind sections. The three teams include Gandhi (Blue house), Nehru (Red house) and Bharathi (Green house) and each house is provided with a leader and each house is given a motto to perform well in sports.

The school pupil leader, the assistant schoolpupil leader and the leaders of the three houses monitor and are provided with badges as a symbol of respect and honour to their position.

## **Hostel Facilities**

The school provides hostel facilities to both the deaf and the blind students. As far as the blind section of the hostel is concerned, presently there are eighty students who reside in it. Students are given breakfast, lunch and dinner free of cost. They are provided with a comfortable bedroom with all facilities to sleep. In the hostel, to activate intellectual spirit of the visually impaired, a 'study-time' is conducted between 6.30 to 7.50 am and 5.45 to 7.15 pm on weekdays and between 10am and 12 pm in the weekends or holidays<sup>20</sup>.

## **Important Administrators of the school**

So far thirteen directors and twelve headmasters have administered the school from 1962 till date. Here is an account of the names of each director and headmaster year wise.

### **Directors**

1. Bro. Antony Francisco (1962-68)
2. Bro. Octavian (1968-70), (1973-78)
3. Bro. Manimezhukanal (1970-73)
4. Bro. Damian (1978-79)
5. Bro. Stephen (1979-81)
6. Bro. I.Packiaraji (1980-81)
7. Bro. Raphael Joseph (1981-84)

8. Bro. DevasyMadavana (1984-90), (1994-98)
9. Bro. Gerard Patrick (1990-95)
10. Bro. Y.Joseph (1998-2004), (2005-08)
11. Bro. A.Paulraj (2004-05)
12. Bro. I.John Xavier (2008-11), (2014-till date)
13. Bro. K.Swaminathan (2011-14)<sup>21</sup>

### **Headmasters**

1. Bro. Montfort (1962-68)
2. Bro. Francis (1968-69)
3. Bro. Borgia (1969-70)
4. Bro. John Baptist (1970-78)
5. Bro. M.A.Thomas (1978-79)
6. Bro. V.K.George (1981-83), (1990-94)
7. Bro. Devasy Madavana (1983-90), (1994-2000)
8. Bro. S. Johnson (2000-03)
9. Sr. P. Scholastiammal (2003)
10. Sr. D. Fatima (2003-06)
11. Bro. I. John Xavier (2006-11), (2014- till date)
12. Bro. K.Swaminathan (2011-14)<sup>22</sup>

### **Provision of Awards**

The school provides atleast seventeen awards for those visually challenged students who try their best to excel themselves and achieve their very best in various fields. These awards are being provided from donations received from various altruistic individuals and social organisations. A table of the various awards and their purpose are given as under<sup>23</sup>.



S.NO	AWARD	PURPOSE
1	Ramaiah Murali Mohan Golden Medal Award	For SSLC topper among visually impaired students in Govt examinations
2	Thiru. Murugesh Udaiyar Award	For the HSS topper in Tamil examination among visually impaired students
3	L.M. Santhosh Award	For the HSS topper among visually impaired students in Govt exam
4	Sai Krishna Memorial Award	For the SSLC &HSS first mark in English among visually impaired students
5	Thirumathy Sivapakkiyam Award	For the economically poor students
6	Balaram Discipline Award	For the most disciplined student
7	Amazing Grace Trust Young Musician Award for the Visually Impaired	For the best musician
8	Priya Ganesh Ram Award	For economically poor students
9	Dr.(Ms) Sheila Mathai Award	School fees for an economically poor student
10	Mrs. Padmavathi mahendran Award	Award for human excellence
11	Mr. D.Mahendran Award	Award for human excellence
12	K. Ranganayaki Award	For two good musicians among deserving visually impaired students
13	Mrs. Lilly Antony Award	For two deserving students(Hearing impaired & visually impaired)

S.NO	AWARD	PURPOSE
14	M.S. Periyakulandaisamy Award	School fees for the deserving students
15	Dr. Rajini& family Award	Scholarship for the poor
16	Mr. R.Subramanian Award	Cash prize of Rs.1500 each for 2 top musicians in XI & XII
17	Chanbivi Sheik Davudan memorial Award	HSS topper, SSLC topper

### **A Brief Survey of the St. Louis College for the Deaf**

St. Louis College for the Deaf was founded by the Montfort Brothers of St.Gabriel in 1993 with thirteen students, with the primary objective of providing University education, for the hearing impaired students. St.Louis College is the first college for the deaf in India and the second in Asia.

The College was founded on the pattern of another deaf college which was founded at Yercaud, Salem by the same Montfort brothers previously.

The college admits students irrespective of their caste, race and creed. The College aims at training young men and women of quality to be leaders in all walks of life. The College is affiliated to the University of Madras. For UG program, B.Com (English & Tamil Medium), B.C.A. and for PG program, M.Com are the courses offered by the College. The foundation

of the deaf college in St.Louis Institute has made it to be known as the St. Louis Collegiate School for the Deaf and the Blind from 1993 onwards, which earlier had been called as the St. Louis Institute for the Deaf and the Blind. The foundation of this college also has helped the hearing impaired to perform and achieve their best at the intellectual level- especially in pursuing higher education<sup>24</sup>.

## Conclusion

To conclude it is a well-accepted fact that the St. Louis Institute has served the intellectual, physical and other educational activities of both the hearing impaired and the visually challenged. It has particularly done so in regard to the welfare of the visually challenged. Some of its activities like training the blind children (boys) in orientation, mobility and daily living skills have helped many a blind person to achieve confidence in his life and shower his intelligence and share it with everybody in the society. Yet sadly, it has no college for the blind and they are forced because of that to seek other normal (govt or private) colleges in order to continue their higher education. And it would be very good if the institute starts a college for the blind as they have done for the hearing impaired, atleast in the near future. All said and done, the school or institute has to go a long way in the service of both the visually and hearing impaired students to enable them to meet the world with courage and confidence, for which encouragement is further needed.

## Notes and References

1. Interview with Rev.John Xavier, Director, St.Louis Institute, dated 05/01/2016.

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3. Interview with St.John Xavier.
4. Braille Paarvai, NIVH publications, Jan- Feb issue, pp.25-26
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6. R. Dhansekar, MPhil Dissertation, The Visually Challenged in Chennai, their education, employment and rehabilitation, A study, University of Madras, 2000, p.49
7. Interview with St. John Xavier.
8. M.Phil Dissertation op.cit., pp.48-50
9. School Diary, op.cit., p.39
10. Interview with Mr.R. Manikandan, dated 31/01/2016.
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12. Interview with Manikandan
13. Annual reports, St. Louis publications, 2006-07.
14. *Ibid*, 2007-08.
15. *Ibid*, 2008-09.
16. *Ibid*, 2009-10.
17. *Ibid*, 2010-11.
18. *Ibid*, 2012-13.
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20. M.Phil Dissertation, op.cit., p.50
21. School diary, op.cit., p.53.
22. *Ibid*, p.53.
23. *Ibid*, pp.56-57.
24. From a brochure provided by Rev. John Xavier, dated 20<sup>th</sup> July, 2016.

# **A STUDY ON INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TEACHING LAUNDRY SKILL**

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The persons with disabilities includes persons with intellectual disability, locomotor disability, hearing impairment, visual impairment, multiple disability, autism, learning disability etc....

Persons with disabilities need to be trained in every aspect of day to day routine life which is utmost important to lead an independent life. As compared to normal population, persons with disabilities have problems in processing sensory inputs, they need to be trained by using special teaching techniques and strategies.

Out of many life skill trainings, learning laundry skill is one important domestic skill to be learned by the persons with intellectual disability (ID). Intellectual Disability previously known as “Mental Retardation” is an inability due to impairment in intelligence from early life. The name was introduced by the American Association for Mental Retardation in 1961 and soon it was adopted by American Psychological Association (APA) for its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental disorders, (DSM-5) <sup>1</sup>.

The number of terminology used for defining intellectual disability as ‘Sub-normal’ was used by British Psychologists<sup>2</sup> Cyril Burt, Clark and by WHO (World Health Organization) in 1955. The term ‘Mental deficiency’ was used by The American Psychiatric Association (APA). The commonly used terms feeble mindedness, idiocy, imbecility which are synonymous with the word Mental deficiency were replaced by the mental retardation which was preferred by WHO for the reason of pejorative. Now over six decades later, the term mental retardation is replaced by intellectual disability for the same reason of pejorative<sup>3</sup>. In the United States, a federal statute (Public Law 111-256, Rosa’s law) replaces the term ‘mental retardation’ with intellectual disability and requires that person first language be used when referring to those affected in all federal laws. The diagnostic term mental retardation is finally being eliminated in the upcoming international classifications of diseases and disorders. Generally ID is a condition which is not possible to be cured as normal as it is; whereas it can only be managed through systematic training. Persons with intellectual disability are trained in special schools and integrated school set up. The training for PwID is being imparted through Special Education which is the study of individuals who are different from average persons. These individuals are called ‘Exceptional Children’ or ‘Children with Special needs’ as the terminology indicates the dignity. The major goal of special education is to enable children with special needs to live in most independent way possible. The special education services starts from early intervention to vocational training from the age group of birth to 21 and above. These services could be both school based and home based depending on the comfort zone of the family of the person with disability.

Prof Jangira defines “Special Education is the process of making educational provision to meet the special needs of

children which cannot be satisfied by the present arrangements available in ordinary schools”<sup>4</sup>.

Hallahan & Kaufman 1978 reveal that special education means specially designed instruction which meets the unusual needs of an exceptional student. Special materials teaching techniques, equipments and or facilities may be required<sup>5</sup>.

Hence, special education is essentially meant to develop confidence and competence among physically and mentally handicapped children to earn their livelihood independently and remove their feelings of inferiority and helplessness. They may become asset to society if properly trained from childhood. Special education will give insight to the problems of exceptional children to parents, administrators and educators.

Before going to discuss about teaching laundry skills for persons with intellectual disability, we will see the Evolution of Special education.

Historically, children with disabilities have been treated as “in-valid” or inferior. They have been isolated or given very special protection. Children with disabilities have always been among the last to be offered access to education regardless of what country one belongs. Thus, they were not able to benefit from education. The ‘Wild Boy Avalon’ was probably the first document on the education of mentally retarded children written by a French physician, Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard (1775-1838), some years before the French Revolution. In the sixties and seventies, initial provision consisted of special education within segregated education provisions. Later developments showed a shift from exclusion to integration that all children belonged in the same school system and could not be separate<sup>6</sup>.

In recent years more radical changes have been witnessed that integration paved the easy way to inclusion after the International Declaration such as the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (1990) and Salamanca Statement (1994). Inclusive Education differs from previously held notion of 'integration' and 'mainstreaming,' which tended to be concerned principally with 'special educational needs' and implied learners changing or becoming 'ready for' accommodation by the mainstream. Now, inclusive education set out to the needs of learners within the classroom of the school.

In the Indian context of disability, the evidence exists from the pre-historic Period. During the Ramayana period<sup>7</sup> (around 5000 BC) reference for intellectual disability was Manthara who was dull witted and who was Kaikeyi's maid. The concept of intellectual disability was mentioned in the Atharvana Veda. The Sankya Philosophy contains a statement on different types of intellectual disability. The Garba Upanishad (1000 BC) says babies with defects born to those parents whose minds are distressed.

A study of Indian literature reveals that there exists few references to persons with Intellectual disability. Eg. In the mythology of Patanjali, Patanjali had to teach Goudapathaga, who was a dull headed person. The Patanjali Yoga Suthras deal with yoga as a therapy for persons with intellectual disability. The great physician Charaka has given various causes for intellectual disability and discussed its different types, Reference to person with ID can be traced in the Sangam literature (200 BC – 200 AD) by Earayanar and Avvaiyar and more recently by Thiruvalluvar. In the 4th century BC, Kautilya banned the use of terms insulting persons with disabilities. He employed many people with disabilities in his spy network.



King Amarsakthi had three sons, Vasusakthi, Ugrasakthi and Anekasakthi, who were “greater fools” or “supreme block-heads”. This folly caused thier father’s courtier Vishnu Sharma to devise the world’s first special education text Panchatantra, around the 1st Century BC. Artha Sastra mentions treatment and care given to people with disabilities at Mattas (monasteries) 4th Century, and in the time of Ashoka, at the hospitals at Pataliputra. Synhalese asylums for pople with disabilities were set up in 4th century which is now in Sri Lanka.

Ancient Hindu, Buddhist and Sanskrit texts treat idiocy like other birth handicaps, ariseing through sin in an earlier incarnation. According to Manu, the Law Giver, that as a consequence of remnant of the guilt of former crimes, persons are idiots, dumb, blind, deaf and deformed, all despised by the virtuous. The Buddhist Mantalsi Jatakar recounts an early attempt to teach “the profound dullards” by activity methods and practical curriculum, but he did not succeed.

The education of persons with disability in India has histoy of two centuries. Special education began in Northern India in 1826 with Raja Kali Snaker Ghosal opening his Blind Asylum at Benaras. The first facility for the deaf was started in 1885 at the same place. In 1841, an asylum exists in chennai for idiots, separate from the lunatic asylum. The first School for Deaf was started in Mumbai in 1884. The first School for the Blind was started at Amritsar in 1887. During the 19th Century, many small centres accross India were established in which some people with disabilities received education.

To train physically handicapped and children with intellectual disability, schools were opened at Kurseong, Bengal in 1918, at Travancore in 1931, at Chennai in 1936. In 1939,

Maria Montessori was handling a few students with intellectual disability in Kalakshetra campus in an integrated programme. The Government Mental Hospital, Madras started a school for children with intellectual disability in the year 1939.

In 1941, the first home for children with Intellectual Disability was opened in Bombay by the Children's Aid Society. The number of schools for Intellectual disability were just 3 in 1947 which increased to 20 by 1980. At present more than 1100 schools exist all over India. There are numerous facilities and policies that were developed for persons with disability in post independent era. In 1965, Federation for the Welfare of the Mentally Retarded (FWMR, India) was started with the aim of mobilising the resources to provide services to persons with intellectual disability and to bring them to of national life. The Indian Education Commission from 1964-66 was first to focus on education for handicapped not only on humanitarian basis that but that it must be utility oriented. Its main aim in positive thought was that the proper education would enable the persons with disability to overcome there disability and enable them to be productive citizens of the country. The Commission suggested educational facilities to be extended to four groups; the Blind, the Deaf, the Orthopedically handicapped and the Mentally Handicapped. The National Educational Policy, 1968 followed the commissions recommendations and suggested the expansion of education facilities for physically and mentally handicapped children and developed the integrated programs to include these children in regular schools. Integrated Education of Disabled Children (IEDC) 1974 was launched with the aim to provide educational opportunities for the disabled children in common school system (normal school) by providing resource room in a normal school, resource teacher salary, boarding and lodging

allowance for the students, transport allowance, escort allowance, readers allowance, cost of equipments and assistive devices, cost of uniform etc.,

National Policy on Education (NPE) was established in 1986 for the provision of i) education of children with motor handicapped and other mild handicaps in common with others, ii) special schools with hostel facilities at district head quarters, iii) special teacher training programs was to be reoriented at primary class levels to handle the special difficulties of handicapped children.

Project of Integration Education for the Disabled (PIED) 1986 was a pilot project launched in 1986 in continuation to NPE with the help of UNICEF in ten selected states including Union Territories with the objective of preparing general education system to achieve the goal of education for all, including children with disabilities. Teacher training program was the most critical component of this project. The outcome of the project was that i) the performance of the children with disability have not shown similar performance with non-disabled children. ii) retention rate was high among the children with disabilities compared to children with non-disabled in the PIED blocks. The Programme of Action (POA) 1992 with the aim i) to integrate the children with special needs in general community at all levels as equal ii) to prepare them for normal growth iii) to enable them to face life with positive attitude, iv) to provide educational opportunity for children with special needs in common school, v) to facilitate their retention in the schools system vi) to integrate them for healthy communication with non-disabled peers and imparting functional training as life help skills. The main measure of POA was in service teacher training programmes, orientation programmes for administrators,

development of supervisor expertise in the resource institution at block levels and provision of aids and appliances, text books and school uniforms.

District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) 1994, was launched as centrally sponsored scheme implemented by the Dept. of Secondary and Higher Education under the Ministry of Human Resource and Development. The main objective of this programme was to create community mobilisation, early detection of the disability, to provide inservice teacher training programmes, provisions for resource support, educational aids and appliances. Sarva Sikshya Abhyas (SSA) 2000: This project is by the effort of Government of India for universalisation of Elementary education that SSA will ensure that every child from the age group of 6-14 years must attend the school with Zero Rejection Policy that no child with disability should be deprived of right to education and to be trained in conducive environment irrespective of condition and degree of disability. National Policy for Persons with Disability (2006): The aim of this Policy is to create an environment for persons with disability that provides them with equal opportunities, protection of their rights and full participation in society. The focus of this policy is on i) Prevention of disabilities ii) Rehabilitation measures, a) Physical Rehabilitation-Early detection and intervention, Counseling and medical rehabilitation, Assistive devices, Development of rehabilitation professionals b) Educational rehabilitation c) Economic rehabilitation-Employment in government sectors, wage employment in private sectors, self employment iii) women and children with disabilities, iv) barrier free environment v) issue of disability certificate vi) Social Security, vii) Promotion of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) viii) Collection of regular information on persons with disabilities. ix) Barrier free environment, x) Social Security xi) Research xii) Sports, recreation and cultural life xiii) Amendments to

existing acts dealing with the persons with disabilities. Every five years, a comprehensive review will be carried out on implementation of National Policy.

The Rehabilitation Council of India Act was passed in 1992 for the purpose of constituting the Rehabilitation Council of India, for regulating the Training of Rehabilitation Professionals and for maintenance of a Central Rehabilitation Register. The objective of this Act was to monitor the training of rehabilitation professional and personnel, promoting research in rehabilitation and special education as additional objectives of the Council.

The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Right and Full participation) Act, (PWD Act) 1995 which contains 14 chapters was passed by the parliament on December 12, 1995 and has come into action from 7th February 1996 onwards as an important land mark and is a significant step in the direction to insure full participation of persons with disabilities in nation building. The 7 main types of disabilities are covered in this Act are: Low Vision, Hearing Impairment, Intellectual Disability, Mental illness, Locomotor Disability, Blind and Leprosy cured people. The National Trust (For the welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disability) Act, is a Statutory body under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India and it was established as an answer to question of parents of the Persons with Disabilities "what will happen to my child after me?". Right To Information Act (RTI), 2005 came into existence with the aim of facilitating any information regarding disability, benefits, concessions, acts and policies required by the public and parents and guardians of the persons with disability across India except Jammu and Kashmir. It came into force on 12th October, 2005. This is an important mile stone in the history of India. The

Right to Education (Free and Compulsory) Act (RTE), 2009 was passed on 26th August 2009, and came into existence from 1st April 2010. This Act provided free and compulsory education to all the children from the age group 6-14 years.

The National Institutes in different faculties of Disabilities were established across the country to provide the human resources to serve the Persons with disabilities by providing various diplomas, PG diplomas, degrees and post graduation courses.

1. In 1966, All India Institute for Speech and Hearing (AIISH), Mysore, Karnataka.
2. In 1975, The National Institute for Rehabilitation Training and Research (NIRTAR), Cuttack, Orissa.
3. In 1976, National Institute for Orthopedically Handicapped (NIOH), Kolkata, West Bengal.
4. In 1979, National Institute for Visually Impaired, Dehradun (Uttaranchal)
5. In 1982, Institute for the Physically Handicapped (IPH), New Delhi
6. In 1983, Ali Yavar Jung National Institute for Hearing Handicapped (NIHH), Mumbai, Maharashtra
7. In 1984, National Institute for Mentally Handicapped (NIMH), (Currently known as National Institute for the Empowerment of Persons with Intellectual Disability, NIEPID), at Secunderabad, Telangana.
8. In 2005, National Institute for the Empowerment of Persons with Multiple Disabilities, (NIEPMD), Chennai.

## **Disability Population in India<sup>8</sup>**

As per National Sample Survey Organizations (NSSO) Survey 2002, the number of persons with disability in the country is 18.49 million and it constitutes 1.8 % of the total population. The census 2001 indicates that 2.2 % of the total population is affected by disability of visual impairment, hearing impairment, locomotor disability and intellectual disability. Among the total disability population in India, 75% of persons with disabilities live in rural areas and the prevalence of intellectual disability is much higher than the other disabilities as revealed by the experts working in the field of developmental disability.

Paradigm Shift of the disability from medical model to right based model<sup>9</sup>: Historically it can be seen that the persons with disabilities were treated non-disabled persons till cure is found. Due to this attitude, they cannot participate in any social events. This situation is called medical model. Later, the medical model has slowly changed into social model believing that disability is seen more as social construction than the medical reality as the person with disability can participate in the social events and in the community by providing necessary adaptations for daily living, curriculum, work place supports like ramps, railings, flexible curriculum and time relaxations in examinations etc.

As being the part of the society, the person with disability has the same rights to live as a non-disabled person. In this regard, the environment must be accessible by constructing ramps for wheel chair access and is called “fostering Accessibility”. Thus the social model has slowly changed into right based model.

The Persons with intellectual disability are categorised based on their Intelligence Quotient (IQ) level as mild (50-69), moderate

(35-49), severe (20-34) and profound (below 20). Based on education these people are divided into educable (50-69), trainable (25-49) and custodial (IQ below 25). mild category of Persons with ID can be included in the mainstreaming class to get training in social skills and academic skills when they are among the non-disabled children. The person with moderate category are trainable in special schools. They need intense training in the areas of personal, social, academics, occupational and recreational. Teaching laundry skills is one of the important occupational skill for person with moderate intellectual disability.

Laundry is one of the most important domestic skills and is as important as cooking, cleaning, serving etc. Learning to wash clothes in a washing machine enhances independence at home and also may lead to employment in the community. The students with intellectual disability (ID) can learn to perform the skill of "washing clothes in washing machine". It is also a vital skill as far as personal hygiene is concerned. Laundry skill is an important occupational activity under life skill training program. It is also a job oriented activity to work in laundromats. For persons with mental retardation, it would be a life skill to survive on their own by performing the skill of washing without depending on others. They can contribute to the family by helping them in washing family member's clothes as he/she is a member of the family. The inner meaning of contribution is that the general idea of the people that persons with disabilities are dependents and always they need help of the others but we do not focus much on their ability to contribute to the family or society. But for persons with mild intellectual disability, laundry skill would be a career education.

Career education referred to training handicapped individuals for jobs<sup>10</sup>. That is, career education was defined as "the totality



of experience through which one learns about and prepares to engage in work” (Hoyt 1975, p.4). As the capability of performing skills by persons with mild intellectual disability is high as compared to severe and profound, learning laundry skill. It helps them to take up as their career education through which they can become economically independent. Thus, teaching laundry skill is a career education for persons with mild and moderate intellectual disability.

Students with mental retardation have less capacity to learn skills, to maintain and generalize the learned skills. Teachers, whether they are general educators, do employ various strategies while to teach children in the classrooms. However, special strategies and techniques need to be used for children with intellectual disability and sometimes individualization of strategies and techniques are required. Task Analysis, prompting, fading, modeling, shaping and chaining are the most popularly and commonly used teaching strategies in teaching children with intellectual disability. In addition, reinforcement methods are extensively used to strengthen the learning and get mastery over the skill.

To teach laundry skills for persons with disability, appropriate teaching techniques and strategies are utmost important. There are many teaching techniques and strategies which exists to train the behaviours to be learned by the people with intellectual disability. Enough research has been done in effectiveness of teaching strategies and techniques in teaching domestic skills as well as desirable adaptive behaviours for persons with disabilities like video modelling, prompts, token economy etc.,

The present study on “Effect of token Economy on achieving Domestic Skill” was conducted in the context of teaching domestic skills using various teaching techniques, strategies and

methods. The present study was conducted to find the effect of token economy on achievement of laundry skill (washing clothes in washing machine) among the students with moderate mental retardation of age group 11-17 years attending secondary and pre-vocational classes.

For conducting the present study **Experimental Method** of pre-test, control group design was used. The present study “effect of token economy on achieving domestic skills (washing clothes in washing machine) among the students with moderate mental retardation of age group 11-17 years” has been conducted with the purpose of finding the effect of token economy on teaching domestic skills. To pursue the study the objectives are:

- To find the effect of token economy on domestic skills (washing clothes in washing machine) among experimental group (token economy)
- To find the effect of traditional method on domestic skill (washing clothes in washing machine) among control group (without tokens)
- To compare achievement scores on domestic skill (washing clothes in washing machines) between experimental group and control groups.

The sample for the present study consists of 10 students with moderate intellectual disability, within the age group of 11 to 17 years attending secondary level and pre-vocational-I class in special education centerie, National Institute for Mentally Handicapped, Secunderabad.

A group of availabled students with moderate mental retardation within the age group 11-17 years were assessed in domestic skills. A check list was prepared by the researcher for

assessing the current functioning level in Laundry skill. Based upon the performance level, 10 students who have scored in the range 80-90% were included in the study. The 10 students were allotted in matched groups to establish homogeneity among the experimental and the control group. Each group contains 5 subjects. The matched group subjects were allotted in the score range of 80-82%, 83-85%, 86-87%, 88-90% and 91-93% as acquired by them in accordance to the pre-requisite check list.

The subjects with moderate intellectual disabilities, whose IQ scores ranged between 35 to 50 as the per school records without any behavioral problem and who scores 80% in pre-requisite checklist and whose age falls between 11-17 years were included in the study.

The details of the subjects are given below in the table.

**Table 1: Characteristics of the Sample**

S. No.	Students of Experimental Group							
	Age	IQ	Gender	Students of control group	Age	IQ	Gender	
1	E1	15	5	F	C1	15	50	M
2	E2	13	50	M	C2	17	40	F
3	E3	14	40	M	C3	12	47	F
4	E4	14	47	F	C4	14	50	M
5	E5	13	43	F	C5	14	45	M

The above table provides the characteristics of the sample selected for the present study like age, gender and IQ level. It is observed that in the experimental group, 2 males and 3 female subjects and in the control group 3 males and 2 female subjects participated in the study.

Data collection done through self-prepared checklists validated by 15 special educators and senior professional in special education. In the present study, the researcher has administered the pre-requisite skill check list for assessing the performance level and Checklist for assessing performance level of students in laundry Skill (Washing clothes in the washing machine).

The researcher has listed down the pre-requisite skills required for learning laundry skills like opening/closing of the tap, switch on/off, identification of numbers from 1-15 etc. The total no. of items in the checklist was 19. For the purpose of validation, the tool was prepared on two point scale (Appropriate/Inappropriate) and there was a separate column kept for suggestions by the professionals.

Before preparing this checklist, the researcher had self-monitored all the steps involved in the laundry skills namely, collecting of dirty clothes, connecting the water pipe to the tap, opening the washing machine door etc., Based on this self-monitoring and discussion with teachers, the researcher listed down all the items and arranged them in a sequential order. This checklist contains 3 domains namely 1. "Washing" which contains 15 items 2. "Rinsing" which contains 10 items and 3. "Drying" which contains 15 items. Totally the checklist for assessing performance level of students in Laundry skills contains 40 items.

In both the checklists 1 & 2, those items were retained which have scored 80% by the professionals after validation.

Key is provided for recording the performance of the subjects. Scoring by subject's performance was done as follows:

**Table 2: Description of Scoring Key**

Level of Prompt	Scoring in numerical Codes
Independent (I)	3
Verbal Prompt (VP)	2
Physical Prompt (PP)	1

## **Procedure**

The study was conducted at Special Education Centre, NIMH, Secunderabad. Before conducting the study, a written permission was obtained from the principal of the school. The researcher took written consent from the parents of the students to involve their children as subjects in the study. After taking the permission from the concerned class teachers, the researcher consulted them regarding the timings to conduct the experiment to collect the data. With the concerned class teachers, time schedule was fixed in the morning and the afternoon.

The intervention programme was conducted for 15 sessions for each group. The duration of each session was 55 minutes for both the experimental group and the control group and 5 minutes for token distribution and evaluation. There were 2 sessions per day i.e. 1 session for experimental group and 1 session for control group. The session wise performance of

the subjects was recorded in the checklist for both token economy and conventional method.

The researcher conducted the experiment “washing clothes in washing machine” to the subjects of the experimental group in the morning session through token economy reinforcement. The researcher was initiating the session by calling each subject’s name and took them to the washing area. The washing machine was kept in front of the washroom where water facilities as well as the power supply were available.

The researcher planned to provide tokens only for verbal prompt and independent performance and no tokens for physical prompt were awarded. One blue colored smiley token for every five verbal prompts and one yellow coloured smiley token for every five independent performances were awarded. At the end of every 5<sup>th</sup> session the tokens of blue and yellow colour were exchanged in the ratio of 5:4 i.e. 5 blue colored tokens are equal to 4 yellow coloured tokens for back-up reinforcers. The researcher provided the back-up reinforcers like pouches, key chains, wrist bands, hair bands, pens, pencils, eraser and toffees. The following table shows the criteria on which tokens can be exchanged for the back-up reinforcers of different types of objects.

**Table 3: Back up reinforcers for token exchange**

Sl.No.	Items	For No. of Tokens.
1	Pouch Key chain Bracelet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 40 Blue (or) 35 B + 4Y,</li> <li>• 30 B + 8Y,</li> <li>• 25 B + 12Y,</li> <li>• 20 B + 16 Y</li> <li>• 15 B + 20 Y</li> </ul>

Sl.No.	Items	For No. of Tokens.
2	PenStickers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10B + 24 Y</li> <li>• 5B + 28 Y (or) 40 Yellow.</li> <li>• 20 Blue (or) 15 B + 4 Y</li> <li>• 10 B + 8 Y</li> <li>• 5 B + 12 Y (or) 16 Yellow</li> </ul>
3	ToffeeEraser.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10 Blue (or) 5B + 4 Y (o) 8 Yellow</li> </ul>

B=Blue; Y=Yellow.

The above table is evident for the token exchange for back-up reinforces of different objects with combinations of blue and yellow color tokens in 5:4 ratio.

The researcher gave intervention in the domestic skill “washing clothes in washing machine” to the five subjects assigned in the control group also, since the students were not taught the skill of laundry in the classroom, the researcher gave intervention to the control group also in the same task through conventional method. After the end of each session, the performance of every subject was evaluated and recorded in the scoring sheet.

Subjects of experimental group who received token economy showed significant improvement on domestic skills (comparison of pre and post test mean scores of experimental group) as well as when comparison was made between the post-test mean scores of experimental and control group. Therefore, token economy is proved to be very effective for students with moderate mental retardation. During intervention, subjects

showed interest towards learning domestic skill (washing clothes in washing machine) and they were very happy and enjoyed by performing each step in the task. The token economy has been used widely in behavior modification with a variety of population and in variety of settings (Glimn, 1990, Kazdin, 1977 and Bootzin, 1972) like classrooms, institutions, hospitals and even in industries.

Subjects of control group who received intervention through conventional method also showed significant improvement on domestic skill (washing clothes in washing machine) (comparison of pre and post test mean scores of Control group) whereas the achievement by the subjects of control group on domestic skill is less when compared to the achievement by the subjects of Experimental group (comparison of post test mean scores of experimental and control group). During teaching, the Control group subjects with moderate mental retardation have shown interest towards learning a domestic skill (laundry skill) and as such achieved high scores on domestic skill. The teacher variable might have acted as influenced on the scores. The domestic skills which are performed in the house environment also might have effect on their achievement.

Subjects in experimental group (token economy) and control group have shown similar effect on learning domestic task when comparison was done with pre and post test scores of each group separately. Further, when comparison was done between the post test mean scores of both the groups, it was found that there was significant difference between experimental group and control group. Subjects in Experimental group have shown high performance than subjects in control group. Token economy was more affective in motivating the students with moderate mental retardation to learn the skill. During intervention, students with moderate intellectual disability were reinforced for every correct



response and incorrect responses were ignored, so they inclined to show only correct responses.

Children with ID have a deficit in cognitive skills as such have difficulty to maintain and generalize the learnt skills. Teachers should employ various strategies and techniques in order to maintain and generalize those learned skills. Hence, token economy can also be used in classroom by the teachers to improve the academic performance, skill behavior and overall development of the persons with mental retardation.

## **Conclusion**

The present study has revealed that token economy is an effective technique of reinforcement in teaching domestic skill to the students with moderate mental retardation.

It is observed during the intervention; all the subjects of both the groups except one or two were enthusiastic to perform the skill “washing clothes in washing machine”. The subjects in experimental group were more enthusiastic since they were receiving the tokens at the end of each session. The token helped in sustaining the motivation of the subjects of experimental group throughout the learning sessions. This in turn resulted in better achievement by the subjects from the same group.

It was also observed during training period when the students saw the researcher near the classroom, the students got tempted to come out of the classroom and learn the skill. This indicated that there is a component of reinforcement with persons reinforcement. However this influence was same for both the groups as the researcher person was teaching the students in

experimental group as well as she was teaching the control group with traditional method.

It is clear from the study that the students with moderate mental retardation could learn the skills in better way by the use of token economy system. They were able to understand the system and during the training period. It was also observed that the students learned the concept of exchange of tokens for desired items. Thus, it is proved that the Token Economy system helped them in learning various other skills apart from target skill (i.e. washing clothes in washing machine) such as waiting for direct reinforces and exchange values.

The result of the study showed that the token economy was an effective technique of reinforcement in teaching children with moderate intellectual disability in learning laundry skill. The findings of the study have implications for innovative way of teaching functional skills through this method. A variety of tokens can be used with different materials. Different items or activities should be planned by the teacher as back-up reinforces which sustain the motivation, interest towards learning the task. Thus, the persons with intellectual disability can be trained in life help skills through different teaching techniques and strategies by a systematic way of training which enable them as deserved to live with their rights in the society than being considered as dull or in-valid or inferior.

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## **BOOK REVIEW**

# 1

## BOOK REVIEW

### **EARLY INTERACTIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA – REFLECTIONS OF CROSS CULTURAL EXCHANGE**

edited by

**Pierre – Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Creoff Wads**

These collection of essays have been published by Nalanda – Sriwijaya Centre. The Nalanda Sriwijaya servces has been established under the publication programme of the Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore. The Centre focuses its attention on Asian politics and societies and how they have interacted over a period of time.

It is a volume of twenty three papers. Twenty seven authors have carried out research on the interactions between South Asia and South East Asia from 500 BCE to CE 1500. There has been a lot of debate on the nature of these interactions.

The introduction starts with the question of whether South East Asia was Indianised before Indianisation. It provides a birds eye view of the entire volume. The concept of “Indianisation” has been challenged by many scholars over the last forty years. Archaeological discoveries prove that there had been an existing relationship between South East Asia and South Asia in terms of trade.

This book is a reflection of the current situation in South East Asia studies. Chapters dealing with archaeological finds are

grouped in Part I of the book. Chapters on art and architecture and religion are classified in Part II of this book. The introduction has been authored by Pierre Yves Manguin. He describes how the pattern of relationship between South East Asia and South Asia evolved through the ages. He stresses on the need for a truly transcultural historiography. Every where the process of cosmopolitan transculturation was underway. He quotes Sheldon Pollock who writes in the first place that it makes hardly more sense to distinguish between South and South East Asia than between North India and South India. Everywhere similar processes of cosmopolitan transcultivation were underway with the source and target of change always shifting since there was no single point of production for cosmopolitan culture.

Lam Thi My Dzung writes about the critical period in cultural and historical process in Central Vietnam and South East Asia. The mid first millennium BCE marks the shift to an iron age. This was accompanied by technological change. Another transition took place in later centuries BCE. It begins with the early historic period which set the stage for the emergence of the first centralized politics.

Archaeological finds of recent years have brought to light the cultural contacts of the area with South Asia. This chapter gives an overview on the archaeological cultures in Central Vietnam. It sees a transition from Sa Huyuh to Champa as is seen in the archaeological finds. This is followed by a discussion on Sinicization and Indianization and impact on its indigenous culture.

The chapter on Ban Dan Ta Phet and Khao Sam Kaeo: The earliest Indian contacts reassessed – by Ian C Glover and Birinice Bellina who summarise the evidence from this area and Thailand. It makes reference to the analysis of metal, glass and hard stone

artefacts from peninsular Thailand. It talks about Trans-Asiatic exchange too.

Evidence of metallic vessels and specified hard stone and glass ornaments – some having symbolic functions in early India's religious traditions have been found. There had been interaction between India and South East Asia. The Indian complex technologies had been adapted to the regional style. Likewise Indian decorative shapes suggest to the authors that there had been a dynamic regional network.

Preliminary study of Indian and Indian style ware from Khao Sam Kaeo (Chumpon Peninsula Thailand of Fourth-second centuries BCE by Phaedra Bouiest talks about the cultural exchange between South Asia and South East Asia. It includes the technical practices used and extends to the question of production centres, circulation networks and modalities of distribution. It is applied to the existence of a ceramic assemblage. This leads to a discussion on ceramic production in India and South East Asia.

This area took part in trans Asian trade in ceramics between India and South East Asia as early as the fourth-second centuries BCE. They borrowed from Bengal and adapted it to local productions. Indian craftsmen travelled to Thailand during this period.

Boonyarrit Chaisuwan's paper on "Early Contacts between India and the Andaman Coast in Thailand from the 2<sup>nd</sup> BCE to 4<sup>th</sup> CE talks about numerous evidences that reveal a long history of trade and cultural contact. By the early centuries of the common era trade routes reached out to bring together South East Asia exchange systems. It linked them to a global network from Western Europe through the Mediterranean basin, Persin



Gulf, Red Sea, India, South East Asia and China. This area became a traded station,

This fostered cultural exchanges and the growth of settlements of sailors and traders especially from India. These foreigners merged with the local people. Indian merchants established stations in many parts of South East Asia especially Swarnabhumi. This area was called Swarnabhumi in Indian ancient literature: Indians trade with Indian and Roman goods.

This area was an important bead making site. Among the notable artefacts found were rock crystal lion pendant, inscribed shards in Tamil Brahmi and Brahmi scripts, rouletted wares (2<sup>nd</sup> BCE and others similar to the ones at Arikamedu, excavated in India. It became an important area for the silk route of the sea which linked the trade systems of the West and East coasts, of the Thai Malay Peninsula. Here communities, Indian and indigenous grew up under the shade of Hinduism and Buddhism and were adopted and adapted to suit local needs.

The Batujaya Site : New evidence of early Indian influence in West Java by Pierra Yver Manguin and Agutijanto Indradjaja talks about West Java, Central and East Java. The evidences were found to span more than ten centuries. Data was collected from Buni phase (1<sup>st</sup> C, BCE to 4<sup>th</sup> CCE) and an Indianised phase (5C, CE to 10 CCE).

This excavation can be used to document the transition from local to Indianised culture. The Buni culture complex shared burial rituals and overall material culture traits with many other contemporary peoples of Island and continental South East Asia. These people belonged to a ranked society. The iron tools they used point out to the dry fields which farmers had to plough.

On the basis of fauna finds, sea and mangrove products were consumed. At that time, the Buni people had indirect access to goods from India. Indianised pottery was highly valued.

There were signs of Indianisation after the Buni ceramics disappearance. Soon after, their interest turned to temple construction. It is impossible to determine how long it took for them to invest in the construction of Buddhist temples and subsequent Indianisation in architecture.

Edward Mc Kunnon's paper on "Continuity and Change in South Indian involvement in Northern Sumatra" refers to the inferences of archaeological evidence from Kota, Linna and Lamreh. It makes an interesting read. Covering a period of 500 years of close association with South Asia, archaeological finds have yielded evidence of cultural influences from overseas sources. Hindu and Buddhist religious activity are also brought to light. Towards the end of the time spectrum, many political disruptions occurred in South India and Islamic influences became pronounced in India. Ujung Batee Kapol in Indonesia saw its Islamic settlement grow.

South Asia and Tapanuli Area (N.W. Sumatra) 9<sup>th</sup> – 14 centuries CE by Daniel Perret and Heddy Surachman talks about excavations in North West Java. It talks about Tamil Inscriptions found in Lobu Tua (11<sup>th</sup> century). It is a coastal site and a major settlement dominated by South Asian people. Evidence of artefacts prove that they have been brought from South Asia. They were traders who formed their own guilds. By mid 14 century these collapsed and this led to the rise of the Sultanate of Pasai. This was stimulated by economic networks and associations involved in overseas trade.

K. Rajan's work on Emergence of Early Historic Trade in Peninsular India shows that multiple factors played an important role in the trans-oceanic trade during early historic times. The littoral states of South India lay between the Mediterranean in the West and China in the East. They played a big role in the origin, growth and development of trade and cultural activities.

In his writing on contacts between India and South East Asia in ceramic and boat building up traditions, V. Selva Kumar talks about the dynamics of trade in the Indian Ocean. The Indian sub-continent acted as an important meeting point for South Western and South Eastern regions because of its centralized position. People, ideas, goods and animals and plant species travelled across this ocean. The paper presents a discussion on the probable South East Asian origin of the carved paddle beating technique in ceramic tradition and lashed lug technique of securing planks in the boat building tradition.

In the paper on "Marine Archaeological investigation along the Tamilnadu coast" on their implications for understanding cultural expansion to South East Asian countries, Sundaresh and A.S. Gaur talk about the ancient ports of Tamilnadu and their role in transoceanic trade, commerce and cultural relations.

In Part II, John Gurj's paper or "Tamil merchants and the Hindu Buddhist Diaspora in Early South East Asia talks about local rulers of South East Asia's interest in recruiting Brahmin priests and Buddhist monks to be able to secure their personal and political welfare. This is linked with the agents and propagators travelling in merchant vessels. The early merchant activity in the region provides the clue to the early entry of Indic religious systems. This is revealed through the scattering of Indic scripts stone stete inscriptions, royal and mercantile

and also by the regional distribution of the earliest Indic religious imagery, imported and locally produced.

The chapter on the spread of Sanskrit in South East Asia deep deeply into the inscriptional evidences during the early centuries of the common era. Johannes Bronkhorst says that it gradually took over and became the inscriptional language par excellence of the whole of India and much of South East Asia. It prevailed for a thousand years. He agrees with Sheldon Pollock who speaks for this reason of the Sanskrit cosmopolis. He dates it between 300 CE and 1300 CE.

The discussion then Centres around whether it was a lingua Franca for trade, international business and cultural promotion. He ends the chapter with a question “Further can the spread of Sanskrit into South East Asia be explained by the same reasons that explains its spread within India”?

The early inscriptions of Indonesia and the problem of Sanskrit cosmopolis by Daud Ali makes an interesting read. It explores the role that South Asian political ideas and practices played in the transformation of early South East Asian societies. He ends by stating that the relations between cultural practices and state structures are complex and shifting.

Indian Architecture in the Sanskrit Cosmopolis : The temples of Dieng Plateau by Julie Romain talks about temples in Central Java. It represents some of the earliest Indian related architecture in Indonesia. The preview date of their construction is unknown. The temples are related to the South Indian style of architecture. It is an amalgamation of architectural motifs found in South India with local stylistic elements. These make them uniquely Javanese. It is therefore difficult to determine the starting point for the diffusion of the South Indian architectural tradition in Java.

Robert L. Brown in his importance of Gupta period sculpture in South East Asian Art History talks about Gupta related art into the context of other art forms of Sri Lanka, art of Chinese and then each of these with South East Asian Art.

The paper on “Individuals under the Glaze: Local transformations of Indianisation in the decorative Lintels of Ankor” by Martin Polking Horne describes how Indian designs were adapted to Angkor traditions. The monuments of Cambodia abound with Indian derived motifs and deities. Indian influence is apparent in their art and architecture.

The chapter on “Early Musical Exchange between India and South East Asia” by theme in the Mekong Delta is very interesting. It talks about the various musical instruments in which Indian influence can be discerned.

“The broken threads: Contested Histories of Brahminism in Cambodia and Thailand and the construction of ritual authority” by Borell talks in detail of Buddhism and Hinduism and their impact on the political legitimization of Kingship in South East Asia. It concludes with a discussion on the role of the Brahmins. The paper ends with the discussion on whether the Brahmins were really Brahmins?

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## 2

### BOOK REVIEW

#### **THE MEDIEVAL FACTOR AND THE AGE OF HARSHA : A CULTURAL STUDY**

**Dr. Shankar Goyal**

*Kusumanjali Book World, Jodhpur, 2016*

The decline of Gupta Empire saw the rise of many smaller kingdoms in India. One of them was under the Pushyabhuti dynasty with its first emperor, Prabhakara Vardhana establishing the Vardhana empire. The author has contributed much to the study of the culture of the period of which very less has been seen or recorded before. The author has clearly explained the end of the 'classical' age and the origin of the 'medieval' period through his research in cultural studies during the Age of Harsha. He has referred to numerous Indian and Chinese sources on ancient Indian polity and feudalism.

The book has been divided into nine chapters detailing the making of a classical or traditional society that transitioned into a medieval one with the introduction of feudalism into the everyday lives of the people.

The first chapter introduces the meaning and nature of feudalism in early medieval society. The author has given a detailed account as to how feudalism played an important role in changing the life of the people. The chapter has details with regards to the effects of feudalism on education, economic, political and social life. He has discussed various aspects of

medieval society such as art, religion, social order, rural and urban life, morals and literature.

The second chapter elaborates on medieval trends in religion during the reign of Harsha. The author has explained how Harsha's idealistic personality caused an effect on his empire. A detailed account has been given as to how that period had started seeing a decline in morality in political and religious life. He has concluded by adding that Harsha was no different from any other ruler who was amoral and had been affected by the age and his times.

The third chapter talks about social organisation and the changes that occurred due to feudalism. The age saw more rigidity in the caste system. Importance was given to birth rather than profession. Names of people had weightage which showed their status in the hierarchy of castes. The author has used Chinese references to show how the Pushyabhuti dynasty belonged to the Vaishya community rather than Kshatriya as presumed. He has concluded by giving a small account of some aspects of the daily life of the people in each of the castes of people during Harsha's reign.

The fourth chapter deals with social necessities and importance of the Ashrama system. The chapter elaborates on issues of marriage and customs that come with it. A separate sub-chapter is exclusively on the wedding ceremonies of the princess of the Vardhana dynasty and sister of Harsha, Rajyashri. The author again has used extensive information from the Chinese accounts along with *Harshacharitra*. He has discussed briefly about tribal population that had inhabited the fringes of the kingdom along with the institution of prostitution that was prevailing during the times. He concludes the chapter by giving an account of the social behaviour during the age of Harsha.

The fifth chapter details about the rural and urban life with accounts of trade and commerce along with coinage and economy of Harsha's empire. The author has given briefly about the agrarian sector of population along with economic implications that came with Harsha's warfare and religious activities. The chapter is concluded with the effects on the economy due to his feudal tendencies.

The sixth chapter has an account of Bana's criticisms on the political culture, the concept of the divinity of kings, custom of *sati* and conditions of government servants. Dr. Goyal also has detailed Harsha's administration and the feudal – federal nature of the Empire along with the various departments seen in the hierarchy of his government. The Chapter concludes with Bana's lamentation about the condition of the peasants who had to suffer the consequences of their governing bodies.

The seventh chapter details the world of art and its transition from the Classical Age to Medievalism. The author has talked about the factors that were responsible for this change and as to what were the medieval trends in Indian art during the period of Harsha.

The eighth chapter speaks about the literary activities under Harsha. This Chapter elaborates on Bana and his works with a special emphasis on *Harshacharitra* along with his motive behind writing it. The Chapter also discusses the position of *Harshacharitra* in Sanskrit literature and Bana's view of history. The author has raised a question as to whether or not the work was an incomplete one and his views on Bana being the first person to write a biography. The Chapter concludes with a note about *Harshacharitra* being a factual work rather than aeulogy of the King in power.



Chapter nine continues to explain more details about the literary activities that occurred during the reign of Harsha Vardhana. It specifies three plays and the issue of their authorship. The plays in question are (1) Ratnavali, (2) Priyadarsika and (3) Nagananda. Dr. Goyal has given a summary of all the three plays along with the views of certain Sanskrit scholars on them. The author has expressed some concerns regarding the plays being ascribed to Harsha himself. The concerns are cleared.

The appendix of the book talks about the different types of architecture during the reign of Harsha. The author has given references to the three texts that give descriptions of various buildings. An account of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang also finds a place in the work.

The book is a well-researched work on the culture and the social structure during the reign of Harsha Vardhana. It is a natural sequel to all of Dr. Goyal's books and articles. It is a sound read for anyone who wishes to know more about the age and times of Harsha.

**Shreedevi. R**

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